THE JEWESS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH LITERARY CULTURE

NADIA VALMAN

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Stories about Jewesses proliferated in nineteenth-century Britain as debates raged about the place of the Jews in the modern nation. Challenging the emphasis in previous scholarship on antisemitic stereotypes in this period, Nadia Valman argues that the literary image of the Jewess – virtuous, appealing and sacrificial – reveals how hostility towards Jews was accompanied by pity, identification and desire. Reading a range of texts from popular romance to the realist novel, she investigates how the complex figure of the Jewess brought the instabilities of nineteenth-century religious, racial and national identity into uniquely sharp focus. Tracing the Jewess's narrative from its beginnings in Romantic and Evangelical literature, and reading canonical writers including Walter Scott, George Eliot and Anthony Trollope alongside more minor figures such as Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, Grace Aguilar and Amy Levy, Valman demonstrates the myriad transformations of this story across the century, as well as its remarkable persistence and power.

Nadia Valman is Lecturer in Victorian Literature at Queen Mary, University of London. She has co-edited *The Image of the Jew in European Liberal Culture, 1789–1914* (2004) with Bryan Cheyette; *Remembering Cable Street: Fascism and Anti-Fascism in British Society* (1999) and *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and 'the Jews': Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (2004), both with Tony Kushner; and *The 'Jew' in late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: From the East End to East Africa* (2007), with Eitan Bar-Yosef.

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For my parents

[Hers] is a type that sometimes, just now and again, can be so pathetically noble and beautiful in a woman, so suggestive of chastity and the most passionate love combined . . . love that implies all the big practical obligations and responsibilities of human life, that the mere term 'Jewess' (and especially its French equivalent) brings to my mind some vague, mysterious, exotically poetic image of all I love best in woman.

George du Maurier, *The Martian* (1897)

There is in the words 'a beautiful Jewess' a very special sexual signification, one quite different from that contained in the words 'beautiful Rumanian,' 'beautiful Greek,' or 'beautiful American,' for example. This phrase carries an aura of rape and massacre. The 'beautiful Jewess' is she whom the Cossacks under the czars dragged by her hair through the streets of her burning village. And the special works which are given over to accounts of flagellation reserve a place of honor for the Jewess. But it is not necessary to look into esoteric literature . . . the Jewess has a well-defined function in even the most serious novels.

Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (1946)

In her, like us, there clashed, contending powers,
Germany, France, Christ, Moses, Athens, Rome.
The strife, the mixture in her soul, are ours

Matthew Arnold, 'Rachel III' (1867)

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1

Introduction: the Jewess question

At the heart of the most celebrated Victorian novel of Jewish identity is the untold story of a Jewess. In the teeming London streets where Daniel Deronda searches for the relatives of his rescued waif Mirah Lapidoth, he comes across the obsequious pawnbroker Ezra Cohen and his exuberant family and hears mention of Ezra's lost, unnamed sister. The affair is clouded in reticence and embarrassment: both Deronda and the Cohens are reluctant to say or hear more. However, the need to resolve this enigma is obviated: Deronda discovers that Mirah's brother is not the unctuous Ezra but the mystic Mordecai Cohen. And Mordecai reprimands Deronda for his intrusiveness: 'There is a family sorrow . . . There is a daughter and a sister who will never be restored as Mirah is.'[1] The absence in the Cohen family is not, after all, Mirah, whose 'restor[ation]' anticipates the national redemption of the Jews signalled at the end of the novel. In contrast, the fate of the anonymous daughter who might have been her remains forever undiscovered. Is she, as the conventions of the Victorian novel would suggest, dishonoured? Or is she, as the Jewish context of the Cohen family might also suggest, converted to Christianity, and thus equally alienated from them? The two possibilities point to two contrary themes in the representation of the Jewess evident not only in Eliot's text but also more generally in nineteenth-century culture: on the one hand, the dangerous carnality of the Jewish woman, and, on the other, her exceptional spirituality and amenability to restoration, conversion or radical assimilation. These two shadowy and in some ways overlapping stories underlie the complex and ambivalent figure of the Jewess in Eliot's novel, and form the subject of this study.

Unspeaking, unmentionable and unredeemed, the Cohen daughter is a unique absence in Eliot's narrative. But the difficult questions she raises about both Jewish and female destinies persistently haunt nineteenth-century literature. In the figure of the Jewess converge the period's deepest and most intensely debated controversies over religion, sexuality, race and

nationality. From the medieval ballad of the Jew's daughter who seduces a young Christian boy in order to murder him, to Shakespeare's uncertain apostate Jessica, the Jewess held a marginal place in English literary history. In the nineteenth century, however, she became a literary preoccupation. Here, I trace the trajectory of her story, from its rise in Romantic and Evangelical writing through myriad rewritings in both popular and high literature. Throughout the nineteenth century, I will argue, the figure of the Jewess marked out the axes of difference through which English Protestant identity was imagined.

The Jewess continued to compel and provoke writers precisely because she threw into disarray clear categories of difference. This theme was articulated with striking persistence in the staging and revival throughout the nineteenth century of Eugène Scribe's *La Juive* (The Jewess), the libretto to the French grand opera by Fromental Halévy. Influenced by British literary sources, translated into English in 1835 and revived in the 1850s and at the turn of the century in London, *The Jewess* was a paradigmatic dramatisation of the key motifs that recur in literary representations of the Jewish woman.[2] Composed by a Jew and written by a gentile, the opera suggested the extent to which a complex response to Jewishness was shared by both. Its parable of religious intolerance, originating in the Enlightenment polemic of its French original, could also speak feelingly to liberal, Protestant audiences in nineteenth-century England. The drama is set in medieval Switzerland at the time of the Council of Constance, the notorious convocation that condemned and burnt reformists as heretics, and of popular anti-Jewish violence. Here, the married Prince Leopold falls in love with the heroine Rachel, and courts her, claiming to be a Jew. When Rachel discovers this deception she denounces Leopold, and both incur the death penalty since their interfaith liaison contravenes the law. But the Prince's wife pleads with Rachel, who retracts her charge – by which he, though not she, will be saved. In an inquisitorial scene the Cardinal offers to save the Jewess if her father converts to Christianity, but the father refuses, threatening revenge if he loses his daughter. As Rachel is put to death in a furnace, her father reveals that she is not a Jewess, but the daughter of the Cardinal himself.

The martyrdom of Rachel points not only to the irresistible erotic appeal of the 'Jewess' and her superior, self-sacrificing love, but also to the fatal religious rigidity of both the Jewish and the Christian men. The plot also suggests, however, the profound uncertainty surrounding the identity of the Jewess herself. The tragic force – and liberal message – of *La Juive* turns on the fact that the truth of Rachel's self is invisible to her lover, her adoptive

father, her biological father, and even to herself: the Jewess is an empty signifier onto which fantasies of desire or vengeance are arbitrarily projected. The unsettling ontological implications of this obfuscation of the nature of Jewishness are even more starkly expressed in Miriam Rooth, Henry James's *fin-de-siècle* Jewish actress, described in *The Tragic Muse* (1890) as a 'blank'.[3] Unlike the figure of the Jew, whose physique is indelibly marked by the sign of his religious or racial difference, the body of the Jewess is unreadable.

Turning critical attention to the Jewess in nineteenth-century literature requires a revision of received accounts of antisemitic discourse. The intellectual arsenal of European antisemitism, writes Todd M. Endelman, can be reduced to 'a handful of accusations about Jewish character and behavior: Jews are malevolent, aggressive, sinister, self-seeking, avaricious, destructive, socially clannish, spiritually retrograde, physically disagreeable, and sexually overcharged'.[4] The Jew in such descriptions is implicitly masculine, and perceptions of Jews are frequently seen as projections of anxieties about masculinity.[5] Cultural theorists, from Sartre to Fanon to Lyotard to Sander Gilman have similarly assumed the masculinity of the Jewish subject.[6] Gilman's important study of the ideological implications of Jewish physiological difference, *The Jew's Body*, focuses unapologetically on representations of 'the male Jew, the body with the circumcised penis – an image crucial to the very understanding of the Western image of the Jew at least since the advent of Christianity'.[7] The scant attention that has been paid to the image of the Jewish woman has been limited to masculinised representations of the Jewess and thus has assimilated her to the same set of concerns.[8] Hence, critical focus on the masculine Jew(ess) in even the most theoretically audacious work in Jewish cultural studies has, in turn, tended to reproduce predictable narratives of the ubiquity and suppleness of antisemitic discourse.[9] Jonathan Freedman, however, has recently directed readers to the covert 'libidinal engagement' of Victorian writers with the figure of the Jew.[10] Indeed, as my study will argue, in English culture of this period Jews were imagined as much in terms of desire and pity as fear and loathing. Rather than a denigrated masculinised figure, the Jewess was often, in fact, an idealised representation of femininity. And it is the image of the beautiful or spiritual Jewess, whose Judaism is *not* permanently inscribed on her body, that reveals most dramatically the ambiguous and dynamic character of responses to Jews in England.

English literary representations of the Jewess overlap with, but are distinct from, similar discursive formations in continental Europe. In particular, the figure of the Jewess often seems drawn from the same set of fears

and fantasies that generated nineteenth-century Orientalism. Indeed, just as the scholarly and literary apparatus of Orientalism helped to naturalise Christian domination of colonised peoples, it equally provided a means of knowledge and power over Semites at home. Like the nineteenth-century 'Oriental', the Jewess was often seen as childlike, malleable and in need of redemption, while Jewish culture, like that of the 'Orient', was despotic, primitive and unchanging.[11] The Jewess herself was ubiquitously conflated with the Oriental woman, and recognised by her stylised sensual beauty: her large dark eyes, abundant hair and languid expression.[12] Scholarly studies of the figure of the *belle juive* in French and German Romantic literature – 'a combination of erotic stimulus and pogrom', in Florian Krobb's words – have interpreted images of her exotic allure and stories of her tragic self-sacrifice as an allegory justifying the political subjugation or social exclusion of Jews.[13] In these texts, the Jewish woman, like the Oriental, served to sustain a foundational dichotomy between Occidental and Semitic. In English culture, however, the Jewess was never so entirely Other.

Historians have long recognised the particular complexity of English attitudes towards the Jews, and this has given rise to conflicting historiographies of Anglo-Jewry.[14] Viewed from a comparative European perspective, nineteenth-century England afforded increasing rights, respect and comforts to Jews.[15] Seen within a narrower national context, on the other hand, the coercive force of emancipation, the precarious nature of liberalism and the persistence of antisemitism in British culture come into focus.[16] These contrary accounts of the Anglo-Jewish experience are reflected in the tantalisingly ambiguous presence of 'the Jew' in literary texts. Exposing an ongoing oscillation between respect and repulsion, texts open up to reveal both hostile *and* appealing images of Jews, figuratively expelling *and* incorporating them simultaneously. Impossible to describe simply as 'anti-semitic' or 'philosemitic', such texts may be considered instead as examples of what Bryan Cheyette terms 'semitic discourse' – an ambivalent form of representation in which the meaning of 'the Jew' is not fixed.[17] The complex ambivalence of semitic discourse, I will argue here, is most fully revealed in the opposition between 'Jew' and 'Jewess'.

Within the broader scope of European culture, the overdetermination of 'the Jews' has been located in both theological and philosophical contexts. The ambivalent identity ascribed to the Jews, in Zygmunt Bauman's account, derives from their role in the post-antiquity world as the alter ego of Christianity, marking its spatial and temporal boundaries. As the origin of Christian theology and also its imagined opponent, Judaism is both foundational and antithetical to Christian cultures; Jews are 'inassimilable, yet

indispensable'.[18] In psychoanalytic terms, the 'Jew' is uncanny, a reminder of what is familiar though alienated through repression – or, as Susan Shapiro has argued, a ghostly, 'living corpse', anomalous in the modern world.[19] Judaism and the Jews also became the limit case for Enlightenment thinking about the scope of secular modernity's claim to universality. Enlightenment philosophers were unable to transcend the exceptionalism that structured Christian thinking on Judaism, and relied on the figure of Judaism as reason's defining Other.[20] The Hegelian tradition, meanwhile, took up the Christian construction of Judaism as blindly fixated on the law, and regarded Jews as incapable of self-reflection, particularist rather than universal, and therefore outside the scope of the modern project. But if this view considered the Jews incapable of autonomy, they were regarded by the left Hegelians, conversely, as *too* autonomous (too modern) in their radical disidentification with national cultures.[21] That the Jews could be seen as threatening both for their cosmopolitanism and for their traditionalism suggests how crucially they figured in the definition and contestation of the boundaries of the modern nation. Indeed, Bauman and Kristeva have both theorised 'the Jew' as a disturber of borders, categories and systems.[22]

These contradictory terms frame the Jewish Question as it was argued over throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. In England, meanwhile, the political problem of the place of the particularist Jews in a liberal state, and the theological paradox of their inassimilability yet indispensability, were both vividly dramatised on the public stage of Parliament in the 1830s and 40s. In the wake of the political emancipation of Catholics and dissenting Protestants, Jews too began to campaign for the right to participate in government. In the public debates, 'reason' duelled with 'persecution' on behalf of 'liberty', while the traditions of the Christian state were defended with equal vehemence against the incursions of the unbeliever.[23] But an equally significant influence on nineteenth-century semitic discourse was the powerful cultural presence of Protestant Evangelicals, who accorded a uniquely privileged status to the Jews.[24] Reviving the ideology of seventeenth-century millennialism, British Evangelicals stressed not the rupture between Christianity and Judaism, but their identification with God's Chosen People and especially its Bible. The Evangelical novelist and editor Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, for example, was described by an Anglo-Jewish periodical as a 'devoted friend of Israel', and Jacob Franklin, its editor, accordingly addressed himself to Evangelical readers as 'your elder Brother'.[25] This affection, however, coincided with a severe critique of Judaism as archaic, law-bound and corrupt. Rapprochement

with Jews was sought, then, with a view to their conversion, which Evangelicals pursued with indefatigable vigour. Intent, in the words of William Wilberforce, on a thoroughgoing reform of 'the manners and morals of the nation', Evangelicals also saw the conversion of the Jews as a crucial step in hastening the Second Coming of Christ, and England, with its history of tolerance rather than persecution, had a special role to play in this project. The simultaneous idealisation and conversionary impulse of Evangelicals, however, was in structure very similar to that of emancipationists, who invariably regarded the extension of rights to Jews, like colonial subjects, as premised on their 'civil improvement' – their remoulding through state intervention into model modern citizens.[26]

The most nuanced recent work on the Jews in the history of England has insistently called attention to the discursive context in which Jewishness was debated. 'The English turned to Jewish questions to answer English ones', writes James Shapiro of the early modern period.[27] Focusing on the nineteenth century, David Feldman has argued that the Jewish emancipation debate was not simply a battle between 'reason' and 'intolerance' or 'modernity' and 'tradition' but the enunciation of competing accounts of the relationship among religion, state and nation. The constitutional challenge presented by the claim of professing Jews to enter Parliament meant that 'Jewish disabilities – whether to maintain, reform or abolish them – were inserted within the decisive conflicts of mid-nineteenth-century British politics'.[28] The contours of the nation itself were being fought over through public engagement in Jewish questions, and Jews participated in this dynamic process both passively and actively.

Nineteenth-century texts were constituted by the same contending forces, and often starkly fissured by them. Jews were caught up in the polemical crossfire that attended the Evangelical Revival and the struggle over parliamentary reform in the first half of the century, and the ascendancy of liberalism and its fragmentation in the latter half. Repeatedly, therefore, narratives that strain to contain or transcend forms of 'difference' mark their ideological ambit through the figure of the Jew. 'By encompassing the unruly "Jew" – an age-old outcast from history as well as Christian theology' argues Bryan Cheyette, '– the efficacy of a civilizing liberalism, or an all-controlling Imperialism, or a nationalizing socialism, could be established beyond all doubt.'[29] Indeed, the nineteenth century's key controversies about religion, race and nation, according to Michael Ragussis, were figured through the metaphor of conversion. The narrative of Jewish conversion, he shows, was pervasive in literary discourse, expressing not only hopes and fears about Jewish integration, but also accounts of the hybrid or

converted nature of Englishness itself. Rather than relying on the old critical paradigm of distinguishing 'antisemitic' and 'philosemitic' texts, Ragussis sets Evangelical conversionist literature (often avowedly philosemitic) against the 'revisionist' accounts of conversion in Maria Edgeworth, Walter Scott, Benjamin Disraeli, Matthew Arnold and George Eliot, which 'critiqued the English national character by subjecting it to a moral reevaluation on the basis of English attitudes toward the Jews'. The 'ideology of (Jewish) conversion', he argues, stands behind numerous variants of the Jewish question 'at the center of a profound crisis in nineteenth-century English national identity'.[30]

In this study, I also read images of Jews as ciphers for broader cultural and political debates. But what I explore here is how the fractures in these debates are revealed in gendered representations. Contrary constructions of English national identity, I will argue, were typically articulated not through opposing conversionist and 'revisionist' texts, but deeply embedded *within* both. Crucially, they were symbolised through the rhetorical figure of gender. The structural ambivalence at the core of both Enlightenment and Evangelical conceptions of Judaism is dramatically revealed in the bifurcation of Jewish figures across gender. If, in these traditions of thought, Judaism was both critiqued as archaic and legalistic and idealised for its direct link to biblical origins, in fictional texts this ambivalence took the form of an ideological, aesthetic and temperamental battle between the often elderly male Jew and the youthful, enquiring Jewess. 'The young Jewess', as Lionel Trilling noted in a 1930 study of Jews in fiction, 'abhors the practices of her father.'[31] As the crux of narrative resolution, the Jewess embodied the theological and intellectual problem of the Jews and enabled a range of possible responses to it. Characterised by attractiveness and pathos, she was the vehicle of literary debate about the Jews articulated not only through argument but also through affect. In diametric contrast to her narrow, patriarchal and unfeeling Jewish family, the Jewess personified the capability of Jews for enlightenment and self-transformation. Moreover, as I will show, the same intellectual paradigms of Judaism continued to inform later nineteenth-century representations of Jews even as the terms of discussion shifted from religious confession to the more secular language of biological race. If the Jew, still too modern or too archaic, came to stand for the excesses of capitalism or a degenerative atavism, the Jewess equally held the potential for cultural or racial regeneration. The figuring and refiguring of English national identity in religious, political or racial terms relied on images of Jews that were, above all, gendered.

Jewish questions, moreover, were discursively intertwined with, or echoed, woman questions. Liberal arguments for the rights of Jews (as for colonial slaves) and for the rights of women, for example, deployed the same argumentative strategies. William Hazlitt's 1831 case for the emancipation of the Jews parallels that of Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).[32] For Wollstonecraft, the emphasis in feminine culture on beauty resulted in vanity and corruption; inattention to health and exercise produced excessive delicacy. Like the Jews, women are prone to vice only as the effect of an oppressive culture, and await redemption from it – an argument from custom that was to become a central theme in Victorian feminist ideology.[33] In Evangelical theology, meanwhile, Jews and women were subject to a structurally identical series of contradictions. The medieval exegetical tradition, Lisa Lampert argues, 'links the spiritual, masculine, and Christian and defines them in opposition to the carnal, feminine, and Jewish'.[34] Nineteenth-century Protestantism, however, reconfigured this nexus. Like Jews, women were both narrowly defined in Evangelical culture and deeply venerated as agents of millennial transformation. As Catherine Hall has shown, the fraught ambivalence of Evangelical discourse on gender was echoed in missionary writing on colonial slavery, which evinced a belief in spiritual equality as well as an assumption of white superiority.[35] Even more sharply though, Jews, like women, evoked the paradox in Evangelical ideology of exceptional religious potential and necessary social subordination.

The importance in the public debate about Jews of imagery and argument involving gender has been consistently neglected in scholarship. John Beddoe's *The Races of Britain* (1885), for example, cast Jews among the dark races characterised by 'patient industry and attachment to local and family ties'.[36] But if, in this way, racial theory frequently feminised Jews, a contrary strain of thinking set Judaism and women in opposition. Just as, from the Enlightenment onwards, Muslim gender relations, and particularly the image of the harem, came to constitute 'a metaphor for injustice in civil society and the state and arbitrary government',[37] the civility of the Jews was measured by the perceived status of women in Judaism. From Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington* (1817) and the Evangelicals of the 1830s, to the first-wave feminists of the 1890s, the mythic failure of Jews properly to reverence women was a cornerstone of discussion. Sarah Lewis's indignant demand, 'Can women be anything but Christians, when they hear the scornful thanksgiving of the Jew, that he was not born a woman?', was repeated throughout the century and served to assert the authority of

Enlightenment and Evangelical definitions of female pride.[38] Taking up this rhetorical tradition, late nineteenth-century feminists conjoined their attack on the subjection of women with a critique of Judaism. For them, Jewish life represented a paradigm of 'primitive' society, exemplified in the 'Oriental' disregard for the redemptive potential of women. One of the objectives of this study is to investigate how representing Jews functioned for female writers in particular, as definitions of femininity shifted across the century. Focusing on different discursive junctures between Jewishness and women, I also seek to trace the resilience of early nineteenth-century narratives of the Jewess.

If representations of the Jewish woman in Victorian culture were powerfully influenced by conversionist discourse, however, they were not exclusively the domain of gentile writers. Nineteenth-century Christian and Jewish identities were more closely enmeshed than has been recognised. This study therefore considers Jewish alongside gentile literature in order to examine the complex interplay between them. Jewish writers from the beginning of the Victorian period gave voice to aspirations and anxieties about political, social and cultural integration through the image of the Jewess. 'The Jewess invokes a particular set of racist and misogynist fantasies, which involve a double "othering" and consequently a double silencing', contends Tamar Garb. 'To speak as an actual Jewish woman in the face of the dead weight of phantasmatic projections that circulated around the category Jewess was difficult, if not impossible.'[39] But this claim is belied by the significant presence of Jewish women in the fields of both popular and realist fiction in this period. Initially, their access to publishing was made possible by the expansion of the Anglo-Jewish public sphere from the early 1840s. More importantly, however, it was facilitated precisely *because* they were women, who had easy entry into the female literary genres of devotional prose, romance and domestic fiction. Unlike Jewish poets of the period, they were not governed by the need to claim literary authority for a genre definitively marked as male.[40]

But while they actively engaged with the contested figure of the Jewess, the Jewish writers considered in this study did not in any consistent or simple way transform the semitic discourse of which they formed a part. Recent studies of Victorian Jewish women writers have sought to refute the judgment that their writing is 'apologetic', and instead have highlighted the challenge posed by marginal voices in a dominant Christian culture, and their efforts to rewrite that culture from the position of Jewish identity.[41] The scholarship of recovery has been invaluable. However, in

their implicit construction of a progressive narrative of Anglo-Jewish self-realisation, in which women played a starring role, such studies replicate the nineteenth-century mythology of the redemptive Jewess, which this book aims to deconstruct. Moreover, by regarding Jewish women writers as necessarily oppositional or subcultural, they have obscured the important ways in which the categories of Jewish and Christian in Victorian culture often overlapped to the point of collapse. What is fascinating about Grace Aguilar's writing, for example, is not that it asserts a sharp distinction between Judaism and Christianity. On the contrary, Aguilar's claims for the fundamental bibliocentricity of Judaism constitute a Jewish imitation of an Evangelical form of imitation of Judaism. Her writing takes part in the discursive identification between Judaism and Protestantism that was distinctive of this period. The meanings ascribed to Jewishness in literary texts were diverse, elusive, contradictory and, most of all, deeply imbricated with Christianity.

In this study, therefore, I consider not only the ways that Jewish writers voiced critiques of contemporary Christian or gentile culture but also the important ways in which their critiques were inflected by the very language, forms and assumptions of that culture, and often in strategic collusion with it. In these terms, Evangelical discourse, for example, was not only repressive but productive for Jewish writers, furnishing the rhetoric and literary legitimacy that enabled a writer like Grace Aguilar to produce arguments for Jewish political emancipation. Similarly, appropriating the traditional theological critique of Judaism but updating it with the late nineteenth-century rhetoric of 'race' was, for Amy Levy, for example, a way to proclaim her allegiance to liberal feminism. Insofar as such political positions were always already linked to particular accounts of national identity, Jewish writing was, like its gentile counterparts, competing for authority among contending discourses of the nation.

This book is structured both chronologically and thematically. Chapters 2 and 3 set out the two formative narrative paradigms that underlie nineteenth-century texts about the Jewess. Chapter 2 examines the figure of the Jewess in stories of religious tolerance and political change. I begin with the century's most influential novel about a Jewess, Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), which I read alongside two Victorian texts that draw on it as a model. The chapter considers Scott's novel as an Enlightenment historical narrative that seeks to explain the inauguration of the English nation in the Middle Ages as a rational rejection of superstitious hostility to racial and religious difference. Scott's argument for tolerance is focused

through his representation of the beautiful and heroic Jewess Rebecca, who reveals and decries medieval antisemitic persecution. Yet Rebecca also remains the obstacle to Jewish integration in the new nation, refusing the offer of conversion and modernisation held out to her and therefore having no place in a future united but Christian England. Her loyalty to her ancient people is an object of both repudiation and nostalgia; her exile is both necessary and Romantically heroic. At the novel's conclusion, however, Rebecca's memory is not quite repressed, just as the text itself is not quite able to sustain its conviction in the benefits of modernity. I then consider later literary echoes of this contradictory structure of inclusion and exclusion, specifically in the English staging of Augustin Daly's melodrama *Leah, The Forsaken* (1862) and Anthony Trollope's novella *Nina Balatka* (1867). Both, like *Ivanhoe*, depend for their liberal message on the figure of the desirable but self-sacrificial Jewess. In each text, moreover, the unresolved romance plot centring on the hero and the Jewess is displaced onto the sisterly love between the Jewess and a Christian woman, which becomes an alternative symbol of the potential of liberal universalism. This chapter suggests how for Scott, Daly and Trollope the Jewess functioned to define and limit their ideals of religious tolerance and historical progress.

In chapter 3, I discuss the second key source for Victorian narratives of the Jewess: the prolific literature of conversion produced by Evangelical writers between the 1820s and 1840s. In these texts, the theological problems raised by the Jews are resolved, rather than exacerbated, by the figure of the Jewish woman who is desirous of conversion to Christianity. The Jewess attracted particular attention from millennialist Evangelicals seeking the conversion of the Jews as a national endeavour that would promote the Second Coming of Christ. By the 1840s this was one of the most popular charitable causes among middle-class British women, resulting in unprecedented literary productivity by women for women readers, including novels, periodicals and tracts. Reading itself, in these texts, is characteristically the route to revelation. According to the Evangelical ideology of gender, women had a greater capacity to emulate the sacrifice of Christ, and Evangelical women's writing thus focused with intense identification on the story of the suffering of the Jewish proselyte at the hands of 'the Jews'. This chapter examines texts by evangelical writers, in particular Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, Annie Webb, Elizabeth Rigby, Amelia Bristow and Mme Brendlah in the genres of autobiography, historical and romance fiction. In contrast to liberal arguments for the reasoned tolerance of Jews to be instituted by the state, Evangelical writing emphasised the affective affinities between Jewish and

Christian women. Analysis of this body of writing suggests that, particularly during the 1830s and 1840s, efforts to convert Jewish women constituted an important discursive terrain on which Evangelical women asserted their place within English national destiny.

Chapter 4 also focuses on women writers and female literary genres. It looks at the profound impact of conversion fiction on the earliest Anglo-Jewish writers, Grace Aguilar and Celia and Marion Moss, in the 1830s and 40s. Built around the stories of Jewish historical heroines, their work seeks both to refute Evangelical claims to spiritual superiority and to emulate the Evangelical exaltation of femininity. Published against the background of the political debates about Jewish emancipation, these writings articulate a demand for Jewish equality in the form and language of popular women's fiction. For Grace Aguilar, domestic fiction provided the moral language and narrative framework into which Jews could be inserted. Her vision of the Jewish woman as a pious, Bible-reading martyr could speak powerfully to Protestant women readers. Her writing was itself seen as evidence of the Jews' increasing refinement and acculturation. In contrast, the Moss sisters engaged with the political debate by invoking a Jewish history of persecution and linking the demand for contemporary Jewish civil rights with the recent campaign to abolish slavery, which they saw as epitomising the British political tradition of liberty. Like Aguilar, their writing was a way to lay claim to an identity as English that was compatible with Jewish rights.

In chapter 5, I examine the representation of the Jewess in the fiction of the 1870s, when perceptions of the Jews were dominated by criticism of Jewish commerce and cosmopolitanism. Matthew Arnold's influential diagnosis of English life as limited by a 'Hebraic' spirit of commercial individualism rather than the expansive universalism of 'culture' or Hellenism is reflected and contested in novels of the period, where these terms were given expression in gendered representations. In Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875), for example, the Jewish man of commerce is seen in opposition to his long-suffering, imaginative daughter. If the reader was both subject and addressee of Evangelical texts, the creative artist was a central, self-reflexive theme in these later novels. For George Eliot and the Anglo-Jewish writer Emily Marion Harris, it was the figure of the Jewish woman artist, torn between fidelity to Jewish tradition and the attractions of secular culture, who could most poignantly embody the dilemmas of female professional vocation. Eliot and Harris configure three different relationships between Jews, commerce and art through stories of a Jewish woman

actress or painter. *Daniel Deronda* (1876) presents two Jewish women, the apostate Alcharisi and the persecuted but dutiful Mirah Lapidoth. For Eliot, the cosmopolitan Alcharisi's devotion to art over racial inheritance exemplifies the false universalism of Jewish emancipation, while Mirah's capacity to emblematise the historic suffering of the Jews inspires the nationalist idealism that animates the novel's plot. By arguing for an aesthetic tradition within Judaism itself, by contrast, Emily Marion Harris seeks to distance Jews from associations with commerce through the figure of the Jewish woman artist.

The final chapter considers the critique of Judaism in novels by women writers of the 1880s and 90s. In this period, when the immigration of east European Jews to Britain's metropolitan centres reinvigorated scepticism about Jewish integration, Jews were increasingly defined in the language of racial theory, in which they appeared as archaic 'throwbacks' or regressive 'degenerates'. The vocabulary of race, moreover, was widely deployed by feminist thinkers and writers, both liberal and conservative. The representation of the Jewess in this period thus emerges from *fin-de-siècle* discussions about heredity, sexuality, national progress and decline. Focusing on the work of the Jewish writers Amy Levy and Julia Frankau, this chapter looks at how literary accounts of middle-class Jewish life were influenced by contemporary debates about marriage and sexuality, which frequently drew on ethnological terms of reference. Jews, in these novels, stand as the exemplars of an outdated, 'oriental' patriarchy, while women figure as a potential, though thwarted, modernising force for racial redemption. Such narratives can be seen as secularised versions of the early Victorian conversion genre. The contradictions they exhibit between a desire for social progress and a belief in the inexorability of racial degeneration, moreover, suggest both the logical trajectory and the limits of the liberal ideology that underpinned the apparent emancipation of Anglo-Jewry, and many of the texts considered earlier in this study.

The story of the Jewish woman proved both remarkably durable and infinitely malleable across the nineteenth century. By the *fin de siècle*, however, the Jewess was increasingly interchangeable with the Christian woman in narratives depicting the victimisation of womankind by a cruel and archaic Jewish patriarchy. Late nineteenth-century novels registered the impact of European medical and cultural discourses about Jewish degeneracy – exemplified by Max Nordau's *Degeneration* (translated in 1895) and, later, Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character* (translated in 1906) – and the increasingly dominant image of Jews as a powerful political presence and

invasive cultural force. In such a climate, the figure of the suffering Jewess was becoming outdated. As I consider in the conclusion, the conjunction of Judaism and femininity had something of an afterlife in modernist writing. But after a century of intense literary engagement with the notion of the Jews and Judaism, the Jewess herself all but disappeared from the pages of the British novel.

2

Repellent beauty: the liberal nation and the Jewess

'The blind despiser of his fellow-creature for difference of rank and race, of clime and creed, knows he what he does? All are men, and, which the chosen, must be left to the decision of a more comprehensive judgment than was ever yet granted to Jew or Gentile.'[1] The concluding words of *Character; or, Jew and Gentile: a Tale* (1833) by the radical Unitarian feminist Mary Leman Grimstone affirm a universalist message of social equality and religious toleration. For Grimstone, this goal can be advanced by the cultivation of reason, sympathy and social feeling in 'our domestic and public institutions' and especially by improving education for the mothers of the nation.[2] Like many other nineteenth-century literary demands for tolerance, however, *Character* relies not only on rational argument but also on affect. The author makes her case through Esther Mezrack, beautiful granddaughter of an open-minded but nonetheless 'despised' Jewish moneylender, who expresses in her 'stately but unaffected mournfulness' her grandfather's unmerited and unspoken suffering.[3] Yet the emotional Esther ultimately shatters the progressive narrative structure and carefully orchestrated conclusion of Grimstone's novel. In the final pages, on discovering that her gentile lover has betrayed her, she kills him and herself in a jealous frenzy.

Persecuted and yet noble, magnanimous and yet loyal to her ancestral faith, the literary figure of the Jewess presented an undeniably affecting case for religious tolerance. She was a symbol for the Jews' potential for virtue, which could be released and harnessed by the modern state if only it and its citizens were freed from outdated prejudice. From the early nineteenth century through to the mid-Victorian period, liberal writers turned to the example of the Jews and the emblem of the Jewess to move readers to acknowledge the moral imperative and universal benefits of the enlightened secular state. Yet advocates of tolerance, this chapter will argue, remained ambivalent about the religious difference and cultural heritage of Jews. Indeed, the ambivalent response to Jews that characterised

nineteenth-century culture, and that we will see manifested in different ways in the following chapters, was central to liberal thinking about the inclusions and exclusions of the national community.

Thus if Jews, in Grimstone's tale, remind the reader of the universal values of Enlightenment, the carnal Jewess, tantalisingly desirable and fatally desirous, stands for the peril of uncontrolled passion. Not easily reducible to the labels antisemitic or philosemitic, the text tells two different stories at once. Shadowing the civilised, benevolent male Jew and the educated, civic-minded mother, the Jewess represents the potential of both for unreason. In this chapter, I discuss the challenge posed by the Jews to political and philosophical notions of toleration, and the ways that nineteenth-century writers contended with this same challenge in historical fiction. The instability exhibited so starkly in Grimstone's novel was replicated in many others, their structure similarly bifurcated along the axis of gender. Repeatedly in these texts, the reasoned argument against 'prejudice' is bolstered by the figure of the Jewess. The Jewess, however, both embodied the liberal case with her pathos and undermined it with her passion. Resolutely exotic, she disordered the dialectical structure, formal symmetries and thematic compromises of the historical romance genre. Emerging in the period of national expansion and preoccupied with the shape of national destiny, these texts, I will argue, explore the limits of narrative inclusion as a way to grapple with the question of national inclusion. Issuing sometimes from erotic desire, sometimes from religious fervour, the excesses of the Jewess, therefore, as well as the follies of anti-Jewish prejudice, serve to define these novels' parameters of liberality. In this way, the figure of the Jewess exposes the faultlines of nineteenth-century conceptions of tolerance and historical progress.

REASON AND SYMPATHY: THINKING AMBIVALENTLY ABOUT THE JEWS

The role of the figurative 'Jew' in the consolidation of British national identity during the Romantic era is itself contested in recent critical work. Sheila Spector regards the period as inheriting its progressive principles from the Enlightenment and heralding the 'amalgamation' of Jewish and British cultures that characterised the expanding imperial nation.[4] Carol Margaret Davison, in contrast, turns her focus towards Gothic texts and their revival of 'medieval', monstrous, antisemitic stereotypes to read Romanticism as the irrational Other of the Enlightenment.[5] For Davison, the age of reason remained haunted by pre-Enlightenment ideas and belief systems, and 'the Wandering Jew in British Gothic fiction functions as a

compelling agent of the uncanny upon whom are projected ambivalent feelings about modernity and the modernization process'.[6] But it was not only Gothic literature that set Judaism and historical progress in tension with each other. In much Enlightenment thought itself, Adam Sutcliffe has argued, 'the vital conceptual space of that which is most deeply antithetical to reason – Enlightenment's defining "Other" – was occupied above all by the Jew. Rational inquiry opposed Jewish legalism; belief in progress opposed Jewish traditionalism'.[7] The symbolic correlative in nineteenth-century fiction, this chapter will suggest, was the religious and sexual passion of the Jewess, which disrupted literary narratives of tolerance and thus also functioned to define their terms of reference. While Jews were represented as the best possible objects of progressive universalism, they were also seen as anti-citizens, constantly refusing or compromising their right to inclusion.

These contradictory claims framed efforts to incorporate the Jews into European nation-states in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moves towards Jewish emancipation were grounded in the Enlightenment principle of striving to eliminate superstitious intolerance as it was inscribed in traditional discriminatory laws against Jews. Historians of European Jewry, however, have noted that the process of Jewish emancipation operated as a 'contract' that assumed the erasure of Jewish particularity as the price of political and social integration. In the German states in the early nineteenth century, for example, Liberal politicians who supported Jewish emancipation conceived it 'as a long-term process of remoulding Jewry with a view to bringing about their assimilation to the society and culture of the Christian-German majority of the population'.[8] The underlying assumption in German liberal policy was that 'Jews could only be granted legal equality as part of a gradual process, and that their "civil improvement" was a prerequisite for, rather than a consequence of, legal equality'.[9] In Britain, similarly, Jews were seen by the Whig politician Thomas Babington Macaulay as ideal objects of Anglicisation – the policy that aimed to turn both domestic and colonial religious Others into loyal citizens by absorbing them into the secular pluralistic fabric of the nation.[10] Emancipationist logic, then, both privileged the Jews as potential modern citizens and considered them profoundly uncivilised as Jews.

More subtly structured around the same intractable problem, William Hazlitt's essay 'Emancipation of the Jews', published in 1831 at the inception of the campaign to admit professing Jews to the British Parliament, nonetheless became celebrated as a moving defence of Jewish liberties. Hazlitt, a radical and dissenter, regarded religious freedom, and more

specifically the emancipation of the Jews, as 'a natural step in the progress of civilisation'.[11] He insisted that the deficiencies of the Jews were produced by the 'intolerance' of their persecutors, whose unjust laws continued to render Jews political and social outcasts:

> We throw in the teeth of the Jews that they are prone to certain sordid vices. If they are vicious it is we who have made them so. Shut out any class of people from the path to fair fame, and you reduce them to grovel in the pursuit of riches and the means to live. A man has long been in dread of insult for no just cause, and you complain that he grows reserved and suspicious. You treat him with obloquy and contempt, and wonder that he does not walk by you with an erect and open brow . . . You tear people up by the roots and trample on them like noxious weeds, and then make an outcry that they do not take root in the soil like wholesome plants. You drive them like a pest from city to city, from kingdom to kingdom, and then call them vagabonds and aliens.[12]

Appealing to both logic and sentiment, Hazlitt attempts to inspire sympathy for the Jews by insisting on their common humanity; they are 'like any class of people'. Meanwhile, his discussion turns on an optimistic definition of the enlightened English character, which is capable of discarding the vestiges of 'prejudice' that currently obscure its brightness: 'it is the test of reason and refinement to be able to subsist without bugbears'. Yet for Hazlitt the mirror image of English intolerance is Jewish particularism itself; in an aside he remarks: 'That the Jews, as a people, persist in their blindness and obstinacy is to be lamented.'[13] As Judith Page has argued, the ideal of the sympathetic imagination, which underpinned much of Romantic ethics and aesthetics, was put under especial strain by the case of the Jews.[14] Indeed, while Hazlitt deplores 'prejudice' and demands 'respect' for the Jews and an imaginative grasp of their plight, he still hopes that they will transcend their unbelief. The 'blindness' of the Jews is implicitly contrasted with the 'diffusion of light and knowledge' that will make possible their toleration.[15] The Jews remain outside the civilised progress enabled by 'reason' even as Jewish emancipation demonstrates the capacity of the English to embrace it. The irrationality of Jewish belief, in other words, was constitutive of Hazlitt's definition of the progressive English nation.

The tyranny of reason in Enlightenment thought, the 'imperfect sympathy', in Page's phrase, of the Romantics, and the fiction of the national community, then, lie behind ambivalent representations of Jews in early nineteenth-century writing. These themes were replicated in the liberal culture of the mid-Victorian period. By the 1860s and 70s, as we will see in chapters 5 and 6, race had replaced religious difference as the discursive

marker of Jewish otherness, but just as readily provided the conceptual antithesis to the principle of rational order. As Bryan Cheyette has argued, liberal writers of this period projected on to parvenu Jews their unease with the erasure of a fixed notion of Englishness – most signally indicated by the abolition of the Christian oath on entering Parliament and the enlargement of the franchise – and attempted in their fiction to contain or transform a racialised Jewishness.[16] Judaism was once again found to be inimical to liberal values. The Liberal historian Goldwin Smith and the novelist Anthony Trollope, for example, both articulated a commitment to the idea of Jewish civil rights while maintaining an hostility to Jewish racial particularity. In *Literature and Dogma* (1873), Matthew Arnold clarified the terms of mid-Victorian liberal disdain for the racial and cultural nature of the Jews:

> In spite of all which in them and in their character is unattractive, nay, repellent, – in spite of their shortcomings even in righteousness itself and their insignificance in everything else, – this petty, unsuccessful, unamiable people, without politics, without science, without art, without charm, deserve their great place in the world's regard, and are likely to have it more, as the world goes on, rather than less.[17]

In Arnold's formulation, yet again, the Jews are regarded as the necessary and rightful beneficiaries of tolerance and progress but also, 'repell[ing]' others, as entirely lacking in civilising virtues themselves.

The other side of Arnold's characterisation of the Jews as uniquely incapable of cultural contribution, is expressed in George Eliot's well-known letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe, in which she explains her motive for writing *Daniel Deronda* (1876). Here Eliot is inspired to a jeremiad on 'national disgrace' reminiscent of Hazlitt:

> not only towards the Jews, but towards all oriental peoples with whom we English come in contact, a spirit of arrogance and contemptuous dictatorialness is observable which has become a national disgrace to us. There is nothing I should care more to do, if it were possible, than to rouse the imagination of men and women to a vision of human claims in those races of their fellow-men who most differ from them in customs and beliefs. But towards the Hebrews we western people who have been reared in Christianity, have a peculiar debt and, whether we acknowledge it or not, a peculiar thoroughness of fellowship in religious and moral sentiment.[18]

Eliot's invocation of the 'human claims' of other races looks back to Enlightenment universalism, accessed through the sympathetic imagination. But in her construction of the Jews as meriting respect because of their 'peculiar' role in Christian civilisation, she implicitly connects contemporary

Jews to their racial and religious heritage as biblical 'Hebrews', leading her to appeal in this argument to the notion of Jewish exceptionalism rather than equality. Eliot's insistence on the injustice of all religious prejudice, like Arnold's, thus strains against her conception of the Jews as standing outside the generality of 'human claims'. Both writers reveal the deep contradictions that continued to beset attempts to imagine the relationship between the Jews and liberal culture.[19]

The patterns of inclusion and exclusion that structured liberal thinking about the Jews in nineteenth-century culture were, this chapter will argue, symbolically inscribed in the literary figure of the Jewess. I begin with one of the century's most influential myths of national history, Walter Scott's novel *Ivanhoe* (1819), in which the beauty and suffering of the Jewess make the most eloquent of the text's many arguments against religious and racial intolerance. Insofar as her own devotion to religion and ancestry are necessarily irrational and uncompromising, however, the Jewess marks the boundaries of inclusion for the novel's imagined liberal nation. I then consider *Ivanhoe*'s literary legacy in two later nineteenth-century fictions. Augustin Daly's melodrama *Leah, the Forsaken* (staged in London in 1863–4) is a translation of an Austrian pro-Emancipation play and, like *Ivanhoe*, represents attitudes to the Jews (and in particular to the Jewess) as a measure of national civility. As an ideal object of liberal tolerance, and also its demonised Other, the Jewess dramatises the contradictions of Jewish emancipation. Anthony Trollope's novella *Nina Balatka* (1867), like the other texts, is a chronicle of progress from religious bigotry to modern enlightenment. However, here Trollope uses the figure of the Jewess to interrogate rational modes of religious toleration. Bringing together these texts from across the century makes visible the persistent problem for the modern nation posed by the Jews and embodied in the complex figure of the Jewish woman. In each of these fictions, the plea for tolerance is articulated by way of the beautiful suffering Jewess, but the narratives are ultimately unable to incorporate her.

'UNYIELDING OBSTINACY': HEROISM, HISTORICAL PROGRESS AND THE JEWS IN *IVANHOE*

Rebecca of York, the heroine of Sir Walter Scott's enormously successful historical novel *Ivanhoe: A Romance*, was nineteenth-century Britain's most celebrated Jewess. From the time of the novel's publication, readers and especially dramatists regarded Rebecca as its major source of interest. In fourteen of the twenty-nine dramatic and operatic versions produced in

the sixty years after *Ivanhoe* was first published, the novel's focus on Wilfred of Ivanhoe, the disinherited knight struggling to reconcile his Saxon heritage with the Norman conquest in the cultural and political chaos of twelfth-century England, was replaced by a spotlight on his undeclared lover, the tragic Jewess Rebecca.[20] The hyperbolic praise of the reviewer for *Blackwood's* was typical:

> The true interest of this romance . . . is placed in the still, devoted, sad and unrequited tenderness of a Jewish damsel – by far the most romantic creation of female character the author has ever formed – and second we suspect, to no creature of female character whatever that is to be found in the whole annals either of poetry or of romance.[21]

Rebecca, here, is seen not only as an idealised Jew, but also as an idealised literary model of femininity. While she risks her life to save the wounded Ivanhoe, fearlessly condemns the violence of chivalric culture, and refuses to surrender her honour or her religion even under threat of death, the ultimate sign of her feminine heroism, the reviewer implies, is her renunciation of her love for Ivanhoe – an act of devotional self-sacrifice freeing the hero to make the strategic marriage that will enable English history to take its proper course. In the 1830 'Author's Introduction' to the novel, Scott described the Jewess's sad story as representing the unrewarded 'duties of self-denial, and the sacrifice of passion to principle'.[22] Yet the 'principle' for which Rebecca sacrifices Ivanhoe is ambiguous: she exhibits devotion not only to *his* greater destiny but also to the Jewish religion that prevents *her* participation in Christian social life. The philosophical and political problem that this poses for the novel remains unresolved at its close. The figure of Rebecca, whose splendid tenacity exceeds both narrative ordering and 'the whole annals either of poetry or of romance', I will argue, is not only the novel's key sentimental focus but also central to its historiographical and ideological plot.

In locating the text's defining moral values of tolerance and 'tenderness' in a Jewish figure, Scott continued the late eighteenth-century innovation in Judaic representation that aimed, as a character in a 1795 drama put it, 'to do away with old prejudices; and to rescue certain characters from the illiberal odium with which custom has marked them. Thus we have a generous Israelite, an amiable Cynick, and so on.'[23] The stage successes of Richard Cumberland's comedy *The Jew* (1793), to which this comment refers, and Thomas Dibdin's farce *The Jew and the Doctor* (1798), as well as Maria Edgeworth's novel *Harrington* (1817), rewrote the stock figure of the Jewish moneylender as a kindly philanthropist, thereby emphasising the beneficent

aspect of commerce as well as the redundancy of 'old prejudices'.[24] The potential of the 'Jew' to be read as object of sympathy and Romantic hero, meanwhile, had recently been revealed by Edmund Kean's celebrated interpretation of Shakespeare's Shylock in 1814.[25] 'In proportion as Shylock has ceased to be a popular bugbear, "baited with the rabble's curse", he becomes a half-favourite with the philosophical part of the audience', wrote William Hazlitt, for whom Kean's Jew, played with a proud dignity, was a sign of the enlightened times.[26]

In this tradition, *Ivanhoe* has been similarly read by Michael Ragussis as a liberal text that recognises the 'historical guilt' of the persecution of the Jews by linking it with the dispossession of the Saxons under Norman rule at the heart of English history.[27] Certainly, the notion of history as impelled by racial conflict crucially informed Scott's analysis of the national past, as it did for so many of his predecessors and contemporaries.[28] But it is the politics of gender as much as race that facilitates his philosemitic message in *Ivanhoe*. The novel draws on the tropes of femininity as a way to modify the 'illiberal odium' shaping conventional representations of the Jew: it is because of her gender that Rebecca escapes the 'excess of subservience' that characterises Isaac of York, her moneylender father. She, on the other hand, uninvolved in the sordid life of financial transaction,

> was a stranger to the meanness of mind and to the constant state of timid apprehension by which it was dictated, but she bore herself with a proud humility, as if submitting to the evil circumstances in which she was placed as the daughter of a despised race, while she felt in her mind the consciousness that she was entitled to hold a higher rank from her merit than the arbitrary despotism of religious prejudice permitted her to aspire to.[29]

Rebecca's desirable beauty and refined sensibility symbolically anticipate the supersession of both 'arbitrary . . . prejudice' and its resulting 'meanness of mind' by universal tolerance under the new dispensation of Richard I at the end of the novel. In *Ivanhoe*, moreover, the critique of pre-modern prejudice is harnessed for a specifically national and contemporary ideological agenda.

Ivanhoe immediately followed Scott's Waverley novels (1814–19), which narrativise the transformation of Scottish society between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries into a modern nation. In this story, the 1707 Union with England is seen as the necessary basis for economic development and modernisation. Scott regarded the novel form as a means to bolster political union by fostering understanding between antagonistic cultures: of *Waverley*, he wrote,

I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland – something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their foibles.[30]

The theme of beneficial and progressive political reconciliation that motivates these novels also informs *Ivanhoe*. Here, Scott creates an originary national myth for England in the dialectic of Norman-Saxon conflict in the Middle Ages. The novel ends with the consensual union of Saxons with their Norman conquerors under the rule of the benevolent monarch Richard I, who returns from the crusades to extirpate the corrupt Knights Templar and warring barons who have fissured his kingdom and usurped his authority. The political union is emblematised in the strategic marriage at the conclusion of the novel between the Saxon princess Rowena and the Normanised knight Wilfred of Ivanhoe, who, like his master Richard, is thereby restored to his ancestral inheritance. This familiar romance plot of re-established legitimacy had obvious political relevance in the years following 1814.[31] Indeed, the England of *Ivanhoe*, riven by the enmity between Saxon peasantry and Norman nobility, and roamed by vagrant soldiers returning from the crusades, bears much resemblance to England in the post-Napoleonic war period – a time of Regency rule, recession and rioting. If England of 1819 was in dire need of a unifying national myth and a vision of restored political authority, *Ivanhoe* provided it. Instead of perpetuating a divided nation, embittered by conquest and loss, the 'undisputed dominion of Richard' legitimates Norman rule, but unites Norman and Saxon races in the progressive, tolerant 'English' nation (512).

The story of the Jews is embedded in this political narrative. Before the return of Richard, they were 'a race which, during those dark ages, was alike detested by the credulous and prejudiced vulgar, and persecuted by the greedy and rapacious nobility', but the creation of the English nation is crucially marked by the extension of protection to Isaac and Rebecca (50). Yet *Ivanhoe*'s depiction of 'the arbitrary despotism of religious prejudice' that afflicts the Jews of York, far from being clearly condemnatory, is equivocal. In contrast to his feeling for his countrymen in the Waverley novels, there are limits to Scott's desire 'to procure sympathy' for the Jews. Writing in 1817 to the novelist Joanna Baillie of *Harrington*, in which the Jewish heroine is finally revealed to be a Christian, Scott commented:

I think Miss Edgeworth's last work delightful, though Jews will always to me be Jews. One does not naturally or easily combine with their habits and pursuits

any great liberality of principle although certainly it may and I believe does exist in many individual instances. They are money-makers and money-brokers by profession and it is a trade which narrows the mind. I own I breathed more freely when I found Miss Montenero was not an actual Jewess.[32]

The 'narrowmindedness' that conventionally described Jewish resistance to Christianity is here attributed not to their theological but their secular 'profession' of commerce. Scott's highminded pronouncement against moneymaking reflects his embarrassment about the ungentlemanly source of his own vast income in the book trade.[33] But it also follows the tradition, rendered only slightly more genteel here, of Voltaire, whose description of the Jews in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* cast them as 'an ignorant and barbarous people, who have long united the most sordid avarice with the most detestable superstition and the most invincible hatred for every people by whom they are tolerated and enriched'.[34] For Voltaire, who in this formulation secularises Christian anti-Judaism, Jews may be tolerated but they remain intolerant.[35]

Scott's response to the contemporary Jews represented in *Harrington* is replicated in *Ivanhoe*'s depiction of mediaeval England. In contrast to the celebration of commerce signalled in Cumberland's benevolent Sheva, the moneylending occupation of *Ivanhoe*'s Jews is shown to be inevitably corrupting.[36] The Jews of mediaeval England actively 'dare the various evils to which they were subjected' for the large profits at stake, colluding with rather than resisting the injustice of persecution (69). The 'unprincipled violence' unleashed upon them by the barons whose factions they finance mirrors the force of commercial desire (75):

> The obstinacy and avarice of the Jews being thus in a measure placed in opposition to the fanaticism and tyranny of those under whom they lived, seemed to increase in proportion to the persecution with which they were visited; and the immense wealth they usually acquired in commerce, while it frequently placed them in danger, was at other times used to extend their influence, and to secure to them a certain degree of protection. On these terms they lived (70).

The civil disorder that destabilises the world of the novel is here diagnosed as sustained by the unholy compact between Jewish 'avarice' and Norman 'tyranny' that is usury. Therefore, when the moneylender Isaac shows his terror of the Norman baron Front-de-Boeuf, Ivanhoe 'viewed the extremity of [Isaac's] distress with a compassion in which contempt was largely mingled' (65). 'We are like the herb which flourisheth most when it is most trampled on', Rebecca sardonically reminds her father when he laments Jewish powerlessness (117). She herself scornfully displays the pariah mark

of the Jew with pride: 'her turban of yellow silk suited well with the darkness of her complexion', linking her erotic appeal with the culture of persecution (83).

If the tension between compassion and contempt that Ivanhoe – and by extension the novel – maintains towards Isaac is typical of Romantic and liberal responses to Jewish difference, it is also characteristic of Scott's political uncertainty more generally. As critics often point out, *Ivanhoe*, in common with the Waverley novels, is 'profoundly ambivalent about the relation of aristocratic and middle-class cultures, about the relations of different classes, about the past it criticizes and celebrates, and about the plot of progress it attempts to embody'.[37] The novel both endorses, for example, the necessary demise of Saxon political and cultural autonomy and also mourns with the Saxon Cedric that 'our bards are no more . . . our deeds are lost in those of another race; our language – our very name – is hastening to decay' (53). Similarly, Scott's critique of the excesses of Norman court culture is accompanied by a descriptive indulgence in the aesthetic spectacle of chivalry, such that *Ivanhoe* became the influential inspiration for the pervasive mediaeval nostalgia of the Victorian period. The political philosophy of Cobbett, Carlyle and Kenelm Digby turned to Scott not for an affirmation of modernity and progress but, on the contrary, for his evocation of the lost age of chivalry and the organic community of mediaeval society as a counter-model to the contemporary epoch of industrialisation, capitalism and democracy.[38]

Influential Victorian interpretations of *Ivanhoe* notwithstanding, Scott's novel also needs to be read in terms of the intellectual context in which it was written. Its account of the mediaeval past is shaped not only by the political needs of late-Regency England, but also by ideas about historical progress drawn from Scottish Enlightenment 'philosophical' historiography. Rejecting the eighteenth-century argument that liberty had a pure, ancient, Saxon (and therefore 'English') origin, 'philosophical' historians regarded civilisation as progressing by 'stages'.[39] This tenet is implicitly acknowledged in the 'Dedicatory Epistle' framing the narrative of *Ivanhoe*, where the antiquarian 'narrator' Templeton compares his tale of Old England to Scott's accounts of early eighteenth-century Scotland, which then was similarly 'under a state of government nearly as simple and as patriarchal as those of our good allies the Mohawks and Iroquois' (522). Scott's conceit of the scholarly narrator presents the purpose of historical fiction as not the unmediated and nostalgic evocation of a golden age, but the analytic documentation of earlier, less sophisticated systems of social and political organisation.

Indeed, Scott's fiction shares its philosophy of history with the work of Sharon Turner, whose influence in reviving interest in the Anglo-Saxons is acknowledged in the 'Dedicatory Epistle' (525), and whose *History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1799–1805) was the most significant single source for *Ivanhoe*. Turner's description of the origin of the Anglo-Saxon church, for example, maintained that:

> [n]ew agencies occurred afterwards to rear this infant to a noble youth. Better views of religion have since united with expanded science and progressive reason to conduct the national character and mind to a still superior manhood. Each preceding stage was necessary to the formation of the subsequent. Each has produced its appropriate utilities, and each has passed away from our estimation as soon as higher degrees of improvement were attained, and better systems became visible.[40]

In these terms, the novel regards twelfth-century Saxons not simply as the subjugated victims of the 'Norman yoke',[41] but as an earlier, cruder stage in the progressive development of the national character that must necessarily pass away. Thus Cedric, the radical Saxon separatist who worships the lost language and culture of his forebears, is more ridiculous than tragic. He disinherits his worthy son Wilfred for associating too much with Normans, while he maintains a blinkered devotion to the 'slow, irresolute, procrastinating, and unenterprising' Athelstane merely on account of Athelstane's Saxon royal descent (198). His efforts to resist the march of time, deliberately preserving in his house 'the rude simplicity of the Saxon period' are seen as futile rather than heroic (31). It is in this context that the position of the Jews in *Ivanhoe* can be more clearly pinpointed. The re-establishment of royal authority at the end of the novel effects the modernisation and incorporation of the Saxons into 'England': 'as the two nations mixed in society and formed intermarriages with each other, the Normans abated their scorn, and the Saxons were refined from their rusticity' (515). By the same token, the new nation offers compromise and modernity to the Jews with an end to usury and conversion to Christianity. Jews, then, like Saxons, are not seen as objects of 'historical guilt' as much as a minority group whose archaic practices and 'obstinate' cultural distinctiveness must cede to the progressive inclusiveness of Christian England.

As much as it resists an easy sentimentalisation of rustic Saxon wholesomeness, meanwhile, *Ivanhoe* is also intent on debunking rather than celebrating Norman courtly culture. In his 'Essay on Chivalry', published just prior to *Ivanhoe* in the 1818 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Scott described the knightly code as extravagant, licentious, superstitious and bloodthirsty, although 'from the wild and overstrained courtesies of Chivalry have been

derived our present system of manners'.[42] At one point, the narrator of *Ivanhoe* interrupts a catalogue of the impressive intricacies of heraldic display with a chilling prolepsis:

> It is unnecessary to be particular on these subjects . . . Their escutcheons have long mouldered from the walls of their castles. Their castles themselves are but green mounds and shattered ruins: the place that once knew them, knows them no more – nay, many a race since theirs has died out and been forgotten in the very land which they occupied with all the authority of feudal proprietors and feudal lords. What, then, would it avail the reader to know their names, or the evanescent symbols of their martial rank? (92).

In counterpoint to its elegiac tone, this passage points to the vanity of the Norman cult of personal glory, and its inevitable obsolescence along with 'many a race since theirs'. In other ways, the novel underlines a critique of chivalry rather than mourning its extinction. The spectacle of bravery and beauty in the tournament scene at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, so beloved by Victorian readers, is undercut by its other, darker parallels in the narrative: its glamorous militarism is the precursor to the bloodthirsty and purposeless battle for Torquilstone and its ostentatious orchestration is echoed at the show-trial of Rebecca for witchcraft by the Templars. The elaborate rhetoric of courtly love, moreover, coexists with the 'disgraceful license by which that age was stained' (243). The formalities of the chivalric code governing sexual and social behaviour, Scott insists, are the expression of a culture of conquest and aristocratic 'tyranny', which adds a deceptive veneer of refinement to pre-modern savagery (8).

Significantly, it is the Jewess Rebecca who most forcefully articulates the critique of mediaeval chivalry in the novel. As Ivanhoe lies wounded in the besieged castle of Torquilstone, his life saved by the medicinal skills of Rebecca, she reasons with him against his wish to risk all once again in a battle that she regards as barbaric. 'Rebecca,' he argues, 'thou knowest not how impossible it is for one trained to actions of chivalry to remain passive as a priest, or a woman, when they are acting deeds of honour around him' (317). But she condemns the desire for violence as a heathen 'offering of sacrifice to a demon of vain glory, and a passing through the fire to Moloch' (317). He clings to the knightly code as a fundamental ordering principle – 'the pure light of chivalry, which alone distinguishes the noble from the base' and that as a Jewess she cannot understand – but she questions whether there is 'such virtue in the rude rhymes of a wandering bard, that domestic love, kindly affection, peace and happiness, are so wildly bartered, to become the hero of those ballads which vagabond minstrels sing to drunken churls over

their evening ale?' (318). Glory, declares Rebecca, echoing the scepticism of Scott's narrator towards chivalry's aestheticisation of warfare, 'is the rusted nail which hangs as a hatchment over the champion's dim and mouldering tomb' (317–18). Scott represents her advocacy of the feminine virtues of 'domestic love, kindly affection, peace and happiness' against the idealisation of military combat also as the argument of a post-exilic Jew, conscious of 'the degradation of her people', though proud that they 'warred not, even while yet a nation, save at the command of the Deity' (318–19). The Jews, she tells Ivanhoe, 'can cure wounds, though we deal not in inflicting them' (301).

Rebecca's position in this quasi-religious disputation – on the side of national and domestic peace rather than pagan personal glory – makes her the novel's key exemplar of its core values of enlightened universalism, racial reconciliation and religious tolerance.[43] After the Ashby tournament in which Ivanhoe is injured, she argues with her father's 'prejudices and scrupulous timidity' against the audacity of tending to a Christian knight, insisting that theological differences must be ignored if life is at stake, for then 'the Gentile becometh the Jew's brother' (293). Realising that Ivanhoe will regard her 'as one of a race of reprobation' she nonetheless continues to devote herself to his convalescence (300). Instead of a monetary reward for restoring him to health, she asks him 'to believe henceforward that a Jew may do good service to a Christian, without desiring other guerdon than the blessing of the Great Father who made both Jew and Gentile' (301). In the novel's conclusion, moreover, it is the virtues of 'domestic love, kindly affection, peace and happiness' recommended by Rebecca that triumph, bringing an end to martial heroism but also to racial and factional conflict. The Jewess is thus the prophet of the tolerant ethos of the new English nation.

But in other ways Rebecca's appeal to the reader relies not on her intellectual humanism but on her powerful and exotic sexuality. In the novel's most erotically charged scene, Rebecca is held prisoner by the licentious Templar Brian de Bois-Guilbert, who attempts to seduce her, first with courtly rhetoric, then with threatened violence. Death will follow unless she '[s]ubmit to thy fate, embrace our religion' (251). As she determines instead to throw herself from the castle window, the narrator notes the 'high and firm resolve, that corresponded so well with the expressive beauty of her countenance'. Rebecca flourishes most under persecution:

> Her glance quailed not, her cheek blanched not, for the fear of a fate so instant and so horrible; on the contrary, the thought that she had her fate at her command, and

could escape at will from infamy to death, gave a yet deeper colour of carnation to her complexion, and a yet more brilliant fire to her eye. Bois-Guilbert, proud himself and high-spirited, thought he had never beheld beauty so animated and so commanding (253).

Rebecca's self-possession foxes while it arouses Bois-Guilbert. For the Order of the Knights Templar, his entanglement with the Jewess is an embarrassment whose only solution is a public trial for witchcraft, in which popular prejudice can be mobilised against her. Rebecca's foreign eroticism becomes itself the proof of her guilt: witnesses attest that she was 'heard to mutter to herself in an unknown tongue . . . the songs she sung by fits were of a strangely sweet sound, which made the ears of the hearer tingle and his heart throb' (421). Yet, elsewhere, the text suggests that Rebecca actively courts such dangerous attention. Her first appearance in the novel, as a spectator at the Ashby tournament, is emphatically marked by a display of both nature and artifice:

> The brilliancy of her eyes, the superb arch of her eyebrows, her well-formed aquiline nose, her teeth as white as pearl, and the profusion of her sable tresses, which, each arranged in its own little spiral of twisted curls, fell down upon as much of a lovely neck and bosom as a simarre of the richest Persian silk, exhibiting flowers in their natural colours embossed upon a purple ground, permitted to be visible – all these constituted a combination of loveliness which yielded not to the most beautiful of the maidens who surrounded her. It is true, that of the golden and pearl-studded clasps which closed her vest from the throat to the waist, the three uppermost were left unfastened on account of the heat, which something enlarged the prospect to which we allude. A diamond necklace, with pendants of inestimable value, were by this means also made more conspicuous (82–3).

Unrestrainedly, provocatively displaying both her flesh and her wealth, Rebecca deliberately makes 'conspicuous' more than is expected. Her body itself is described in the imagery of precious commodities: 'pearl', 'sable'. She forms an implicit contrast to Rowena, who appears in public veiled and silent. Contravening conventional standards of reticent femininity, Rebecca's self-consciousness as an object of desire renders her problematic for *Ivanhoe*'s final ordering of social and sexual relations. However much she stands as the novel's advocate of reason, she is also, at the same time, cast as the antithesis of moderation and modesty.

By the end of the novel, Rebecca has been detached from her association with progress and toleration and has come to look more like an obstacle to universal peace. In contrast, Ivanhoe has come to her rescue as her champion in the trial by combat, and the new dispensation under Richard I offers a new liberality towards the Jews. Whereas the barbarism of chivalric culture

was exemplified by the Templar's attempt to seduce and convert Rebecca by force, the civilisation of the English nation at the end of the novel is measured by the way it offers her voluntary entry into the Christian nation through the persuasions of Rowena. Now, Rowena insists, the Jewess 'can have nothing to fear in England, when Saxon and Norman will contend who shall most do her honour' (516–17). In an inclusive England, Rebecca may no longer resist conversion, and, Rowena offers, 'I will be a sister to you' (518). However, dissenting from the atmosphere of rational compromise and civic development at the novel's close, Rebecca maintains that her difference from Rowena remains absolute and cannot be transcended, either by allegiance to the nation or even by sisterhood: 'it may not be – there is a gulf betwixt us. Our breeding, our faith, alike forbid either to pass over it . . . I may not change the faith of my fathers like a garment unsuited to the climate in which I seek to dwell' (517–18). In Michael Ragussis' reading of *Ivanhoe*, the failed attempts to convert Rebecca constitute a 'critique of the history of Christian proselytism and . . . [contemporary] missionary zeal'. In the novel as a whole Scott 'attempts to enlist the sympathies of his English readers for the broadest basis of cultural diversity by suggesting that the project to convert the Jews (and to erase the Scots) has its parallel in the attempted genocide of the Saxons during the Norman Conquest'.[44] In the context of the novel's philosophical historiography, however, Rebecca's dramatic and mystical assertion of religious loyalty is profoundly ambiguous, because it constitutes an hubristic opposition to the principles of conciliation and historical progress.

Rebecca's view of her religion as a fixed destiny recalls the episode earlier in the novel when, imprisoned by Bois-Guilbert in the Templar stronghold of Templestowe, she similarly resists his coercions, provoking the response: 'The devil, that possessed her race with obstinacy, has concentrated its full force in her single person!' (404). The narrator himself cites this traditional theological charge even in apparently saluting 'the unyielding obstinacy . . . , that unbending resolution with which Israelites have been frequently known to submit to the uttermost evils which power and violence can inflict upon them, rather than gratify their oppressors by granting their demands' (226). The text holds Rebecca's fortitude precariously on the border between beauty and repulsion. Attempting to resolve this contradiction, Scott implicitly distinguishes between the different contexts in which her 'unbending resolution' is called forth. Whereas Rebecca's resistance to the Templar's threats is heroic, inspiring even his respect, her opposition to Rowena's persuasions, I would argue, demonstrates an 'obstinate' and archaic racial pride akin to that of the Saxon Cedric. Like Cedric,

she adheres to 'the law of my fathers', but unlike him she refuses finally to recognise the necessity of compromise in the shape of national history (425).

Indeed, the Jews in Scott's novel are distinguished in temporal as well as moral terms. They regard themselves as living within a diasporic space and a providential temporality. When he hears of Rebecca's imprisonment, the Jewish physician Nathan ben Israel invokes Jeremiah's figurative language: 'Ah, my daughter! – ah, my daughter. Alas! for the beauty of Zion! Alas! for the captivity of Israel' (389). Not only is Rebecca's suffering made to stand for that of her nation, but, in Nathan's perspective, it is part of a collective destiny, the punitive exile that continues from Bible times. Jewish time is repetitive, unprogressive and thus inimical to the restitutions of the romance form and to the dialectical advance of history. Moreover, Rebecca's refusal to convert in order to enter the secular progressive temporality of the English nation suggests that despite the ethic of tolerance that she expounds to Ivanhoe, as a Jew she finally remains hostile to 'liberality of principle' and incapable of change.

That the reader is being directed towards this interpretation of the tragedy of Jewish 'obstinacy' is also suggested by the novel's romantic plot. Rebecca's attraction to Ivanhoe is presented from the start as an opening of her mind to religious conversion. Tending his wounds after the tournament at Ashby, she finds herself praying for his recovery: 'the petition was already breathed, nor could all the narrow prejudices of her sect induce Rebecca to wish it recalled' (256). Her nascent passion has already expanded the 'narrow prejudices' of her Jewish faith. Rebecca's desire for Ivanhoe continually hints at her potential to transcend Judaism, yet it is also constantly frustrated. When reunited with him in the besieged castle of Torquilstone, she 'was astonished at the keen sensation of pleasure which she experienced' but immediately chastened by his 'cold' response, which 'recalled her to herself, and reminded her the sensations which she felt were not and could not be mutual' – although he replies 'hastily', suggesting the strain of his own self-discipline (308). Resolving to resist distraction by the 'fair features' of the sleeping Ivanhoe, she 'wrapped herself closely in her veil, and sat down at a distance from the couch of the wounded knight, with her back turned towards it, fortifying, or endeavouring to fortify, her mind not only against the impending evils from without, but also against those treacherous feelings which assailed her from within' (319–20). The military siege of Torquilstone becomes a metaphor for Rebecca's divided loyalties.

The ambiguity of Rebecca's Jewishness is again revealed in the prison at Templestowe when she is awaiting trial for witchcraft, falsely accused by her

erstwhile seducer Bois-Guilbert. Here, in a defiant expression of her faith, she sings a devotional hymn, part of 'the evening prayer recommended by her religion' (435). 'Translated' by the narrator, the hymn deploys exotic Old Testament allusions, yet its theology is more familiarly Protestant than Jewish:

> Our harps we left by Babel's streams,
> The tyrant's jest, the Gentile's scorn;
> No censer round our altar beams,
> And mute our timbrel, trump, and horn.
> But THOU hast said, the blood of goat,
> The flesh of rams, I will not prize;
> A contrite heart, an humble thought,
> Are Mine accepted sacrifice. (436)

Here Rebecca invokes the fallen condition of diaspora Jewry with a reference to the replacement by prayer of the communal Temple ritual of animal sacrifice. But the emphasis on personal atonement suggests a Christian rather than a Jewish understanding of prayer. At this moment of imminent martyrdom, Rebecca's capacity to transcend Judaism is realised in the very nature of her religiosity, which, passive and humble, emulates the faith of a Christian. Her refusal of Rowena's offer of conversion at the end of the novel is thus a denial not only of female community but also of her own spiritual capability. In Rebecca's implicit affinities with both Ivanhoe and Rowena, the narrative leads the reader to expect her abandonment of the limitations of Judaism.

Frustrating narrative expectation, however, the Jewess fails to take up the offer of conversion, royal protection and a future in the newly peaceful England, and blights the celebratory resolution of the novel. Instead, Rebecca announces her intention to quit England with her father for Spain, insisting that nothing has changed: '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 each other. Such is no safe abode for the children of my people' (516). Provoking Rowena's incredulity at the contrariness of this claim, Rebecca's decision to leave England is, however, also an acknowledgment that she can no longer live in proximity to the newly married Ivanhoe. As she takes leave of Rowena, his bride, with a gift of the diamonds with which she resolves no longer to adorn herself, 'there was an involuntary tremour on Rebecca's voice, and a tenderness of accent, which perhaps betrayed more than she would willingly have expressed' (518). Rebecca's determination to renounce her sexual self is belied by the

persistence of her 'tenderness' towards Ivanhoe. Even her encounter with Rowena is punctuated by an enigmatic eroticism: Rebecca unexpectedly and boldly asks Rowena to unveil and the two women gaze upon each other's beauty and blush. Even more present in her absence, Rebecca lingers uncannily in Ivanhoe's memory too: 'it would be enquiring too curiously to ask whether the recollection of Rebecca's beauty and magnanimity did not recur to his mind more frequently than the fair descendant of Alfred [Rowena] might altogether have approved' (519). That Scott's text ends on this note of unresolved, deferred passion, of and for Rebecca, suggests the powerfully disruptive force of desire, with its persistent evocation of what has been lost in the rational progress to modernity. In the same way that *Ivanhoe* continued to foster nostalgia for the seductions of mediaeval culture despite the narrator's unsentimentally teleological perspective, the story of the Jewess is left open in such a way that provoked repeated rewritings in subsequent years. In seeking, more often than not, to relieve Rebecca's suffering in a union with her Christian knight, 'to see her righted' as Thackeray put it, these revisions of *Ivanhoe* were following through the narrative logic of the novel itself.[45]

My reading of *Ivanhoe* has stressed the ambivalence of its liberal principles. If the hero and the narrator implicitly view Jews with a mixture of compassion and contempt, this ambivalence is given more tangible symbolic form in the novel's gendered representations. While Scott perpetuates a traditional construction of the male Jew as narrowed by his 'obstinacy and avarice', the figure of the beautiful, self-sacrificing Jewess makes possible a new view of Jews that accords them a place in a tolerant nation. Her unquestioning loyalty to her people suggests the kind of intense patriotic feeling yet to grace the newly created 'English' nation. As the following chapters will show, the symbolic economy of gender established by this formative text was to shape narratives of Jews throughout the nineteenth century. Yet Rebecca's charms are represented by Scott in contradictory terms: her eroticism is uncomfortably assertive, and her heroism grounded also in her rigidity, which ultimately renders her resistant to conversion and social integration. Despite the universalising potential conferred by her gender, despite her tantalising proximity to enlightenment, Scott's Jewess is, in the end, rather similar to 'the Jew'.

While *Ivanhoe*, like the Waverley novels, is a manifesto for political progress through 'liberality of principle', its liberal principles are defined and also bounded by the limit case of the Jews. The Jews, in fact, function primarily as a symbolic means of illustrating the scope of national belonging. Published more than a decade before the inception of a public debate

about Jewish political rights, the text nonetheless became an influential model for later writers grappling with more immediate and literal manifestations of the Jewish Question. In having the Jews choose voluntary exile from England despite the offer of protection and conversion, Scott suggests that it is they, rather than the English, who remain 'narrow', 'prejudiced' and incapable of the accommodations of modernity. That the Jews persist as the only ethnic group obstinately to resist (and thus escape) the inexorable historical dialectic of the English nation renders them at the same time quixotically admirable and repellent. For Scott's Victorian heirs, even more confidently devoted to the narrative and political tenet of historical progress, the figure of the Jewess would both illustrate and reformulate this lesson.

THE CARNAL JEWESS: *LEAH, THE FORSAKEN* AND THE DRAMA OF JEWISH EMANCIPATION

Ivanhoe held particular appeal for the English stage, and its narrative was repeatedly re-enacted in theatrical form in subsequent decades, with a particular emphasis on the story of Rebecca.[46] The arresting presence of the Jewess, and the core question of religious tolerance in Scott's novel, were also central to *Leah, the Forsaken*, Augustin Daly's adaptation of the German-language *Deborah*, by the Austrian-Jewish writer Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal. Mosenthal's play had reworked elements of *Ivanhoe*, inflected by the literary tropes of nineteenth-century German historical fiction. It had its first success in Vienna in 1849, but, after a celebrated run in New York in 1862, Daly's version was produced in London in 1863–4 – five years after Jews had been granted full political rights in Britain.[47] In *Leah*, the drama of the Jewish–Christian romance found an apt form in the conventions of Victorian melodrama, which typically foregrounds the hero's struggle with his soul and the heroine's unmerited suffering.[48] Showcasing the American actress Kate Bateman, billed as 'the Acknowledged Great Tragedienne', in her début on the West End stage, *Leah* was a phenomenal success, playing to crowded houses between October 1863 and June 1864 and even attracting royal patronage. Its 'unparalleled' run of over 200 performances at the New Adelphi Theatre was only terminated by the limitation of the actress's contract there.[49] By February 1864 a second production based on Mosenthal, *Deborah, or the Jewish Outcast*, was mounted simultaneously at the Grecian Theatre in Hoxton and in July, *Deborah, or the Jewish Maiden's Wrong!*, a new version by Charles Smith Cheltnam, opened at the Royal Victoria Theatre in Waterloo.[50]

As a star vehicle, *Leah* was able to command unprecedented public attention for the pathos of the Jewish plight embodied in its heroine. While numerous reviews praised the 'sympathy' inspired by Bateman's performance of her anguish as an abandoned lover, the *Illustrated Times* framed this suffering in the context of the play's setting at 'that period of the last century in which, notwithstanding the profession of enlightenment among the literati of Germany, intolerance against the Jews raged as fiercely as ever in the rural districts, and had not ceased even in the large towns'.[51] That *Leah* was seen by contemporaries not only as a story of thwarted love but also as a drama of religious intolerance suggests that it can be read as a response to the legal institution in 1858 of Jewish emancipation – screened, as stage censorship required, from the imputation of direct political commentary by its setting in the past and abroad. Indeed, the intertwined themes of Jewish persecution and the establishment of political authority are as evident in *Leah* as in *Ivanhoe*. By the 1860s, however, the question of the Jews' place in the polity had long been a matter of intense public discussion. In this section, I explore Daly's staging of the dangerous Jewish-Christian romance as an allegory of the liberal case for religious tolerance – in the British context, more specifically, the liberal justification of Jewish emancipation. Set, like *Ivanhoe*, at a moment of significant historical change, *Leah* graphically demonstrates the right and wrong terms for political progress.

If Scott's mediaeval romance offered a symbolic narrative of national unity between classes and races, German authors of the early to mid-nineteenth century similarly used the genre of historical fiction as a way to negotiate the transition of the confederation of German states into the supra-regional entity of the German nation. The proliferation of Jewish characters in German literature of this period was an effect of the enormous literary influence of *Ivanhoe* and the political conflict it was seen to articulate. The Jews, Jefferson Chase has argued, became not only a figure for the tension between tradition and modernity widely experienced by subjects of sovereign states, but also a problem to be resolved at a national rather than a local level – 'a crux of both a political and a cultural transformation from traditional-local to modern-national society'.[52] German historical fiction reproduced the ideological and narrative pattern of *Ivanhoe* insofar as 'the rescue of the Jewish victims, followed by their voluntary self-exclusion from the native community, is inseparable from the establishment of a stable native society'.[53] In the insecure post-revolutionary climate in which Mosenthal was writing in imperial Austria, and in the immediate aftermath of Jewish emancipation in England when Daly's play

was performed, this literary tradition and its ambivalence regarding Jews was equally usable. Concluding with both the extension of rights to Jews by the benevolent emperor *and* the demise of the principal Jewish characters, the action of *Deborah* echoes the contrary impulses in German historical fiction towards and against tolerance – impulses shared by Mosenthal, an assimilated Jew who worked for the Austrian government in Vienna.[54] His most striking debt to German literary developments of *Ivanhoe*, however, is his portrait of the beautiful, maltreated and unruly Jewess, in whom these contrary political desires symbolically converge. This is also suggested in the punning subtitle of Charles Smith Cheltnam's version of the play, 'The Jewish Maiden's Wrong!', which holds together moral outrage against Jewish persecution with the suggestion that it is the Jews themselves who are in error.

Leah, the Forsaken is set in the early eighteenth century, before the era of emancipation, in a Styrian village whence 'the Jews have been driven over a hundred years ago', and which is therefore, the local Schoolmaster proudly claims, 'a century in advance of its neighbours in intelligence and civilization'.[55] In the first scene, however, the Schoolmaster's provocation of the peasants to mob violence, by invoking the mediaeval blood libel against the Jews and declaring that in this he is sanctioned by '[t]he voice of the people', is shown to be a dangerous usurpation of ecclesiastical and civic authority (10). The celebration of Easter that begins this scene, moreover, points to the themes of atonement and forgiveness that will later become prominent. Its opening lines – in which Madalena, a village girl, pleads with the Priest, Magistrate and Schoolmaster to let her contravene the law to offer shelter to a destitute Jewess fleeing persecution in Hungary and struggling to provide for an old man, a young mother and a baby – anticipate the true age of progress that is seen to dawn at the end of the play, when 'intelligence and civilization' come to equal religious tolerance rather than doctrinal purity. Madalena's exchange with the Schoolmaster, in which she counters his 'principle of maintaining the holy laws' with a call to '[b]e humane! be just!', becomes a gendered contest over the meaning of Christian ethics (7).

Madalena's selfless charity towards the Jewess is contrasted with the alternative, radical model of enlightenment posited by the secret love affair between Leah, the fugitive Jewess, and Rudolf, Madalena's betrothed husband and son of the Magistrate. Previously a churchgoing, 'good and diligent', young man, Rudolf is now, Madalena laments, 'not at peace in your father's house' (4, 11). In his anxious look, she notes perceptively, 'you remind me so much of that Jewess' (12). Enchanted by Leah, Rudolf has

become Judaised by her. Leah's Judaism, meanwhile, is represented as pagan, antichristian and superstitious. At the midnight tryst between the lovers in Act I, a Gothic scene set in a forest outside the civilised boundaries of the village, she flees from the sight of a stone cross, exclaiming: 'Ill-omened visage! Why do I shiver with horror when I look on thee?' and turns instead to worship the moon (12). Leah's love for Rudolf, however, has redirected her Jewish faith; in a series of sacrilegious statements she declares that she will pray as her rabbinical father did, but 'not for my people – not for our fallen cities – but for him, the adored one whom I worship, for whom my soul liveth!' and tells Rudolf that the mystery of their love is 'like the temple once hidden from each mortal eye' (12, 13). Both she and Rudolf consider their love as liberatory: Leah describes how the historic hatred for Christians engendered in Jews by their persecution has been nullified –'I loved thee, and was converted' – while Rudolf admits that 'I am ashamed of myself, and of my time when everything moves in such narrow bounds . . . You have drawn me out of this circle in which the bonds of prejudice tied me, and out of this dark region have shown me light!' (13–14). Planning to emigrate to the 'free land' of America where they will 'rear the altar of a new religion, that shall teach love and brotherhood to all men', Rudolf and Leah envisage their passion in these utopian and revolutionary terms as an enlightened transcendence of the prejudices of faith (14).

The idolatry of such a love is soon revealed, however. Like Leah, who has abandoned her Jewish dependants in its cause, Rudolf has failed to understand the necessary ties of community. As Madalena rhetorically asks, 'Where, Rudolf, would you be the happiest, in such a scene as that or among your own people, your own faith and kindred?' (19). When his affair is discovered, he is persuaded by his father to test the integrity of Leah's devotion by offering her a bribe to leave the district. 'These people', suggests the Magistrate, 'do everything for money' (21). Her companions accept the money gratefully, and it is reported to Rudolf that the Jewess has been bought off for a bag of gold. Despite her astonished protestations, he rejects her, concluding that 'you too, like all your race, [hold] honour, love and faith less than the pettiest coin, and have sold me, Judas-like, for a few pieces', and returning to Madalena (29). But the audience's relief at Rudolf's restoration to the patriotic and familial obligations for which he was destined is complicated by Leah's reappearance in the village. In a long soliloquy, sympathy for the Jewess is repeatedly invoked as she pleads in bewilderment: 'Am I not a child of man? Is not love the right of all – like the air, the light? And if I stretch my hands towards it, was it a crime?' (33). She oscillates between anger at her desertion by Rudolf and a continuing,

ardent belief that he has been misled and still loves her. Intermittently, she responds to the sound of the church organ, 'this soft voice with which Heaven calls to me', but she is suddenly faced with the understanding that she is witnessing through the church window Rudolf's marriage to Madalena (34). In a subsequent exchange with him, she realises his collusion in the plot against her, and immediately descends into a passion of vengeful rage.

The 'Young German' writers of the 1830s presented the Jewess as exceptionally sensual and abandoned to love.[56] That her beauty also exerts an uncanny, bewitching power is a key theme, inherited from *Ivanhoe*, in German historical literature, where it served to vindicate the gentile hero's reluctant but dutiful abandonment of an alliance that would otherwise destabilise the narrative conclusion.[57] In its dynamic augmentation of this trope, however, Daly's staging placed the perilous excesses of the Jewess to the fore. Transferred to the theatre, the Jewess became a visual spectacle of transgressive femininity.[58] Throughout the play, Leah is a stunning physical presence whose heightened rhetoric and bodily gestures are given full rein by the play's debt to the idiom of melodrama. She is described as '[t]all and strangely clad, her brown hair flowing over her naked shoulders, her great eyes gleaming beneath her arched brows'; in her first appearance on stage, when approached by the Priest, she '*utters a low cry, and cowers before him*' (5, 10); she appears in Act IV, titillatingly dishevelled. Such an exotic appearance and emotional display offer a thrilling foil to the atmosphere of pious rectitude that governs the village. Early in the play, Rudolf describes how '[s]omething seems to draw me towards the forest. First I went there trembling, as one about to sin . . . She came to meet me, so wildly beautiful, so full of feeling, that only then I understood what is affinity', and later describes himself as having fallen under her 'spell' (19, 28). That *Leah*'s appeal to its audience relied on their sharing Rudolf's enraptured submission to bewitchment is suggested by the *Illustrated London News*' description of Kate Bateman's audience, 'enchanted with the power and grace of this touching dramatic representation'.[59] Portraits of Bateman in the role depict her in her décolleté costume frowning imperiously (Figure 1).[60] Edith Heraud's performance at the Grecian Theatre, similarly, 'gradually won the audience until she completely subdued them by the spell of her acting'.[61] These accounts point to the conflation of the dangerous and irrational passions of the stage Jewess with the transgressive and uncanny pleasures of theatre itself.

Indeed, the play produces moral confusion in its enchanted audience in the scene where Leah abandons herself to revenge. Here, the Jewess

Figure 1 Kate Bateman as Leah in the 1864 production of *Leah, the Forsaken* at the New Adelphi Theatre, London, *Illustrated London News*, 9 April 1864. By permission of the British Library.

tips the balance between righteous self-vindication and what Rudolf calls 'sin through hate' (35). Dismissing his pleas for mercy, she becomes an echo of the baying mob demanding her own blood in the first scene. If the folk wisdom about Jewish avarice that Rudolf wrongly believed is

refuted by Leah's integrity, the folk wisdom about Jewish vengefulness is now confirmed by her enthusiastic embracing of violent hatred. Moreover it is the Hebrew Bible, the source for Leah's declarations of love, that now provides both the language and the model for her maledictions: 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a heart for a heart! . . . Thou shalt not swear falsely – you broke faith with me! Thou shalt not steal – you stole my heart. Thou shalt not kill – what of life have you left me? . . . May you wander as I wander, suffer shame as I now suffer it' (35). Instead of hoping for the future relief of Jewish suffering, Leah prays for its extension to the gentile.

The divergent responses of Leah and Rudolf to the Jewess's curse are heightened even further in the final act, which takes place five years later when Leah returns to the village with a group of Jews en route to America. While she has sustained her thirst for vengeance, he, in contrast, is returning from a mission to Vienna to petition the Emperor to revoke the ban on Jews entering the district. In this he is supported by his father the Magistrate, who declares that intolerance towards Jews is 'unchristian', and that he now regrets 'this accursed hate which is handed down from father to son' (37, 38). The Emperor, Rudolf relates, was, contrary to his expectations, 'a plainly-dressed mild-looking man' who 'asked me in our native dialect what I wished', and responded to the petition 'smilingly, laid his hand on my shoulder thus, and said, "Let them stay; the laws of exile are of ancient date; I will make a new law, I myself am anxious that all my subjects should be equal, for, Jew or Christian, they all belong to me"' (41, 42). His paternal gesture repeating that of the Magistrate, the Emperor benevolently imposes tolerance on the barbarous peasantry – altering the 'hate which is handed down from father to son' and redirecting its energies towards a liberal patriotism. Legislative change is represented as continuous with true Christianity and village life is realigned with imperial authority.

The way is led, moreover, by Madalena, who has continued to provide shelter and support for destitute Jews. Knowing of her husband's longing for Leah's forgiveness, she asks him to find her, and, using the same familial imagery as the Emperor, declares that 'she shall share the blessings of our home. She shall be to me a dear sister' (42). She has also symbolically integrated Leah into their family by naming her daughter for the Jewess. Like Rebecca of York, however, Leah cannot take up the offer of sisterly love and insists instead on her destiny as a wanderer. Nonetheless, it is only in this political and domestic context that the Jewess can renounce her desire for revenge. Educated in selfless love by the Christians, she foregoes her claim on Rudolf and instead gives his household her blessing. The structure of the play thus ensures that its philosemitism ultimately hinges not on the

advent of tolerance towards the Jews, but on Leah's renunciation of 'Jewish' vengeance: on her capacity, in other words, for Christian mercy. Until then, the Jewish maiden is not only wronged, but, more importantly, simply wrong. In Leah, the *Observer* considered, was depicted 'the tenderness of the woman supervening upon the harsher instincts which a sense of wrong has brought into existence'.[62] Leah's feminine capacity for forgiveness, that is to say, can redeem her moral deficiencies as a Jew.

In contrast, the play's most dangerous and unredeemed source of instability is a figure of religious intolerance: the Schoolmaster, whose overzealous enforcement of the ban against Jews is noted from the opening scene. The Schoolmaster's extreme attachment to the letter of the law is a sign of his true identity, which is later revealed by the old blind man accompanying Leah. He is a Jew who converted to Christianity and left his father in Pressburg 'to die in poverty and misery' (25). In a somewhat sympathetic soliloquy, the Schoolmaster explains his hypocrisy in terms of the unbearable dilemma of Jewish social existence: 'How was I a criminal? Was it because I chose riches, instead of misery; honour, instead of disdain; life, instead of death?' (26). This is an unusually sophisticated take on the causes of villainy, which in most Victorian melodrama is ascribed to the individual's evil psyche rather than to his social being.[63] However, the Schoolmaster's self-interested choices are shown to lead inevitably to actual crime: when the old man recognises his voice, the Schoolmaster murders him in terror. Moreover, the deception practised on Rudolf and Leah is the Schoolmaster's doing; he has plotted to rid the village of the Jews as a further act of self-protection, fearing that he will be recognised by them and exposed. The Schoolmaster's violence as the play's villain is elided with its representation of Jewish volatility, and deployed to suggest that the most serious threat to social order is not peasant prejudice but Jewish apostasy. In a final demonstration of the triumph of Christian values, Leah denounces him, turning, '[a]s Judith to Holofernes' to kill him, but suddenly drops her dagger and her Hebrew role model and relinquishes vengeance '[t]o him above, and not to me' (44). She exits, evidently close to death, murmuring that 'this night I shall wander into the far-off – the promised land', her biblical language now at last inflected with the metaphorical and Christian connotation of redemptive death (44). Despite its restorative linguistic symmetries, however, Daly's tragedy finally reiterates the alienation of the Jewess.

It is in this concluding scene that Charles Smith Cheltnam's version of the play most differs from its predecessor. Produced outside the West End for the more popular audience of the 'minor' Royal Victoria Theatre, *Deborah,*

or the Jewish Maiden's Wrong! resets Daly's adaptation more squarely in the genre of melodrama, intensifying not only the vocal and gestural excesses of its heroine but also the irredeemable iniquity of its villain. Thus a new source of interest is found in the histrionic descent into madness of the apostate Schoolmaster as he becomes ever more haunted by the fear of discovery. At the beginning of the second act he is '*very pale and dishevelled*', stares '*wildly*' and bursts into tears; by the third act he is '*haggard*'.[64] Yet, as in *Leah*, while it is the Schoolmaster who has wrought the drama's mischief, it is these same duplicitous actions of his that result in the re-establishment of the social and political order, restoring Joseph (Rudolf) to Anna (Madalena) and elevating the Jews to their place of limited toleration. As both the author of tragedy and the agent of progress, the Schoolmaster's position is morally untenable, and Cheltnam's play provides a graphic illustration and resolution of this contradiction when Deborah (Leah) publicly denounces him and he murders her before committing suicide. Indeed, Cheltnam seeks an emotionally and visually neater ending to the drama overall, one that blunts the singular stage presence of the heroine. Whereas Daly's Christian family watch helplessly with the audience as the Jewess makes her painful solitary departure, *Deborah*'s concluding tableau offers a more uplifting Christian image. It stages a pietà, with the dying Deborah at the centre placing Anna's hand with Joseph's on her heart and raising her other hand towards heaven. Here, Deborah's redemptive death is the final proof of her transcendence of Jewish carnality and the final displacement of the romantic triangle into an icon of the hierarchical imperial (and holy) family.

Just as *Ivanhoe*'s phenomenal success across nineteenth-century Europe suggests the wide resonance of its expression of the conflicts of political transformation in the age of nationalism, so the transnational cross-currency of *Leah, the Forsaken* is an indication that debates in continental Europe about the place of the Jews were also meaningful for English audiences. Like *Ivanhoe*, *Leah* makes its argument against injustice through the figure of a beautiful and persecuted Jewess. But even more than *Ivanhoe*, Daly's and Cheltnam's melodramas juxtapose their didactic moral argument with the graphic representation of excessive passion. Against Leah/Deborah's anarchic wish to transcend the barriers of religion, and against the 'barbarous antipathy' of popular prejudice,[65] are set the paternal figures of Priest, Magistrate and Emperor, whose claim for religious tolerance is grounded in balanced rhetoric, humanist ethics and a belief in established political authority – and also sentimentally echoed in female sympathy. Responding to these, even Leah/Deborah learns restraint. The Jewess, then, exemplifies the hopes that liberal politicians and writers, both

gentile and Jewish, attached to Jewish emancipation. Unlike *Ivanhoe*, the texts do not suggest resolution in Christian conversion; on the contrary, they present apostasy as a source of psychological instability and endorse instead the prerogatives of family and religious community. In place of conversion, this drama seeks the moral reform of the Jews – symbolised, albeit, by the Jewess's proto-Christian adoption of the normative values of forgiveness and self-sacrifice. Its narrative dramatises the emancipatory logic that anticipated the elevation of Jews from their moral iniquity through the extension of legal rights by the liberal state.

Yet Daly's and Cheltnam's plays follow their literary predecessors in being unable literally to encompass the inclusion of Jews within the community that so avowedly identifies itself with the principle of tolerance. If nineteenth-century liberalism repeatedly came up against its limit case in the determined separateness of the Jews, the play articulates this paradox through the commanding stage presence of Leah/Deborah. Although the Jewess has the moral argument on her side, her involuntary irrationality and eroticism render her a persistently disturbing force. Ultimately, therefore, the meaning of tolerance in this story is not the relaxation of religious boundaries but their reinscription in a safer and more stable form. *Leah* ends with the heroine redeemed but nonetheless insisting on her punitive destiny as a Jewish wanderer; *Deborah*'s conclusion reinforces with even greater emphasis the moral and physical separation of Jews and Christians. In this version, unable to extend her new-found forgiveness to the apostate Schoolmaster, the Jewess provokes him to a fury of revenge and self-hatred that leads to their mutual demise. At the end of the Jews' inexorable route to self-destruction, however, the native community has learned the value of tolerance. While the story of the Jewess has served to elicit and exhibit liberal values, her presence is finally dispensable.

'A JEWISH GIRL MAY LOVE A CHRISTIAN MAIDEN': TROLLOPE'S INTERFAITH ROMANCE

The figure of the flamboyantly erotic Jewess, whose dangerous sexuality threatens social order, was taken up by one of the most prominent mid-Victorian novelists, Anthony Trollope, in whose fiction it lurks as a sinister undercurrent. For Trollope, like his predecessors, the story of the Jewess could encapsulate the hopes and fears attached to the advance of liberalism. Including the reader in his address, the narrator of *Phineas Finn* (1869), for example, describes the bold eyes of the Jewess Madame Max Goesler, who 'seemed to intend that you should know that she employed them to

conquer you'. Madame Goesler, however, is finally seen to be admirable for her understanding that she must withdraw her claim on the English aristocrat who has succumbed to her mesmerism.[66] Indeed, Trollope, who stood as a Liberal candidate for Parliament in November 1868, considered himself an 'advanced . . . conservative Liberal' for whom a whiggish emphasis on 'improving the condition of his fellows' coexisted with the notion that 'inequality is the work of God'.[67] Imagined within this contradictory framework, Trollope's Jewesses are both exceptionally desirable and conveniently self-sacrificing. However, his earlier novella, *Nina Balatka* (1867), presents a more complex account of this narrative of the Jewish woman, whose story, played out not in the drawing rooms of London society but on the streets and bridges of Prague, is once again located at the crux of political and cultural change.

In this corner of eastern Europe, indeed, the violent pre-modern religious strife of *Ivanhoe* and *Leah* is alive and thriving. Catholic Prague is an archaic 'stronghold of prejudice' where it is possible to 'hate a Jew as intensely as Jews ever were hated in those earlier days in which hatred could satisfy itself with persecution'.[68] Yet here the Jews too are anciently rooted; their synagogue is 'the oldest place of worship belonging to the Jews in Europe, as they delight to tell you' (9). As fettered to the past as their Catholic neighbours, the Jews 'were still bound to their old narrow streets, to their dark houses, to their mean modes of living, and . . . worst of all, were still subject to the isolated ignominy of Judaism', the topography of the Jewish quarter as well as their benighted theology constraining them to a 'narrow . . . dark' existence (69). Trollope's tale of religious conflict pits Christian 'prejudice' against Jewish 'narrowness' in an explicit echo of the 'dark ages' of Scott's *Ivanhoe*. The interfaith love affair that unfurls against this background points, on the other hand, to a future in enlightened western Europe, an alternative present inhabited by Trollope's tolerant mid-Victorian reader.

But while Trollope's liberal conscience militates against 'the isolated ignominy of Judaism' as much as persecutory Jew-hatred, Jews who aspired to equality with gentiles were equally suspect in his writing. His realist novels set in contemporary England continually remind the reader of the racial character of those who try most to assimilate.[69] *Nina Balatka*, originally published anonymously and now rarely discussed by scholars, was considered by its author as generically different from his 'English' novels: in it, he wrote, '[t]here was more of romance than had been usual for me'.[70] Unusually also for him, the text envisages the possibility of a marriage that traverses religious boundaries (as Nina herself crosses and recrosses the bridges across the city), although this is presented as fraught with perils. The stark binaries

of Prague, however, bifurcated between Jewish and Christian spaces and faiths, are complicated in Trollope's novella. In striking continuity with the texts I have discussed in this chapter, the romance of religious tolerance is structured around a passionate triangle of hero, Christian woman and Jewess. Here, I consider how *Nina Balatka* picks up on this plot element present both in *Ivanhoe* and *Deborah*, making it the affective core of the text's liberal message.

Trollope's Prague Jew, the businessman Anton Trendellsohn, bears not a little resemblance to other representations of successful, ruthless *arriviste* Jewish men by liberal writers of the 1860s, including those of Trollope himself. As we will see in chapter 5, anxiety about an uncontainable Jewish economic ascendancy was ubiquitous in this period. Thus, at the opening of *Nina Balatka*, Anton is already setting his sights on a great career in commerce in a more tolerant city such as London; his 'ambition did not desire wealth so much as the possession of wealth in Jewish hands, without those restrictions upon its enjoyment to which Jews under his own eye had ever been subjected' (70). That Anton's desire 'for the possession of wealth in Jewish hands' is even now being realised, and that Christian resentment of Jewish commercial power has some grounding, is suggested by narratorial comments – the observation, for example, that all the banks of Prague close on Saturday 'because the Jews will not do business on that day – so great is the preponderance of the wealth of Prague in the hands of that people!', as if 'the Jews' necessarily remain conceptually distinct from the citizens whose economy they dominate (80). But as a result of his romance with the poor, Christian girl Nina Balatka, Anton's ambitions are enlarged: now he wishes to 'show the world around him, both Jews and Christians, how well a Christian and a Jew might live together. To crush the prejudice which had dealt so hardly with his people – to make a Jew equal in all things to a Christian – this was his desire; and how could this better be fulfilled than by his union with a Christian?' (71). In contrast to the superstitious fears of perdition that persistently haunt Nina, Anton Trendellsohn is elevated by his love for a Christian, inspired to nobler aspirations. He hopes that 'by means of his work, there should no longer be a Jews' quarter in Prague, but that all Prague should be ennobled and civilised and made beautiful by the wealth of Jews' (70). Seemingly named as an amalgamation of the Jewish Enlightenment philosopher Moses Mendelssohn and the self-confessedly commercial author himself, Trollope's protagonist combines the pursuit of self-interest with universalist idealism.

The narrative is driven by Anton's oscillation between his ennobling love and his ambitious Jewish nature – which are often blurred. Hoping

to sabotage the marriage, Nina's Jew-hating relatives insinuate that she is deceiving her lover by retaining documents that belong to him. For Nina, to be mistrusted by Anton reinvigorates the assumptions of her Christian upbringing, 'that a Jew was, of his very nature, suspicious, greedy, and false' (145). But the narrator himself also endorses such accusations. Enjoined by his father to '[b]elieve in the truth of your own people' rather than that of the Christians, Anton is quick to revert to 'the inborn suspicion of his nature': 'To be able to deceive others, but never to be deceived himself, was to him, unconsciously, the glory which he desired . . . to keep, as it were, the upper hand' (130, 181, 131). The sinister dimension of Anton's forcefulness is frequently betraying itself. Indeed, the formidable vigour of Jewish men in the story – both Anton and his eighty-year-old father – is notable. Anton's eyes, says the narrator, 'which were quite black, were very bright'; his black hair 'would have almost hung in ringlets; but it was worn very short, as though its owner were jealous even of the curl' (11). The narrator's comments repeatedly produce a tension between the admirable liberal ideal of transcending 'prejudice' and the practical difficulty of not only its deep cultural power but its basis in 'nature'. It is only with effort that Anton can curb his curling hair, his rampant racial force.

This ostentatious self-restraint is even more marked in Nina's rival for Anton Trendellsohn's love, the Jewess Rebecca Loth. Rebecca is first glimpsed through the eyes of Ziska Zamenoy, Nina's cousin, who goes to find Anton in the Jewish quarter on the day of a Jewish festival. Rebecca, he notices, is 'exactly the opposite of Nina', whose fair complexion and 'smooth brown hair . . . seemed to demand no special admiration' and who is 'yielding and flexible in all the motions of her body . . . as though she would in all things fit herself to him who might be blessed by her love' (82). Rebecca, in contrast, clearly recalling her namesake in *Ivanhoe*,

> was dark, with large dark-blue eyes and jet black tresses, which spoke out loud to the beholder to their own loveliness . . . And she stood like a queen, who knew herself to be all a queen, strong on her limbs, wanting no support, somewhat hard withal, with a repellent beauty that seemed to disdain while it courted admiration, and utterly rejected the idea of that caressing assistance which men always love to give, and which women often love to receive (82–3).

Rebecca's assertive eroticism proclaims the self-sufficiency of the ghetto Jews; her unfeminine, 'repellent beauty' protects her gentile admirer from her dangerous charms. But, in the same way, Rebecca cedes her place in Anton's affections to her Christian adversary, recognising the more appropriately feminine submissiveness that Nina embodies.

While the narrative follows the fraught trajectory of Nina and Anton's romance, it also pivots crucially on the romance between Nina and Rebecca. In this respect, Trollope's text develops the enigmatic scene of intimacy between Rebecca and Rowena at the end of *Ivanhoe*, alluded to also in *Leah, the Forsaken*, in which the suppressed desire between the forbidden heterosexual lovers is sublimated into – or consummated as – an exchange of affection between the Christian and Jewish women. In *Nina Balatka*, the story of the Christian woman and the Jewess unfolds through a number of key episodes. In the first, Rebecca approaches Nina in her house, where Nina appears to have the same response as Ziska to 'the long, glossy, black curls, and the dark-blue eyes, and the turn of the face, which was so completely Jewish in its hard, bold, almost repellent beauty' (118). Indeed, Rebecca's mission mimics that of a romantic suit. Acknowledging that Anton loves Nina, not herself, Rebecca warns that the Christian woman will be the cause of Anton's ruin – that he will be disinherited and ostracised if he marries her – but '[t]here was something so serious, so sad, and so determined in the manner of the young Jewess, that it almost cowed Nina – almost drove her to yield before her visitor' (122). Rebecca kneels before Nina 'so that her forehead was almost close to Nina's lips' and implores her to sacrifice herself for Anton's sake, promising that 'I will swear to you by the God whom we both worship, that I will never become his wife' (123–4). This moment is powerful because, while invoking for the first time in the narrative the potential affinity rather than enmity between Jews and Christians, it links this to the bond between romantic competitors. Indeed, Rebecca then offers Nina an alternative to marriage with Anton: 'Shall it be a bargain between us? Say so, and whatever is mine shall be mine and yours too. Though a Jew may not make a Christian his wife, a Jewish girl may love a Christian maiden' (124). Their encounter exceeds the narrator's descriptive capacities: 'she wept, and the Jewess comforted her, and many words were said between them beyond those which have been here set down' (125).

It is Rebecca's tenacious and heroic love for her rival despite the failure of this suit that effects the novella's moral transformations. When, later, Nina's father lies dying, the Jewess sends her food for him and shoes for herself, entreating her 'to think of me as one who would serve you in more things if it were possible' (155). It is Rebecca's sympathy that eventually elicits Nina's humility, enabling her to overcome her own proud resistance to accepting charity. Nina has never permitted Anton to aid her, but with Rebecca she feels that 'one woman should take such things from another' (156). Finally, it is Rebecca who discovers Nina, abandoned to Anton's distrust, crouched

on the parapet of the Charles Bridge, longingly contemplating the water below. Revealed as Nina's 'salvation', Rebecca brings her out of the cold into her own house, into her own bedroom, where the narrator offers a rapturous tableau of 'the Jewess kneeling as the Christian sat on the bedside' (186, 190). By the end of the story when Anton and Nina, reunited, leave for a new life in 'one of the great cities of the west' there is little 'tenderness' between Anton and Rebecca, but deep feeling between Rebecca and Nina (191). Rebecca's self-sacrifice remains inscrutable to Nina: 'Nina, who knew herself to be weak, could not understand that Rebecca, who was so strong, should have loved as she had loved', the phrase ambiguously encompassing both Rebecca's loyalty to her lost lover and her devotion to Nina (192). As in *Ivanhoe*, the image of the beautiful and magnanimous Jewess abides – but in the memory of Nina rather than her husband, whose leave she has taken 'very quietly, with no mark of anger' (193). Doubling back on itself to end not with the couple's departure from Prague but with the preceding months that Nina spent in Rebecca's company, the narrative structure suggests that this is the story's more significant and enduring romance.

Although the liberal conclusion of Trollope's novella presents a striking alternative to earlier interfaith romances, the ambivalence of his perspective is threaded throughout the text in the narratorial voice. The racial vocabulary of *Nina Balatka*, suggesting the inevitable duplicity and power-hunger of Anton's Jewish 'nature', is at odds with its apparent critique of 'prejudice' against Jews. The figure of the Jewess, however, provides a bridge across these oppositions. Initially seen, also, in racialised terms as an alluring but arrogant Oriental beauty, she comes to enact the self-sacrifice that demonstrates true religious tolerance. While she deplores the prospect of Jewish–Christian intermarriage she nonetheless devotes herself to its cause. Unlike Anton, whose desire 'to make a Jew equal in all things to a Christian' is an expression of his ambitious will, Rebecca is not motivated by an abstract principle or by vengeful self-gratification, but acts out of unconditional human love. The blue eyes of the Jewess, in contrast to the glittering black ones of the Jew, point to her greater transparency. Rebecca thus plays a key mediating role in terms of the text's narrative as well as its poetics, reconciling the estranged couple and demonstrating Jewish virtue to a doubting Christian. In a strong echo of *Ivanhoe*, it is Rebecca's role as handmaiden to progress (while herself remaining outside its privileges) that makes possible the future to which Nina and Anton look forward. While Anton's narrow Jewish self-interest is somewhat expanded by his love for a Christian woman, it is more effectively redeemed by the heroic renunciation of the Jewess.

By focusing the romantic narrative as emphatically on the relationship between Nina and Rebecca as on that between Nina and Anton, however, Trollope adds a new emphasis to the traditional triangulation. Unlike the courtship between Anton and Nina, which is undercut by mistrust and ambiguous motivation, the romance between women allows an open expression of generosity, uninhibited by suspicions about racial character. If the 'repellent beauty' of the Jewess in nineteenth-century historical romances, and indeed in Trollope's other novels, was designed to thrill where it prohibited, in *Nina Balatka* Rebecca's sexuality comes to be of secondary significance. Figured instead as a model of female moral virtue, loyal both to Judaism and to a Christian, Rebecca Loth embodies the text's understanding of religious tolerance. In a departure from earlier Jewish heroines, it is precisely Rebecca's exceptional and unreasoning love that defines, rather than opposing, Trollope's positive ideal. But his refiguring of the Jewish-Christian romance as a romance between women also depoliticises where it idealises. That tolerance is imagined here as an interpersonal rather than a political act of faith suggests that for Trollope the route to progress lies as much in the reform of the individual as in that of state policy.

CONCLUSION

Arguments in favour of the state extending religious tolerance more generally and political rights to Jews in particular were made across Europe in the nineteenth century in parliaments, periodicals and pamphlets. Historical fiction, however, was able to dramatise these debates vividly, to appeal to conflicting identifications in the reader or audience and to offer symbolic forms of resolution within a framework of historical progress. In England, under the formative influence of *Ivanhoe*, the status of the Jews became a touchstone for defining the liberal ethos of the modern nation, and the figure of the Jewess the key symbol through which responses to pre-modern 'prejudice' were worked through. It is the Jewess, whose beauty and suffering are so lovingly and lasciviously evoked in literary texts, who makes her author's case for the Jews. But while her beauty and virtue recommend her for sympathy and inclusion, her steadfast religiosity, passionate temperament or racial pride threaten to disrupt sexual and social order. This tension provides a forceful narrative dynamic; at the same time, the potential and the excesses of the Jewess reveal the scope and terms of the liberal universalism espoused by these authors. That the Jews in their texts are offered tolerance only with conditions – conversion, moral reform, or emigration; an understanding of their place within national

destiny – repeatedly demonstrates the contradictions inherent in nineteenth-century liberal attempts to imagine an expanded polity. The Jewess who voluntarily or involuntarily refuses these conditions becomes herself an example of archaic 'obstinacy' and 'narrowness'. Indeed, what is striking in all these texts is the way that narratives ostensibly about prejudice against Jews shift their focus to become narratives about Jewish prejudice. Just as Jews present the paradigmatic case for liberal tolerance, they invariably also constitute its defining limit case.

In these romances, moreover, reasoned arguments for religious tolerance are frequently overshadowed by the spectacle of suffering exhibited in the body of the Jewess. To this extent, they rely for their liberal message on the problematic premise of the reader's or audience's sadistic pleasure in the pain inflicted on her. As Jean-Paul Sartre wrote, with reference to *Ivanhoe* among other texts, '[t]here is in the words "a beautiful Jewess" a very special sexual signification, one quite different from that contained in the words "beautiful Rumanian," "beautiful Greek," or "beautiful American," for example. This phrase carries an aura of rape and massacre.'[71] For Sartre, anticipating Edward Said's analysis of the power–knowledge nexus in the feminisation of the Orient, the literary trope of the beautiful Jewess naturalises anti-Jewish persecution.[72] Furthermore, these texts' location of female nobility in the Jewess's submission to suffering is grounded in the Christian ethical paradigm of virtuous self-abnegation. Yet the saintly ideal of self-sacrifice, the capacity for which is of course particularly ascribed to women in Victorian culture, also presents in these texts an important moral alternative to the rigid logic of liberalism, and the source of their affective, as opposed to argumentative, power. In contrast to the 'liberality of principle' advocated by Scott and King Richard, and the benevolent paternalism proffered by Daly's Austrian Emperor, which grant Jews state protection with strings attached, Rebecca Loth's moving self-sacrifice suggests that only if tolerance is unbounded by reason can it be without limits.

3

Jewish persuasions: gender and the culture of conversion

In an *Appeal to the Females of the United Kingdom*, published by 'A Lady' in London in the 1810s, pious Englishwomen were exhorted to consider 'the degraded situation of the Poor Jewesses'.[1] Enjoying the privileges of Christianity and prosperity, the author writes, 'we can scarcely imagine to ourselves, any situation so entirely without comfort, as the lower ranks of Jewish women' (3). She goes on to detail the material situation of such women:

> sunk in the grossest ignorance, without a single correct idea of religion, or even the common restraints of education, these poor unprotected young females are exposed to the snares and designs of the unprincipled. The consequences may be easily imagined; and it is well ascertained, that great numbers of them are wandering about the streets of London, sinking under the accumulated horrors attendant upon poverty and vice. The prejudices subsisting between Jews and Christians deprive these unfortunate victims of many of the advantages which are afforded to others in the same wretched situation, many of them are left to perish in infamy, without an eye to pity, or a hand stretched out to relieve them . . . does not every female in happier circumstances feel herself called upon to attend to her perishing sister, when she says, 'Oh! pity me, for the hand of God hath touched me'? (4).

If authors writing in the Enlightenment tradition flirted with the dangerous emotions stirred by the Jewess, religious writers of the early to mid-nineteenth century threw themselves wholeheartedly into an identification with her suffering. This chapter is concerned with Christian literature that frequently took the Jewess as its central focus. Proliferating in the wake of the Evangelical Revival, and in a climate of intense ecclesiastical controversy as well as rising secularism, pious fiction was no less imbricated with claims on English national identity. The demand for a new Protestant tolerance for the Jews, moreover, was designed to appeal especially to women.

Indeed, the style of this tract anticipates a central plank of the argument by women campaigners for the abolition of *sati*, the emancipation

of colonial slaves and, later, the education of Indian women. Women are called upon to take action against the circumstances that threaten the moral wellbeing of other women, understood to be their 'sisters'.[2] The *Appeal* highlights the sexual vulnerability of working-class Jewish women, while implicitly connecting this with their lack of 'a single correct idea of religion' and the 'prejudices' that prevent them from seeking aid. Signalling its address to an abstemious middle-class readership, it concludes by urging Englishwomen to deny themselves 'unnecessary indulgencies' and instead to contribute to a fund for establishing an asylum for Jewish females (9). Such empathy with their plight, it was hoped, would induce the Jewesses to investigate the religion of their benefactresses.

By the mid-Victorian period, the narcissistic, disciplinarian figure of the earnest Evangelical female, from Wilkie Collins's Miss Clack to Dickens's Mrs Jellyby to George Eliot's silly women novelists, had become the subject of much public ridicule. But in the first half of the century she represented a formidable presence in British middle-class culture. Energetic, organised, and indefatigably writing, the lady missionary was responsible for articulating, valorising and disseminating formative definitions of English womanhood. With her confident conviction in the ascendancy of Christian civilisation and its power to transform, elevate and incorporate the benighted heathen, the Evangelical woman shared with her bête noire the secular Enlightener a similar view of cultural progress. Her philanthropic projects in the colonial and domestic spheres were prompted by the privileges of belonging to an advanced nation and a morally superior sex. The *Appeal* therefore took the opportunity to celebrate the liberation of Englishwomen from 'the oppressed and servile condition in which women are ever considered in uncivilized nations . . . as the mists of error were gradually dispersed by the beams of that light which was to lighten the Gentiles, and as the general tone of manners and morals were improved, the importance of the female character became, as the natural consequence, universally felt and acknowledged' (6). By this rhetorical move, the suffering of the poor Jewesses became exemplary not of the hardships of destitute immigrant women in London but of their 'oppressed and servile condition' as female members of an 'uncivilized' people, blinded by 'error' and punished by providence. It was with reference to such abjection that the Christian woman could comprehend and claim her place in the English nation.

It is significant, therefore, that despite its ostensible subject of Jewish suffering, much of the tract is devoted to the discussion of female character. Although women were assigned a 'more confined sphere of action' than

men, the author declared, their role demanded 'activity and zeal, which are such appropriate handmaids to the tenderness and delicacy of the female character' (6, 7). Moreover, combining piety and activity in a conversionist venture on behalf of 'these outcasts of the earth', would be an enactment both of female duty and of messianic expectation; it would be 'building up the walls of Jerusalem' (5, 8). In this designation of middle-class women's mission as the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy, the author of the tract linked her readers with the Jewess not only as a 'sister' but also as an ideal self.

The centrality of the trope of conversion in nineteenth-century representations of Jewish identity has been established by the groundbreaking work of Michael Ragussis.[3] But, as I will argue, the culture of conversion had a distinctly female accent. In this chapter, I trace the role of women in the campaign to convert Jews in early Victorian England, and examine a range of examples of Evangelical women's conversionist writing. The figure of the Jewess was crucial in this literature, I will argue; more than this, the rhetoric of conversion drew its authority from Evangelicalism as a specifically feminised discourse. While much recent research has illuminated the role of the Evangelical ideology of women's mission in regulating relations across class and race, the mission to Jewish women has been absent from discussion.[4] This is all the more surprising given Evangelical women's zealous devotion to and prolific promotion of the cause during the 1830s and 40s, and the ways in which it bolstered the imperial mission to women. What interests me here is how Evangelical writing yokes together the spiritual destiny of Protestant Englishwomen – and indeed that of the English more generally – with their response to the Jewess. The figure of the Jewish woman emerges in the *Appeal* pleading for pity like her counterparts in missionary literature on slaves, Indian and working-class women. But, in contrast to these other objects of philanthropic protection, she voices her demand and explains her suffering as a message embedded in the Bible and sent directly from God.

WOMEN AND THE RHETORIC OF JEWISH CONVERSION

The *Appeal*, written on behalf of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (LSPCJ), reveals women's early involvement in the most prominent and well-funded Evangelical conversion society of the nineteenth century.[5] In this section, I explore the cultural context of the campaign for Jewish conversion, and the character of its literary articulations. The LSPCJ was established in 1809 by Joseph Samuel C. F.

Frey, a converted Polish Jew, in order to 'relieve the temporal distress of the Jews, as well as to promote their spiritual welfare'.[6] The Society organised sermons and lectures for Jews, published and distributed tracts, translated the New Testament into Hebrew and opened a school and a workshop for converts. It was a typical middle-class Evangelical voluntary society, characterised by a 'blend of earnestness, business sense and bureaucratic officiousness'.[7] However, the Society went bankrupt after six years and was only saved by the large fortune of Lewis Way, a millennialist Evangelical devoted to the conversion of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine. The LSPCJ was supported by the leaders of the Clapham Sect, and most of its officials were Evangelicals, of both the middle class and the aristocracy.[8] Eventually expanding to establish mission stations throughout Europe and the Near East, the Society had thousands of subscribers in London alone, and by 1817 there were also forty-five auxiliaries across the country, each with its own committee, officers and members, which planned meetings and sermons and endeavoured to distribute tracts to local Jews.[9]

The mission was impelled by nothing less than a world-historical objective. The Society's key strategist and fundraiser, the Clapham preacher Rev. Charles Simeon, believed that the highest manifestation of the religious spirit

> is where the individual through reading the Scriptures becomes aware of God's special relationship to the Jews and His design to restore them in due season to their former inheritance, and to a state of piety and blessedness far exceeding anything, which in their national capacity they ever possessed. He sees further, the connection which subsists between the restoration of that people, and the salvation of the whole Gentile world; the latter being, in divine purpose the effect and consequence of the former.[10]

Prominent members of the LSPCJ were involved in societies for the study of eschatology, and by the late 1820s most of the central committee had adopted the 'premillennial' view that the Second Advent and the conversion of the Jews were imminent. Evangelical emphasis on the literal interpretation of scripture fuelled the new estimation of biblical prophecy regarding the Jews.[11] Contemporary periodicals interpreted current events accordingly in apocalyptic terms: the *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository*, which supported the work of the LSPCJ, published a letter in 1831, for example, warning that '[w]e live in the midst of times awfully momentous; visitations of an alarming nature are among the nations; war, famine, and pestilence, are depopulating kingdoms to a fearful extent'.[12] Premillennialists saw the recent rapprochement between Jews and Christians as

an indication of their impending conversion.[13] Reviving the doctrines of seventeenth-century Protestantism, they held that the English, who historically had not persecuted the Jews like Catholics and would therefore be more attractive to them, had a particular role to play in their conversion and, thereby, the precipitation of the Second Coming of Christ.[14] Nonetheless, such a national role was to be spiritual rather than temporal: the LSPCJ, like its supporters in the Clapham Sect, was politically conservative and most of its members opposed the campaign for Jewish emancipation.[15]

Unlike other forms of Christian philanthropy, such as the visiting charities and overseas missionary work, converting the Jews (who constituted a minute percentage of the population)[16] did not have an obvious ideological or pragmatic function in managing class or colonial relations. Moreover, although the LSPCJ's income grew steadily, surging in particular during the 1830s and 40s, its success rate remained consistently poor, averaging under ten conversions a year, and provoking harsh satire and fictional ridicule.[17] After 1819, the Society turned its attention to Europe, conceding that the attempt to convert Jews in Britain had failed; it was, in Mel Scult's words, a 'fantastic exercise in futility'.[18] Yet its output in terms of sermons and publications for British audiences remained prolific. In this respect, the Society's impact was profound; it reached large numbers of the general population, ensured that Jewish conversion remained a high-profile issue and shaped the terms in which Jews were publicly represented. The LSPCJ generated a discourse about the Jews through lectures, fundraising and distributing tracts; indirectly, through stimulating the publication of periodicals and novels, it involved and invoked a vast community of writers and readers. The Society's persistence in the face of the failure of its ostensible goals suggests that its significance lay not in how it could affect Jewish belief, but in how imagining Jews could become a way of speaking about and to Christians.

For, like abolitionists, the conversionists communicated their message through a proliferation of verbal and printed texts in which the exhibition of the Evangelical self was as important as the advancement of the philanthropic cause. As Leslie Howsam has written of the efforts of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which probably did not manage to pacify the radical poor as some members had hoped, 'the evidence points instead to the importance of evangelical energy and commitment in the making and marketing of books'.[19] Research by Joseph L. Altholz and Patrick Scott has indicated that Evangelical literary productivity rose to a height in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the movement's social influence was also at its peak.[20] As Evangelical attitudes towards profane reading material became

ever more rigid, the publication of Jewish conversion novels, in which the reader's emotional involvement in narrative could be harnessed to serious purpose, supplied a new market in pious reading.[21] English Protestant identity was militantly affirmed in the vehement anti-Catholicism with which these texts were imbued. Issuing from political anxieties following Irish immigration, Catholic emancipation and the emerging Tractarian movement, anti-popery was also fired by the premillenialist theology of Anglican Evangelicals, who identified Antichrist with Rome.[22] On the other side, Evangelicalism defined itself against the radicalism of Nonconformism. But Protestant identity was equally reinforced by the conversionists' construction of a symbolic relationship between their readers and the Jews. In the 1830s, a slew of Anglican Evangelical conversionist periodicals began publication, and by the 1840s other Protestant denominations had joined the flood.[23] Driven by a sense of millennial crisis and consisting of reports from auxiliary societies, reviews of tracts, poetry, information about Jewish communities around the world, explanations of Jewish customs and narratives of conversion, the periodical press produced the Jews textually as subjects of knowledge, and their readers as benevolent siblings, linked in a national network of concerned readers.

Although the missionary infrastructure was directed and operated by men, women had a vital supportive and symbolic role to play in the work of conversion.[24] The growth of a network of Evangelical voluntary associations, Catherine Hall has argued, can be seen as one aspect of the formation of a new public sphere – an arena in which the increasingly powerful middle class produced alternative sites of influence and prestige to the traditional institutions within which they remained unrepresented in the first half of the century.[25] Gender difference was a crucial ground on which middle-class identities were constructed.[26] Moreover, the spiritual status and social role of women in nineteenth-century Britain was profoundly affected by the theology of Evangelicalism. Its emphasis on the humanity of Christ, his sacrifice in the Atonement, his meekness and humility, brought women into closer identification with his mission. Women could emulate Christ's sacrifice and wield his redemptive power.[27] Evangelicalism prescribed an exalted role for women through their influence on the public sphere; the emotionalism attributed to women brought them closer to God and to a more powerful embodiment of the evangelical appeal, and their inherent moral superiority conferred on them a key position in the crusade for national regeneration.[28] The Evangelical notion of the 'religion of the heart' – easily accessible to the theologically unsophisticated – was also implicitly a feminised religion.

The Evangelicals' stress on individualism and the direct, personal relationship to the deity was the theological counterpart to their bourgeois economic and political ideology.[29] In granting an unprecedented religious authority to the individual believer, moreover, evangelical hermeneutics provided a justification for women's public speaking and writing on spiritual matters. The Bible itself, seen as the Word of God, imposed on the individual the right of interpretation, the duty of dissemination and the rejection of secular wisdom.[30] As Christine Krueger has argued, this approach to scripture had been interpreted by early Methodist women in the late eighteenth century as a call to the vocations of preaching and publishing: 'With its reliance on scriptural authority, claim to immediate divine inspiration, and dialogic stance towards an audience as potential converts, the evangelical ideolect provided women writers, severely constrained by the discursive limits of propriety, with effective rhetorical tactics in their struggle for access to authoritative language, supplying at once camouflage and firepower'.[31] While women's public speaking was increasingly suppressed by even the dissenting churches, their call to religious writing flourished. In their periodicals and novels, appealing through the homiletic 'we' to an imagined congregation of readers, female Evangelicals offered sermons in print.[32]

Evangelical women were zealously involved in the crusade for Jewish conversion, often concentrating their efforts, as in other philanthropic ventures, on female subjects of concern, since campaigning on behalf of other women was encouraged as consistent with the female character and social role.[33] Conversionist journals saw themselves as part of an activist public culture and frequently cross-referenced the work of other women's causes; in 1847, for example, the *Jewish Herald* included 'Extracts from the Female Scripture Readers Reports' and the 'First Annual Report of the Bristol Ladies' Association'.[34] The LSPCJ had one of the highest percentages of women subscribers among nineteenth-century voluntary societies, indicating that the Jewish conversion movement was seen as a particularly female concern.[35] This was certainly suggested by the Rev. John Wilson's view that converting the Jews required 'compassion, and condescension, and long-suffering patience', all virtues gendered as female.[36] As Billie Melman has shown, conversion and education work amongst the Jews in Palestine had a particular appeal for women missionaries.[37] In Britain too, women Evangelicals like Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna and Amelia Bristow were prominent in writing and editing conversionist periodicals and novels for a female readership.[38] As well as having a high profile within the rhetoric of missionary discourse, then, women had a significant role in producing it.

Evangelical women writers were, nonetheless, caught in the double bind of answering their call to preach against sin and seeming not to usurp male religious authority.[39] This contradiction is reflected in the thematic content of conversionist periodicals, which combine prophetic pronouncements in a millennial vein with assertions of the proper sphere of women. In its issue for October 1831, for example, the *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* contained, as well as notes on Jewish practices and accounts of conversion, an essay on 'Woman – her Original Dignity and Condition under the Patriarchal Dispensation', which argues that, 'in accordance with the simple dictates of the most refined and exalted reason', the Bible is the origin for 'the true and proper station of Woman'.[40] The proselytising polemic of the journal is fortified by this appeal to the privileges of a style of Christianity that is both an advanced form of civilisation and rooted in the foundational text of the Bible. At the same time, the essay reinforces a conservative construction of gender alongside justifying women's claim to authorship, in which their mission to write is seen as sanctioned by scripture rather than rebellious impudence.

For Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, the authority to answer her evangelical call was a particularly Protestant prerogative.[41] It also led to her defence of the Jews. In an article in the *Christian Lady's Magazine* in 1842, Tonna launched an attack on the use of the phrase 'Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics' in the Anglican service. She signalled her concern for Jews by condemning 'this insulting juxta-position in which God's ancient people are placed' but explained it as a remaining effect of 'idolatries and other anti-christian falsities engrafted by Popery on a Christian ritual'. The argument against intolerance towards Jews quickly became meshed with a critique of Catholicism. Tonna asserted that '[f]rom the day of her first pagan invasion of the holy land, to this hour of her prolonged papal existence, has Rome persecuted the Jew'. She contended that neither persecution nor 'contempt and dislike' for the Jews was legitimised by scripture, but, instead, recommended that conversion be approached 'quietly and affectionately'.[42] The Protestant approach to conversion was, then, also a feminised one, understood in contrast to the invasive violence perpetrated by Catholicism against both Jews and the Anglican liturgy. Conversionist periodicals thus developed the concerns expressed in the LSPCJ tract of the 1810s into a sustained literary form that forged a close link between Protestantism, patriotism and feminine responsibility.

The conversion narratives that constituted a central feature of Evangelical periodicals, moreover, mapped the distinction between false and true conversion on to gender. In a letter from a converted male Jew published

in the *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* in 1832 the narrator describes how his religious doubt was inaugurated by contemplating the irrational pedantry of Jewish law: '[i]t seemed to me unreasonable to think, that we can serve the Supreme Being by not eating certain meats, and by repeating, at stated times, prayers, some of which are not fit to be offered up to the Almighty . . . Many other passages in our prophets I could not explain.' When he began to read the New Testament, he 'compared it with Moses and the prophets, and found that they corresponded in every respect'; eventually he came to the logical decision 'that the Christian religion must be the best, because it is generally professed by all civilized nations'. The rest of the letter labours to disprove this motive for conversion: 'I found afterwards that it is not by philosophy and reasoning that a man is converted, or that water baptizes him; it is the grace of God which converts a sinner, and the Holy Ghost which baptizes him.' The narrator describes how, in a moment of destitution and despair, '[i]nvoluntarily as it seemed, I called on the name of the Redeemer, to strengthen me by his example of humility and patience, which he gave us while he walked in this world'. It was only through a spontaneous, non-rational and submissive need that the narrator realised his conversion had been confirmed.[43] Evangelical discourse thus offered a stark counterpoint to the Enlightenment ethos of rationalism. As the Evangelical Lord Shaftesbury (president of the LSPCJ for over forty years) aphorised, 'Satan reigns in the intellect, God in the heart of man.'[44]

The unhealthy masculine reasoning that had impeded the ascent of this Jew's soul is absent in Evangelical accounts of the proselytising of Jewish women. Such accounts emphasise the spiritual and affective components of religion that persuade unencumbered by argumentative proofs. A typical narrative tells of a Jewish banker's daughter, who converts to Christianity after her mother dies, when the words of the New Testament are the only 'consolation' for her.[45] A letter to the *Jewish Herald* in 1849 contained the narrative of 'Mrs D.', a woman who had been brought up in the Jewish religion. Later in life she 'became the subject of many great and sore troubles, and being ignorant of the only way of access to God, I was bowed down with continued sorrow'. Her emotional yearning was only relieved on her meeting with 'two young ladies' who 'conversed with me on the all-important concerns of my never-dying soul'.[46] Here, as in many other narratives, religion is shared between women and fulfils feminine needs.

The Jews themselves were personified as a suffering woman in an essay published in 1842 by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna. Imagining the unconverted in the image of the enslaved woman on the Roman coin known

as 'Judea Capta', she exclaimed: 'often do we gaze on that fettered, weeping figure, bowed in sorrow under her palm-tree, while the proud Captor stands exulting by . . . Yes, we do believe she will, under the Lord's wonderful guidance, loose *herself* from those bands, and march on'. In a complex web of allusions, Tonna claimed authority for the cause of Jewish conversion by invoking both the campaign for the abolition of colonial slavery, in which she had been a vocal advocate, and the Roman Catholic church, envisaged as the 'proud Captor' who stands as the obstacle to Jewish liberation. Tonna's figurative language was indeed revolutionary. 'We look for a sudden rousing of the mighty energies of a people "terrible from their beginning hitherto"', she declared, 'and though Gentile instrumentality will be used in conveying them, we hope and we believe that the movement will be their own.'[47] However, the Jews' political captivity here becomes a metaphor for their spiritual enslavement. In the shift between 'the Lord's wonderful guidance' and 'Gentile instrumentality' as the means to Jewish freedom, Tonna carved out a role for her readers, who could participate in the divine plan as symbolic redeemers of the captive woman.

The figure of the helpless Oriental female in need of rescue by her privileged sisters has been skilfully analysed in the work of Antoinette Burton on the feminist construction of a 'white woman's burden' in the second half of the nineteenth century. The suffering Indian woman invoked by Victorian feminist writers was produced as an effect of the strategy of identifying their mission with that of the nation and the empire as a whole. British feminists who sought to authorise their movement as the agent of the continued progress of civilisation required a 'colonial clientele' who defined their imperial saving role.[48] As the 'specter of a passive and enslaved Indian womanhood' that underpinned emancipationist argument, the colonial female Other, Burton contends, was 'one of the conceptual foundations of Victorian feminist thinking'.[49] The figure of the Jewess served a similar rhetorical function in Evangelical women's writing, defining their mission as saviours. As Billie Melman has argued, this saving role took on particular poignancy in the context of the 'Oriental' family, whose patriarchal structure could be imaginatively replaced by a 'female relationship of protection and deference'.[50] The Jewish woman was represented as suffering but enquiring – enjoining readers to play their part in her redemption and thus in the apocalyptic redemption of the English nation as a whole. However, what distinguishes conversionists' writing on Judaism is their intense identification with Jews not only in their otherness but in their proximity to the Evangelical self. Writers often utilised the domestic metaphor of the familial relationship between Christians and Jews, who, it was said, were

'kindred, "as concerning the flesh" of the Saviour himself' or 'God's peculiar family'.[51] Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna wrote that she hoped for the Jews' conversion 'from the innermost core of a heart filled with love for Israel'. In declaring that '[w]e . . . pray for the Jew, that while he tenaciously holds the folded germ of eternal life in his own blessed scriptures, it may blossom in his hand, and bear fruit, to gladden his heart and to nourish his soul', Tonna's organic metaphors linked Judaism and Christianity and figured the Jews as a barren woman giving birth.[52] In the feminised narrative of Jewish conversion, the reader's own self-liberation was idealised.

Shadowing the political debates about Jewish emancipation of the 1830s and 40s, Evangelical writing offered an alternative understanding of the relationship between Jews and Christians in contemporary England. Directed towards women readers, their writing frequently focused on the figure of the Jewess. In this chapter, I map the contours of Evangelical self-representation in three variants of the conversion narrative. Firstly, I consider the earliest such writings from the late 1820s and 30s: autobiographies, memoirs and *romans à clef* that rely on a formulaic narrative of conversion linked to the authoritative genre of personal testimony. In the following decade, the Jewish conversion story was developed into more sophisticated and extended fictional forms. One of the most enduringly popular of these was Annie Webb's bestselling historical novel *Naomi; or, The Last Days of Jerusalem* (1841), which demonstrates the premillennialist reading of Jewish history by tracing the singular path to conversion of a determined Jewish apostate in antiquity. In the final section, I consider the more complex fictional romance *The Jewess: A Tale from the Shores of the Baltic* (1843) by the journalist Elizabeth Rigby. Here, the Evangelical insistence on pity and tolerance towards the Jews becomes a more overt and conflicted political allegory of class and gender relations in the 1840s. In these women's novels, the close identification between Jews and Christians that structured millennial thinking is expressed in the fictive relationship between the Jewess and the Christian woman. The didactic texts of Evangelical writers, I will argue, were a site in which the contradictory position of Jews as the foil to Christianity and as 'kindred as concerning the flesh of the Saviour himself' is illustrated through the symbolism of gender.

MEMOIRS OF A JEWESS

The trials of conversion supplied an inherently novelistic narrative. Indeed, converts to both high and low churches in mid-nineteenth-century England felt moved to publish their stories. Amongst Evangelical readers, religious

biography was an extremely popular genre, and letters and autobiographical accounts of Jewish conversion featured regularly in Evangelical periodicals.[53] From the late 1820s they were also expanded into novel-length narratives and multi-volume family sagas, many of which were reprinted several times. By publishing the narrative of their own conversions, authors hoped to influence further reformations; indeed the stories themselves suggest this aspiration, often concluding with the conversion of the friends and family of the proselyte. Jewish conversion autobiographies produced by and about women were particularly successful. The texts follow a strict formula, relating the spiritual rebellion of a Jewish daughter against her family, and the persecutions she suffers as she courageously clings to her new-found faith. The story of 'Leila Ada', for example, was published posthumously in a series of books by her 'editor' the Rev. Osborn W. Trenery Heighway, and describes the heroine's disillusion with her religious education which had been based on the Talmud – 'an impure, stupid fabrication, composed by fallen and sinful man' – her increasingly 'strong opinion that the advent of the Messiah is probably near', and her instinctively 'simple, devout reading, and study of Thy Holy Word', the New Testament.[54] In light of the proliferation of such texts in the first half of the nineteenth century, this section investigates why female autobiography was an especially favoured form for Evangelical conversionist propaganda.

Women's reading, as Kate Flint has shown, was a source of cultural anxiety throughout the nineteenth century.[55] For Evangelicals the fear of unduly exciting the imagination through fiction was even more acute.[56] 'A novel read in secret is a dangerous thing', wrote Sarah Stickney Ellis in *The Mothers of England* (1843), recommending maternal supervision to render the activity 'improving to the mind, and beneficial to the character'.[57] Conversion literature provided a diversion from the dangers of the novel, and the personal memoirs of neophytes offered the drama of fiction with the reassurance that the texts were both true and improving. In conversion narratives, the autonomy experienced by the secret reading subject is transformed into a source of religious potential rather than anxiety. The first turning point of a conversion memoir is invariably the scene in which the woman reader encounters a New Testament in a private space where she is isolated from the influence of her family.[58] The heroine of Madame Brendlah's *Tales of a Jewess* (1838) experiences revelation in her locked room, in silent communion with the Word. Among her Jewish family she feels 'an instinctive longing to be alone, again to open *that forbidden book*, which she could not overcome'.[59] Emergent faith in Christianity is intrinsically linked to individual self-possession. For Leila Ada, whose memoirs were first

published in the 1840s, the introspective habit generates her own writing: her diary becomes 'a secret correspondence with her own heart' (*LA* 7). Her editor explains that 'writing was ever Leila's stronghold. Often when beset with sorrows she found a precious solace in this – partly because it engaged her thoughts; but especially because in it she found a channel for her earnest feeling'.[60] Losing her faith in Judaism, Leila confides: 'O, I do not know myself! I do not know my conviction! I do not know what to do!' (*LA* 72). In these texts, reading and writing become aspects of the Protestant emphasis on interiority, private faith and Bible-reading – specific acts of insurrection against the communal, familial ethos of Judaism.

Nonetheless, Evangelical memoirs evince considerable concern over the authenticity that underpins their claim to truth. Each text begins with a formula like that of the preface to *Tales of a Jewess*:

> Let not the reader expect to find in the following pages, feigned stories, nor tales from the visions of fancy. What is related is mostly founded on facts. If the names of the individuals concerned are altered, it is because it would be unjust to her friends for the Authoress to expose the frailties incidental to human nature; nor would it be decent in her to hold up to ridicule the religious tenets of the Jews, however erroneous she may *now* consider them.
>
> The Authoress was born a Jewess. (*TJ* v).

The pseudonymous autobiography *Emma de Lissau* (1828) is prefaced by an apology for the book's 'defective style of composition', which is attributed to the author's merely '*native* abilities' and to the 'indisposition of body, heightened by the painful anxiety, connected with straitened temporal circumstances' since she 'became an outcast for the truth's sake'.[61] Authenticated by its author's testimony of martyrdom, the book itself becomes a product of embattled righteousness. Dispelling any suggestion that they may be novels, in other words written for profit, the respective introductions to *Emma de Lissau* and subsequent volumes of Leila Ada's writing insist that the books have come into being through public demand. The author of *Sophia de Lissau* (1826), the story of Emma's sister, moreover, specifies that her text was produced in a serious, that is to say, millennialist context: 'Nor is this humble Work written merely to amuse – it has a higher end in view; – and is offered to the attention of those, who with the writer, "pray for the peace of Jerusalem"'.[62]

Like the Jewish writers whose work I will be considering in the next chapter, the authors of convert autobiographies stress their desire for readers to become better acquainted with the domestic life of the Jews. Madame Brendlah regrets that:

Christians, in general, are unacquainted with the manners and customs of the Jews: it is true, the Bible furnishes us with both their history and their rites and laws; but the application and practice of their religious ceremonies are known only to themselves, and even their language is peculiar . . .

It will be a source of great pleasure if the Authoress can, by any means, lessen the religious rancour and animosity which, she is grieved to say, is not only still too prevalent with the children of Israel, but is also a crying sin with some Christians; and she has attempted, in the following pages, to inculcate a kindly feeling of different sects towards each other (*TJ* viii–x).

The author's characterisation of Christianity as a 'tolerant and charitable creed' has prompted her narrative (*TJ* vi). The Bombay missionary Rev. John Wilson wrote of the *de Lissau* novels that 'they are pregnant of love to that remarkable people of whom they treat'.[63] Religious tolerance is itself thematised in Brendlah's *Tales of a Jewess*. Here, the conversion narrative is merged with the novel of sensibility by associating the heroine Judith's capacity for feeling and sympathy with her inevitable inclination towards Christianity. Judith's suffering at the hands of her family and her persecution by a lecherous rabbi who lives in their house identifies her with Christ: 'while my unhappy unthinking nation scorns me', she says, 'I may know that thou, O Lord, smilest upon me!' (*TJ* 178). When her family and the rabbi try to force her to marry a Jewish husband (and a slave-dealer) against her will, Judith realises that it is she who is enslaved, declaring: 'Gladly . . . would I exchange my lot with the humblest Christian girl, than be, as I am, the toy of *my owners*!' (*TJ* 197; original emphasis). Her own tolerance and compassion are contrasted with and given meaning by the tyranny of the Jewish family. In particular, the gentleness of her concept of religion is distinguished from that of her stern, masculinised mother. As Evangelical writing competed with both Romanticism and secular liberalism for ownership of the rhetoric of sympathy and 'tolerance', it posited a remarkably similar understanding of Jewish intolerance.

Conversion writing also bore a striking resemblance to Enlightenment responses to Jews in its concern with informing readers of 'the manners and customs of the Jews'. The realism of the narratives is reinforced by the inclusion through paratextual commentary of arcane knowledge that supplements the memoirist's personal testimony. This editorialising takes various forms: Leila Ada's writings are ventriloquised through the voice of a clerical male editor; in the *de Lissau* series and *Tales of a Jewess* the story is accompanied by a series of scholarly notes which are set apart from the main narrative. In Brendlah's text the rambling and irreverent narrative, whose style and form shift constantly, employs stereotypical images of Jews (like

Judith's father, who outwits a Christian by cunning, and Rabbi Isaac, who speaks the jargon of the stage Jew); while in contrast, the notes soberly and often lengthily debate aspects of Jewish thought, language and practice, comparing biblical, classical and personal sources. Sometimes, however, the feminine voice of the narrator and the implicitly masculine voice of the editor cross over each other, combining ethnographic observation with moral judgment:

> The modern Jews are very religious, or rather superstitious, observers of the Sabbath. If a beast by accident fall into a ditch on this day, they do not take him out, as they formerly did, but only feed him there. They carry neither arms, nor gold, nor silver about them; nor are they permitted so much as to touch them. The very rubbing the dirt off their shoes, is a breach of the Sabbath; and their scruples go so far, as even to grant a truce to the fleas (*TJ* 213).

Earlier in the century the genre of the 'national tale', notably the 'Irish novels' – *Castle Rackrent* (1800) by Maria Edgeworth and Sydney Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) – as well as Scott's *Waverley* (1814), had used a double structure of narrative and notes to represent, explain and comment upon cultural difference. In *Castle Rackrent*, the editorial apparatus governs the narrative, directing the reader's interpretation of the autobiographical voice.[64] In the conversion texts, however, there is a more unstable interplay between these two forms of authoritative discourse. Like the memoirs, conversionist periodicals included, alongside the personal testimonies of converts, much informative 'brief extracts from the rabbins on religious subjects', explained as having the purpose of revealing the 'superstitious and erroneous opinions' of the Jews.[65] Or, as the missionary John Wilson wrote in his 'Recommendatory Preface' to *The Orphans of Lissau* (1830), 'the more that is known of their present tenets, feelings, observances, and religious and social customs, the more intense will be the interest that is felt in the work of their instruction and enlightenment'.[66] Producing the Jews as an object of knowledge in these texts is inextricable from the ultimate goal of the erasure of Judaism. Moreover, the juxtaposition of Wilson's weighty voice and the narrator's personal disclosure suggests the contest between official and informal approaches to the subject of Jewish conversion. Replicating the structure of missionary activity, in which women's identification with and involvement in the cause of the Jews was overseen by the male bureaucracy and intellectual leadership, the texts' intimate confessional tone is framed and supervised by theological critique.

Ultimately, however, it is through the unsophisticated voice of the woman autobiographer that these texts make their most powerful claim

to Evangelical authority. A review of *Leila Ada* in the *Jewish Herald* noted how well the book illustrated 'the power of the truth of the Gospel to convert the heart, with scarcely any human aid for its exposition or enforcement'.[67] Like the narratives in women's periodicals, *Leila Ada* portrays Christianity as a religion of the heart that transcends rationality. That this could constitute precisely its appeal for female converts is suggested over and over again. The memoirs focus on women figures; *Sophia de Lissau*, for example, is explicitly intended 'to convey an outline of Jewish domestic and religious habits – particularly as it respects their *females*'.[68] It is the experience of Judaism as intellectual and legalistic, and the maltreatment of the Jewish woman within her family, that drive her to seek the spiritual 'consolation' of Christianity.

The Jewish household in these texts is invariably afflicted by a disordering of authority and gender: the ethos of the de Lissau family, for example, is austere, disciplinarian and pharisaical, and directed by a strictly religious, monstrous matriarch, Anna de Lissau, who dominates her husband, rails against Christians and the apostasising influence of England, and torments her patient daughter Emma mercilessly. In particular, Anna is under the sway of a rabbi who lives with her household, usurps the authority of her husband, and takes particular pleasure in subjugating her daughter. The figure of the rabbi as male persecutor recurs repeatedly in the story of the female convert, who heroically resists his efforts to enforce upon her a pedantic and punitive religiosity. Such 'priestcraft' casts Judaism as an analogue to Catholicism, as do the plots of Jewish conversion narratives, which resemble contemporary anti-Catholic novels depicting a young English heroine under threat from the conspiratorial and aristocratic power of the Roman church.[69] Leila Ada's trials are more dramatic still; at the climax of her persecutions for her belief she is subjected to a seven-hour interrogation at which a group of rabbis hit her, spit in her face and finally excommunicate her. Here once again, the heroine's suffering at a Judaic inquisition, leading to her decline and death, is aligned with the passion of Christ himself. These tales offer titillating narratives of rebellion, suspense and sexual sadism, piously underpinned by the reassurance that, as Leila Ada's editor Trenery Heighway pointed out, 'only a Jew can tell us what it is for a Jew to become a Christian'.[70]

Trenery Heighway's words were flagrantly disingenuous, given that Leila Ada's diary is most probably a hoax. At least, this was the *Jewish Chronicle*'s conclusion, as it gleefully documented Trenery Heighway's successful prosecution in 1857 by his publishers for fraud. He had sold them the copyright to another memoir of a Christian lady, the profits of which, like those of

Leila Ada, were supposed to go to the poor dependants of the 'diarist', but he refused to provide evidence of the authenticity of the text or the identity of its subject.[71] Similarly, the purportedly autobiographical *de Lissau* memoirs were published anonymously, but came from the pen of Amelia Bristow, who went on to edit the *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository*, a women's conversionist periodical. Evangelical biographies and diaries, as Elisabeth Jay has observed, characteristically followed a recognisable narrative formula.[72] Jewish conversion stories, structured along similarly generic lines and including frequently erroneous accounts of Jewish religious practice, far from providing a window of insight into the subjectivity of the convert, need to be read as a series of literary strategies designed to showcase Evangelical perspectives on simple piety, Bible-reading, priestcraft, and the meaning of religious tolerance.

The most successful strategy of all is the narrative exploitation of the gender of the convert. In conversion texts, the Jewish woman is represented as not only particularly susceptible to religious inquiry, but also particularly responsive to it. In Brendlah's *Tales of a Jewess* the heroine reflects on her love for the Christian hero that 'a time will come, when William shall see that a *despised Jewess* can love with all the fervour of a Christian! Ah, far more sincere and devoted is the love of a Jewess!' (*TJ* 44, original emphasis). The exceptional ardour – and exceptional suffering – of the Jewess makes her, in these texts, the more enthusiastic Christian. In a thrilling tryst with her divine lover, Leila Ada visits chapel secretly at night and articulates her conversion with the words '*Christ is mine and I am His*' (*LA* 93). The Jews' double potential for obduracy and redemption is explicitly mapped on to gender in an inset narrative in *The Orphans of Lissau* where the author clearly differentiates the physical and psychological characteristics of two Jewish children:

> Seldom had two lovelier infants been seen, though in person and disposition entirely dissimilar. The strongly marked, animated features, and sparkling black eyes of Raphael, were indicative of that spirit and energy which afterwards characterised him, and had already began to develope [sic] itself. Gertrude was unusually fair and delicate, with pale auburn hair, and soft blue eyes; contrasting strongly with the dark and vivacious character usual to Jewish female beauty. In manner, she was gentle, retiring, and thoughtful, even to melancholy; and her light and noiseless step, as she glided about the house, seemed to make the wild, riotous, bounding of Raphael more conspicuous.[73]

Here, the Jewish male is energetic and disruptive while the female is submissive and introspective. She blends in with her environment rather than standing out from it. Once again, the 'soft' blue eyes of the Jewess are

contrasted with the impenetrable black eyes of the Jewish boy; Gertrude's physique as well as her temperament anticipates her spiritual malleability. This gendered bifurcation of the figure of the Jew characteristically structures conversion literature. The texts draw on the virtues ascribed to women to insist on the redeemable nature of the Jews.

The narrative strategies of the convert autobiography also reveal the politics of Evangelical conversionism. At the same time that these texts were being written and read, the public debate about Jewish emancipation brought the political and social restrictions of Jewish life under new scrutiny. But, in contrast, conversion literature barely mentions the social hardships of living as a Jew in England in the 1830s and 40s. As in Mary Sherwood's Evangelical novels, there are 'no social injustices or inequalities, only errors and ignorance'.[74] The only persecution evident is the domestic persecution of the Jewess. If the political debate centred on the disabilities experienced by Jewish men, the Jewish victims in these texts are always women. Persecuted not by popular odium or legal discrimination, the Jewess suffers because of her own family's 'prejudices'. Madame Brendlah's converting heroine Judith implores her Jewish father, 'what a blessing it would be if *we* could divest ourselves of all religious prejudices, and look with toleration upon ALL men, – whatever the sect, doctrine, or party, to which they may respectively belong! – Then would the stigma attached to the Jew cease' (*TJ* 188, my emphasis). By this rhetorical reversal, prejudice against Jews is, paradoxically, internalised – domesticated.

In the parliamentary debate on Jewish disabilities, Jews were seen alternately as citizens whose equal rights ought to be protected by the state regardless of their creed, and as subjects within an exclusively Christian nation to whom political privileges might or might not be granted.[75] The autobiographical form, however, produces a radically different representation of Jews. In particular, the vocalisation of these narratives through the Jewess, who depicts herself in domestic interiors and engaged with family relationships, spiritual contemplation and moral reflection, recasts the question of the Jews in the terms of the bourgeois domestic novel rather than of political controversy.[76] For Sophia de Lissau there is no world beyond the home; in *Tales of a Jewess* the outside world is chaotic and uninterpretable. Instead of expanding her horizons, the awe-inspiring landscapes of Leila Ada's *Bildungsreise* only make her wish for a different kind of education: 'O, that I were in England! that I might obtain more knowledge from the servants of Christ' (*LA* 82). Her travels abroad in fact serve to turn her thoughts inward and homeward. In autobiographical texts the Jew has no public self but is all interiority.

The private world of the Jewish autobiographer thus displaces the political question of the Jews. Such self-dramatising introspection was, moreover, a familiar idiom for Evangelical readers. The intimate voice of the memoirist invites a close identification between subject and reader, whose own fraught and emotional experience of conversion is reiterated in the narrative of the Jewess. These texts perform similar work to that of Evangelical journals, which, constituted by the writing of an editor and the contributions of her readers, were a literary version of the familiar, domestic and collective setting of women's conversion societies. The discursive practices of women's auxiliaries and their literary publications on Jewish conversion reaffirmed the importance of women, as sisters and mothers, to the destiny of the Christian nation.

REWRITING JEWISH HISTORY; FEMINISING THE JEWESS: ANNIE WEBB'S *NAOMI*

For Evangelical eschatologists, there could be no more dramatic and prophetic episode in the history of the Jews than the story of their demise as a nation as a consequence of the Roman conquest. That this lesson could be made accessible to a female readership was demonstrated by Annie Webb, whose bestselling novel *Naomi; or, the Last Days of Jerusalem* (1841) placed the figure of the converting Jewess at the centre of the apocalyptic drama. Webb published over twenty Evangelical novels between the 1840s and the 1860s; *Naomi*, her first and most popular, was reprinted virtually every year following its publication until the end of the century.[77] Set during the Jewish revolt against Rome and the siege and eventual conquest of Jerusalem, the novel chronicles the political life of the city as it disintegrates into civil war, and the spiritual biography of a young woman as she converts to Christianity and replicates her conversion in individuals around her. The two narratives converge in Naomi's eventual abandonment of her fatherland and hereditary religion for the Christian community at Ephesus, a decision that proves to be her physical and spiritual salvation. The novel seeks the historical origin of the Evangelical movement and finds it intrinsically linked with the suffering and conversion of the Jews. Through her account of Jewish history, moreover, Webb interweaves a didactic representation of Evangelical perspectives on gender, family life and political power.

The fall of Jerusalem held particular significance for millennialist readers in contemporary as well as historical terms. In 1841, the same year as *Naomi*'s publication, the continuity between the downfall of the Jews in antiquity and their restoration through conversion in modern times was suggested

by James Huie's *History of the Jews, From the Taking of Jerusalem By Titus To the Present Time . . . With an Account of the Various Efforts Made for Their Conversion*. In the preface to her novel, Webb underlines the urgency of such expectations: 'The signs of the present times point strongly towards the Holy Land and the once glorious city of Jerusalem; and the eyes of many (both Jews and Gentiles) are turned thither in anxious expectation of the approaching fulfilment of those promises of favour and restoration which are so strikingly set forth in Scripture, with reference to that land and her scattered and degraded people'.[78] Millennialists viewed as auspicious current interest in the work of the LSPCJ as a result of their swift defence of the Jews charged with ritual murder in Damascus in 1840. In addition, the influence of Lord Ashley, vice-president of the Society, on the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, had helped to ensure the appointment of a British vice-consul in Jerusalem in 1838, and the establishment there of a Protestant bishopric in 1841. In his strategic thinking on the Middle East, Palmerston was publicly known to be considering encouraging Jewish colonisation of the Holy Land.[79] The redemption of the Jews to which *Naomi*'s conversionist narrative points was, for Evangelicals, clearly signalled by such recent political developments, which also indicated the crucial role that English Protestants could play in the advancement of prophecy.

Equally, though, the story of Jerusalem and its past held important allegorical messages for contemporary readers. The fate of the Jews, a proud nation who 'were contented to carry the law of the Lord upon their persons and their garments, while it entered not into their hearts', is an admonition to all, including 'among ourselves . . . nominal Christians, who by their cruel and vindictive, or otherwise unchristian spirit, give occasion to the enemies of our holy religion to speak evil of that which they profess, but do not follow' (10, 60).[80] The Jews' eventual descent into idolatry is anticipated in the sensual materialism of their religious practice. A warning to readers against the aesthetic seductions of Catholicism is encoded in Webb's description of 'the imposing magnificence of the temple-service . . . the thronging multitudes, the glittering gold and jewelled dresses of the priests, the costly sacrifices, the clouds of incense, the marble pavements and splendid altars . . . the brazen trumpets and united voices of the choristers, that were ordained to impress the senses, and fix the attention of the Jews' (132). Protestant anti-Catholicism, as David Feldman has argued, frequently provided the terms in which Jewish religious practice was understood.[81] The similarity between temple worship and the rituals of the Catholic church here serves to mark a sharp distinction between Judaism and the religion of the reader.

In the figure of her heroine, however, Webb asserts a characteristically Evangelical affinity with Judaism. Drawing on Walter Scott, one of the few secular novelists permitted to Evangelical readers,[82] she creates a version of Rebecca reconstructed for the religious market. Transposed to antiquity, the Jewess is a model of courageous patriotism, actively resisting the image of 'Judea Capta' or surrender to Rome. The novel begins with Naomi's declaration of fortitude:

> I would rather, oh! ten thousand times rather perish beneath those sacred walls, if it be the will of Jehovah that the spoiler should again possess them, than live to see my people once more subject to the Roman power. We have nobly shaken it off, and never till we are exterminated will we cease to resist their oppressions, and assert our freedom. You wonder at my enthusiasm, as you call it; but be assured the same spirit animates every son and every daughter of Israel; and when your proud legions advance beneath these impenetrable walls, they will be received with such a welcome as shall prove that in Jerusalem at least the soul of our fathers still survives (4–5).

Like Rebecca of York, the figure of the proud Jewess personifies her nation's valour. But the setting of Webb's novel during the last days of Jerusalem casts her determined resistance as an arrogant defiance of providential history. Unlike Rebecca, Naomi's dynamic 'enthusiasm' will not disrupt the narrative but instead be transformed by conversion.

The aristocratic ideal of romantic heroism inherited from classical literature was subjected to severe critique in Evangelical writing.[83] In *Naomi* this vice is personified by the Jews and particularly by Jewish men. Jewish patriotism takes its most zealous form in the novel in the character of Naomi's pharisaical brother Javan. His 'bigotry' and 'fanatical cruelty' represent the worst manifestations of Jewish pride (245). His tendency to excess, moreover, is an effect of 'undue liberty', passions unchecked by maternal influence (10). The lack of an appropriate domestic education is thus shown to have a crucial bearing on the destiny of the nation. Webb notes the sublimation of Javan's discontent within his family into the security provided by patriotic fervour; when Naomi plays the harp for him,

> it was not the psalm of penitence or praise that he loved best to hear; it was the tone of exultation and triumph, or the prophecy of vengeance that breathes forth in some of the inspired songs of David, which met with corresponding emotions in the breast of the fiery young Jew, and recalled his spirit from its own passions and resentments, to a contemplation of the promised restoration and glory of his nation, and the signal punishment of all their foes (11).

The romantic nationalism of Naomi and Javan, which is manifested on a wider scale in 'the misguided efforts of the Jews to regain their liberty and independence', betrays their excessive investment in temporal prosperity (20). It is also an example of Judaism's overly masculine character, which is associated with vengeance, violence and the pursuit of worldly power. The same character is displayed by John of Gischala, who tricks the Romans into believing that the Jews in his city have surrendered, and flees with his followers. When their women and children are too weak to continue the flight, 'the men abandoned them, and proceeded rapidly, leaving those who should have been their first care to perish unheeded' (88). The Jewish army frequently employs strategies of deception and treachery against the Romans, being less interested in military honour than military victory. When taken prisoner of war by his enemies, Javan is willing to break his oath to his captors using dangerously Jacobin terms: 'Liberty is the right of every man, and especially of every Jew' (141). The Romans, in contrast, conduct war honourably, avoid intimidatory tactics and repeatedly offer the Jews the chance of surrender and mercy before the final devastation. Representatives of a benign imperial power, they approach the attack on Jerusalem without thought of the glory of conquest; rather, '[w]hen Titus saw that he could neither persuade the Jews to take pity on themselves and their families, nor to regard the sanctity of the temple, he was compelled against his will to resume the siege' (447). The passive construction here suggests the submission of the Romans, unlike the Jews, to their role as agents within a divinely directed narrative.

Webb's rewriting of Jewish history also deploys the rhetoric of gender in order to assert the distinction between Judaism and Christianity. The novel chronicles the modification of the patriotic spirit of its heroine as a process of feminisation. Christian converts learn to turn their attention inwards, away from national concerns. For Javan religion is patriarchal, historical and communal: he declares that 'the pure faith which has descended to me unsullied from our father Abraham is dearer to me than any considerations of a personal nature' (267). But when Naomi becomes a Christian her language emphasises the 'personal' and the present:

> Could I be too grateful to him who had done so much for me? Could I feel proud and self-righteous when the Son of God had died to wash away my guilt? . . . I received the Lord Jesus as my God and Saviour, and he has given rest unto my soul. Never, never will I forsake Him who gave himself for me! – never will I renounce that name whereby alone I hope to be saved! (153).

Recalling the rhetoric of loyalty that marked Naomi's opening speech, her words here register the successful redirection of nationalist ardour.

Christianity appeals to the personal considerations that Javan seeks to repress; for Naomi, conversion is a fulfilment of her femininity, the counterpart to her rejection of 'the way of her fathers' (133). Judith, her aunt, describes the change in Naomi's political and social outlook as the feminisation of an over-masculine patriot: 'Your countenance no longer expresses the same pride and self-confidence that I have always lamented in your character; and your manner is meek and gentle, like that of one who has renounced all human pride and human dependence, and consented to learn of Him who was meek and lowly of heart' (120). Naomi has become more like the feminised Christ of Evangelical theology while Javan, whose 'scrupulous adherence to the minutest points of ceremony' defines his masculine religion of law and ritual, like Rabbi Joazer – who attempts to reconvert Naomi 'by long and rapid quotations from the cumbrous volumes on which he rested his creed' – has no 'real piety' (9, 167, 9). Christianity, in contrast, is disseminated not by the imposition of rules and the performance of rites but by the sharing of 'affecting narratives' between women left at home while men conduct war (167). The new religion sanctions the autonomy of individual conscience rather than blind obedience to male authority. The narrator even criticises Salome, Naomi's mother, for her wifely submission to the anti-Christian zeal of her husband, when she should have 'looked simply to the word of God, and studied it attentively, with prayer for the guidance of his Spirit, and cast aside all human dependence' (155). Webb's message for her contemporary reader points to the appeal of Evangelicalism as a counter to the false gods of worldly convention. Paradoxically, for the Jews of Jerusalem, turning from patriotic pride to a feminised religious consciousness is the route to national regeneration. By representing conversion not as a rupture but as a recovery of true femininity, Webb's novel suggests that Christian ascendancy is both natural and inevitable.

It is the Jewess who most powerfully embodies the possibility of salvation through individual conversion and rebirth. Naomi's nature and experience as a Jew and as a woman make her the ideal Christian. Jewish monotheism, for example, is seen as a source of spiritual preparation for Christianity; Naomi's Roman friend Claudia finds conversion a greater struggle:

> she did not, as it were, grasp and comprehend the doctrines that were presented to her, with the rapidity that had characterized Naomi's conversion. Her less energetic disposition was alarmed at the wonder and the novelty of the religion that was proposed to her belief; and though in the mythology which she had been taught in her childhood, there were many pretended instances of the heathen divinities dwelling with men upon the earth, yet the history of Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, was altogether so different from these idle tales, and the miracles which

glorified his earthly life were so astonishing and so awakening, that Claudia paused before she could give full credence to all that her friend related to her (167–8).

Claudia's religious consciousness evolves from paganism to Judaism and finally to Christianity. But the 'energetic disposition', which the Roman woman does not share with the Jewess, is the factor that qualifies Naomi for a glorious conversion. The 'courage and obstinacy of the Jews' in their war against the Romans is echoed in the personal character of Naomi herself (46). It is this energy and tenacity that spurs her onward to the dangerous, clandestine investigation of new forms of knowledge:

> We have said that Naomi was self-willed and impetuous: her feelings were ardent and uncontrolled; and in proportion to the contempt she entertained for the Nazarenes [Christians] while she was ignorant of the character of Him whom they worshipped, was the admiration she now felt when that character was in some degree displayed to her, and the eagerness of her determination to know more of this gracious and glorious Being (41–2).

Naomi's Jewish 'enthusiasm' can be directly rechannelled, and it vastly increases the premium of her conversion. She feels that the spiritual salvation of her people has particular significance because the Jews are the type of irredeemable guilt: 'is it not . . . a miracle of grace, that any one of us should be saved? . . . Are not all of our fallen race by nature dead in trespasses and sins, until the Spirit of the Lord takes away our stony heart, and gives us a heart of flesh?' (374). With her biblical diction and modest demeanour, Naomi becomes not only a proselyte but a female preacher.

In Webb's novel, it is also the specific experience of the Jewess that makes her worthy of and receptive to Christianity. Naomi's dual allegiances, to her new religion and to her unbelieving parents, cause a uniquely edifying anguish. Her life becomes embattled as her parents try to have her re-educated by a dogmatic rabbi, and she loses the domestic privileges of a dutiful daughter. But while Naomi's parents become her persecutors, Naomi herself repays them with a deeper respect. She refuses to leave them when the final battle for Jerusalem is approaching and she is offered the opportunity to escape. Naomi's 'determination to share whatever peril should betide her parents' constitutes a counter-stereotype to the Shakespearean Jewish daughter whose apostasy must entail betrayal of domestic authority (186). But the Evangelical text values the tension generated by conflicting loyalties which can only be reconciled by the mediating figure of the suffering, elevated individual: 'Anxiety and sorrow had already left their traces on her form and face, and quenched the brilliance of her clear black eye; but she was more lovely and more interesting in her patient grief

than she had been in the pride of her joyous youth' (174). Through her suffering, Naomi upholds both filial submission and Christian fortitude. The stubborn nature of the Jew is what enables the neophyte to endure 'persecutions and afflictions, or . . . the more dangerous trials of prosperity'; the extreme humility that is demanded of the Jewess is what makes her 'more lovely and more interesting', a better Christian (120, 174).

The 'domestic persecutions' to which Naomi is subjected by her parents metonymically enact the novel's broader narrative of Jewish tyranny (148). The novel's historical setting enables Webb to cast Christians as the powerless minority, suffering under the bigotry of the Jews. Javan, resembling a Catholic inquisitor, considers 'the infliction of torments or the terrors of death' necessary to discourage conversion, 'as he believed that their souls were thus saved from perdition' (219). Under pressure, Javan's persecuting devotion to Judaism becomes indistinguishable from the pagan religions that preceded it:

> To Javan's excited imagination the altars once erected in this spot to Chemosh, Moloch, and Ashtaroth were present again, reeking with their human sacrifices; and the cries of the innocent children who were offered up by hundreds to the gods of cruelty and murder sounded in his ears. The savage mob that had followed the dead-carts stood round to enjoy the spectacle, and as the flames burst forth afresh, and the bodies [of murdered Christians] consumed away, they expressed their exultation and joy by loud discordant shouts, that only added to the infernal character of the scene (319).

At the height of the siege, the degeneration of the Jews is complete. Still fatally attached to physical existence, they resort to murder, pillage and cannibalism, which their religion of ephemeral forms is powerless to impede. Finally, the Jews desire their own destruction as liberation from 'their tyrant defenders' who fight 'with the undisciplined fury of wild beasts' (418, 398). The moral collapse of the people of Jerusalem only reveals more clearly the insufficiency of their religious code. In contrast, the beleaguered Christians, 'these poor and exiled brethren', become the new Chosen People, God's 'own believing children' (133, 343). For Webb, shifting between a relationship of continuity and rupture with Judaism, the fall of Jerusalem is the moment in which the cleavage between Christianity and Judaism is irrefutably established. In this moment, Christians are confirmed as the true Jews.

In this series of reversals, *Naomi* warns against the arrogance of those who hold temporal power and celebrates the virtues of daughters and mothers, the socially weak. Refusing the Christian and feminine virtues of humility

and self-sacrifice, the masculinised Jews are an exemplary case of misguided pride, and thus the cause of their own suffering. Webb's preface sternly explains: 'The children of Israel are now a despised and humbled race, but they are a perpetual memorial to the whole world, of God's unsparing justice, and a standing miraculous proof of the truth of His word' (vii–viii). In her use of the present tense, Webb signalled the immediacy of ancient history for the Evangelical reader. The fall of Jerusalem was being re-enacted daily, and its redemption was equally within reach. The history of the Jews, for Webb, confirmed not the barbarism of past societies as it did for liberal authors like Scott, but the pattern of divine providence. The novel's account of Jewish history, in these terms, reveals the meaning of Jewish suffering as the ground of Christianity's claim to truth. The sorrows of the Jewess, then, are significant not only because they lead her to the faith that consoles. They also provide the reader with evidence for that faith. Recast within a Christian framework, however, the suffering of the Jewess becomes a sign not of her punishment but of her election.

THE PERSECUTED JEWESS AND THE DISCONTENTED WIFE: ELIZABETH RIGBY'S *TALE FROM THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC*

The narrative of Jewish conversion emerged from the genre of testimony through the didactic novel into literary fiction. The Evangelical philosophy that placed a premium on the individual's judgment, Elisabeth Jay argues, had particular 'appeal to the novelist since it invited him to contemplate characters who recognized no compulsion to conform to the standards of contemporary society'.[84] In her story *The Jewess: A Tale from the Shores of the Baltic* (1843), the periodical journalist Elizabeth Rigby paired a persecuted Jewish woman with her spirited and more privileged English counterpart, who became the bold voice of protest against Jewish oppression as brutal and unchristian. In Rigby's story, the embattled individual at the centre of the conversion drama is not only the Jewess, but also the real subject of evangelical fiction: the Christian woman who encounters her – and, behind the Christian woman, the reader. Her text, then, was no less marked by the concerns that had generated its Evangelical forebears, in which the *Bildungsroman* of the Jewess furnished a literary reflection on the values of English femininity. In foregrounding the specific sufferings of the Christian wife as well as the Jewess, however, Rigby's text brought to the surface tensions between the belief in established structures of authority and the feminist subtext that had been implicit in earlier Evangelical writing.

The Jewess was published anonymously by Rigby, then at the beginning of a writing career that progressed with the encouragement of John Gibson Lockhart, son-in-law of Walter Scott and editor of the Tory *Quarterly Review*. Rigby came from a provincial professional middle-class background[85] – the hotbed of Evangelicalism – and her writing both explicitly and implicitly engaged with Evangelical cultural values. She was also a great admirer of Scott, and echoes of Scott's ethnography are evident in her travel writings. On a visit to the Baltic in 1838, from which the story of *The Jewess* derived, she found in Estonia a primitive echo of English society, 'like the translated souls of my great-grandfathers and grandmothers'.[86] Travelling in Scotland in the summer of 1843 she opined: 'The union with the Celtic and Saxon heads has produced the best of all compounds, an Englishman. The Highlanders, who remain unmixed, are incapable of any talents beyond those of war'. She found the Highland landscape bleak and barren, and, watching uncared-for children in a village, commented that '[t]here's something Jewish in a Highlander' – interpreting, like Scott, the 'unmixed' race as primitive.[87] In her own fiction on a Jewish theme, however, Rigby, in contrast to Scott, suggested the special capacity of the Jewish woman to cross the boundary of race.

In 1843, Rigby caused a stir with an attack on Evangelical novels in the *Quarterly Review*. In particular, her article criticised the anti-aristocratic polemic of Evangelical writers. The Evangelical contempt for worldliness was 'so much the more dangerous as being levelled against an immense community of baptized and communicating Christians who, because surrounded with all the apparel of hereditary wealth or nobility, are sweepingly condemned by those who move at too great distance from them in society to know how they bestow the one or adorn the other'. There was a 'religious dissipation' as well as the worldly kind, and it was quite as bad and dangerous 'as regards the length of time devoted, the necessary absences from home duties, the heart-burnings, envyings and jealousies, and the vanity of seeing and being seen' as were the aristocratic pleasures condemned by Evangelical novelists. Rigby wrote in her journal that 'there have been as many errors committed in the name of conscience as there have been crimes in the name of liberty'.[88] In her *Quarterly Review* article, she perceptively noted that, for all their disdain for worldly privilege, middle-class Evangelicals had created an alternative elite culture that closely resembled that of the aristocracy. In *The Jewess*, published in the same year, Rigby appropriated the Evangelical conversion narrative to reclaim the rhetoric of piety in the name of aristocratic values.

The story begins with the arrival of a Jewish peddler and his young wife and baby at the house of an unnamed upper-class Englishwoman married to a Russian, currently absent. Only the lady treats the strangers with respect and sympathy, while her Russian servants remark on the young woman's unattractive Jewish face and their expectation that she is planning to rob them. The lady, however, intervenes, telling her maid, 'You are a fool, Axina . . . her face is not so Jewish as your own, to say nothing of its being a trifle handsomer; and as to picking pockets, one of your own Russians will outwit a Jew any day.'[89] The English lady opposes reason to the remarks of the Russians, whose prejudices against the helpless young woman are marked as peasant and primitive. When, later, her home is invaded by Cossack soldiers searching for the Jews, the Englishwoman's 'native spirit arose' against the 'inquisitorial' military (64, 67). Her 'Christian and feminine gentleness' enable her to defy the soldiers and her dignified manner makes them lay down their arms 'with instinctive obedience' (18, 71). Whereas Webb frames her story with a stern reminder of Christian doctrine – that it is divine command that has rendered the Jews a 'despised and humbled race' – Rigby's text advocates Christian pity. The lady's chivalric defence of the Jews against the prejudice and tyranny that violates her home as well as their peace is shown to be as English a virtue as it is feminine. The story functions as a quasi-colonial fantasy, in which the plucky English lady, stranded in a remote, primitive outpost, defiantly upholds the values of decency.

In the text, Rigby elicits sympathy for the Jews through the links she establishes between the two women, the exiled English aristocrat and Rose, the poor Jewess, who is introduced into the narrative as an emblem of her people: 'nothing betrayed her real origin except her head, which was bound in a turban of indubitable Hebrew form. This also told her history; for in the mixture of loftiness and gentleness which her countenance expressed, seemed equally united the sense of her people's wrongs and their habits of passive endurance' (15–16). Rigby dresses her Jewess, improbably, as a turbaned Oriental, emphasizing her romantic exoticism and her link to a biblical past (Figure 2). Represented through the narrative point of view of the Englishwoman, Rose's sufferings, as the wife of a wandering, persecuted peddler, are a source of admiration and sympathy. However, Rigby also appeals to the reader to identify her own sensibility with that of the Jewess. In the episode that follows, the couple escape the Cossacks, but find themselves stranded at sea on an ice floe. Here, Rose demonstrates her significant temperamental difference from her husband: 'the knit brow, the fever gathered on the cheek of the Jew, showed the anxiety that was preying

Figure 2 The exotic but childlike Jewess: Frontispiece to [Elizabeth Rigby, later Lady Eastlake], *The Jewess: A Tale from the Shores of the Baltic* (London, John Murray, 1843). By permission of the British Library.

within; while Rose was pale, gentle and quiet, like one accustomed to take and bear whatever necessity imposed upon her, equally without inquiring or even understanding its object' (99–100). The Jew's anger and frustration suggest his inability to submit to his destiny, while trusting passivity marks the Jewess's habitual response to suffering. Rose's gentleness indicates that her true affinity lies not with her Jewish husband but with the Christian Englishwoman who had protected her and who exhibits a similar, if more imperious, form of serenity, an 'acquired control over warm feelings often tried, and the submission of a lofty spirit to loftier convictions' (19).

Indeed, the narrative is structured around this intense identification between the Jewess and the English lady, suggested from the moment of their first meeting:

> As their looks met, a spectator might have fancied some resemblance between them; both countenances were so pale and so beautiful, and both marked with an expression of experience beyond their years. But they might almost have exchanged their birthright; for the Christian lady's eye was full, dark, and of an oriental languor, and her eyebrow slender and arched like Lot's daughter in Guido's picture; while the young Israelite's deep blue eye and tender brow might better have found its prototype among the high-born daughters of an island kingdom (19–20).

This identification is recognised by the lady herself, who, in a melancholy aside, describes her experience of marriage as similar to that of the poor Jewess: 'I did like yourself. I married young, and now I am older I must be wise enough to make the best of it. Women must follow their husbands, you know' (34). Here the Englishwoman suggests that her alienation as an unhappy wife and an exile is analogous to the deracination of the Jewess. In the same way that Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna used the figure of the oppressed Jewish woman as a metaphor for unbelief, Rigby links the Jewess's powerlessness with that of all married women. The text invites the female reader to empathise with Rose's 'people's wrongs and their habits of passive endurance' as with a woman constrained socially and politically by an unhappy or restrictive marriage.

Rose's physical and temperamental affinity with the English lady are indications of her unconscious inclination towards Christianity. This emerges more clearly when, trapped on the drifting ice, Rose pleads the cause of a helpless dog that the Russian men want to kill for food, on the grounds that 'the animal has not, like us, a life beyond'. When one of the peasants abuses her for, as a Jew, knowing nothing of the life beyond,

> Rose was not to be daunted, and identifying the cause of the poor dog with her own, she replied with more fire than any would have attributed to her, –

'And what do you know of the Hebrews? There are as many Hebrews as little like what you call Jews, as there are Christians who act not up to the creed they profess; and if you Christians think your religion the better of the two, more's the shame. I have ever found those the best Christians who were kindest to the Israelite. No, – touch him not; you shall strike me sooner' (113–14).

In defending her own capacity for compassion, Rose unwittingly mimics the Englishwoman's sense of the responsibility of the strong to defend the weak. One of her Russian companions sees this as an example to Christians: 'For shame, Tomas! let her alone, and the dog also. The woman is right; no Christian could have spoken better . . . I wish all Christians were as patient in times of affliction as she' (114).

But the patience born of her experience as a Jewess is insufficient for the ordeal Rose has to undergo. Out at sea, faced with imminent starvation, she is torn between passivity and an agitation that resembles that of her Jewish husband:

At times she sat motionless, her looks fixed on vacancy, one arm flung across her husband's breast, and sometimes her face hidden upon the same; then she would suddenly rise, as if a quiescent position were no longer endurable, and retreating to the edge, pace up and down with the restlessness and irritation of an animal before the bars of its cage. On one occasion her step was so hurried, her brow so flushed, and her actions so wild, that Maddis, fearing she would cast herself into the waters, seized her by the arm and endeavoured to draw her back to her husband. But she broke violently from him. 'Don't hinder me, – don't hinder me,' she said, 'I know what I am about; I am not beside myself, – I wish I were, – may God forgive me! But when these fits of yearning come over me I cannot remain there; the aching heart is best carried on the restless foot' (105–6).

In Rose's inwardly directed rage, the text dramatises her existential conflict. Figured as a caged animal, the Jewess is finally incapable of enduring with 'quiescence' this unmerited suffering. But her 'aching heart' protests not against the persecution that has brought her to this end; rather it announces her specifically Jewish spiritual insecurity. Rose is ultimately unable to derive comfort from her faith, and in this crisis reverts to the figure of the restless, wandering Jew, 'yearning' for something more. Rigby's critique of gentile persecution here shifts towards a critique of Judaism.

It is only logical, then, that Rose should learn the lesson of her own true character when she survives the winter, returns to the home of the Englishwoman, and has her child baptised into the Christian church. The story indicates that, as conversionists hoped, compassion for the Jews would lead to their voluntary renunciation of Judaism. Even one of the Russian peasants, initially hostile towards Rose, comes to admire her for her exemplary

patience. When, the following spring, he and the now widowed Jewess return, as if from the dead, to the Englishwoman's household, he describes her experience as a journey of the soul: 'she has sorrowed enough for that rosy cheek; and Jewess though she be, nobody better deserves to become a Christian. I'm not sure she is not one already' (128–9). The ordeal of the winter has resulted in her rebirth. The reconciliation between the Jewess and the prejudiced peasantry through the mediation of the Englishwoman points to the conservative ideology implicit in Rigby's tale. While Rose's Christ-like 'passive endurance' is the attribute that most qualifies her for tolerance by Christians, it is also a spiritualised form of political acquiescence. Rose's submissiveness denotes an unquestioning acceptance of her fate, and an implicit forgiveness of those who persecute her: the Jewess is one 'accustomed to take and bear whatever necessity imposed upon her, equally without inquiring or even understanding its object' (100). While Rose's patience is compared with that of the virtuous Englishwoman, it also enhances the authority of her 'benefactress' (129).

The Jewess's deference to social hierarchy in this text had particular resonance in the 1840s, and was clearly of importance to Rigby. Her essay on *Jane Eyre* in the *Quarterly Review* of December 1848 contended that Bronte's novel was 'pre-eminently an anti-Christian composition . . . The tone of mind and thought which has fostered Chartism and rebellion is the same which has also written *Jane Eyre*.' Here, Rigby closely associated Christianity with the established social order, and her interpretation of the novel identified the politically subversive connotations of Jane Eyre's anger. In particular, she was outraged that the orphaned Jane was 'ungrateful'.[90] In contrast, Rigby's Jewess cannot be grateful enough. She accepts the social order and her place in it uncomplainingly, whilst providing the opportunity for a benevolent demonstration of aristocratic maternalism. The same ideology structured *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) whose author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, would become 'a symbol of white women's philanthropic and missionary power to bring freedom and Christianity to grateful black slaves'.[91] Rigby's text thus inscribes the contemporary political debate about the place of the Jews in the polity into the Evangelical narrative of conversion. Her story suggests that Jews can *merit* tolerance in a Christian nation, but this is not a matter of rights. Tolerance must be granted as a privilege from above, and accepted gratefully below. While Rigby may have been critical of middle-class Evangelical culture, Evangelicals provided an important source of support for Tory values, and Evangelical myths about femininity and Jewishness could be effectively appropriated by a Tory writer.[92] If, as David Feldman has argued, 'among High Tories, the debates over Jewish disabilities provided occasions to affirm their vision of England as an

hierarchical and Christian nation', such affirmation found articulation in women's fiction as much as in parliamentary argument.[93]

The Jewess thus asserts in the strongest possible terms the affinities between English lady and poor Jewess, yet at the same time it reaffirms the distance between them. In this respect, the story reflects the paradox of Evangelical theology and politics, which combined a belief in spiritual equality with a defence of the established social hierarchy. But in *The Jewess*, the contradictions that inhere in Evangelical women's writing about female subordination crack the text open. Rigby's Jewess, whose beauty and spirituality are interchangeable with those of the Englishwoman, represents an uncanny displacement of the latter's (and implicitly, the reader's) discontents as a woman that the text cannot fully accommodate. It is only by reasserting her maternal power that the English lady can regain the authority that she lacks as a wife.

CONCLUSION

Conversionist fiction developed between the 1820s and the 1840s into a complex expression of middle-class women's aspirations and frustrations. In their writing, Evangelical authors deployed the rhetoric of gender in order to articulate the distinction between Christianity and its Other, Judaism. In these texts, Judaism is represented as ritualistic, legalistic, materialistic, archaic and, crucially, masculine. At the same time, however, the distinctive philosemitism of Evangelical theology embedded in English culture a particular attachment to Jews. In Evangelical women's writing, this was expressed in the idealised figure of the Jewess. Their texts constructed an intense, emotive intimacy between the reader and the Jewish woman. This focus on the transference of suffering reached its height in Annie Webb's *Julamerk; or, The Converted Jewess* (1849), where the process of proselytisation between the Jewish Zoraide and her Christian friend Helena is reciprocal; thus conversion is shared ecstatically between women.

> [Helena's] anxiety to lay open to the Jewess the inexhaustible stores of comfort which are contained in the inspired Word, and to bring her to a perfect confidence in God's love and mercy, and a perfect resignation to His will, had caused her to search that Word with even greater care and diligence than she had ever employed before; and the necessary result was an increased stedfastness in her own faith, and a greater enjoyment of peace in her own soul.[94]

In the novel, however, the 'once blooming and high-spirited' Zoraide becomes increasingly debilitated as she becomes increasingly convinced of the truth of Christianity.[95] The narrative concludes with the happy

Christian marriages of the other characters, yet this conventional closure is upstaged by the greater significance of Zoraide's Christian death. In Michael Ragussis's reading of this text, 'conversion is nothing more than a masked form of banishment so radical that death is its clearest analogue'.[96] But this is to underestimate the high value placed in Evangelical culture on the pedagogical power of the deathbed scene.[97] Death is the obvious end point for the narrative of the self-sacrificial Jewess, but it is also her apotheosis. Zoraide's martyrdom transfigures her Jewishness; her drawn-out and exemplary dying strengthens the faith of her friend Helena and inspires the conversion of her unbelieving relatives. It is specifically her Jewishness, both transcended and yet still present, that confers such exceptional significance on her conversion – a 'miracle of grace', as Webb's Naomi calls it.

As a woman, the Jewess, like the reader, was seen to be more amenable to the conversion of 'the heart'. The woman reader was exhorted in these texts to identify with the suffering of the Jewess as with Christ persecuted by the Jews. In the story of conversion she could read an allegory of her own spiritual rebirth. In the narratives' frequent recommendation that the heroine turn from the authority of fathers, husbands and rabbis to the prophetic call of her own conscience, she could recognise her own sense of struggling moral righteousness in the face of dominant conceptions of modest femininity. As the Christian reader interpellated by and represented in the text, too, she could see exhibited the ascendancy of her national religion and the growing public power of women of her class. The rebellion of the Jewess alluded to the social and political discontents of women readers, while her submission to a higher authority cast her story within a safely orthodox, conservative framework. The textual representation of the Jewess, then, was a vehicle for the articulation of middle-class female identity and an invocation of female religious community. Conversion texts, like the voluntary societies from which they emanated, never achieved the goals of evangelisation for which they ostensibly aimed. More indirectly, though, they competed for cultural authority with advocates of Jewish emancipation, insisting that religious 'tolerance' was the extension not of legal rights but of access to the Word. What they undoubtedly did effect, however, was a deep and lasting influence on literary constructions of Jews, an influence which was to endure throughout the century in the writing of non-Jews and Jews alike.

4

Women of Israel: femininity, politics and Anglo-Jewish fiction

Conversionist writing provided the cultural challenge and literary models for the first Anglo-Jewish novels. If Jews in early Victorian England did not succumb to the seductions of Evangelical prose, they were nevertheless roused to passionate literary disputation. They met the Evangelical novel on its own terms, in fictional genres directed to women readers and focused on female characters. In a climate in which religion was closely entwined with ideology and politics, moreover, the literary vindication of Judaism was inevitably a political intervention. In the work of early Victorian Anglo-Jewish writers, the subject of this chapter, the Jewess was the site of these discursive battles.

One example of a terrain particularly contested between Christian and Jewish women in the 1830s and 40s was the common property of the Old Testament. In *The Women of Scripture* (1847), for example, the Evangelical writer, feminist and temperance campaigner Clara Lucas Balfour used a series of portraits of biblical women to confirm the superior status of the female under modern Protestant Christianity. Her text begins, however, with a comparison of the treatment of women by Christianity and Islam. The life of Muslim women, she laments, is 'one of monotony, indolence, ignorance and consequent debasement and sorrow'; they are 'victims of man's caprice', condemned to an endless repetition of 'bathing, dressing, embroidery, and passive obedience . . . uncheered by any assured hope of a compensating futurity'.[1] This familiar portrait of the degraded Oriental woman, idle as an aristocrat and oppressed by men and unbelief, is also extended to the Jewess. Balfour's Hebrew Bible source demonstrates that Judaism only partially elevated women from oriental barbarism:

> However just might be the Mosaic laws in reference to woman in other particulars, the permission of polygamy, like a foul blot, spread over the otherwise fair page of Jewish social institutions, and depressed the condition of their women. It mattered not how high in station, how cultivated in intellect, how exalted in spiritual privileges the Jewish women were, any custom that deteriorated the sacred domestic

institutions of marriage must have been powerful in counteracting and subverting their privileges. Christianity, in purifying domestic institutions in reference to marriage and divorce, consolidated the social rights of women, and placed them on the sure foundation of equity and moral purity (207).[2]

Balfour's typological method structures her study as a whole: depictions of New Testament women follow their Old Testament predecessors as 'more valuable . . . models for imitation', thus illustrating the supersessionist convention that 'the Mosaic law sought the elevation of the Jews – the Christian system provides for the regeneration of the world' (218, 216). But although writers like Balfour concentrated on the Hebrews of the Bible era, their work could not but have contemporary resonance. Religious arguments such as this underpinned political conceptions of the Jews as insular and morally uncivilised.

If Balfour and her Evangelical colleagues used the women of the Bible to celebrate the universalising ascendancy of Christianity, however, such claims were being vigorously contested by their Anglo-Jewish contemporaries. In this chapter, I discuss the work of Grace Aguilar and Celia and Marion Moss, whose representations of women in the Bible and later Jewish history form part of the energetic polemic against conversion and the more implicit claim for Jewish emancipation that was threaded through their popular fiction. The status of women in Judaism and the figure of the Jewess, I will argue, became a key rhetorical element in the controversy over Jewish conversion and Jewish civil rights.

LITERATURE AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR JEWISH EMANCIPATION

Concurrent with the Evangelical campaign to convert the Jews was the political campaign to admit them to Parliament. Between 1830 and 1858, spurred on by the emancipation of Catholics and dissenting Protestants in the 1820s, there were fourteen attempts to remove the disabilities preventing Jews from taking parliamentary office, and emancipation was finally granted eleven years after the first Jew had been elected to a seat.[3] During these decades the question of the Jews' status was intensely debated in Parliament, pamphlets and periodical reviews. In this section, I delineate the terms of political debate about the Jews in the early Victorian period, and consider the role of literary culture in bolstering their cause.

The debates about Jewish emancipation reveal not only contrary attitudes to Jews and to constitutional change, but also differing concepts of

citizenship. On the grounds of a suspicion that the Jews were loyal firstly to other Jews, the high Tory Sir Robert Inglis asserted in the House of Commons in 1833 'that a Jew could never be made an Englishman, even though he be born here'.[4] In 1828, the Tory *Quarterly Review* had argued that the law should not encode 'prejudice' against 'these domesticated strangers', but

> to give all the rights and privileges of citizens to them whilst holding to Judaism would be to bind ourselves wholly to those who cannot so bind themselves to us; to confer on them strength which might be turned against ourselves and to compel them, of course to contract reciprocal obligations, which their highest duties in their views, national, political, religious, must force them to violate at such a call as they should believe to be that of their promised deliverer.[5]

Some Tories like Inglis and Finch questioned more closely the conflation of rights and privileges and argued that eligibility to sit in Parliament was a privilege rather than a civil right.[6]

Thomas Macaulay, on the other hand, turned Inglis's argument on its head. 'As long as they are not Englishmen', he countered, 'they are nothing but Jews.'[7] Whigs like Macaulay and Lord John Russell favoured the principle of Jewish emancipation on the ground that British political tradition had always affirmed the right of every free-born citizen to be treated equally before the law in all matters which did not threaten the security of the state, and that any restriction of their liberties constituted 'persecution'.[8] In his 1831 essay 'Emancipation of the Jews', William Hazlitt made this quite clear, stating the case against maintaining a Christian legislature: 'Religion cannot take on itself the character of law without ceasing to be religion; nor can law recognise the obligations of religion for its principles, nor become the pretended guardian and protector of the faith, without degenerating into inquisitorial tyranny.'[9] Macaulay, meanwhile, in 'Civil Disabilities of the Jews' (1829) maintained that the 'religion of mercy' would be better served by admitting than excluding the Jews, and suggested that Christ's example as a martyr to 'intolerance' should be honoured by the abolition of 'the last traces of intolerance'.[10]

Both Hazlitt and Macaulay opposed archaic 'prejudice' to modern 'reason'; Hazlitt argued that '[t]he Emancipation of the Jews is but a natural step in the progress of civilization'.[11] Liberals insisted that Jewish insularity was the result only of their mistreatment and did not imply a want of patriotism. 'The statesman who treats them as aliens, and then abuses them for not entertaining all the feelings of natives', argued Macaulay, underlining his own bibliocentric piety, 'is as unreasonable as the tyrant who

punished their fathers for not making bricks without straw'.[12] Francis Henry Goldsmid, one of the principal leaders of the Anglo-Jewish campaign vehemently agreed. In a pamphlet published in 1831 he argued that there was no contradiction between English and Jewish loyalties: '[The Jews] do not, as seem to have been imagined, they cannot believe that they have now any political existence or political interest distinct from those of the country in which they live'. He cited the example of the prophets during the captivity who were ministers of Babylonian kings and argued that Jewish messianic expectations were miraculous, not literal.[13] Ostensibly at issue here was the question of where the Jews' collective allegiance lay. But in fact the debates turned on competing ideological definitions of the nation. Was Britain above all a Christian nation, no longer legislated for exclusively by Anglicans, but nevertheless a nation whose legislature was deeply bound up with Christian morality – or was the British constitution, as Whigs contended, primarily characterised by its ongoing adaptation to protect the liberties of every individual citizen, regardless of religious creed?[14]

These questions, I will argue, can be traced not only in parliamentary debate but also in the literary culture of Anglo-Jewry that began to emerge in the early 1840s. The high profile of Jewish questions in public discourse in the 1830s was given extra impetus in 1840, when, in Damascus, a Catholic monk and his servant disappeared, and a number of Jews were accused of ritual murder, imprisoned and tortured, several to death. Widely reporting on the case, the British press was overwhelmingly sympathetic to the plight of the Jews, but *The Times*, significantly, persistently reserved judgment on the question of the ritual murder charge. On the other hand, the demand for justice was adopted with particular fervour by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.[15] In campaigning for support for the cause of their co-religionists, Jews were faced with the paradox that their most vocal advocates were Evangelical missionaries. It was in this context that the *Voice of Jacob*, the first Jewish newspaper in England, was established in 1841, with, as its opening leader stated, the dual mission of defending the Jews against popular ignorance and proselytisation.[16] Jews, argued one article in its first issue, would in the future become 'the champions for the rights of their brethren everywhere, and thus . . . show themselves worthy to be citizens of a state which struck off the fetters of its black children'.[17] This message was carried forward in the inauguration of a second Jewish newspaper, the *Jewish Chronicle*, in the same year, and in the work of Anglo-Jewish writers aimed

at both a Jewish and a non-Jewish readership.[18] Alongside fiction-writers, the Anglo-Jewish press frequently utilised literary genres in the service of political argument.

In the first issue of the *Voice of Jacob*, for example, the case for emancipation was made in poetic as well as prosaic terms:

> . . . The Jew, whose birth-place is this favoured land,
> Within whose veins the healthful current flows
> That warms to liberty, too long withheld,
> Who, with his fellow Briton, worships God,
> As Mercy, Goodness, Truth and boundless Love,
> Still feels the fetter, and still vainly pines
> For the full measure of a Freeman's rights:–
> His chain is rusting, link by link, away –
> When will it cease to grate upon the ear?[19]

In the inflated rhetoric of this anonymous poet, the Jews' exclusion from full civil rights constituted the only remaining form of slavery under British rule. But the poet drew on a specific account of the British political tradition in order to make this analogy. In the poem, the Jew's chains grate not only on his own flesh but also 'upon the ear' of the British, who are particularly called upon because of their celebrated love of 'liberty'. In demanding 'the full measure of a Freeman's rights', moreover, the Jew identifies precisely with this instinct for liberty – an instinct generated by his birth in 'this favoured land'. The poet constructs a figurative argument for Jewish emancipation from the rhetoric of the Whig supporters of the Jews, which asserted that 'persecution' was anathema to the British political tradition and that the Jews' patriotism would be augmented by their liberation.

In a more indirect way, the *Voice of Jacob* also intervened in the political debate via its efforts to combat Christian conversionists. In its second number of May 1842, the paper published a letter that closely pastiched the conversion narratives published in the *Christian Lady's Magazine* and the *Jewish Herald* in the 1830s and 40s. It tells of an upper-class Berkshire clergyman who attempts to convert a young Polish Jew. Instead, the clergyman's daughter, who has been present at their theological discussions, becomes convinced of the truth of Judaism, and elopes with the Jew. She then endures a life of misery, as she is disinherited by her father and abandoned by her husband. She becomes a teacher at a school for poor Jewish children, 'to whom she taught the principles of that religion, the adoption of which had been, to her, the source of so much worldly misery, but, to

use her own words, of "so much spiritual comfort"'. When her father dies, she is offered his fortune if she reconverts, but she insists, 'shall I, after having gone through so long a life, supported by only a firm reliance on the God of Israel, shall I, at the eleventh hour, renounce my hopes of Heaven?', and expires.[20] The writer here represents Judaism as a religion of spirit that offers the female subject (who is repeatedly betrayed by men) 'comfort' and 'Heaven', and valorises martyrdom. Claiming a factual basis like its literary model, the text aimed to reinforce Jewish pride by narrating a story of conversion to rather than from Judaism. But this was also a response to the political debate, asserting the theological proximity of Judaism to Christianity rather than its 'strangeness'.

The literary character of much of the paper's offerings attests to the increasing importance of cultural expression and achievement in the debates about the Jews' place in the British polity. While liberal supporters of Jewish emancipation always argued that 'the time was come when religious opinions should no longer constitute the principle of civil disqualification', some also felt the need to insist – especially at a time when constitutional change was associated with the more revolutionary threat of Chartism – that the Jews posed no threat to national security since they were 'men of peace, studying and pursuing the arts of peace'.[21] Indeed, efforts by British Jews to reform their communal infrastructure in the 1840s indicate a new concern with the public pursuit of the peaceful arts. The Jews' and General Literary and Scientific Institute was established in 1845 at Sussex Hall in London. The *Voice of Jacob*, in its opening leader, stated that its objectives were to combat threats to the integrity of Judaism and 'to establish a literary reputation for the British Jews'.[22] Cultural as well as religious pride was essential for the future welfare of British Jewry. Together with other Anglo-Jewish communal bodies that were formed in this period to centralise and formalise Jewish political and press representation, worship and philanthropy, cultural institutions were perceived to play a key role in mediating Jewish integration with the state.[23] Representatives of the West London Synagogue who met Robert Peel in 1845 to promote the cause of emancipation thus stressed the development of British-Jewish culture, as well as the religious reforms they had instituted, as evidence for the Jews' improved worthiness for full civil rights.[24]

In this context, Anglo-Jewry perceived its writers to be crucial cultural intermediaries. In the 1830s, when Grace Aguilar and Celia and Marion Moss began writing, Jews were widely perceived as a criminal and irreligious underclass.[25] In her tract, *A Few Words to the Jews*, Charlotte Montefiore admonished her co-religionists:

There is a sad deficiency of poetic thought and feeling amongst us, and their want is felt whenever we leave our mercantile life. As long as we are in the city, trading, buying, and selling, we have great power, but there our power ceases; our imagination and feelings have yet to be aroused and enlisted in the cause of religion.[26]

In 1845, the *Jewish Chronicle* hailed the recent publication of Aguilar's *The Women of Israel* as a great step forward in improving the culture of Anglo-Jewry, which would now continue to develop in respectability and refinement.[27] That writers like Aguilar and Celia and Marion Moss regarded themselves as public defenders of the Jews is evident from the prefaces to their published work. The Dedicatory Epistle to the first of two volumes of Jewish historical romance published by the Moss sisters in 1840 and 1843 humbly welcomes the modern waning of 'prejudice existing against us as a nation' that might previously have affected judgment of their writing.[28] Nevertheless, the authors seek to address 'the fact that the English people generally, although mixing with the Jews in their daily duties, are as unacquainted with their history, religion and customs, as if they still dwelt in their own land, and were known to them but by name' (*R* I: viii–ix). Accordingly, in a striking resemblance to the form established by conversionist writers, the tales include copious footnotes explaining Hebrew terms and customs. Similarly, in the preface to her first major publication, *The Spirit of Judaism* (1842), Grace Aguilar explains that she aims to correct the erroneous impression of Judaism that has been used to justify the necessity of conversion to Christianity. However, she adds: 'It is not from argumentative works that the true spirit of a religion can be discovered; and yet with the exception of one or two, these are the only kind found in a Jewish library.'[29] In her subsequent publications, Aguilar sought to exploit the potential of fiction to evoke the 'true spirit' of Judaism.

The political imperative that prompted the work of these writers has led to their dismissal by critics assessing the literary heritage of Anglo-Jewry. Linda Gertner Zatlin, who compares the 'indirect, stylized historical romance' produced by pre-emancipation novelists with the more 'critical' stance adopted by later realist authors, depicts the work of these women writers as a primitive stage in the development of the Anglo-Jewish novel, aesthetically and intellectually limited by its propagandist objectives.[30] Michael Galchinsky, in contrast, has argued for the recovery of Grace Aguilar and Celia and Marion Moss as feisty proto-feminists and religious reformers to whom '[t]he external emancipation of Jews from England's oppressive laws suggested . . . the possibility of an internal emancipation of women from Judaism's oppressive laws'.[31] However, the relationship among

religion, politics and gender in their work is considerably more complex and diverse than this equation suggests. What makes these writers fascinating is the way that their work enters into dialogue with the public debate through a strategic identification with Protestant culture. In this chapter, I consider how the female literary genres of domestic fiction and historical romance gave expression to new imaginings of Anglo-Jewish political identity.

GRACE AGUILAR: JEWISH EVANGELICAL?

Grace Aguilar, the earliest popular Anglo-Jewish author, produced novels, short stories, devotional prose and poetry and non-fiction in the 1830s and 40s. At the time of her early death in 1847 only a few of her works were published, but, in editions edited by her mother Sarah Aguilar, the domestic fiction and historical romances that Grace had been writing since her teens became Victorian bestsellers. What we know of her biography suggests that she began, and her mother continued, publication of her writing due to their family's financial need.[32] But in her texts Aguilar represents herself as a writer driven by the moral vocation to combat hostility to Judaism. Her books were to reconcile this mission with commercial appeal to the woman reader (both Jewish and non-Jewish) by adopting the generic and ideological conventions of popular middle-class fiction. In her writing, she produced a remarkable recasting of Judaism in terms comprehensible to the English woman reader.

Aguilar's first published narrative fiction, *Records of Israel* (1844), two historical tales of heroic Iberian Jewry set at the time of the Expulsion and Inquisition, has an explicitly didactic purpose, being 'offered to the public generally, in the hope that some vulgar errors concerning Jewish feelings, faith and character may, in some measure, be corrected'.[33] The stories aim to counter a Christian view of Jewish suffering, since for both Catholics and Protestants 'martyrdom has always been considered the proof of truth, fidelity, and divine support', yet Jewish suffering is seen as evidence of 'the unbelief of the persecuted' (*RI* vi–vii). In the first story, 'The Edict. A Tale of 1492', Aguilar writes of the tenacity with which Spanish Jews clung to their religion in the face of banishment from their homes and enforced starvation. The second, 'The Escape. A Tale of 1755', describes the lives of crypto-Jews who stayed in Portugal, and by concealing their faith remained in constant danger from the Inquisition. In both cases Aguilar emphasises the sacrificial devotion of the Jews to their religion, which she interprets as proof not of their human courage but of their protection by God. The survival of the Jews despite the persecutions of Catholic Spain was

'a living miracle, a lasting record of His truth' (*RI* 98). Like her Evangelical contemporaries, Aguilar claimed a personal connection to her tale: 'all this is not only known to, but often recalled by, persons living now, as having been encountered by their own immediate ancestors, and hanging over their own childhood' (*RI* ix–x). In contrast to Christian convention, the miraculous persistence of the Jews is seen as proof of Jewish rather than Christian truth.

It was not only through reclaiming Jewish history that Aguilar sought to reshape the public image of the Jews. A lifetime's experience of reading and imitating improving literature for women led to her confident appropriation of the form of the scripture biography, in which Evangelical writers constructed their ideals of femininity through accounts of biblical women. In *The Women of Israel* (1845), her study of Old Testament heroines aimed at the Jewish woman reader, Aguilar provides a Jewish counterpart to female conduct manuals like Balfour's *The Women of Scripture* and Sarah Stickney Ellis's *The Women of England: Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits* (1839), while contesting their ubiquitous conviction that 'Christianity is the sole source of female excellence'.[34] This assumption underpinned the work of conversionists, who commonly argued that the low estimation of women in Judaism meant that Jewish women were prone to impiety. The historian of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews despairingly asked:

> Is it any wonder that the ordinary state of things was reversed, and that the women were less religious than the men, or that prejudice and ignorance prevailed amongst them? It was no uncommon thing, in the experience of missionaries, to find the wife, daughters, and female relatives violently opposed to an enquiring Jew who had been influenced by Christianity.[35]

The Women of Israel is an attempt to refute 'female biographers of Scripture' who claim 'that the law of Moses sunk the Hebrew female to the lowest state of degradation' (*WI* 2). The 'degradation' of the Jewish female, Aguilar contends, is a result not of religious commandment but of the oppression suffered historically by the Jewish people as a whole:

> If, indeed, there are such laws, they must have been compiled at a time when persecution had so brutalised and lowered the intellect of man, that he partook the savage barbarity of the nations around him, and of the age in which he lived; when the law of his God had, as a natural consequence, become obscured, and the Hebrew female shared the same rude and savage treatment which was the lot of all the lower classes of women in the feudal ages (*WI* 3).

Aguilar's subject, though she coyly refuses to name it, is, like Balfour's, polygamy. Here, she prises it away from the Jewish 'law of . . . God' and attributes it to the 'savage barbarity' of the gentile Orientals, aligning Jews instead with the modern, civilised sexual mores of Christianity.

If Aguilar adopted a key literary genre popularised by Evangelicals, she also echoed their theology. In particular, her suggestion that some ordinances could be seen as historical accretions rather than intrinsic to the 'law of . . . God' implicitly challenges the authenticity of the rabbinical legal code. The classical Rabbis' interpretations of biblical law had been traditionally sanctioned by Jewish ecclesiastical authorities and incorporated into Jewish practice. But the principle of rabbinical rule was now under severe attack from Evangelicals like Lord Ashley (later Shaftesbury) and Alexander McCaul, the principal missionary for the LSPCJ, who became Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature at King's College, London in 1841. The critique of 'Rabbinism' reflected Evangelical distrust of the mediation of God's word, and is evident in the conversionist narratives examined in the last chapter, which frequently depict a Bible-reading heroine persecuted by a pedantic and unspiritual rabbi. For Evangelicals, 'Rabbinism' was a metaphor for priestcraft in all its forms. Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna wrote: 'We are all, both Jew and Gentile, sadly entangled among human authorities: we have each our Talmud, our Mishna, our Rabbis, coming between us and the pure Scripture.'[36] The Rev. J. W. Brooks, addressing the LSPCJ's auxiliary in Bath, accused the Jewish newspaper the *Voice of Jacob* of 'a slavish prostration of the human mind to ecclesiastical authority' which he glossed as 'the quintessence of Popery, as exhibited on the one hand by the Pharisees of old, and on the other hand by the Tractarians of modern times'.[37] Evangelicals understood Jewish traditions of rabbinical interpretation and the ritual it had generated in the same terms as their critique of Catholicism.[38]

In a similar way, impelled by the wish to purge Jewish religious thought of the contaminating rabbinical marks of the tragic Jewish past, Aguilar's mission in *The Women of Israel* is to increase the accessibility of the Hebrew Bible, unencumbered by ecclesiastical interpretation. In her 'History of the Jews in England', published two years later, she recruits the *Haskalah* [Jewish Enlightenment] philosopher Moses Mendelssohn to her cause, for 'the boldness with which he had flung aside the trammels of rabbinism, and the prejudices arising from long ages of persecution'.[39] *The Women of Israel* argues that in modern, liberal England, the absence of oppression should enable Jews to return to the pure biblical ideals of religion, apprehended directly through scripture itself. In *The Jewish Faith, its Spiritual*

Consolation, Moral Guidance and Immortal Hope (1846), Aguilar reiterates her belief that modern Judaism must be redeemed from Jewish history and regenerated by a return to the Bible. Only then will Jews learn to define themselves in terms other than those of gentile hostility: 'If we would but look more into our Bibles than around us – would have but the courage to break from the trammels of custom . . . would we but feel and declare the Judaism of the Bible is the religion of God, not the Judaism of the world'.[40] In the volume of private prayers she wrote for her own use during the 1830s, Aguilar describes the effect of Bible-reading on her relationship with God: 'I looked in The Book, and there were promises to soothe and cheer; for I felt they came from Thee.'[41] Her earnest bibliocentrism is conspicuously Evangelical in tone.

Aguilar's conviction that Jewish laws that degraded women, alongside other rabbinic interpolations, were both 'barbarous' and inauthentic, has led Michael Galchinsky to describe her as a 'religious reformer' who participated in the 'Anglo-Jewish Enlightenment or *haskalah*' as one of the 'unacknowledged Mendelssohns of England'.[42] But this reading disregards the many striking ways in which her work creatively appropriates not the rationalism of the European enlightenment but, rather, the moral and religious fervour as well as the literary forms of the Evangelical Revival. Aguilar's vision of an introspective and Bible-centred Judaism, a Judaism of 'feel[ing]', characterised by a close relationship to the deity, precisely mirrors the Evangelical 'religion of the heart'. More aptly then, Beth-Zion Lask Abrahams, in an early study of Aguilar, characterised her bibliocentrism and opposition to Rabbinic Judaism as 'a form of Jewish Protestantism' – a remark that echoes the contemporary reception of Aguilar's work.[43] Abrahams ascribes this apparent contradiction to Aguilar's reliance on Christian rather than Jewish sources; Linda Gertner Zatlin also regards her work as expressing 'an acculturated consciousness'.[44] But rather than emphasising Aguilar's intellectual passivity in this way, I want to consider how Protestant rhetoric was able to provide her with a persuasive polemical strategy for the cause of the Jews.

While frequently recalling events that demonstrate the nobility of Jewish martyrdom, Aguilar's choice of historical subject-matter is also fitted to the taste of middle-class Protestant readers. Her accounts of Jewish history in *Records of Israel*, 'History of the Jews in England' and *The Vale of Cedars; or, The Martyr* (1850) highlight the suffering of the Jews at the hands of Roman Catholics, whether during the Spanish Inquisition or in pre-Reformation England.[45] In the 'History', she notes, however, the 'changes and improvements' which had taken place between the Jews' expulsion from England

in 1290 and their readmission in 1656: 'The reformation had freed England from the galling fetters of ignorance and superstition which must ever attend the general suppression of the word of truth. Increase of toleration towards the Jews was already visible in those parts of the continent which were under Protestant jurisdiction' (HJ 12). Aguilar's historical writing repeatedly turns to narratives that demonstrate the evils of coercive conversion. But, at the same time, her reading of Jewish history also flatters English Evangelical readers by reminding them of the historical roots of their movement in the Protestant Reformation and the philosemitism of the seventeenth century, when religious 'toleration', as in present-day England, coincided with renewed reverence for 'the word of truth'.[46] Likewise, the persecuted *conversos* in 'The Escape' finally find refuge in England, where 'the veil of secresy [sic] was removed, they were in a land whose merciful and liberal government granted to the exile and the wanderer a home of peace and rest; where they might worship the God of Israel according to the law He gave' (*RI* 138). In her historical writings, Aguilar sought to undo the Evangelical association between Judaism and popery, and instead to align Jews with Protestant values.

We can also see Aguilar's Evangelical sensibility at work in the way she adapts aspects of *The History of the Jews* (1829) by the Liberal Anglican cleric Henry Hart Milman. Milman's popular *History* was the source text for Aguilar's 'History of the Jews in England', which was published in 1847 in *Chambers' Miscellany*. Yet while hers was the first history of the Jews in England written by an English Jew, in places Aguilar's text out-Christians the clergyman. For example, the story of the massacre of the Jews at York during the Middle Ages provides another opportunity for Aguilar to consider the theology of self-sacrifice. In Milman's account of the tragedy, the Jews are besieged in York Castle by a violent mob and commit mass suicide, inspired by their Rabbi who tells them:

> the God of our Fathers, to whom none can say, 'What doest thou?' calls upon us to die for our Law. Death is inevitable; but we may yet choose whether we will die speedily and nobly, or ignominiously, after horrible torments and the most barbarous usage – my advice is, that we voluntarily render up our souls to our Creator, and fall by our own hands. The deed is both reasonable, and according to the Law, and is sanctioned by the example of our most illustrious ancestors.[47]

Aguilar, however, renders this speech differently:

> This day he commands us to die for his law – that law which we have cherished from the first hour it was given, which we have preserved pure throughout our captivity in all nations, and for which, for the many consolations it has given

us, and the belief in eternal life which it communicates, can we do less than die? Posterity shall behold its solemn truths sealed with our blood; and our death, while it confirms our sincerity, shall impart strength to the wanderers of Israel (HJ 5).

Where Milman's rabbi offers sober advice about the legality and precedent of suicide, Aguilar's gives a stirring sermon on martyrdom. While Milman's rabbi interprets the law for his congregants, offering 'my advice', Aguilar's suggests a communally held, transparent knowledge of God's command. The rabbi reveals not only a belief in the meaning of martyrdom beyond its 'reasonableness' in this context, but also a sense of the place of this episode within the scope of Jewish history. Moreover, Aguilar adds an emphasis on Judaism's 'consolations' and its promise of immortality. Whereas Clara Lucas Balfour pitied the life of a Muslim woman, 'uncheered by any assured hope of a compensating futurity', Aguilar here insists that no such pity is due to Jews, whose religion provides all the posthumous benefits of Christianity. Her focus, both in the history of Anglo-Jewry and the Iberian romances, is on the spiritual sincerity of Jews who choose death rather than conversion. By translating Jewish history into Evangelical terms, Aguilar redeems it from conversionist condescension.

In Aguilar's Jewish history of martyrdom a special place is reserved for women. *The Women of Israel* begins with an assumption of the singular relationship between religion and women, 'whose portion is to suffer, whose lot is lonely' (*WI* 7). Aguilar argues further that the Jewish woman has a particular need for religious faith: 'To woman of every creed, of every race, of every rank – life, though it may seem blessed, is a fearful desert without God. What then, without Him, is it to the woman of Israel, the exile and the mourner, who hath no land, no hope, no comforter, but Him?' (*WI* 35). Religion can compensate for the sorrows of persecution and national disinheritance. But women's special capacity for suffering also draws them closer to a direct experience of the deity:

God . . . who has so repeatedly sanctified the emotions peculiar to [the female] sex, by graciously comparing the love He bears us, as yet deeper than a mother's for her child, a wife's for her husband, having compassion on His people, as on a 'woman forsaken and grieved in spirit' . . . 'As a mother comforteth her children, so will I comfort thee' (*WI* 6).

Citing the feminine metaphors for divine love from the Hebrew Bible, Aguilar constructs a Jewish God whose fundamentally feminine character constitutes Judaism's appeal for women:

there may be some meek and lowly spirits amongst the female youth of Israel, who would gladly clasp the strength and guidance which we proffer them from

the Bible, could they believe that God, the great, the almighty, the tremendous and awful Being (as which they have perhaps been accustomed to regard Him) can have love and pity for themselves (*WI* 8).

However, the distinction here between the feminine God of love and the masculine 'awful Being' is more familiar as the Christian distinction between the New and Old Testament deities. In order to present Judaism as embodying an appeal to women, Aguilar recasts Jewish theology in the feminised and personalised terms of Evangelicalism.

That Aguilar should have reimagined Judaism in the terms of the dominant religious mode of the period is not surprising. At mid-century Evangelical ethics were being represented as the natural correlative of respectability.[48] Moreover, the formative years of Aguilar's youth were spent in the Devon town of Teignmouth, far from any established Jewish community and where she often attended chapel. But Aguilar's project was particularly facilitated by the intense identification with Jews that Evangelicals repeatedly professed. Thus, while the Jewish *Voice of Jacob* gave *Records of Israel* a lukewarm reception, the Evangelical periodical press was generally delighted with Grace Aguilar's writing. Aguilar herself complained in a letter to an American friend of her treatment by English Jews, who in reaction to her proposal for *The Women of Israel*

expressed disbelief in my capacity to write it and my dreadful presumption to attempt it, because as a woman I could know nothing on the subject . . . Understand me my dear friend. It is by the *Jews* by my own nation not by the *English* I am so regarded. From the latter I never fail to receive sympathetic appreciation, indulgence and the sweet reward of knowing that my works have been permitted to remove many prejudices, which ignorance had engendered.[49]

Amongst Evangelicals the spectacle of a woman writing on religious matters was not quite so extraordinary. For Aguilar, meanwhile, the complaint of the prophet whose words were falling on deaf ears linked her to the rhetoric of embattled self-righteousness typical of the Evangelical woman writer, whose calling required her to transgress feminine modesty. Indeed, many Evangelicals felt an affinity for Aguilar's aims. The *Jewish Herald*, which was published by the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Jews, declared in a review of her work: 'We hail the champions of Judaism as to a great extent the champions of Christianity'. Aguilar's books, it considered, were 'imbued with the spirit of Christianity'.[50] Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, the editor of the *Christian Lady's Magazine*, saw Aguilar as an ally in the battle against religious indifference. She praised Aguilar's

'lofty tone of spirituality' and her efforts to turn Jews 'from the words of men to the Word of the Living God', in which task 'we ardently pray for her success'.[51] Both these conversionist periodicals also published Aguilar's work, and others also published obituaries commemorating her after her death.[52]

What Aguilar's work reveals is the ambiguous interface between Jewish and Christian discourse in the 1840s. At the same time that Anglicans were rediscovering the Old Testament component of their theology, Jews were reshaping their religious practice along Anglican lines. Indeed, Aguilar's reprimands to contemporary Jews were reflective of the reforms of liturgy and ritual introduced in 1842 by the secessionist congregation at the West London Synagogue with the intention of improving the devotional character of the service.[53] However, recent historians of Anglo-Jewry have interpreted these reforms as being driven not by the ideology of the Jewish Enlightenment and the Reform Judaism movement in Germany (which emphasised the universalist aspect of Jewish teachings) but rather by the dynamics of theological controversy in 1840s England.[54] The Evangelical attack on Rabbinical Judaism (alongside Catholicism and Anglo-Catholicism) as superstitious and separatist, deeply affected the leaders of Anglo-Jewry who were increasingly seeking entry into the upper reaches of gentile society.[55] Their response to the forcefulness and persistence of this critique was to reconceptualise Judaism in more bibliocentric and spiritual terms. This development did not go unnoticed; in 1842 Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna heartily praised the 'plan of rising interest and incalculable importance, as regards extensive improvements in the mode of synagogue worship'.[56]

For Aguilar, however, it was not the promise of admission to high society that motivated her Protestant reimagining of Judaism. Rather, it was the elevated and empowering Evangelical conception of femininity that was irresistible. According to this ideology, it was the mother's solemn duty to teach her children not that Jews alone 'are worthy in the sight of God', but, instead, 'the tale of Israel's awful sin'.[57] Yet their task was also a magnificent one: 'To the women of Israel . . . is entrusted the noble privilege of hastening "the great and glorious day of the Lord," by the instruction they bestow upon their sons, and the spiritual elevation to which they may attain in social intercourse, and yet more in domestic life' (*WI* 579). The transformative, millennial figure of the domestic woman that Aguilar appropriated from Evangelical discourse, moreover, was to inspire and drive all her literary creativity.

'THE SPIRIT OF TRUE PIETY': JEWS AND THE DOMESTIC NOVEL

I have been arguing that what makes the work of Grace Aguilar distinctive is not her assertion of Jewish cultural and religious difference but her attempt to articulate a Jewish identity in the language of Evangelical Christianity. In her theological writing, Aguilar extended the Evangelical idealisation of the Jewess to argue that Judaism itself was a religion of femininity. Focusing now on three of her novels aimed at the non-Jewish reader, I consider the ways that Evangelical fictional form provided the terms for a rehabilitation of the figure of the converting Jewish woman. By way of the narrative patterns and didactic style established in her domestic novels *Home Influence* and *The Mother's Recompense*, Aguilar was to make a powerful case for religious tolerance in *The Vale of Cedars*. In the latter, a tragic romance on a Jewish historical theme, the potent rhetoric of maternal love that governed her domestic novels would be put under agonising strain.

That there was a latent tension between the Christian moral basis of the domestic novel genre and the author's profession of Judaism was apparent to Aguilar. Although *Home Influence* is a remarkably proficient narrative exposition of Evangelical values in which the author's Jewish identity is nowhere apparent, she felt compelled to draw attention to it in the novel's preface:

> having been brought before the public principally as the author of Jewish works, and as an explainer of the Hebrew Faith, some Christian mothers might fear that the present Work has the same tendency, and hesitate to place it in the hands of their children. [The author], therefore, begs to assure them, that as a simple domestic story, the characters in which are all Christians, believing in and practising that religion, all *doctrinal* points have been most carefully avoided, the author seeking only to illustrate the spirit of true piety, and the virtues always designated as the Christian virtues thence proceeding.[58]

Aguilar smoothes over the potential dissonance of doctrinal difference by an appeal to the universal 'spirit of true piety' illustrated in the genre of domestic fiction.

In domestic literature of the 1830s and 40s, the social and moral principles that flowed from Evangelical theology were given secular narrative form. Expressing the values of the newly powerful middle classes by asserting that the source of gentility was not land and wealth but religious belief, domestic fiction placed a special emphasis on piety.[59] At the centre of the enactment and reproduction of middle-class identity in books like Sarah Ellis's *Home, or the Iron Rule* (1836) and domestic magazines like the *Mother's Magazine*,

was the figure of woman. These texts define their readers' maternal role as moral governor to the family, monitoring the upbringing of children marked by original sin, and practising the key virtues of self-examination and self-regulation.[60] They sternly oppose the late eighteenth-century sentimental novel in which feelings and passions were irresistible and the self was experienced as passive. In the enormously popular *Home Influence: A Tale for Mothers and Daughters* (1847), her most successful work, and its sequel, *The Mother's Recompense* (1851), both originally written during the 1830s, Grace Aguilar helped to define the conventions of the domestic novel genre for Victorian readers. In her preface to *Home Influence*, moreover, she surreptitiously inserted Jews into the community of the pious.

Aguilar's domestic novels counterpose 'society', the world of aristocratic luxury and moral degeneracy, and the 'home', located in a pastoral idyll. Her exemplary middle-class family, the Hamiltons, live at their rural residence 'Oakwood', refer to their way of life as 'retirement', engage in private domestic worship rather than churchgoing, and are reluctant to leave the country for London to introduce their eldest daughter because they mistrust the 'temptations' of a corrupt urban society.[61] In a rural setting, in contrast, Aguilar's idealised mother can engage in 'the education of the HEART', the avowed purpose of the novel as a whole (*HI* I: vi). (This is far less important than rationalist pedagogy, 'the mere instruction of the MIND'.) Like an orthodox Evangelical spurning worldly knowledge, Aguilar repeats, in *The Women of Israel*, that the '[s]ources of what is now termed wisdom, that of books and man, were indeed unknown to our first parents; nor did they need them' (*WI* 13). In *Home Influence*, similarly, Mrs Hamilton considers that a moral and religious education, which will provide fortification against 'the pleasures of the world', can be gained more effectively through an appreciation of Nature than through book-learning.[62] For the mother herself Aguilar suggests an alternative, domestic form of 'study' in the close examination, analysis and management of her children's distinctive characters. In her writing, the child is considered not, as in the Romantic tradition, as innocent, but, as in Evangelical ideology, born into sin.

Indeed, Satan courts Mrs Hamilton's daughter Caroline, once she leaves the protective space of the home, in the form of an aristocratic libertine. The novels dramatise Mrs Hamilton's fight to uphold and effectively reproduce her distinctively sober middle-class ideals against the racy temptations of 'the world'. She warns Caroline: 'The world in radiant beauty will loudly call upon you to follow it alone, to resign all things to become its votary; the trial of prosperity will indeed be yours' (*MR* 46). The mother's defence

of the domestic philosophy of benevolent authoritarianism and rational self-discipline is presented as a kind of female chivalry, an individual and heroic struggle against social convention. In contrast to her neighbour Mr Grahame, whose domestic management resembles that of the Old Testament deity, Mrs Hamilton believes that children should not obey in terror but make considered moral choices in accordance with the precepts she has provided and the encouragement she offers. In *The Mother's Recompense*, Caroline's friend Annie Grahame plots to subvert Mrs Hamilton's sanctimonious happiness by corrupting her daughter – teaching her about 'natural . . . human feelings' and how to experience sexual power by exploiting male desire (*MR* 128). The power that the novel attributes to women, however, and the 'feelings' that it sanctions in them, are not sexual but religious.

Home Influence represents the relationship between mother and daughter as an ecstatic exchange of feeling that emulates the limitless love of God. In the novel, Aguilar describes the inception of religious consciousness in Mrs Hamilton's youngest child Emmeline:

> from that hour, as she felt her mother's fond return of that passionate embrace, her love became religion, though she knew it not. Her thoughts flew to her cousins and many others, who had no mother, and to others whose mothers left them to nurses and governesses, and seemed always to keep them at a distance. And she felt, how could she thank and love God enough? nor was it the mere feeling of the moment, it became part of her being, for the right moment had been seized to impress it (*HI* 1: 198).

Emmeline comes to God not only through her 'thoughts' but through what 'she felt', both sensually and emotionally, which 'became part of her being'. In the movement of the paragraph from impassioned narration to its final didactic clause, Aguilar's prose evokes both the ardour and the authority of maternal love. Emmeline apprehends order and benevolence in the world because her 'mother's toils . . . were based on, and looked up alone, to His influence on her child' (*HI* 1: 98). The text casts the mother not only as the conduit of divine love but, in her own humility before God, the figure who conveys, enacts and reproduces a hierarchical and stable view of human relations. When Caroline returns home instead of eloping with a decadent aristocrat, her mother offers forgiveness rather than punishment. Mrs Hamilton's delight at regaining the 'confidence' of her daughter points to her symbolic role within the household, as the deputy of an Evangelical God (*MR* 169).

Nonetheless, the heroic drama of maternal self-sacrifice forms a considerable part of the plot of Aguilar's novels. This story is also repeated in the family's younger generation. Mrs Hamilton's niece Ellen, who loyally conceals the crimes of her brother Edward, is condemned and punished by the entire household and falls dangerously ill, but is finally able by her suffering to save Edward from further vice. Ellen's martyrdom is the means of Edward's reformation but it also causes him to reflect on the suffering of women and girls:

> 'Why is it,' he thought, 'that man cannot bear the punishment of his faults without causing the innocent, the good, to suffer also?' And his heart seemed to answer, 'Because by those very social ties, the strong impulses of love for one another, which would save others from woe, we may be preserved and redeemed from vice again and yet again, when, were man alone the sufferer, vice would be stronger than remorse, and never be redeemed' (*HI* II: 185).

The Christ-like love of women, forgiving and redemptive, here inspires a boy who is all but incapable of religious feeling. The novel thus incorporates female suffering into a purposeful and ordered universe.

In *The Vale of Cedars; or, The Martyr*, also written during the 1830s but first published, to great commercial success, in 1850, Aguilar's mastery of the tropes of middle-class womanhood is put to innovative purpose. This text, set during the Spanish Inquisition, merges the domestic novel with the historical romance of Scott's *Ivanhoe* to cast the virtuous and beleaguered heroine as a Jewess. The steely determination and self-control of the Evangelical woman doing battle with the 'world' here reappear in the story of a crypto-Jewess who risks publicly declaring her faith and then endures a series of cruel assaults on it. The novel draws heavily on *Ivanhoe* for its plot, in which the Jewish heroine strives to suppress her love for a Christian, is preyed upon by a lecherous and vindictive inquisitor, and because of her resistance condemned to an unjust trial. As in *Ivanhoe*, the story of the Jewess is linked to a moment of significant historical change, as the Inquisition shifts from being a clandestine and unregulated operation towards institutionalisation by the state. The suffering of the Jewish heroine thus becomes the sole instance of open rebellion against the machinations of an absolutist Catholic regime in which '[t]he spiritual in man was kept in bondage'.[63] In *The Vale of Cedars*, Aguilar appealed to Evangelical anti-Catholicism – reinvigorated during the 'Papal aggression' of 1850 when the novel was published – to draw attention to the persecution of the Jews in Spain. But while Evangelical fiction, as I showed in

chapter 3, portrayed the Jewess as eager for conversion and self-sacrifice in the cause of Christianity, Aguilar rewrote that plot to insist on her loyalty to Judaism.

Aguilar's depiction of the coercive and persuasive measures employed by the Spanish authorities to convert the Jewish heroine has been seen as a bold suggestion of the parallel between Christian conversionists of the fifteenth century and those of the 1830s and 40s – a charge also made by other Anglo-Jews in the mid-nineteenth century.[64] By appealing in particular to the Protestant woman reader, Aguilar forces this message into the consciousness of precisely those who have unthinkingly accepted the literary trope of the Jewish woman convert. However, as I will show, the novel is also, paradoxically, reliant on Evangelical cultural codes for its revaluation of Judaism and the Jewess.

The Vale of Cedars, like *Home Influence*, assiduously avoids 'doctrinal points of difference' by presenting Jewish practice, as if from a non-Jewish point of view, as an unexplained 'mysterious rite' (32). This narrative strategy, meanwhile, also has the effect of mimicking the anxious secrecy of the *converso* Jews. Spanish crypto-Judaism in Aguilar's novel, moreover, provides the context for a representation of Jewish life which strikingly resembles that of the idealised domestic family in *Home Influence*. The novel's heroine, Marie Morales, has been brought up in the remote rural setting of the 'Vale of Cedars', since seclusion is a necessity for Jews who practise their religion clandestinely. The Vale remains the locus of religious practice for Marie even when she enters life in the royal court under a Catholic identity. In contrast to Catholicism, Jewish religious practice is confined to the privacy of the home itself, and conducted by individuals without clerical mediation. When, later in the novel, Marie is compelled to spend three months in religious disputation with a monk, her 'intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures in their original tongue – the language of her own people – gave her so decided an advantage' that he renounces the task of converting her (192). Sharing much of its religious character with nineteenth-century Evangelical Protestantism, Judaism is associated with an earnest and authentic piety, in stark contrast to the corrupt, ignorant and lascivious Catholic church.

Marie's religion is to her a female chivalric code – as she tries to explain to the English knight Arthur Stanley, who courts her love: 'her secret was to her sacred as his honour to him, and . . . she could no more turn renegade from the fidelity which that secret comprised, than he could from his honour' (59). The novel locates its heroic ideal not in military prowess but in the resilient courage of the faithful. As the novel closes, Arthur

realises that he can no longer awaken in Marie the former guilty desire she felt for him: 'there was something in her manner which restrained him; it was no longer the timid, yielding girl, who even while she told him of the barrier between them had yet betrayed the deep love she felt; it was the woman whose martyr-spirit was her strength' (188). If Aguilar recalls in her portrait of Marie Morales the proud fortitude of Rebecca of York, she also moralises her heroine's self-sacrifice in Evangelicalism's language of female martyrdom.

What links Aguilar's text most tellingly of all to the Evangelical literary tradition is the way that it matches the relationship between the Jewess and her gentile lover with an even more passionate (and historically improbable) affinity between two women, Marie and Queen Isabella. When she first sees Isabella in a procession at Segovia,

> the strained gaze of Marie turned, and became riveted on the queen, feeling strangely and indefinably a degree of comfort as she gazed, to explain wherefore, even to herself, was impossible; but she felt as if she no longer stood alone in the wide world, whose gaze she dreaded. A new impulse rose within her, urging her, instead of remaining indifferent as she thought she should, to seek and win Isabella's regard (47–8).

Whereas Marie's relationship with Arthur Stanley is characterised by stifled emotions and high-buttoned collars, her preparation to meet the Queen includes dressing with a 'wide collar, which, thrown back, disclosed the wearer's delicate throat and beautiful fall of the shoulders, more than her usual attire permitted to be visible' (50). Marie's beauty, thus displayed, provokes the Queen to tears and the narrator to exclaim:

> How false is the charge breathed from man's lips, that woman never admires woman! – that we are incapable of the lofty feeling of admiration of our own sex either for beautiful qualities or beauteous form! There is no object in creation more lovely, more fraught with intensest interest (if, indeed, we are not so wholly wrapt in the petty world of self as to have none for such lofty sympathies), than a young girl standing on the threshold of a new existence; beautiful, innocent, and true; offspring as yet of joy and hope alone, but before whom stretches the dim vista of graver years, and the yearning thoughts, unspoken griefs, and buried feelings, which even in the happiest career must still be woman's lot (50–1).

Unlike the possessive love of Arthur Stanley, Isabella's attachment to Marie is motivated by a kind of maternal passion that anticipates a shared suffering in womanhood.

Marie's instinctive response to the protective power of the Queen, which makes her feel that 'she no longer stood alone in the wide world' also points

to the benevolent and personalised relationship in which Ferdinand and Isabella stand with their subjects. They seek to rule the nation as a family. In Aguilar's account of fifteenth-century Spain, the monarchy is not so much the instigator as the victim of the Inquisition, which seeks to establish a rival authority to royal government through secrecy and blackmail. In contrast, the King establishes reform acts – constitutional changes by which 'the power of the nobles would . . . be insensibly diminished, and the mass of the kingdom – the PEOPLE – as a natural consequence, become of more importance, their position more open to the eyes of the sovereigns, and their condition, physically and morally, ameliorated and improved' (41). The counterpart to Ferdinand's efforts at social amelioration is the Queen's determination to improve female morality: 'Isabella's example had . . . already created reformation in her female train, and the national levity and love of intrigue had in a great degree diminished' (52). Not unlike the mid-nineteenth-century British Queen and her consort, the Spanish monarchy appears in the novel as a benign power seeking to restrict aristocratic influence and to establish middle-class morality.

Isabella, then, is a matriarchal figure drawn in the terms of the domestic novel. The Queen's court is uncannily reminiscent of Mrs Hamilton's English home:

> At the farther end of the spacious chamber were several young girls, daughters of the nobles of Castile and Arragon [sic], whom Isabella's maternal care for her subjects had collected around her, that their education might be carried on under her own eye, and so create for the future nobles of her country, wives and mothers after her own exalted stamp. They were always encouraged to converse freely and gaily amongst each other; for thus she learned their several characters, and guided them accordingly (98–9).

Isabella also resembles Mrs Hamilton defending her errant children before her stern husband, when she intercedes on behalf of Marie, who has declared her Jewish identity and must face the Inquisition for secretly practising Judaism. The Queen's championing of Marie's cause springs from her espousal of chivalric womanhood: 'Unbeliever though she be, offspring of a race which every true Catholic must hold in abhorrence, she is yet a *woman*, Ferdinand, and, as such, demands and shall receive the protection of her queen' (131). Isabella reproaches her courtiers for their disapproval of her compassion for Marie: 'Has every spark of woman's nature faded from your hearts, that ye can speak thus? . . . Detest, abhor, avoid her *faith* – for that we command thee; but her sex, her sorrow, have a claim to sympathy and aid, which not even her race can remove' (132–3). In Aguilar's

world, the universalist ideology of gender transcends differences of 'faith' or 'race'.

However, Aguilar also presents womanly solidarity as yet another temptation to which Marie is subjected in the novel's series of religious tests. When Marie escapes the torture chambers of the Inquisition she returns to the Queen, and Isabella renews her reassurance of the strength of female friendship:

> 'Child of a reprobate faith and outcast race as thou art, thinkest thou that even to thee Isabella would permit injury and injustice? If we love thee too well, may we be forgiven, but cared for thou shalt be; ay, so cared for, that there shall be joy on earth, and in heaven for thee yet!'
>
> At another moment, those words would have been understood in their real meaning; but Marie could then only feel the consoling conviction of security and love . . . Oh, true sympathy seldom needs expression for its full consolation to be given and received! The heart recognises intuitively a kindred heart, and turns to it in its sorrow or its joy, conscious of finding in it repose from itself. But only a woman can give to woman this perfect sympathy; for the deepest recesses, the hidden sources of anguish in the female heart no man can read (173).

But the novel's celebration of the 'perfect sympathy' between women is in tension in this passage with the 'real meaning' of the Queen's words. Marie's most arduous ordeal in the story is not defying the inquisitors but resisting the love of Isabella, who seeks her conversion less violently but no less avidly than Torquemada (Figure 3). Recalling the scene in *Ivanhoe* where Rowena's compassion motivates her effort to convert Rebecca, Aguilar reproduces the response of Scott's Jewess in Marie's words: 'My creed may be the mistaken one it seems to thee; but oh! it is no garment we may wear and cast off at pleasure' (196). But the moment also carries echoes of Evangelical narratives in which the ideal setting for conversion was the affection between women, and is inflected by the Evangelical feminine mystique. Aguilar's rapturous tribute to female friendship in the novel makes this part of Marie's sacrifice particularly poignant. Resisting the Queen's affectionate conversion, Marie is driven, instead, to 'immolate the most fervid, the most passionate emotions of woman's nature at the shrine of her God', an act of sacrifice that 'stirred a sympathetic chord in [Isabella's] own heart' (201). Religious intolerance, Aguilar suggests, undermines the 'natural' order of female love.

The ethos of women's friendship sets the stage for the culminating phase of Marie's martyrdom – her alienation from the Queen's favour is the final unbearable instrument of torture. She dies in the arms of her rejected gentile lover, Arthur Stanley, but speaking still of Isabella: 'tell her how

Figure 3 Marie Morales and her mentor and would-be converter, the Queen. H. Anelay, illustration from Grace Aguilar, *The Vale of Cedars; or, The Martyr* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1869). By permission of the British Library.

with my last breath I loved and blessed her, Arthur; tell her we shall meet again, where Jew and Gentile worship the same God' (218). While the text offers a narrative consummation, albeit in death, between Jewess and gentile lover – 'their hands were grasped in that firm pressure betraying unity of feeling and reciprocal esteem, which needs no words' (216) – its verbal focus returns to the relationship between women. In her last words, Marie thinks again of the unfulfilled feminine sympathy between herself and Isabella, but imagines an alternative universalism to conversion. In this vision, the feminine piety of the Jewess and the Christian woman unites them across religious difference rather than dividing them.

The language and narrative tropes of domestic fiction – and the Evangelical assumptions underlying it – could thus provide Aguilar with the means to refigure the literary Jewess. *The Vale of Cedars*, appealing to the Protestant woman reader with a lurid tale of popish cruelties, also draws on the elevated status of female suffering in Evangelical theology to confer moral seriousness on the trials of the Jewish heroine. In Aguilar's drama of conversion, Marie Morales is torn excruciatingly between the rival claims of religion and gender. But in suggesting that the ethos of female love and domestic governance – the 'spirit of true piety' shared by women – could in fact transcend religious difference, the novel also contends that both religions share the same essential spirit.

THE POLITICS OF DOMESTICITY: GRACE AGUILAR AND JEWISH EMANCIPATION

The emphasis on sin and punishment that Aguilar drew from Evangelicalism brought into conflict the conservative and the emancipationist strains in her writing. Although her accounts of Jewish history dwell on the pathos of Jewish persecution, Jews invariably accept their suffering as deserving and just. When the Spanish Jews in *Records of Israel* are devastated by Ferdinand and Isabella's edict of expulsion, for example, their elder patriarch urges submission to the will of God:

> as to His decree, let us bow without a murmur. Have we forgotten that on earth the exiles of Jerusalem have no resting; that for the sins of our fathers the God of Justice is not yet appeased? . . . There are some among ye who speak of weakness and timidity, in thus yielding to our foes without one blow in defence of our rights. Rights! unhappy men, ye have no rights! Sons of Judah, have ye yet to learn, we are wanderers on the face of the earth, without a country, a king, a judge, in Israel? (*RI* 46–7).

Convinced that diaspora Jews 'have no rights', the patriarch interprets Jewish persecution as divinely determined. But while his words do take their theme from the Hebrew prophets, they also echo the arguments of those in contemporary England who opposed emancipation on the ground that 'strangers and sojourners the Jews must be until the restoration of their own Jerusalem – their ultimate home'.[65] The patriarch's speech blurs the distinction between regarding Jewish suffering as the consequence of the transgression of Jewish law, and a Christian interpretation that views it as punishment for the rejection of Christ. In Aguilar's other writing, however, her defence of the Jews as courageously resigned to their historical destiny is more complicatedly intertwined with a defence of their civil rights.

The argument underlying *The Women of Israel* is infused with a consciousness that the status of women in Judaism was a matter of constant public contestation, and was therefore politically charged. In this text, Aguilar is particularly anxious to put forward a case for the conservative sexual politics of the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish tradition. Bourgeois conceptions of womanhood shape her portraits of biblical women: Eve's original sin, for example, is a contravention of the boundaries of feminine propriety. 'Curiosity, presumption, an over-weening trust in her own strength, a desire to act alone, independent of all control, to become greater, wiser, higher than the scale of being, than the station in which God's love had placed her – discontent' (*WI* 17). Aguilar even reverses the sense of the scriptural text in her account of Sarah's harsh treatment of her maidservant Hagar, so that instead of following the text's censuring of Sarah's pride, she defends her 'painful disappointment' at the 'insolence' of a subordinate who ought to have shown 'gratitude and affection' (*WI* 45). In this recognisable portrait of a Victorian household manager and her staff (that avoids confronting the awkward factor of Abraham's polygamy), Aguilar turns the Bible into a contemporary conduct manual.[66]

The insistent conservatism of her vision is even more apparent, however, in her description of the prophet and military leader Deborah. In sharp contrast to the writing of Clara Lucas Balfour, who declares that '[i]t is manifest that Deborah's was an authority based alone on intellectual superiority', and Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, for whom Deborah is an example of how exceptional women can be called to public duty, Aguilar rewrites Deborah as an obedient wife: 'She never leaves her home, except at the earnest entreaty of Barak [her husband], which urges her to sacrifice domestic retirement for public good', and emphasises the prophet's description of herself not in terms of rank or public office, but as 'a MOTHER in Israel' (*WI* 213, 210).[67]

Here, Aguilar is concerned to represent a Jewish interpretation of the text as inculcating social principles strictly demarcated by class and gender – in an even more orthodox way than her Christian contemporaries. She advocates obedience rather than 'presumption' in women – and, by extension, in Jews. But her defence of Judaism against the accusation that it instituted the degradation of women strategically uses the Bible to align Jewish values with those of the Anglican majority, and in doing so, it makes an argument for the Jews' worthiness of equal civil status.

Aguilar's writing on Judaism in a feminine and domestic context powerfully served the cause of Jewish emancipation, whose advocates claimed that religion was a matter of private conscience of no concern to the state.[68] She herself made this argument unequivocally, in 'The History of the Jews in England' (1847), writing that the Jews were

> Jews only in their religion – Englishmen in everything else . . . In externals, and in all secular thoughts and actions, the English naturalised Jew is . . . an Englishman, and his family is reared with the education and accomplishments of other members of the community. Only in some private and personal characteristics, and in religious belief, does the Jew differ from his neighbours (HJ 16).

If Macaulay, in his 'Minute on Indian Education' of 1835, hoped that English education would produce Indians who were 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect', Aguilar's formulation suggests that the Jews had successfully realised such Anglicising goals.[69] Her 'History' was published in 1847, the year in which Lionel de Rothschild was elected to Parliament but was unable to swear the Oath of Abjuration 'on the faith of a true Christian' in order to take up his seat. After more than fifteen years of campaigning, it was becoming increasingly clear that Jews would not simply be granted equal rights, but would be required to demonstrate their cultural integration in order to qualify for them.[70] Aguilar's response to this demand is evident in her 'History', which attempts to trace the historical roots of Jewish cultural pride. She argues that persecution has obscured the fact that the Jews have always had elevated aspirations. In recalling the suicide of the Jews of mediaeval York she points out that 'these voluntary martyrs were mostly men forced by persecution into such mean and servile occupations as to appear incapable of a lofty thought or heroic deed' (HJ 5). The progress of history, she considers, will increasingly reveal the continuity between the Jews' heroic past and their modern potential for refinement, and she cites the establishment of the Jews' and General Literary and Scientific Institution as an example

of the beginning of their redemption through culture from a history of oppression.

Aguilar's historical fiction, repeatedly recalling the suffering of the Jews in Catholic Spain, implicitly resonated with the warnings of Protestant liberals in Parliament that to continue to restrict the rights of Jews was 'inquisitorial'. Aguilar dramatises this claim in *The Vale of Cedars*, with the climactic revelation of Marie's identity when she is compelled to give evidence under oath and protests 'My evidence is valueless. I belong to that race whose word is never taken as witness . . . I cannot take the oath required, for I deny the faith in which it is administered. I am a JEWESS.'[71] But in the 'History' more than anywhere else in her work, Aguilar offers an overt argument in favour of Jewish emancipation. She confidently deploys the environmentalist language of Hazlitt and Macaulay, arguing that moral degeneracy is not innate but caused by persecution, and that 'the disabilities under which the Jews of Great Britain labour are the last relic of religious intolerance . . . Is it not discreditable to the common sense of the age that such anomalies should exist in reference to this well-disposed and, in every respect, naturalised portion of the community?' (HJ 16–17). While appealing to a liberal aversion to 'religious intolerance', however, Aguilar also included an apologetic reference to Jews, who were deserving of equality not only in principle but also because they were 'well-disposed' and 'naturalised'. As all her fiction and non-fiction to date had sought to illustrate, the case for Jewish emancipation was finally grounded in a domestic definition of identity:

> The domestic manners of both the German [Ashkenazic] and the Spanish [Sephardic] Jews in Great Britain, are so exactly similar to those of their British brethren, that were it not for the observance of the seventh day instead of the first [as the Sabbath], the prohibition of certain meats, and the celebration of certain solemn festivals and rites, it would be difficult to distinguish a Jewish from a native household . . . The virtues of the Jews are essentially of the domestic and social kind. The English are noted for the comfort and happiness of their firesides, and in this loveliest school of virtue, the Hebrews not only equal, but in some instances surpass, their neighbours (HJ 17–18).

Aguilar's 'History of the Jews' brings the language of domestic fiction to bear on the political debate. In her account, the Jews qualify for equity with English Protestants because their home life so closely resembles that of English Protestants.

Aguilar sought in this essay to reinforce a feminised image of the Jews that had long been part of the rhetoric of political debate. Supporters of the Jewish cause repeatedly figured Jews as passive, suffering and

humble. Unlike Roman Catholics, Macaulay claimed, 'the Jews have borne their deprivations long in silence, and are now complaining with mildness and decency'.[72] Many advocates of emancipation emphasised the 'peaceful' nature of the Jews, who, far from presenting a political or religious threat to the state, were exemplary in their homely virtues. In 1833, John Poulter MP had asserted that:

> this peculiar people were distinguished by their veneration for the domestic and social relations of life. Instances of the violation of the duties of husband and wife – of parent and child – were rare amongst them . . . From drunkenness which, beyond any other vice called for the most anxious and urgent correction of the Legislature, and which was more and more infecting and demoralizing the whole of the lower classes, and had become a great national calamity, they were happily, and beyond others, exempted.[73]

The figuring of the English Jew as a paradigm of domestic virtue frequently underpinned liberal arguments. It was also bombastically challenged in 1847, the same year as the publication of Aguilar's 'History', by the Jewish-born Christian convert Benjamin Disraeli, who, seeking to wrest the issue of Jewish emancipation away from its association with Whiggism and ground it instead on Conservative principles, enjoined Parliament to recall 'the exploits of Jewish heroes . . . the brilliant annals of past Jewish magnificence'.[74] Disraeli's construction of Judaism as a 'religion of conquest' and Jews as a racial elite assimilated them to the aristocratic ideology of the Tory party. Aguilar, in contrast, using the terms of bourgeois domestic writing, refigured the Jews as pious and respectable middle-class citizens.[75]

Fictional representations of Jews by Disraeli and Aguilar illustrate these contrary political arguments. In his novel *Coningsby; or The New Generation* (1844), Disraeli created the figure of the cosmopolitan financier Sidonia, intellectually brilliant and emotionally cold, and descended from a Sephardic family whose strategic espousal of crypto-Judaism enabled them to maintain high political office and economic influence in Christian Spain. Mentor to the young upper-class English hero Coningsby, whom he teaches that Jews now occupy all the greatest positions of power in European governments and universities, as well as masterminding its revolutionary movements, Sidonia embodies Disraeli's claim that Jews are the invincible 'aristocracy of Nature'.[76] This audacious account of the Jewish past emphasises the benefits to nations like Spain of incorporating the Jews into their political and cultural life, and indeed the perils of excluding them.

Aguilar, in contrast, focuses not on the Sephardic Jews' racial attributes but on their deep feeling for their homeland. *Records of Israel*, published in the same year as Disraeli's *Coningsby*, opens with a passionate and grateful encomium by the heroine to Spain, a country 'doubly dear' because it has afforded the 'accursed and houseless' a home (*RI* 3, 2):

> it was not the mere beauty of nature which sunk so deeply on the hearts of the Eshcolites, as to create that species of *amor patriae*, of which Josephine's ardent words were but a faint reflection; it was the fact that it was, had been, and they fondly hoped ever would be, to them a second Judea. Its very name had been bestowed by the unhappy fugitives from the destruction of Jerusalem, who hailed its natural loveliness as their ancestors did the first-fruits of the land of promise (*RI* 8).

Far from considering herself a 'sojourner', Aguilar's heroine sees Spain as a new Jerusalem. The devotion of the Sephardic Jewess exemplifies *amor patriae*. The story's first epigraph, underlining this, declares:

> The love that bids the patriot rise to guard his country's rest,
> With deeper mightier fulness [sic] thrills in woman's gentle breast (*RI* 1)

Indeed, Josephine's death at the end of the story on a ship leaving Spain reads as her inconsolable grief at the violation by the Edict of Expulsion of her country's historic spirit of toleration. Here Aguilar feminises what has been called the 'myth of Sephardic superiority'.[77] In contrast to Disraeli, for whom the Sephardic Jew embodies intellect, breeding and cosmopolitanism, Aguilar's Sephardic Jewess is a mystical and passionate patriot.

In her 'History of the Jews in England', Aguilar suggests that the exemplary patriotism of the Jews can now be seamlessly transferred to England. If the first story in *Records of Israel* depicted the tragic death of the Jewish heroine expelled from Catholic Spain, the second and final tale concludes with a crypto-Jewish family redeemed by their eventual settlement in tolerant England. Likewise, the 'History' ends with a celebration of Britain's quasi-millennial role in precipitating the close of the purgatorial phase of Jewish history:

> Now, however, the British empire has given the exiles of Judea a home of peace and freedom, and that they feel towards her an affection and reverence as strong and undying as any of her native sons, it is to be hoped that the prejudice against the Jews will ultimately disappear with the dawn of an era in which all Englishmen, however differently they may pray to the Great Father of all, shall yet, so long as they fail not in duty to their country and to each other, be regarded as the common children of the soil (HJ, 32).

Aguilar had previously rejected a proposal to write a history of Jewish persecution in England, and was perhaps only prepared to write it in this format, set within a whiggish framework.[78] Here, she happily orchestrates an extended domestic metaphor, with the British empire as the messianic mother – serving the 'Great Father of all', protecting all her 'children of the soil' and inspiring their 'affection and reverence'. The Jews, in Aguilar's vision, demonstrate the tolerant and inclusive scope of imperial Protestantism. This image, moreover, follows through the logic of Aguilar's insistent rhetorical alignment of Jews across all her writing with the affective, feminised and hierarchical values of Evangelical England.

JUDAEA CAPTA: CELIA AND MARION MOSS, SLAVERY AND LIBERTY

It was not only in Grace Aguilar's language of domesticity that the question of political rights entered Anglo-Jewish writing of this period. In turning now to the work of Celia and Marion Moss, I consider alternative literary and cultural sources for imagining the discontents of the Jewish past and present. The Moss sisters grew up in the town of Portsea, Hampshire, where there was an established Jewish congregation active in the campaign for Jewish emancipation, which also helped support the publication of the sisters' first two books by private subscription.[79] Their contribution to the field of historical romance never reached the wide public that Aguilar's did – although subscribers' lists do indicate their mixed Jewish and non-Jewish readership. Nonetheless, their work exhibits a similarly perceptive appropriation of the rhetoric of early Victorian femininity as a literary strategy in the cause of Jewish rights.

The Mosses, however, drew together a different set of generic conventions in contemporary women's culture, producing national romances moralised through the language of the recent campaign against slavery. In their poetry and fiction on Jewish themes, they gave a feminised inflection to this metaphor, often invoked by liberal supporters of Jewish rights. The 'exclusions and privations' suffered by the Jews, declared the Portsea Jewish congregation in their resolution in 1836 to pursue the campaign for emancipation, were 'far more calculated to remain the laws of nations professing superstition, tyranny and slavery, than of one which, we, as Englishmen would be proud to declare to be the freest of the free'.[80] In the poem published in the *Voice of Jacob* in 1841, discussed above, such exclusions were similarly cast as the 'fetter' that withheld 'liberty' from Jewish Englishmen. The sentimental image of the exiled and exploited slave informed the Moss

sisters' tales of Jewish history, and was especially used in conjunction with the figure of the Jewess. But while the *Voice of Jacob*'s pro-Emancipation poem confidently anticipated the liberation of the shackled Jew, hoping like Aguilar that all Englishmen would soon 'be regarded as the common children of the soil', the Mosses' writing also alludes to a different kind of 'liberty' – not 'a Freeman's rights' but autonomy for the Jewish 'nation'. Just as Grace Aguilar mostly eschewed the language of contemporary public debate, but used the discourse of domestic literature as a form of political commentary, the Moss sisters, in their enthusiasm for Jewish national liberty, bypassed the arguments about Jews which had been circulating in Parliament in the 1830s, and modelled their texts instead on the literature of Romantic nationalism.

Celia and Marion Moss's *The Romance of Jewish History* was published in 1840 during the Damascus affair, a moment of acute crisis for European Jewry. In their preface, the Mosses write: 'We are aware . . . that at the present moment the attention of the whole civilized world is directed to our nation, and we feel there could scarcely be a more opportune period for the appearance of this work.'[81] The international protest orchestrated by Jews across Europe against the cruel and unjust treatment of the imprisoned men in Damascus was unprecedented. In Britain the case, a real-life Gothic horror narrative, was widely reported in the press, provoked debate in Parliament, and stimulated huge public meetings in London and the provinces – including Portsea – in support of the rescue 'mission to the East' by the Jewish notables Adolphe Crémieux and Sir Moses Montefiore. Advocates of Jewish emancipation viewed the persecution of Jews overseas and the limited power of British Jews who, without representatives in Parliament, were restricted to lobbying and fundraising, as a further reason to press for the extension of full political rights.[82] This sense of Jewish vulnerability nothwithstanding, the high public profile and moral authority that suddenly accrued to the Jews made it possible to write with a new kind of assertiveness about Jewish collective loyalties.

The language in which the Damascus case was reported is reflected in the Mosses' preface, which acknowledges the efforts being made on behalf of the Jews by the 'whole civilized world'. In contrast, the torture of the Damascus prisoners and the charge of ritual murder were ubiquitously represented as an example of medieval and Eastern fanaticism, though the *Times* gave equal weight to the contrary case for Jewish 'barbarity'.[83] The tentative confidence expressed in the preface to the *Romance*, that British ignorance of Jewish life is outdated, that '[t]he time is now arrived, or is

rapidly approaching, when such narrow-mindedness, the growth of a barbarous and priest-ridden age, will disappear', is thus highly charged (*R* I: iv–v). The structure of the text and the language of its preface, which uses the same anti-Catholic codes as Grace Aguilar and Evangelical writers, invoke the millennialist terms of Protestant philosemitism and historical progress. The narrative begins by contrasting the pagan human sacrifice rituals of the Philistines with the sober monotheism of their Hebrew adversaries, and ends with the sack of Jerusalem by Rome, now itself fallen 'from the splendid despotism of the Caesars, to the pitiful tyranny of the Pope' (*R* I: 40–2, III: 67). This historiographical framework, referencing apocalyptic anti-Catholicism, links the Jews firmly with Protestantism, civilisation and modernity.

In other ways, however, the *Romance* and its sequel *Tales of Jewish History* (1843) depart from the Evangelical influence prevalent in mid-nineteenth-century writing on Jews. Directed at the woman reader of romance, they are based on biblical and post-biblical Jewish history. But while Aguilar's books for women gave scriptural heroines like Sarah and Deborah a Victorian inflection, and the Moss sisters similarly included anachronisms that made biblical Jews resemble their modern counterparts, their fiction, unlike Aguilar's, looked to the pre-modern Jewish past in order to 'pourtray the Jews as they were while yet an independent people' (*R* I: ix). As literary forebears their texts reference not the improving tracts and conduct manuals of Mrs More or Mrs Ellis but the Romantic poetry of oriental nationalism, extracts from which form the chapters' epigraphs. Rather than dwelling on the history of Jewish persecution in Catholic Europe, they recall what Disraeli was to call 'the exploits of Jewish heroes . . . the brilliant annals of past Jewish magnificence'.[84] It is in these terms that the Mosses pay homage in their preface to Henry Hart Milman's *History of the Jews* for its description of Judas Maccabeus, the leader of the Asmonean revolt against the Syrian empire, as the greatest '[a]mong those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land, against wanton and cruel oppression' (*R* I: viii). Using the same source text as Aguilar, Celia and Marion Moss take from Milman not only a political and social narrative, but also the romantic philosophy of Jewish history expressed in such comments. Thus, in contrast to Annie Webb's Evangelical view in *Naomi* of the Jewish uprising against Rome as 'the misguided efforts of the Jews to regain their liberty and independence' in the face of a punishment ordained by God,[85] for the Moss sisters it is a rebellion whose very hopelessness renders it heroic:

a wronged and insulted people endeavouring to throw off the yoke of a foreign power; a small province measuring its strength against the united power of the whole civilized world – Judea against Rome, it was like matching the strength of a child against the united power of a dozen strong men. The concussion of two such powers was tremendous. Never before nor since, excepting in the time of the Maccabees, had the world witnessed such a desperate struggle for independence (*R* III: 114–15).

The Mosses' representations of heroic martyrdom in the cause of national liberation also have a literary provenance, in the oriental tales of Tom Moore, with whom they were in correspondence, and Byron.[86] For both, the Hebrew Bible had provided a source for a poetry of mystical patriotism, in Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) and Moore's *Sacred Songs* (1816), but it was above all Moore's *Irish Melodies* (1807–34), spectacularly successful with the English readership at which it was aimed, that offered a model for the Mosses' endeavour to create a literature of sentimental sympathy for the lost glories of the Jews.

In their first publication, *Early Efforts* (1839) a precocious volume of poetry in the Romantic idiom that appeared when they were aged sixteen and eighteen, the Moss sisters had already styled themselves authors '*of the Hebrew Nation*'. The book linked local radical causes, national liberation struggles, and the question of the Jews in a series of youthfully earnest complaints against political injustice and territorial dispossession. In Celia's poem 'Stanzas' for example, reminiscent of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), an early nineteenth-century migrant addresses '[m]y native fields and groves', the rural landscape from which she has been driven by the 'cruel oppressor'.[87] The poems are preoccupied with imperial despotism and enforced expatriation, and several focus on the unsuccessful liberal struggles in Greece, Poland and Spain during the 1820s and 30s. Marion's 'Polander's Song', for example, mourns that 'the land of the noble and free / Should be conquered by tyrants and slaves':

> Our hearth-stones with blood are defiled,
> Not even our religion remains;
> Our warriors are dead or exiled,
> And our little ones weeping in chains (*E* 52)

The imagery of exile and slavery links the eulogies to national struggle with the poems on biblical subjects. Celia's 'Lament for Jerusalem' adopts the same vocabulary as the poems of modern patriotism, and, addressing the lost city as a grieving mother, metrically and lexically echoes Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*:

How long shall pagan foot profane
  Jehovah's hallow'd shrine;
And memory's [sic] alone remain
  Of all that once was thine:
How long shall we thy children roam
As exiles from our ancient home.

To weep o'er Salem's blighted fame,
  To gaze upon her strand,
'Tis all the heritage we claim
  Within our father land;
To mourn o'er our free parents' graves
That we their children are but slaves.

When will that glorious hour come,
  When shall we once more see
Thy temple rear its stately dome,
  Thy children with the free:
And thou, our fair, ill-fated land
  Amongst the nations take thy stand? (*E* 125–6)

By invoking the authority of Byron through imitation, Celia Moss is able to draw on his identification with the Jews (like the Greeks) as a symbolic cause of lost freedom, a Chosen People who heroically resisted tyranny.[88] Ending more audaciously, however, with a messianic hope for 'that glorious hour' of restoration, Moss's poem links such hopes with the more literal political longing of modern patriots.

Celia's 'The Massacre of the Jews at York', the most impressive contribution to the volume, is a long narrative poem about another tragic example of patriotic devotion, and relates the story of the mass suicide of Jews in mediaeval York – besieged in York Castle by 'the zealots of a barb'rous age' (*E* 130). The poem, in contrast to Aguilar's version of this event in 'History of the Jews in England', also contains a strong indictment of British prejudice:

We asked these Britons for a home,
  A shelter from the inclement skies:
Have we despoil'd a Christian dome,
  Or sought a Christian sacrifice?
We did but ask a dwelling place,
  And in return our wealth we gave;
They spurn'd us as an outcast race,
And brand us with the name of slave:
They hate us, for we seek to tread
The peaceful path our fathers trod,

> They hate us, for we bow our heads
> Before the shrine of Israel's God; (*E* 131)

On the other hand, Marion's 'Song' presents an alternative vision of Britain, in a patriotic paean declaring that she alone has resisted the decline into which Poland, Spain and Judea have fallen:

> While liberty's banner with blood hath been stained,
> Her shrines desecrated, her altars profaned,
> Thou still wert the home of the free and the brave,
> And all hail thee, proud Britain, the queen of the wave. (*E* 49)

In appealing to Britain's identity as a nation which protects 'liberty', the poem links British interests with these other struggles for national liberation. In their poetry, the Mosses bring the biblical dispossession of the Jews and their persecution in medieval England into the compass of radical-liberal politics, claimed as a peculiarly British inheritance.

In their fiction, however, Celia and Marion Moss draw together Milman's history, Romantic poetry and the female genre of historical romance.[89] The books provide 'Historical Summaries' of political and military developments as a preface to each chapter, which is based on a selected episode from the *History of the Jews*. But the focus of the Mosses' imaginative writing, framed within the narrative of Jewish struggles for national unity and, later, national liberation, is the role of women in this heroic history. Like Aguilar's heroines, the women of the *Romance* and *Tales* exemplify the virtues of the Victorian Anglican middle class rather than those of the Hebrew Bible. They visit the poor, work at their embroidery, support their parents and husbands, and control their emotions for the sake of their children. They are fiercely protective of their modesty and, in resisting all possibility of romance with non-Jews – an 'unholy passion' – they cultivate a rational approach to their sexuality (*R* II: 231). Malah, in one of Marion's tales, compares herself with a woman who loved too well and refused to live to witness her husband's infidelity; Malah 'thanked the God who had given her a blessed religion, whose dictates taught her to control her passions' (*R* I: 314). In ethical terms, the Moss sisters place the biblical Hebrews in direct continuity with respectable Victorian Jews.

In contrast to the restrained piety of Aguilar's writing, however, the Mosses' Jewesses are also erotically figured as part of an oriental world of sexual violence. The scene in which the Jewish daughter is threatened with violation, which both Aguilar and the Mosses developed from *Ivanhoe*, is repeated with quasi-pornographic intensity throughout the *Romance* and *Tales*. The stories insist that women's resistance to sexual coercion is the

crucial counterpart to the warriors' refusal to submit to military invasion. In 'The Storming of the Rock' by Celia Moss, Judith's father is murdered defending her from Philistine soldiers, and Judith herself is reduced to an unseemly revelation of hair and flesh:

> It was an awful sight; and even those fierce barbarians, hardened as they were in deeds of blood, shrunk from interrupting the poor girl's agony. Her long hair had escaped from its confinement, and lay in thick black masses on her fair cheek, fearfully contrasting with its paleness; while her thin white dress was stained with the blood of her fond, indulgent parent, as she madly tore it up to staunch the wound (*R* I: 15).

The titillating horrors of biblical barbarity, however, serve to demonstrate the patriotic heroism of the Hebrew warriors, whose 'reawakened ardour' for national unity is galvanised by the imperilled Jewess (*R* I: 21). Equally, the suffering of women inspires national feeling in other women, often across the boundaries of class. Uniting the slaves and mistresses of her household against the common enemy, Zarina in 'The Siege of Jotapata' declares: 'We will teach these proud Romans that even Jewish women and children can fight for their freedom, and die for their country' (*R* III: 247). The imagery of captivity and cruelty was a prurient trope of Orientalist literature.[90] But in the Moss sisters' romances written for women the sexual subjugation of the Jewess becomes an icon of national suffering and an instrument of nationalist awakening.

This characterisation of the Jewess, meanwhile, also draws on the scriptural personification, in texts like Lamentations, of the Hebrew people as a grieving female victim of war. In Celia's version of the story of the Jewish revolt against the Syrians, Mattathias, the Asmonean patriarch, sees the suffering of the Jews in the colonised Jerusalem of his day in precisely these allegorical terms:

> As a desolate widow is the daughter of Zion, who mourneth not only for her husband, but her children. She is despoiled of her ornaments, and sitteth in sackcloth and ashes, weeping for her beloved. But hath not Zion before been as greatly straitened? Hath not the heathen and the stranger slain her valiant men, and carried away her strong men captive? (*R* II: 148).

At the same time, however, recurrent references to captivity, physical torture and scourging create intertextual resonances not only with Old Testament laments for the Jews' enslavement in Egypt and Babylon, but also with abolitionist literature of the previous few decades. The Moss sisters brought to the discussion of Jewish emancipation the language and associations of an older emancipation controversy, the debate on African-Caribbean slavery,

in which, as Moira Ferguson and Clare Midgley have shown, women and the rhetoric of femininity had played a crucial role.[91]

The liberties of Jews, women and slaves converge most explicitly in Marion Moss's story 'The Twin Brothers of Nearda: A Tale of the Babylonian Jews', the episode that constitutes nearly half of *Tales of Jewish History*. These themes are absent from the historical narrative of Milman's *History of the Jews* on which Moss's story is based, but distinctly threaded through her text. Her adaptation thus attaches not only a romance of filial rebellion and thwarted love to the story of the brothers' military leadership, but also suggests that Moss was seeking to associate her account of Jewish political subjugation with the anti-slavery cause.

The motif of slavery had been appropriated as a metaphor for political oppression in the 1830s by Irish Catholic politicians and writers like Tom Moore.[92] But in 'The Twin Brothers' Moss also dips into the prolific tradition of female abolitionist writing, in which, as Ferguson has argued, women writers 'displaced anxieties about their own assumed powerlessness and inferiority onto their representations of slaves'.[93] The literary representation of the plight of the slave was repeatedly used to appeal to a female readership. The image of a grieving African mother was famously deployed by Anna Laetitia Barbauld in a volume of hymns for children in 1781, and again by the Evangelical writer Hannah More in 1788, in order to critique slavery for disrupting the institution of the family. Invoking the immorality of slavery had also become a strategic move by dissenters arguing for the abolition of discrimination against their denominations.[94] For the Moss sisters, the figure of the suffering Jewish woman served a similar purpose. As Vron Ware has commented on the rhetorical use of 'the slave' by Victorian feminist polemicists, 'appropriating the language of slavery was a way of claiming that theirs was a moral cause, not a revolutionary demand that threatened the whole of society'.[95] The Old Testament iconography typical of Evangelical abolitionist literature circulated back to the Jews, on whose behalf its moral authority could also be harnessed.

'The Twin Brothers' is set during the Jews' exile in Babylon and Parthia and concerns the fortunes of Anilai and Asinai, twins of noble birth who are left without family and sold as slaves to a wealthy and cruel merchant, Moses Ben Yussuf. From the outset Moss adapts Milman's text to make slavery a prominent theme: in *The History of the Jews* the brothers appear simply as 'orphans' and are employed as weavers.[96] After they have finally fled their master's house, Asinai returns briefly to reveal to Ben Yussuf's daughter Paula that he has loved her for many years. Paula, herself kept in luxurious seclusion by her jealous father, has been reading the lamentations

of Jeremiah and thinking of the famous psalm of exile, 'By the Waters of Babylon' – the source for Rebecca's hymn in the dungeon at Templestowe, several of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*, and Barbauld's and More's abolitionist poems. Paula reflects on the diasporic condition of the Jews, who are now voluntarily living in exile from Judea:

> A ray of exalted enthusiasm lighted up her large black eyes, as these thoughts filled her mind, and yielding to the spell, she arose, and forgetful of the lateness of the hour, wandered down to the side of that river, upon whose banks her captive people had hung their harps upon the willows, and sat down and wept.
>
> 'How, indeed, could they sing the songs of Zion in a strange land!' exclaimed the fair enthusiast, clasping her hands together, and raising her eyes to heaven: 'the tender and sublimely beautiful anthems of David, the warrior minstrel, and king of Israel, were not made to be chanted in captivity, at the bidding of the idolatrous heathen . . . Bitter, indeed, must be the bread of servitude, and the earth must be watered with the tears of the slave, who toileth upon it for another's gain alone, and knoweth though its graceful bosom yieldeth abundance, he hath no portion therein.'[97]

In this Romantic construction of Judaism, Paula's impassioned words express a religion not of pedantic legalities but of spontaneous feeling for the organic interconnection of people, culture and land. She sees the life of the diaspora Jew, even if materially comfortable, as a continued 'captivity', equivalent to slavery because, excluded from the plenitude of the land's maternal bosom, 'he hath no portion' in it.

Her words are overheard and endorsed by Asinai, the escaped slave who has returned to find her. In a speech in which he justifies his decision to break the bond of slavery, Asinai unwittingly fuels Paula's emerging consciousness of her own oppression as a Jew 'in captivity'. Directing her attention to a Wordsworthian natural world, which he describes as 'God's mighty book', Asinai insists that the land is the true biblical text, in which divinity is immanent. He continues:

> When God made this bright world, filling it with all that is good and beautiful, he created man to be its lord, and reign king over all his works . . . But when he gave it to man, to rule over all the other works of his hand, he said not that he should tyrannise over his weaker brother, and make him the bond slave of his will. When our first parents were driven from the blessed home they had defiled with the first sin, and God said, 'Thou shalt eat the bread of toil, and earn it with the sweat of thy brow,' he said not, 'Thou shalt take another, and make him toil for thee, giving him bread that is made of bitters and mixed with tears for his portion, whilst thou livest on the fat of the land;' neither did He who is all benevolence say, 'Thou shalt reward the bondsman with stripes' (*T* I: 119–20).

Slavery, Asinai declares, usurps God's authority, which decreed that all men should work; moreover, withholding the pleasures of the land from slaves is tantamount to transgressing the natural law writ therein. These religious arguments are drawn from the anti-slavery campaigns and infused with Romantic imagery. And what Asinai argues, Paula, in her 'exalted enthusiasm', already 'feels'. In suggesting the analogy between slavery and Jewish exile through the figure of the Jewess, the text makes its case against slavery speak to the status of the Jews in Victorian England.

For Paula, it is not only the Jews' captivity but the subordination of women that is illuminated by comparison with the plight of the slave. She comes to understand that the watchful protectiveness of her domineering father is nothing less than confinement, and realises that she too is a chattel who will serve his tyranny and greed in a lucrative arranged marriage. 'I will have thee scourged, as I would the meanest slave who disobeyed my will', Ben Yussuf threatens his daughter, underlining the continuum between patriarchy and slavery (*T* I: 242). The Moss sisters' emphasis, both here and in other stories, on the coercion of female will by oppressive fathers has been read as a critical address to Victorian Anglo-Jewry on the status of women.[98] But what is also apparent in 'The Twin Brothers' is the way that the theme of female subjection forms part of the Mosses' use of the sentimental rhetoric of anti-slavery. The association between the plight of the slave and that of the restricted rights of women, made commonplace by female abolitionists, here serves a further argument, addressed ostensibly to the non-Jewish reader, about the oppression of the Jews. When called upon to perform music before her appointed husband, Paula is only able to sing 'one of the lamentations of Jeremiah, a style of singing admirably suited to the deep pathos of her voice, and the melancholy mood of her mind' (*T* I: 247). In returning again to the poetry of national suffering Paula links her female servitude to the captivity of the Jews.

The uncertain climate of the 1840s, when manumission had become a complex reality and not just a noble ideal, is reflected in the oscillation of 'The Twin Brothers' between sympathy for the suffering of slaves and anxiety about their potential vindictiveness as free men. Initially, the escaped slaves become noble outlaws, and ultimately powerful conquerors who are offered the governorship of Babylon. However, power corrupts them and they are destroyed by their own allies. By the end of the tale, Anilai's army consists of 'men fettered by no law, human or divine, and only true in their allegiance to him because it afforded them greater facilities of preying on society', their opportunism exposing the moral anarchy that must follow from the relaxation of traditional bonds (II: 194). Meanwhile, Paula is

similarly ambivalent about the rival demands of established patriarchal law and the claims of sentiment and conscience. But though she decides to flee her father's rule to marry her slave lover, Paula is eventually betrayed by him and becomes a martyr to the betrayed cause of liberty. Nonetheless, the text does not seek to undermine Asinai's anti-slavery argument. Instead, it points to the error of the brothers, particularly the ambitious Anilai, who fail to see the connection between their enslavement and that of the Jewish people. By pursuing personal power as colonial governors instead of seeking liberation as a nation, they become yet another agent in the Jews' constantly vacillating fortunes, rather than the means of ending their exilic cycle.

On the question of Jewish exile and nationhood, however, Moss inflects the metaphor of slavery to engage more controversially with contemporary debate about Jewish emancipation. When Paula thinks of Jewish diaspora existence as slavery, she mourns because it is a subjection that has become voluntary:

> Why, when the yoke of the captive had been taken from their necks, and the fetters of their bondage which had pressed so heavily upon them for threescore years and ten were unriveted, had they lingered by the waters of Babylon; when the laughing streams of Judea uplifted their voices, in songs of rejoicing, and wooed them to their fertile banks? (*T* I: 117).

Paula is repelled by her father's insistence on remaining in exile rather than 'returning to the Land of Promise' because his material profits are greater in Babylon, the 'land of their captivity' (*T* I: 225). Her own domestic captivity has alerted her to the similarly false comforts of the diaspora. In another story, 'The Promise', the narrator herself endorses such nostalgia for Zion. As the heroine listens to the hero singing 'the songs of Zion in a strange land' and they 'weep together over the utter desolation of their fatherland', the narrator interjects:

> O that beautiful word! whose every letter is poetry. Even as I write, I could weep and turn with the passionate yearning of the expatriated to the far-off home, beyond the blue Mediterranean. Vain yearning! futile dreams! – the inheritance of Israel is again in the hand of the stranger, and the time has not arrived for the wandering exiles to return (*R* II: 88).

Collapsing time, the contemporary narrator shares the patriotic sorrow of the ancient Hebrew heroine; she is living in the same epoch, the same exile. Moss's reference to the 'yearning of the expatriated' distinctly recalls the patriotic language of the sisters' earlier political poetry. Imagining the

diaspora Jewess as a slave, the text suggests that her liberty as a woman and as a Jew depends on the liberation of her people as a whole.

Inflecting the language of religious messianism with the more literal suggestion that the modern Jews are 'expatriated' was a potentially explosive move at this time, when Jewish campaigners – including writers like Grace Aguilar – were mostly trying to demonstrate their political allegiance to Britain. Even though she acknowledges that 'the time has not arrived' for national redemption, this does not dispel the implication in Moss's text of Jewish disloyalty – a scepticism that contrasts strikingly with Aguilar's optimism about the Jews' future in Britain. In fact, Moss seems to hold little faith in the capacity of British democracy to liberate the Jews, and her language resembles that of the Tory opponents of Jewish emancipation. The narratorial voice interjects once more in a comment on Paula's uncle Simon, foil to her father in 'The Twin Brothers':

> When we speak of Simon's own land, it is of Judea, not of Babylon. Whatever was, or is the country in which the Jew is for a time an indweller, he looks upon the land flowing with milk and honey as his own peculiar inheritance; and deems himself only as a sojourner in the land of the stranger. Strange and peculiar as this feeling may seem at the first glance, when it is considered that all our national reminiscences, whether for good or evil, in glory or in shame, in the bright days of our prosperity and the many sad and dark ones of our adversity, are connected with that bright Eastern land that God himself gave to our fathers; and that the people of every nation whither we have been driven to take refuge, England not excepted, hath treated us as a haughty mother-in-law does her step-children, casting us forth from her bosom; it will appear strange no longer, but justify the yearning fondness with which we turn to the homes of our fathers, in the land that was once their own. This is a long digression, but we trust it will be pardoned as a burst of that national enthusiasm which has been its theme (*T* 1: 232–3).

In this passage, the messianic formula of deferred fulfilment is wholly replaced by confident 'national enthusiasm' for Zion. Moss's familial metaphor alludes to Macaulay's aphorism, in 'Civil Disabilities of the Jews': 'If the Jews have not felt towards England like children, it is because she has treated them like a step-mother', followed by the claim that '[t]here is no feeling which more certainly develops itself in the minds of men living under tolerably good government, than the feeling of patriotism'.[99] If Grace Aguilar felt inclined to declare, triumphantly, that England's good government indeed made her a nurturing mother to the Jews, Moss (like her heroines) preferred to be motherless. By asserting that Jews' primary loyalty is never to their country of residence but to an imagined homeland based on 'national' memory, Marion Moss's writing runs counter

to the political arguments of both liberals and Jewish apologists at this time.

It is crucial, however, that the narrator's declaration of her connection to 'that bright Eastern land' is cast less as a reprimand to British injustice than as a celebratory 'burst of national enthusiasm'. Such enthusiasm was shared in the early 1840s not by the majority of Anglo-Jews, but by the Christian millennialists who tirelessly lobbied the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, in the hope of promoting Jewish restoration to the Holy Land and insisted, against the evidence, on the Jews' continued attachment to it.[100] If Moss took up other aspects of Evangelical discourse, like its anti-slavery arguments, restorationist rhetoric could provide a further framework for her thinking about Jews.

However, the literary context of Marion Moss's writing suggests a different reading of her narrator's sentiments. Like the writing of abolitionists, the sisters' patriotic poetry, which lamented the suffering of the exile, also invoked Britain as the land of 'liberty' – the nation that always resisted despotism. Thus, Marion's 'The Jewish Girl's Song' ends with the speaker addressing the land itself as a grieving woman in both radical and millennial terms: 'But weep not, thy day-star again shall arise! / Again shall thy children be rank'd with the free' (*E* 61). The Jews, in the Mosses' writing, provide a parallel example of a nation that from antiquity, when they endeavoured 'to throw off the yoke of a foreign power', to the present day, when they feel a 'yearning fondness' for the paternal homeland, are also defined by their love of political freedom. At no time was this identification between the Jews and the British defence of freedom more vocally asserted than during the Damascus crisis, when Britain's moral and political leadership was repeatedly called upon in precisely these terms.[101] As Jonathan Frankel has written of the dramatic display of international Jewish solidarity in 1840, this was a key 'example of "emancipationist" politics: the appeal to what were assumed to be the shared humanist or universalist values of the "civilization"'.[102] Such moral idealism, in the work of Celia and Marion Moss, is located in the 'exalted enthusiasm' of their heroines and female narrators. In their fiction, the figure of the Jewess who resists domestic and diasporic servitude exemplifies the instinctive love of liberty that identifies Jews with the British civilising mission.

CONCLUSION

The genre of romance, Michael Galchinsky argues, fitted the needs of writers negotiating the social and religious transformation of Anglo-Jewry

in early Victorian England, because it was structured around the conflict between the freedom of the individual and her duty to the community.[103] For Jewish as for Evangelical women, gendered literary forms were a means of negotiating power with and beyond their particular communities. At the same time, the romance form also constituted a rejoinder to the self-focused narratives of Evangelical fiction. The embattled, conscientious and self-analytical Jewish heroine of Christian conversion stories, heroically resisting the persecutions of her unbelieving family, was inherited by Jewish writers who placed her, instead, at the mercy of evil Catholic inquisitors or Philistine invaders. Whether Jewish history was conceived as martyrological or epic, the woman of Israel demanded from readers not pity and sympathy, but admiration. The culture of conversion, therefore, was enabling as well as threatening to Anglo-Jewry, providing the narrative and rhetorical tools for refiguring public perceptions of Jews through literature.

However, early Anglo-Jewish writers' use of biblical, historical and domestic fiction, refracted through contemporary political debate, produced divergent versions of the myth of the Jewess. Grace Aguilar's Iberian martyr, dying for the love of the motherland that has rejected her, and Marion Moss's patriotic enthusiast, yearning for the distant Zion, are radically different allegories for Anglo-Jewish political identity. They reflect the contrary forces buffeting Anglo-Jewry in the 1830s and 40s, from the repeatedly unsuccessful campaign for Anglo-Jewish emancipation, to the wide but ambiguous public sympathy elicited by the Damascus affair for Jewry beyond England. In this charged context, the exceptional ardour of the Jewess was shown by Aguilar to be directed towards her country of residence and by the Moss sisters in parallel and implicit homage to it.

If the work of these writers is shaped by the politics of early Victorian Anglo-Jewry, it also functions outside the terms of the parliamentary debate. While liberal advocates of emancipation were endeavouring to divorce the question of religion from that of the exercise of political rights, Aguilar instead reasserted the link. Her writing does not challenge the notion of Britain as a Christian state; rather, its Evangelical tone demonstrates that Judaism was not estranged from Christianity but shared its religious 'spirit'. For Aguilar, Jews were adherents of the 'Hebrew faith' and could thus be included within a multi-denominational empire. The Moss sisters, in contrast, term themselves and their characters members of the 'Hebrew nation'. Whereas Aguilar's reference point is the 'England' of collective cultural memory, the Mosses invoke the political construct 'Britain'. Although their messianic language resembles that of Evangelical millennialists, their

writing in fact appeals to a radical account of the nation that saw its political tradition as grounded in the love of liberty, a love that was also to be found in the annals of Jewish history. The work of both the Moss sisters and Grace Aguilar may certainly be called apologetic, but it is also, each in different ways, universalist.

In stark contrast to the polemics that animated Parliament and the periodicals, the universalism of these texts is grounded in the discourse of femininity. The simple and unintellectual piety of Aguilar's heroines, and the emotional enthusiasm of those of the Moss sisters, lift them out of the controversies of 'doctrinal difference' and into affinity with the general female reader. Aguilar herself became a figure of such universalised femininity: in the 'Memoir' appended to her posthumous works, she is represented in the formulaic and ecumenical terms of her own domestic writing, as a woman who loved nature and music and was a pillar of moral support to both parents and siblings despite a lifelong 'want of physical energy'.[104] From this account, the specificity of her Jewishness is utterly absent. At the same time, moreover, Aguilar's literary legacy was hailed by the *Jewish Chronicle* as a triumphant symbol of Anglo-Jewry's '*great* onward struggle' towards respectability and equality.[105] If the Bishop of Oxford had charged in 1847 that 'the Jews have no literature', the *Chronicle*, reviewing her domestic novel *The Mother's Recompense* (1851), considered him fittingly answered by 'the moral and religious works of the virtuous and pious Grace Aguilar'.[106] Engendered by Evangelical conversionists, the myth of the redemptive Jewish woman as embodied by Grace Aguilar was thus mobilised by Jewish emancipationists in the 1840s and 50s. The confident didactic force of both Aguilar and the Moss sisters' writing, however, was in tension with the ongoing unresolved question of the Jews' place in the polity. Such resistance intensified in the following decades, when, as the admission of the Jews to Parliament became a reality, the literary figure of the Jewish woman was once again revived, in new battles over the scope and meaning of Jewish power.

5

Hellenist heroines: commerce, culture and the Jewess

'I adore Shakespeare', enthuses Baroness Sampson, vulgar wife of a crooked Jewish speculator in Emily Eden's social satire *The Semi-Detached House* (1859), 'and only wish I had time to read him. Indeed, I once went to see his School for Scandal.'[1] Gloriously embodying social disorder and cultural ignorance, Eden's Jewish parvenu was to become a ubiquitous figure in literature of the 1860s and 70s. In realist writing no less than conversion fiction, however, representations of Jews were highly polarised. Rooted in Christian theology, the critique of Judaism as materialist and of the Jews as materialistic was renewed in the decades following Jewish emancipation. At the same time, the Jews' potential for transcending this form of carnality was persistently allegorised in the figure of the Jewess. In this chapter I explore how novelists – fascinated, repelled and implicated by the figure of the cosmopolitan Jewish plutocrat – were equally bound to the contrary image of the Jewess who resisted the temptations of money.

In Eden's novel, for example, the Baroness is juxtaposed with her niece, the melancholy, poetry-quoting Rachel Monteneros. Disaffected from her Jewish family, whom she suspects of plotting to embezzle her fortune, Rachel wears a habitual 'look of anxiety, as, resting her head on her clasped hands, she seemed to give herself up to deep and painful thoughts' (131). Eden's sad Jewess bears more than a fleeting resemblance to the heroines of conversion fiction. Indeed, she undergoes a transformation in the course of the novel through her acquaintance with her middle-class neighbours, who introduce her to the ethos of public charity as an escape from her pathological self-absorption. Yet although Rachel finally escapes the financial ruin that sweeps away the Sampson establishment, she is not quite redeemed, and never fully overcomes the 'cold, distrustful, unloved and unloving' ways in which she has been trained (317). '"We are all actors and actresses," she used to say, "and none of us quite up to our parts, though we act all day long"' (131–2). The baroness's social pretensions are the feminine face of her husband's commercial dissembling: speculators, Rachel considers

apocalyptically, 'have more to answer for than the pecuniary ruin they have wrought. They have ruined all confidence, all trust; they have made dishonesty the rule, and not the exception' (167). Although the baroness can not quite get her English dramatists right, Rachel's theatrical metaphor suggests that Jews have a natural inclination for performance.

As the daughter of a prominent Whig family, Emily Eden articulated in a particularly shrill form a critique of Jews that was to become typical of mid-Victorian liberals. The links that her novel establishes between the chaos of social mobility, the confidence trickery of stock market speculation and a Jewish capacity for artifice were reinforced in representations of Jews during the 1860s and 70s. Written in the wake of the financial crisis of 1857, Eden's tale of Jews whose making 'dishonesty the rule' leads to a meteoric rise followed by 'pecuniary ruin' was often reiterated in the years following the market crash of 1866, the massive panic of 1873 and the subsequent economic depression. Equally significant, however, is the way that her text's prescriptions for social and cultural respectability are articulated through competing modes of femininity. The following chapter explores the literary development of the figure of the Jewish woman against this backdrop. The Evangelical narrative tradition of the Jewess as a suffering and redemptive figure resurfaced in the most mainstream of locations in the mid-Victorian period; novelists reinvigorated the trope with a new emphasis on the struggle of the 'cultured' Jewish woman against the contrary force of Jewish materialism. The Jewess who reads literature, acts or paints, like her converting predecessors, reveals and transcends the degradation of Jewishness. In cultural criticism and in fiction of the period, the gendered figure of the Jew delineated the new terms of British hostility towards and identification with the Jews.

ACTORS WITHIN THE ECONOMY: THE ASCENDANCY OF THE JEWS

The end of the campaign for Jewish emancipation came in 1858 with the admission of Lionel de Rothschild to Parliament. But for many Liberal intellectuals, David Feldman has argued, this and the Reform Act of 1867, both extending civil and political liberties, also led to a 'greater emphasis on [the] historical and cultural bonds of nationality which underpinned the relationship between the rulers and the people'. For Jews this meant that patriotism was no longer measured by the capacity to swear a Christian oath in Parliament, but would increasingly depend on their ability to 'identify with the texture and traditions of national life'.[2] In these terms,

the narrator of George Eliot's essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' (1879), while decrying the cruder expressions of contemporary antisemitism, nevertheless considers the 'distinctive national characteristics' of the English to be endangered by the 'predominance of wealth acquiring immigrants, whose appreciation of our political and social life must often be as approximate or fatally erroneous as their delivery of our language'.[3] In the post-emancipation period, the Jews' identification with English culture was seen to be compromised not by their religious beliefs but by their business practices and cosmopolitan affiliations. In this section, I explore perceptions of the relationship among Jews, money and gender in political discourse and cultural criticism of the 1860s and 70s.

The dominant new figure in semitic discourse of the mid-Victorian period was the Jewish man of commerce. In the rapidly expanding London finance market of the 1860s and 70s, the startling success of Jewish banking and stockbroking firms appeared to T. H. S. Escott, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, as a barometer of social change: 'English society once ruled by an aristocracy is now dominated by a plutocracy. And this plutocracy is to a large extent Hebraic in its composition. There is no phenomenon more noticeable in society than the ascendancy of the Jews.' Efforts to explain this ascendancy invoked the 'essentially speculative' nature of the Jew and the 'corporate cohesion that distinguishes his race'; both could be seen as antipathetic to the moral conduct of business.[4] This view was underlined by the government investigation into foreign loan schemes in the early 1870s, which reserved particular criticism for Bishoffsheim and Goldschmidt, the Jewish firm behind the notorious failed Honduras Inter-Oceanic Railway loan. Jewish commerce provides a narrative for Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875), which centres on a fraudulent Jewish railway loan-monger, and it also lurks in the background of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876), the plot of which is precipitated by the collapse of 'Grapnell and Co.'; more specifically a (presumably Jewish) 'Mr Lassman's wicked recklessness, which they say was the cause of the failure'.[5] The critique of Jews as exerting unwarranted power and pursuing cosmopolitan and 'tribal' rather than patriotic goals reached a climax in the response to the handling of the Eastern Crisis of 1876–80 by the newly ennobled Jewish-born Conservative Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli.

Liberal opposition to Disraeli following the atrocities committed against Bulgarian Christians by Turkish irregular militia in 1876 cast the Prime Minister's continued support for Turkey as 'Hebrew policy' – Disraeli's Jewish, anti-Christian origins, his sympathy for an oriental empire that protected its Jewish subjects and his links to Jewish financiers with investments there.

Public agitation against Disraeli's strategy demanded that the government instead 'align British policy with the cause of Christianity against Islam, humanity against barbarism, and with liberty against tyranny'.[6] In 1878, moreover, Disraeli's ability to rouse the public to enthusiasm for war provoked by the Russian invasion of the Balkans was also interpreted in racial terms, and ascribed to his skill, like that of a speculator, in charming the populus against their own interest. A dominant trope in the popular representation of Disraeli was that of the stage performer: T. P. O'Connor's biography *Lord Beaconsfield* (1877) described the Prime Minister as 'an actor that never took off his wig or rouge or robes', 'an Eastern showman' who 'had only his part to play of a clever foreigner trifling with the interests and playing upon the passions of the people to whose race he was proud not to belong and in whose creed he scorned to believe'. *Punch* repeatedly portrayed Disraeli as a trickster or an illusionist – a professional magician, an acrobat thrilling the crowd or a puppeteer.[7] The emphasis on Disraeli's dishonest dissembling, apparent also in contemporary representations of Jewish plutocrats, is one aspect of the rhetorical association between Jewishness and artistry in the mid-Victorian period.

For liberal writers, meanwhile, the imperatives of capitalism also posed a direct threat to the humanising mission of 'culture'. As Ruskin, in *The Crown of Wild Olives* (1866), warned with respect to the 'Goddess of Getting-on', 'Continue to make that forbidden deity your principal one, and soon no more art, no more science, no more pleasure will be possible'.[8] It is also a structuring argument in Arnold's influential *Culture and Anarchy* (1868), in which commercialism is both implicitly and explicitly associated with Jews. Arnold contends that the modern idols of individual liberty, commerce and care for the body – 'British freedom, British industry, British muscularity' – are effects of the influence of the narrow earnestness of dissenting Protestantism. Each, he argues, is pursued as an end in itself, not 'in reference to a general end of human perfection'.[9] In contrast, 'culture', which seeks a universal idea of perfection, 'is at variance with our strong individualism . . . our maxim of "every man for himself"', and generates discontent with the pursuit of wealth and health for their own sake (45–66). To these two 'rival forces' Arnold ascribes the terms Hebraism and Hellenism, 'from the two races of men who have supplied the most signal and splendid manifestations of them' (129–30). The dialectic of Hebraism and Hellenism produced Christianity – 'a Hebraism renewed and purged' – the Renaissance – 'that great re-awakening of Hellenism, that irresistible return of humanity to nature and to seeing things as they are' – and the Reformation – 'a reaction of Hebraism against Hellenism' (141–2). Since

the Reformation, British life has been in the grip of 'a Puritan force, – the care for fire and strength, strictness of conscience' and 'what I say is, not that Hellenism is always for everybody more wanted than Hebraism, but that . . . for the great majority of us . . . it is more wanted' (149, 151).

Implicitly referencing the history of Protestant philosemitism, Arnold's identification of Hebraism with British Puritanism is based on 'that likeness in the strength and prominence of the moral fibre, which, notwithstanding immense elements of difference, knits in some special sort the genius and history of us English, and our American descendants across the Atlantic, to the genius and history of the Hebrew people' (142).[10] But Arnold invokes the unique relationship between Jews and Anglo-Saxons only to challenge it. The tendency for 'moral fibre' to turn into 'machinery', he argues, is as prevalent among modern 'Philistines' as when St Paul challenged 'the contradiction between the Jew's profession and practice':

> Even so we too, when we hear so much said of the growth of commercial immorality in our serious middle class, of the melting away of habits of strict probity before the temptation to get quickly rich and to cut a figure in the world; when we see, at any rate, so much confusion of thought and of practice in this great representative class of our nation, – may we not be disposed to say, that this confusion shows that his new motive-power of grace and imputed righteousness has become to the Puritan as mechanical, and with as ineffective a hold upon his practice, as the old motive-power of the law was to the Jew? and that the remedy is the same as that which St. Paul employed, – an importation of what we have called Hellenism into his Hebraism, a making his consciousness flow freely round his petrified rule of life and renew it (159–60).

In this analogy, the figure of the legalistic, pharisaical, biblical Jew stands behind the modern sanctimonious businessman; both are in need of the transformative force of Hellenism. In similar terms, a leader in *The Economist* of June 1875, commenting on the blame currently being heaped on 'commercial men' for their 'speculative indiscretions', suggested that 'by far the best check on this intense vitality and recklessness of the commercial intelligence would result from such wider culture as would give these men other keen intellectual interests as well as those which are identified with their occupations'. Expanding the narrow self-interest of City magnates, 'culture' could redeem the 'dangerous' intensity of 'the energy of commerce'.[11] Arnold, likewise, sliding between the metaphor of Hebraism and 'the Jew' in his biblical and modern incarnations, expressed his own liberalism as a form of secular or aesthetic conversionism.

The associations in *Culture and Anarchy* among anarchic individualism, commerce, philistinism and Hebraism resonated throughout fiction of the

1860s and 70s by both Jews and non-Jews. Recent scholarship has demonstrated how, for Arnold, Trollope and Eliot, the figure of the 'economic Jew' could stand for an ambivalent response not only to capitalism more generally but also to their own 'usurious' practice of art for commercial gain.[12] Yet what is missing from critical accounts of the semitic representations of the period is attention to the ways in which their ambivalence frequently depends on the moralising rhetoric of gender. The 'commercial man' invoked by *The Economist* was characterised by his 'intense vitality and recklessness', while Arnold's opposition between the 'fire and strength' of Hebraism and the 'sweetness and light' of Hellenism is, in a similar way, implicitly gendered. Yet another formulation of the distinction between Hebraism and Hellenism in *Culture and Anarchy*, in fact, turns on the commonplace of 'Oriental' patriarchalism. 'Who, I say, will believe', Arnold demands,

> that where the feminine nature, the feminine ideal, and our relations to them, are brought into question, the delicate and apprehensive genius of the Indo-European race, the race which invented the Muses, and chivalry, and the Madonna, is to find its last word on this question in the institutions of a Semitic people, whose wisest king had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines? (184).

Here, the 'Semitic people' is associated with a decadent machismo, in contrast to the 'delica[cy]' of Hellenism, which produced the correct elevation of the feminine.

The prevalence of such metaphors makes sense of the continuing importance of the figure of the recalcitrant Jewess as a counterpart to the overbearing individualism of the Jewish male. If, as David Feldman has argued, there was now a significant disjunction between the notion of Jews as 'victims of Anglican and aristocratic privilege on one side, and as actors within the economy, on the other',[13] this dichotomy was given narrative form in the gendered figure of the Jew in mid-Victorian literature. The ruthless economic Jew was thus shadowed by the Jewess, who played both victim and saviour. Texts like *The Semi-Detached House* cast the Hellenistic Jewess against the Jew as a force of redemption, highlighting her persecution by her family, her affinity for culture rather than wealth and her critique of Jewish social and financial transgressions. Rachel Monteneros' pronouncement that the plutocratic class are 'all actors and actresses' resonates through later representations of Disraeli, whose dishonest artistry could be seen as evidence of the hollowness of his national feeling. But while Disraeli's public performance was regarded as un-English and despotic, literary representations of the Jewish actress cast her, in contrast, as the embodiment

of a civilised universalism.[14] If the rampant charm of the plutocracy was gendered as male, the promise of liberal culture was figured as female.

In the rest of the present chapter, I explore how this dualism was vividly dramatised in a range of fictional texts of the 1870s. One neglected aspect of these texts is the way that they retell in secular terms the conversion stories of the 1830s. This familiar story of the Jewess forms a crucial narrative strand both in *The Way We Live Now* (1875), Anthony Trollope's tragedy of speculation, and (twice) in George Eliot's meditation on the rival claims of art and nation in *Daniel Deronda* (1876). In each case, the story of the Jewess who rebels against her father enables the author to present both positive and negative models of Jewish assimilation. In *Estelle* (1878), a rejoinder to *Daniel Deronda* by the minor Jewish writer Emily Marion Harris, the narrative of the Jewess is again rewritten, in this case for the purpose of reshaping the image of the Jews within literary discourse. Each of these texts, moreover, is structured by competing accounts not only of Jewishness but of femininity.

CHOP HER IN PIECES: TROLLOPE'S SACRIFICIAL JEWESS

It is in the fiction of Anthony Trollope that the contradictory representation of mid-Victorian Jews is most clearly tied to gender. Jews were at the crux of Trollope's 'conservative Liberalism'; as Bryan Cheyette has argued, 'Trollope did not wish simply to exclude "the Jews" but he, instead, intended them to know their place within a necessarily superior "feudal England".'[15] Trollope had no particular sympathy with Evangelicalism, and had strongly satirised it in *Rachel Ray* (1863). But in his stories of self-sacrificing Jewesses, he was indebted to one of the key narrative tropes of Evangelical writing. The Jewess, in Trollope's fiction, most clearly illustrated his ambivalent politics of inclusion and exclusion. Unlike her father, she recognised the limitations of her own social ambition. In *Nina Balatka*, as I showed in chapter 2, the Jewess is a mediating figure, redeeming with her own renunciation the 'Jewish' self-interest of the hero. In the setting of contemporary England, I now argue, *The Way We Live Now* pits the Jewish man of commerce against the ethos of feudal England, but seeks to accommodate the Jewess within it.

In Trollope's modern England the power and property of the traditional aristocracy and gentry is increasingly reliant on the commercial class. Aristocratic profligates have come to understand the marrying of an heiress as 'an institution, like primogeniture . . . almost as serviceable for maintaining the proper order of things. Rank squanders money; trade makes

it; – and then trade purchases rank by re-gilding its splendour'.[16] Standing quixotically against such change is Roger Carbury, squire of Carbury Hall and scion of an ancient Suffolk family who 'had . . . been true to their acres' through the centuries (I: 47). Believing that 'a man's standing in the world should not depend at all upon his wealth', Roger is the novel's moral centre; 'a more manly man to the eye was never seen' (I: 49, 51). Suffolk, according to Roger, is where the English feudal order survives: 'radicalism is not quite so rampant as it is elsewhere. The poor people touch their hats, and the rich people think of the poor. There is something left among us of old English habits' (I: 153). Bound to his acres, his heirs and his tenants, Carbury embodies the subordination of personal desire to social responsibility that is seen as the highest, if hardest to maintain, of English virtues.

In contrast to the stable world of feudal Suffolk, the London milieu of Roger's aunt Lady Carbury is, he believes, 'an atmosphere . . . burdened with falsehood' (I: 132–3). Lady Carbury's attempts to manipulate the press in favour of her poor prose, her son's insincere courtship of the heiress Marie Melmotte and the country girl Ruby Ruggles, and his friends' capacity to procure unlimited credit for card playing, illustrate a way of living that depends on dissembling. The grotesque avatar of this way of living is Augustus Melmotte, the 'Great Financier', whose rise and fall furnishes the action for Trollope's novel. Melmotte is the supreme performer, who risks spending money that he does not possess in order to obtain further credit. Such gambling is frequently linked in Victorian fiction not only with undesirable social mobility but also with the threat of economic disorder that haunted the 1870s.[17] Composed during the financial crisis of 1873, two years after the death of the 'Railway Napoleon' and Conservative MP George Hudson (the 'swollen Gambler' as Carlyle dubbed him[18]), and in the midst of the House of Commons Select Committee investigation into fraudulent loan schemes, *The Way We Live Now* regards the continuum from gentlemanly gambling to making money from speculation 'before a spadeful of earth had been moved' as part of what Roger's niece Hetta Carbury calls 'a newer and worse sort of world' (I: 78, 71).

Melmotte remains a hollow cipher in the text. He may or may not be a Jew, he may or may not have a criminal past, he may or may not be very rich: the narrator tells us only what '[p]eople said of him' (I: 68). Indeed, Melmotte is a man whose social and financial success – and decline – is entirely without substance, created and destroyed by public fictions about him. As Paul Delany notes, rather than simply reiterating an antisemitic stereotype '[t]he vagueness of Melmotte's identity is precisely the point:

it corresponds to the opacity of finance capital itself'.[19] Uncertainty pervades: it is constantly repeated of the cosmopolitan Melmottes that '[n]o one knows who they are, or where they came from' (I: 119). It is Melmotte's business to profit from the changing assumptions of value in a fluid market. Drawn into the Great Financier's scheme for building a railway between California and Mexico, the ingenuous Paul Montague 'felt that he was standing on ground which might be blown from under his feet at any moment' (I: 206). Seeking a match for his son with Melmotte's daughter, the Marquis of Auld Reekie is attracted but worried by 'wealth which was reputed to be almost unlimited, but which was not absolutely fixed' (II: 60). Similarly lured by the mystique of finance, the bankrupt landowner Adolphus Longestaffe believes that 'if he could get the necromancer even to look at his affairs everything would be made right for him' (I: 115). And Melmotte himself becomes a function of the mystique:

> It can hardly be said of him that he had intended to play so high a game, but the game that he had intended to play had become thus high of its own accord. A man cannot always restrain his own doings and keep them within the limits which he had himself planned for them . . . He had contemplated great things; but the things which he was achieving were beyond his contemplation (I: 323).

The real threat of Melmotte's unrestrained rapaciousness comes when he seeks election to the House of Commons with no qualification to be a legislator other than personal ambition: 'He knew nothing of the working of parliament, nothing of nationality' (II: 34). His inflated political reputation rests on 'matters of conversation, – speculations as to which Mr. Melmotte's mind and imagination had been at work, rather than his pocket or even his credit' (I: 412). It is here that the novel's invocation of the importance of a feudal connection between land, nationality and fixed value exemplifies 'the threat of a Judaized England' that pervades Trollope's writing of the 1870s.[20]

As Jonathan Freedman has argued, Melmotte resembles the 'literary charlatan' Lady Carbury (I: 6) in that both offer 'a compelling model for the conflation of economics and semiotics'. For both, 'words become markers in the game of puffery, language is voided of any connection to the real'.[21] Indeed, Melmotte obfuscates language. His words are valid currency: 'no ready money seemed ever to be necessary for anything . . . In speaking of all such matters [the purchase of Pickering Park from Mr Longestaffe] Melmotte seemed to imply that everything necessary had been done, when he had said that it was done . . . As for many years past we have exchanged paper instead of actual money for our commodities, so now it seemed that,

under the new Melmotte régime, an exchange of words was to suffice' (I: 422–3). That such an anxiety about the disjunction between language and representation forms the core aesthetic and moral concern of *The Way We Live Now* is underlined by Hetta Carbury's contrasting description of her cousin Roger as a man who, '[w]henever he thinks anything he says it; – or, at least, he never says anything that he doesn't think. If he spent a thousand pounds, everybody would know that he'd got it to spend; but other people are not like that' (I: 361). In the same way, in the novel's subplot, Ruby Ruggles, granddaughter of one of Roger's retainers, is persuaded to recognise the virtues of her 'honest, true, heart-felt' peasant lover despite her disappointment with his lack of eloquence. She is advised to beware of the empty rhetoric of the aristocratic philanderer: 'What's the use of a glib tongue if there isn't a heart with it?' (I: 439, II: 287).

Symptomatic of the social disorder of *The Way We Live Now* is the perversion of feudal patriarchy in London society. The wife and daughters of the debt-ridden Mr Longestaffe regard him as 'their natural adversary', failing in his duty of protection (I: 193). The novel is full of sisters and daughters rendered vulnerable by the reckless spending of their menfolk. Lady Carbury's devotion to her profligate son Sir Felix makes her 'as good a pelican as ever allowed the blood to be torn from her own breast to satisfy the greed of her young' (I: 215). Georgiana Longestaffe becomes an object of exchange when she is offered up to the Melmottes as a house guest by her father – a barter that will increase his ailing credibility with the financier and in return raise their social prestige. When, in the same cause, the Melmottes are courted by the Longestaffes at their country estate and introduced to aristocracy, 'Madame Melmotte and Marie stood behind as though ashamed of themselves' – as though recognising that the social ritual is a transaction between wealth and status in which they figure as currency circulating between men (I: 187).

This theme is emphasised with even greater force in the story of Marie, Melmotte's daughter. Marie is first seen dancing at her mother's ball with the reluctant Lord Buntingford, a potent symbol of the 'bargain' between the impoverished aristocracy and Melmotte that guarantees their debts and his social entrée. Referred to throughout the novel by both her father and her suitors as 'the girl' rather than by her name, Marie is relentlessly 'trafficked for' by the avaricious young lords (I: 107). Marrying Marie with an uncertain knowledge of her fortune becomes the key gamble of the novel; Felix Carbury is considered 'the favourite for the race' but he regards his suit as even more risky than a very dangerous game of cards and when Melmotte demands his credentials feels himself 'checkmated' and that 'the

game was over' (I: 87, 223, 223). While the traffic in women is a theme in Trollope's other novels,[22] it also has a particular resonance and provenance from earlier nineteenth-century literary representations of the Jewess. If Melmotte's Jewish identity is uncertain, it is most clearly revealed in his relationship with his daughter, whose 'destiny had no doubt been explained to her' – her subjection suggesting the by now commonplace narrative of the Jewish woman's helpless suffering (I: 33).

As critics have noted, Marie Melmotte's willingness to elope with the fortune that Melmotte has settled on her for safekeeping places her in the role of Shakespeare's Jessica ruthlessly robbing her father of his ducats.[23] Another intertext, however, is the Evangelical novel. In her repeated insistence on her capacity for suffering, Marie is conceived within the terms of early Victorian images of the Jewess (her name also perhaps echoes Grace Aguilar's beleaguered heroine Marie Morales). Beginning her life out of wedlock as the daughter of a 'poor, hardly-treated woman', Marie's childhood was spent in the streets of New York and Hamburg where she had 'sometimes been very hungry, sometimes in rags' (I: 106). As her father's fortunes rose she was given the identity first of a Jewess, then of a Christian, while he 'to her had always been alternately capricious and indifferent' (I: 107). Marie's acceptance of the suit of the impoverished Sir Felix Carbury, however, liberates her from Melmotte's world of 'magnificence', opening her mind to fantasies 'which were bright with art and love, rather than with gems and gold. The books she read, poor though they generally were, left something bright on her imagination' (I: 107, 164). Like the heroine of conversion narrative, Marie's enlightenment begins with texts. Similarly, if Marie's romance reading has given her the means to oppose the prevailing ethos of acquisitiveness (making her an unlikely counterpart to Roger Carbury), she expresses that 'identity of her own' as an embattled devotion to her lover: 'She would be true to him! They might chop her in pieces! Yes; – she had said it before, and she would say it again' (I: 233, 473). Frequently reiterating this signature refrain, Marie imagines self-assertion as bodily martyrdom.

Yet Marie's enthusiasm for self-sacrifice becomes the crucial motor of the novel's plot. In determining that '[n]obody shall manage this matter for me . . . I know what I'm about now, and I won't marry anybody just because it will suit papa' she is the only character in the novel to resist Melmotte's control (I: 382). It is at the height of his ascendancy, when 'the world worshipped Mr. Melmotte', that Marie expresses her dissent, disrupting her father's power by refusing his arrangement to marry her to Lord Nidderdale (I: 331). In contrast to Longestaffe and Nidderdale who, on the brink of

Melmotte's bankruptcy, are still persuaded by the eloquence of his 'false confessions' (II: 239), Marie, clear-sightedly, is unmoved by his rhetoric. It has been noted that Melmotte's fall comes when he lays sacrilegious hands on the property that, throughout Trollope's writing, stabilises society.[24] But the novel also orchestrates the downfall of Melmotte spiralling from Marie's climactic refusal to sign over her own fortune to honour the purchase, and thus save him from prosecution for fraud. Despite a cruel beating which leaves her wishing for death, she continues to defy the man her mother sees as 'an awful being, powerful as Satan' (II: 258). Not only does Marie reveal that, far from being 'an absolutely passive instrument' of her father's will, '[s]he had a will of her own', but, by disobeying Melmotte, she becomes the novel's only agent of virtue (I: 275).

Marie's relationship with her father thus comes to epitomise the overturning of domestic order that haunts *The Way We Live Now*:

> Her feeling for her father was certainly not that which we are accustomed to see among our daughters and sisters. He had never been to her the petted divinity of the household, whose slightest wish had been law, whose little comforts had become matters of serious care, whose frowns were horrid clouds, whose smiles were glorious sunshine, whose kisses were daily looked for, and if missed would be missed with mourning. How should it have been so with her? In all the intercourses of her family, since the first rough usage which she remembered, there had never been anything sweet or gracious. Though she had recognized a certain duty, as due from herself to her father, she had found herself bound to measure it, so that more should not be exacted from her than duty required. She had long known that her father would fain make her a slave for his own purposes, and that if she put no limits to her own obedience he certainly would put none . . . she had never respected him, and had spent the best energies of her character on a resolve that she would never fear him (II: 337–8).

Unlimited, unconditional filial love has been reduced in the Melmotte household to a cold, precise transaction. While the misrule that marks Melmotte's home is also echoed in the sour domestic relations of the Carburys and Longestaffes, the characterisation of Marie's alienation from her father as 'not that which *we* are accustomed to see among *our* daughters and sisters' (my emphasis) suggests a racial source for this horror. The violence enacted on Marie's body by her father in his frustration is a logical outcome of his 'purpose to use her as a chattel for his own advantage' (II: 256).[25] More than this, the cruelty of which the narrator refuses 'to harrow my readers by a close description' is an unspeakable symbol of the 'hard and tyrannical', anarchic brutality at the heart of his capitalist enterprises (I: 200).

In the role of the rebellious Jewish daughter, then, Marie not only resists Jewish ambition, but redeems it. In contrast to her father's obfuscation of language, and to his efforts 'to make an effect' by performing in Parliament, Marie's tenacious love is characterised by 'a certain brightness of truth' (I: 166). Her ardour even cracks the icy reticence of Hetta Carbury, who is moved to consider that '[t]he real feeling betrayed by the girl recommended her' (II: 109). In this endorsement Marie is brought into the novel's cadre of 'honest, true, heart-felt' lovers, who between them bolster the crumbling edifice of English decency. Moreover, Marie's integrity goes so far as to effect a reformation in the vacuous Lord Nidderdale. Whereas her father had tempted him with 'wealth which was reputed to be almost unlimited' (II: 60), Marie, in her distress after Melmotte's suicide, calls upon Nidderdale's protection, and suddenly 'the heartlessness of his usual life deserted him, and he felt willing to devote himself to the girl not for what he could get, – but because she had so nearly been so near to him' (II: 336). (Thereafter he resolves to read Blue Books and take up his duties in the House of Lords.)

Yet although she is willing to draw briefly on Lord Nidderdale's capacity for chivalry, Marie crucially understands that her right to his attention has strict limits. She confesses to him that '[y]ou cannot really regard me as a friend. I have been an impostor. I know that. I had no business to know a person like you at all' (II: 341). In recognising the true distinctions that divide English life, Marie plays an important role in the novel's final restoration of social and sexual order. Like Ruby Ruggles, who briefly 'builds castles in the air, and wonders, and longs', but is taught to desist from aspiring above her station, and like Mrs Hurtle, the gun-toting American, who finally realises herself to be 'fitter for the woods than for polished cities', Marie comes to accept her place in a pre-ordained hierarchy (I: 170, II: 379). Her 'opinions of women's rights' gained in adversity, like Mrs Hurtle, through 'having fitted herself to the life which had befallen her', disqualify her for inclusion in a reinvigorated feudal England and necessitate her emigration to America (where 'a married woman has greater power over her own money than in England') (II: 453, I: 449, II: 453). In renouncing her claim on the English aristocracy, she both enacts the self-denying virtues epitomised by Roger Carbury and atones for the excesses of her father. If, as Jonathan Freedman insightfully argues, Melmotte's 'bulky Jewish body . . . metonymically symbolizes speculation – the swelling of money by illegitimate means',[26] Marie's 'little' body is its nemesis (I: 32). Thus, Melmotte's hypermasculine appetency is redeemed by his daughter's feminine continence. As his former clerk comments:

He was passionate, and did lose his 'ead; and vas blow'd up vid bigness . . .'E vas a great man; but the greater he grew he vas always less and less vise. 'E ate so much that he became too fat to see to eat his vittels . . . But Ma'me'selle, – ah, she is different. She vill never eat too moch, but vill see to eat alvays' (II: 449).

In her future career as a 'woman of business' with a perspicacious 'strength in discovering truth and falsehood', the Jewess represents a redemptive, because restrained, Protestant kind of commerce (II: 448).

Critics have frequently drawn attention to the way that *The Way We Live Now* stages Trollope's own ambivalence about his participation in the commercial world of publishing. Even in *Nina Balatka* the businessman protagonist who signs himself 'A.T.' is implicitly identified with his author.[27] For a writer whose family restored their fortunes through publishing fiction, 'Trollope's myth of stability' writes Paul Delany, '– the ideal of something, whether gold or land, that transcends convention and mere appearance – grows out of his fear that he himself is as much an impostor as any of them'.[28] In more general terms, Jeffrey Franklin argues that 'the Victorian novel participates in the nineteenth-century struggle over the issue of value formally as well as thematically. "Paper fictions" can refer equally to pound notes and to novels, to scrip and to script. The realist novel approaches a dialogue about its own form in broaching the question of what constitutes real value.'[29] Jonathan Freedman, however, reminds us that Trollope's conflict about being a professionalised writer is as much the ambivalence of one 'who cultivates his own pleasure-making faculty and his own capacity for imaginative "speculation"'. Trollope's voracious Jew, in this reading, is the figure 'who most fully embodies the emotional, pleasure-centered, consumerist, imaginative side of his authorial being'.[30] Indeed, descriptions of Melmotte as, for example, 'this surfeited sponge of speculation, this crammed commercial cormorant' suggest a sensual relish in the language of excess that cannot be contained by its moral judgment (I: 222).

Yet an exclusive focus on Melmotte as the carrier of Trollope's ambivalences obscures the ways in which the 'imaginative speculation' of women in the novel plays out these tensions with even stronger appeal to the reader. In the 'enterprising' Marie and the 'wild-cat' Mrs Hurtle, the attractions as well as the perils of rootless individualism are dramatised.[31] Thus the creatively resourceful Marie both impresses and alarms Sir Felix Carbury with her determination to act out her romantic fantasies by escaping from her father's house with his fortune. Similarly, the novel's peculiarly unstable representation of Mrs Hurtle is exemplified in the scene where she

energetically defends Melmotte as a taboo-defying Napoleonic figure who 'rises above honesty . . . as a great general rises above humanity when he sacrifices an army to conquer a nation' and in her own masculine and capitalist ambitions 'to manage the greatest bank in the world . . . or to make the largest railway' (I: 245, 391). Mrs Hurtle, like her extravagant fantasies, is seen as 'very clever and very beautiful, – but . . . very dangerous'; there is no place for her in the novel's conclusion (I: 243). Both women are thus analogues for the pleasures of speculation that are brought under control by the end of the narrative. Unlike the figure of Melmotte, who must literally be expunged from the text, the vindication of the Jewess indicates the novel's liberal accommodation of limited political progress. In her sober taking up of the mantle of conscientious commerce and in her pragmatic consideration of marriage to the man of business, Hamilton K. Fisker, at the end of *The Way We Live Now*, Marie demonstrates the conclusion of her attachment to romance. Like Ruby Ruggles' castles in the air, Lady Carbury's popular novels, and the paper IOUs of the Beargarden gentlemen's club, fiction-making – both Jewish and gentile – is renounced at the novel's closure.

Trollope's literary reinforcement of the values of feudal England in *The Way We Live Now*, then, is dependent on the figure of the Jewess. Marie Melmotte's willingness to be chopped into pieces by her father exposes the full horror of his violence against the domestic and social order and at the same time undermines it. Marie's romantic imagination combats Melmotte's amoral calculation; her ardour stands against his artifice. In the novel's conclusion, moreover, Marie directs her sacrificial inclinations towards England, recognising her position as an 'impostor' and removing herself. Redeeming Melmotte's cosmopolitan treachery, Marie acts in the nation's interests. Finally guaranteeing the social order with her instinct for cheerful renunciation, it is Trollope's Jewish heroine who most clearly defines the limits of commerce, artistry and Jewishness in liberal England.

'STRIFE IN HER SOUL': COSMOPOLITANISM, NATIONHOOD AND THE JEWISH ACTRESS

Trollope's ambivalent identification with the figure of the Jew (and, as I have argued, the Jewess) as metaphors for the commercial artist was shared by other writers of the mid-Victorian period. In this section, I consider the complex ways in which Judaism and femininity are intertwined for George Eliot, above all in the figure of the Jewish actress. By way of contrast I will also look briefly at Matthew Arnold's treatment of this figure.

Arnold and Eliot both draw upon the contemporary perception of assimilated Jews as deracinated cosmopolitans, but, I will show, each puts a different cast on Jewish cosmopolitanism. Whereas for Eliot the 'universal alienism' of Jews must necessarily inhibit their identification with national cultural traditions,[32] for Arnold, intellectual alienation is associated with the idea of 'culture' itself.[33] Indeed, while Arnold considered Jews in general as 'this petty, unsuccessful, unamiable people, without politics, without science, without art, without charm', he strongly identified with assimilated Jewish figures like Heine and Spinoza, who, living in an embattled relationship with Jewish communities, had rejected 'Hebraism' for the universalism of 'culture'.[34] And just as conversionists represented the spiritual trials of the convert as exceptionally ennobling, both Eliot and Arnold regard the unique anguish of the secular Jewess as the basis of her creative genius.

For Matthew Arnold it was the assimilated Jewish woman who most intensely embodied the dialectic of Hebraism and Hellenism. In a letter to his mother in 1863, Arnold describes meeting some relatives of his friend Louisa de Rothschild, 'the first exquisitely beautiful, the second with a most striking character. What women these Jewesses are! with a *force* which seems to triple that of the women of our Western and Northern races.'[35] It is to the demise of such a 'force' that Arnold pays tribute in his three sonnets on the death of the great French Jewish tragedienne Rachel, written a few months before this letter and published in 1867. Here, he rewrites Rachel's death from consumption as a glorious climax of cultural conflict.

In the first sonnet, the dying Rachel drives to the empty Théâtre Français at the end of the summer when the crowds have departed '[t]o Switzerland, to Baden, to the Rhine':

> Ah, where the spirit its highest life hath led,
> All spots, matched with that spot, are less divine;
> And Rachel's Switzerland, her Rhine is here![36]

If the cosmopolitan Jew's capacity for impersonation was seen by Trollope as a symbol of the new unstable social order, for Arnold the 'highest life' of the spirit is such imaginative and mimetic expansiveness. For Arnold, this, precisely, is the transformative, universalising potential of 'culture'.[37] Thus, in the second sonnet, Rachel is depicted leaving 'the fret and misery of our northern towns' for a Provençal location more appropriate for 'this radiant Greek-souled artist'.[38] The third sonnet, however, suggests the Hebraic as well as the Hellenic sources of her art:

> Sprung from the blood of Israel's scattered race,
> At a mean inn in German Arrau born,
> To forms from antique Greece and Rome uptorn,
> Tricked out with a Parisian speech and face,
>
> Imparting life renewed, old classic grace;
> Then, soothing with thy Christian strain forlorn,
> A-Kempis! her departing soul outworn,
> While by her bedside Hebrew rites have place –
>
> Ah, not the radiant spirit of Greece alone
> She had – one power, which made her breast its home!
> In her, like us, there clashed, contending powers,
>
> Germany, France, Christ, Moses, Athens, Rome.
> The strife, the mixture in her soul, are ours;
> Her genius and her glory are her own.[39]

In his reading of the poems, Jonathan Freedman emphasises Rachel's Arnoldian 'project of cultural assimilation – of assimilation by culture, for it is through quite literally performing the masterpieces of Western culture that Rachel is "uptorn" from her humble Jewish origins'.[40] Seen in these terms, Rachel is yet another in the long line of converting Jewesses. But this third sonnet, unlike the previous two convoluted in its syntax, is also taut with the contradictory tensions that produce Rachel's 'genius'. Its verbs are violent – 'Sprung', 'uptorn', 'clashed' – barely calmed by à Kempis's 'forlorn' Christian text. The extraordinary *force* of Rachel is generated not by the transcendental power of Western culture but by its counterpoint with the Judaic. Rachel's 'strife' is that of the assimilating, suffering Jewess, and it is this, not her capacity for conversion, which makes her universal and modern, 'like us'.

The passion of Arnold's dying Rachel is replayed at the heart of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, when the Jewish apostate Alcharisi reveals the 'contending powers' that strive for *her* departing soul. In the following discussion, I draw out echoes of the legend of Rachel in the novel, and the significant differences represented by the figure of the assimilated Jewish actress for Eliot. In her last novel, Eliot recasts the cosmopolitan Jewish artist in a drama of female self-assertion and familial and national disinheritance. Like Arnold's Rachel, Eliot's Jewish diva wanders freely across borders, but the art to which she pledges her life ultimately fails her and she returns atavistically to the racial heritage she had tried to repress. Her narrative,

recounted to Daniel Deronda from the depths of her terminal illness has a very different significance for each of them. While the story of her life and his birth constitutes the key turning point in Deronda's *Bildungsroman*, heralding his full embrace of the Jewish identity and destiny that he has longed for, for Alcharisi these scenes point to defeat, to the limitations of artistic universalism and female vocational aspiration.

In Eliot's text, in contrast to Arnold, the art of stage performance has an ambiguous moral status. In place of Arnold's impersonating 'genius', Eliot's actress appears as a rootless, self-selling egotist. Rather than holding the cultural contradictions of Hebraism and Hellenism in creative tension like Arnold's poems, moreover, Eliot's narrative seeks a resolution for the strife of the assimilating Jew. *Daniel Deronda* therefore engages with the 'Jewish Question' in political as well as aesthetic terms, and uses it to open out into a more expansive meditation on the value and processes of fostering corporate identities, racial and national. Studies of the novel's politics have ably demonstrated how Eliot locates in Judaism a corrective to the imperial decadence, corruption and anomie pervading mid-Victorian England. As Katherine Bailey Linehan describes it, Judaism is imagined by Eliot as 'a noncombative, spiritually oriented nationhood . . . founded on racial separateness'.[41] While this proposition is most explicitly articulated in the discussions between men at the Philosophers' Club and between Deronda and his spiritual mentor Mordecai, it is also advanced, I will argue, through the contrasting narratives of the two Jewish actresses, the assimilated cosmopolitan Alcharisi and the religious nationalist Mirah Lapidoth. In her version of the story of the Jewess, Eliot, for all her scorn of silly Evangelical lady novelists, demonstrates striking debts to, as well as radical departures from, the tropes of Evangelical writing.

The confession narrative of Alcharisi erupts into the story of Daniel Deronda as an explicit echo of and counterpoint to the earlier autobiographical performance of Mirah Lapidoth. Alcharisi's scenes re-enact her life's struggle for self-possession, firstly against her orthodox Jewish father's tyrannical rule and latterly against the encroachment of physical frailty. Summoned to a hotel in Genoa by the mother he has never known, Daniel Deronda finds his speculations about the secret of his parentage answered with the revelation that he is the son not of a 'forsaken girl' but of a celebrated actress and Jewess, the Princess Leonora Halm-Eberstein, formerly the diva Alcharisi (190). Alcharisi describes her rebellion against a father who 'only thought of fettering me into obedience . . . to be what he called "the Jewish woman"', her ambition 'to be free, and to live for my art' and the

rise and decline of her career as 'the greatest lyric actress of Europe' (630, 639). In these two scenes costumed and lit to 'sombre' effect, Deronda undergoes 'a tragic experience' as his mother narrates the story of her life in a virtuoso display of 'sincere acting' and 'living force' (659, 667, 629, 665). Her conscious theatricality is only enhanced by the strain of the final illness that has left her, she claims, but 'the poor, solitary, forsaken remains of self' (636). Yet her battle against the decay of the body that had been her glory – her 'visibl[e] fatigue', trembling hand and fragmented speech – also recalls the terrifying stage performances of the consumptive Rachel (636).[42] Like Rachel's audiences, Deronda finds his moral revulsion at her words subjugated by the spectacle of her physical pain; he is 'moved too strongly by her suffering for other impulses to act within him' (636).

Alcharisi's suffering, moreover, is not only corporeal: the struggle between defiance and remorse that impels her narration also revivifies Rachel's celebrated representations of moral crisis in classical tragedy. Of Rachel's Phèdre, George Henry Lewes had written that '[n]othing I have ever seen surpassed this picture of a soul torn by the conflicts of incestuous passion and struggling conscience'.[43] In a similar way, Alcharisi, having asserted her 'right to seek my freedom from a bondage that I hated', having betrayed her father's trust and denied her son his identity, finds herself tormented by 'a power that is laying hold of me – that is clutching me now' (627, 636). Liberated from her Jewish origin, now compelled to acknowledge its authority, she acts out this conflict of conscience and desire on a private stage: 'here she had come near to her son, and paused; then again retreated a little and stood still, as if resolute not to give way utterly to an imperious influence; but, as she went on speaking, she became more and more unconscious of anything but the awe that subdued her voice' (635). In these scenes, the actress who retired before her time for fear of failure stages her final comeback, playing herself as an infanticidal Racinian heroine who can render monstrous emotions, with 'melodious melancholy', as a form of pleasurable pain (634). Like Arnold, then, Eliot represents the genius of the assimilated Jewish actress as an effect of the strife of irreconcilable opposites.

The talent for dissembling is linked by Alcharisi to her early experience of strategising for autonomy as the daughter of a domineering Jewish father: 'when a woman's will is as strong as the man's who wants to govern her, half her strength must be concealment. I meant to have my will in the end, but I could only have it by seeming to obey' (632). Fostered, paradoxically, by the constraint of patriarchal law, Alcharisi's capacity for deliberate self-representation becomes the basis of her dramatic genius. While Deronda,

interested only in the narrative content of her speech, remains oblivious to the skill with which she delivers it, the narrator pointedly draws attention to the 'double consciousness' underpinning her performance, which expresses a 'nature . . . in which all feeling – and all the more when it was tragic as well as real – immediately became matter of conscious representation' (629). Alcharisi's 'double consciousness', the novel suggests, is forged in the crucible of the restrictive Jewish family.

In Alcharisi's story, Arnold's Hebraism and Hellenism are given narrative incarnation. Judaism is experienced by her as a system of narrow restraints, a reverence for law and the Jewish past, whereas she desired 'a large life, with freedom to do what every one else did, and be carried along in a great current' (630). Transcending the insular life of the Jewess, acting gave Alcharisi, like Rachel, the expansive existence of the cosmopolitan: 'Men followed me from one country to another. I was living a myriad lives in one' (626). This key tension between the Jewish separatism of Alcharisi's father and the universal humanism of her own artistic ambition structures Eliot's novel as a whole. As Amanda Anderson has shown, this frame of reference also locates *Daniel Deronda* within the wider current of nineteenth-century philosophical constructions of Judaism. In the Hegelian tradition, Jews were understood as incapable of becoming modern – which required having a reflective relation to one's cultural heritage rather than adhering unthinkingly to a fixed legal code. The Jews, in this view, 'are fundamentally unfree insofar as they fail to develop the dimension of interiority that characterizes Protestant Christianity and the capacity for self-authorization of beliefs that forms the core of the Enlightenment conception of autonomy'.[44] Alcharisi's inner life, yearning towards both self-realisation and self-dissolution, then, points to the incompatibility not only of Judaism and art, but also of Judaism and modernity.

In the figure of Alcharisi, I want to argue, Eliot meshes this Enlightenment polemic against Judaism with the gendered terms of the Evangelical conversion narrative to produce a feminist critique. Judaism, in Alcharisi's account, is masculinised, and her rebellion against the archaic patriarchal law is abetted by the instruction and encouragement of a woman, her aunt Leonora. For holding desires outside her father's destiny for her as a Jewish wife and mother, Alcharisi says, 'I was to be put in a frame and tortured' – identifying Judaism with the inquisitorial methods of forced conversion (662). Invoking the Christian image of the yoke of Jewish law – 'things that were thrust on my mind that I might feel them like a wall around my life' – she elides it with the ghetto of Jewish persecution (637). With this rhetoric, Alcharisi's narrative recalls that of the Jewish daughter in conversion

literature, whose greater capacity for Christian faith was grounded in the elevating suffering to which she was subjected within the Jewish family. In Eliot's secularised conversion narrative, the Jewess finds her salvation not in Christianity but in the alternative religion of culture. A life in theatre, for her, is 'a chance of escaping from [the] bondage' of Judaism, and her Jewish 'double consciousness', formed under the strain of that bondage, is what transforms her life into great art (631).

But however persuasive Alcharisi's performance is, and however undeniable the predicament she describes, this argument – that a legalistic Judaism can be transcended by the universalism of art – is not endorsed by the novel as a whole. For in striking contrast to Arnold, Eliot does not regard 'culture' as necessarily redemptive. The art of the stage, in particular, as a number of critics have argued, forms part of a nexus of associations between gambling, usury and prostitution that constitutes the moral framework encompassing the text's various narratives.[45] Eliot's novel, Gail Marshall shows, was written against a background of criticism of the 1870s theatre as being mired in commerce, 'a mere money speculation'.[46] In this context, Alcharisi's art appears more like a loftier version of that of Lapidoth, the compulsive gambler and dissembler whose 'Jewish' propensity for speculation is exemplified in his profession as an actor-manager. Further, in Lapidoth's attempts to pander his daughter Mirah, first as an actress and then as a prostitute, the novel establishes, as Catherine Gallagher argues, 'long before Daniel's mother is unveiled . . . the close connection between selling oneself as a sexual commodity and selling oneself as an artist'.[47]

Such a connection is reinforced in the story of the novel's key female protagonist Gwendolen Harleth. Confronted with poverty, Gwendolen's first thought is to earn her living on the stage; her second is her decision to sell herself in marriage to Grandcourt. *Daniel Deronda*'s moral structure, according to Marshall, depends on a dichotomy between characters who 'see their existence as qualified and determined by their racial and cultural heritage and future' and those who 'literally gamble all on the importance of the present moment, living only in that, and trusting to its transient resources, in particular to the physical body, for their personal fulfilment through isolated and short-lived gain . . . the novel goes on to associate the latter tendency most readily with the work of the actress'.[48] Like an actress, Gwendolen hopes to gamble on the capital of her beauty; like Alcharisi she loses her winning streak. If, in the novel's opening scene, Gwendolen's supremacy at the gaming table is sustained by her 'art' of concealment and self-display, her capacity for performance in the role of wife to Grandcourt later becomes the sign of her powerlessness. In the same way, Alcharisi's

'double consciousness' comes to serve a marriage made in the grip of fear and later regretted: 'I made believe – I acted that part' (639). In the negative associations that accrue to the figure of the actress, the novel aligns itself with the perspective not of Alcharisi but of her father, who 'hated that Jewish women should be thought of by the Christian world as a sort of ware to make public singers and actresses of' (631).

Daniel Deronda's thrillingly erotic opening chapter set in the Leubronn casino also adumbrates a censorious association of cosmopolitanism, individual ambition and public performance. Here, the narrator describes the communion of 'varieties' of European national types, degenerate physiognomies and impulses to play that produce a 'striking admission of human equality' (8). On this public stage, Gwendolen's performance at roulette momentarily secures for her the 'gain [that] is another's loss', as will her marriage to Grandcourt, which raises her in the social and economic hierarchy whilst disinheriting his former lover and their children (337). The casino is a shadow of the theatre, an arena of irresponsible self-interest. In this context, Alcharisi's declaration that she willingly gave up her child in order 'to be free, and to live for my art' signals her repellent egotism and recalls not so much the sublime strife of Rachel as the tragedienne's equally famous cold ambition (639).[49] Rather than redeeming the ruthless individualism and cosmopolitanism of 'Jewish' commerce, then, the figure of the assimilated Jewish actress in *Daniel Deronda* is its female avatar. In responding to Alcharisi, Deronda reads her devotion to art over racial inheritance in precisely these terms, warning that it is ultimately futile since '[t]he effects prepared by generations are likely to triumph over a contrivance which would bend them all to the satisfaction of self' (663). In this formulation, he echoes the words of Mordecai, who, at the Philosophers' Club discussion at the Hand and Banner tavern, represents the challenge of modern Jewish identity as a choice between 'selfish ambition and rivalry in low greed' and 'the sense of brotherhood with [one's] own race' (528). For Mordecai, and for the novel, belief in the personal benefits of secular civil rights for Jews, 'a fresh-made garment of citizenship', is the political correlative of Alcharisi's artistic desire 'to be free': both represent liberal, modern and misguided efforts to replace collective obligations with individual will.

In contrast, the novel offers an alternative Jewess, the child actress Mirah Lapidoth, who, as Deronda reluctantly informs his mother, 'is not given to make great claims' for herself (664). Mirah's body is repeatedly described in diminutives, and her smallness and delicacy make her a kind of purified Jew.[50] Indeed, she resembles the idealised Jewess of Evangelical fiction, whose 'exquisite refinement' points to her transcendence of Jewish

degradation – effectively de-Judaising her (just as Alcharisi's domineering ambition *re*-Judaises *her*) (206). While Mirah's story begins from the opposite premise to Alcharisi's – 'I did not want to be an artist; but this was what my father expected of me' (213) – their narratives have a noticeably similar structure: both are stories of female rebellion in which Judaism and art are counterposed against one another. Like Alcharisi, Mirah learns the means of her opposition to paternal domination from another woman, her landlady in New York, and harbours a secret life with her Bible and prayer-books. Like Alcharisi, Mirah learns to counterfeit her feelings in resistance to her father: 'whatever I felt most I took the most care to hide from him' (216). Whereas Alcharisi abandons her father because of his narrow orthodoxy, Mirah flees the cosmopolitan commercialism of hers. The representation of Mirah, like that of Alcharisi, draws on these tropes of conversion writing, but directs them towards different ends.

Thus Mirah's narrative of her life also offers an alternative account of Judaism, casting it not as a system of law but in the feminised language of affect. She associates both Judaism and music with early childhood memories of hearing 'chanting and singing' at the synagogue and her mother murmuring Hebrew hymns; in the absence of her understanding the meaning of the words 'they seemed full of nothing but our love and happiness' (214, 210). Her own uncontrived performance style is a version of this kind of unmediated emotion. As with her brother Mordecai, for whom 'nationality is a feeling', and who teaches it by means of 'a sort of outpouring in the ear' of the uncomprehending young Jacob Cohen, Mirah's Judaism is mystified and pre-rational; it is 'of one fibre with her affections, and had never presented itself to her as a set of propositions' (525, 475, 362).

It is against this instinctive, unreasoned 'feeling' of religion that the dangerous artifice of the stage is brought into focus in Mirah's story of her life. Narrated to the benevolent Mrs Meyrick following Mirah's rescue from suicide by Deronda, her account is endowed with moral authority by her ingenuous vocal register: 'the clapping and all the sounds of the theatre were hateful to me; and I never liked the praise I had, because it seemed all very hard and unloving' (213). In an echo of Trollope's Marie Melmotte, Mirah's deracinated childhood was spent in New York and Hamburg. The itinerant existence of the actor, for her, is one of geographical instability and semiotic ambiguity. In place of Alcharisi's artistic double consciousness, she experienced 'two sorts of life which jarred so with each other – women looking good and gentle on the stage, and saying good things as if they felt them, and directly after I saw them with coarse, ugly manners' (213). Where Alcharisi longed to 'represent', the transparent Mirah had 'no

notion of being anybody but herself' (630, 213). She increasingly realised the mercenary basis of her father's apparent interest in artistic achievement, and she recognised at a young age that being displayed on stage 'as if I had been a musical box' was linked with the exploitation of her body (217, 213). Indeed, Deronda knows intuitively that he must wait before asking to hear her sing, in order to avoid 'the sense that she was being treated like one whose accomplishments were to be ready on demand' and when finally he does, he covers his eyes with his hands while listening to her, as if to apprehend her performance without demeaning her (226, 372).

The degrading gaze of the spectator is particularly associated by Mirah with antisemitism. Backstage in Vienna, 'women and men seemed to look at me with a sneering smile'; courted by the lecherous Count she 'felt sure that whatever else there might be in his mind towards me, below it all there was scorn for the Jewess and the actress' (217, 218). But it is her father, most of all, who is responsible for Mirah's suffering. Physically and morally, she is sharply distinguished from the Jewish male. When she and her father are seen together later in the novel, she appears in the 'quiet, careful dress of an English lady', in contrast with 'this shabby, foreign-looking, eager, and gesticulating man' (738). Lapidoth will descend to any depths to exploit his daughter, even resorting to abduction in order to subject her to his will. In this respect also, Mirah's story, like Alcharisi's, invokes the narrative of Jewish conversion, in which Jews themselves, rather than antisemites, are the prime persecutors and Jewish suffering becomes a Jewish responsibility.[51]

In contrast, Mirah's progress towards martyrdom, suggested in her description of the final agony of abandonment that preceded her suicide attempt, is a calvary that renders her a type of Christ: 'I wandered and wandered, inwardly crying to the Most High, from whom I should not flee in death more than in life – though I had no strong faith that He cared for me. The strength seemed departing from my soul: deep below all my cries was the feeling that I was alone and forsaken' (222). Redeemed, not only by the messianic Deronda but also by the Christian Mrs Meyrick and her daughters, Mirah has an appropriately submissive attitude: 'I want nothing; I can wait; because I hope and believe and am grateful – oh, so grateful!' (211). In this she cannot but contrast strikingly with Alcharisi, whose proud declaration that 'I cannot bear to be seen when I am in pain' is also a refusal to be pitied (639). These elements of the conversion genre, which emphasise the suffering and submission of the Jewess – by which she is ennobled and made worthy of redemption – are linked, I will now argue, to the novel's conceptualising of Jewish history and crucial to its broader political vision.

It is their contrary responses to suffering that most clearly distinguish Mirah and Alcharisi and their different symbolic functions in the novel. Alcharisi's refusal willingly to perform her pain tangibly frustrates her son, who longs for a mother whose misery he can console. He resists the story of her self-assertion; instead 'what his compassionate nature made the controlling idea within him were the suffering and the confession that breathed through her later words' (629). The desire in him that she denies has been intensified by his days in Genoa awaiting her summons, in which his thoughts have once again returned to a Jewish history of sorrow. As yet unaware of his own connection to this history, he imagines 'the multitudinous Spanish Jews centuries ago driven destitute from their Spanish homes, suffered to land from the crowded ships only for brief rest on this grand quay of Genoa, overspreading it with a pall of famine and plague – dying mothers with dying children at their breasts' (620). If this image of Jewish and female martyrdom is one implicitly refused by Alcharisi, Mirah, in contrast, describing her wanderings across Europe 'inwardly crying to the Most High', consciously identifies herself with it. In her youth, deciding 'to obey and suffer', she embeds her individual story within its larger framework: 'it comforted me to believe that my suffering was part of the affliction of my people, my part in the long song of mourning that has been going on through ages and ages' (215).

The diasporic suffering of which Mirah is such a potent emblem is a key aspect of the vision of Jewish identity that Deronda imbibes from Mordecai. It is underscored in the quotation from the contemporary German-Jewish historian Leopold Zunz that forms the epigraph to chapter 42: 'If there are ranks in suffering, Israel takes precedence of all the nations – if the duration of sorrows and the patience with which they are borne ennoble, the Jews are the aristocracy of every land . . . what shall we say to a National Tragedy' (517). But the phrases 'of all the nations' and 'National Tragedy' are Eliot's additions to Zunz, whose concern in *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, from which the quotation is taken, is not the national spirit of the Jews, but the achievement of their literature.[52] Eliot turns Zunz's description of the medieval poetry of lament into a lachrymose account of Jewish history, in which the suffering of the Jews – 'the fortitude of martyred generations' in Mordecai's words – confers their unity and destiny as a nation (529).

In the chapter that follows this epigraph, in which Deronda and Mordecai attend a meeting of the working-men's 'Philosophers' Club' at the Hand and Banner tavern, Mordecai puts forward an argument for the revival of Jewish national consciousness in these Romantic terms. Against the charge

made by Lilly that the Jews 'are a stand-still people' incapable of modernisation, Mordecai contends that theirs is a heroic tenacity: 'They struggled to keep their place among the nations like heroes – yea, when the hand was hacked off, they clung with the teeth' (531). In Mordecai's vision, the restoration of Jewish nationality 'shall be a worthy fruit of the long anguish whereby our fathers maintained their separateness, refusing the ease of falsehood' – a tradition maintained in his own spiritual fortitude in the face of physical suffering (535). It is in these terms, also, that Daniel's attraction to Mirah is expressed, when he witnesses her affirm her devotion to her religion in response to her fear of the conversionist inclinations of the Meyrick women:

> As Mirah had gone on speaking she had become possessed with a sorrowful passion – fervent, not violent. Holding her little hands tightly clasped and looking at Mrs Meyrick with beseeching, she seemed to Deronda a personification of that spirit which impelled men after a long inheritance of professed Catholicism to leave wealth and high place, and risk their lives in flight, that they might join their own people and say, 'I am a Jew' (376).

Just as his immediate thought on first meeting Mordecai is to imagine him in 'some past prison of the Inquisition', Deronda's identification of Mirah with the figure of the Iberian *converso* enduring deprivation in order to return to the faith underlines the version of Jewish identity to which he is attached: that of the Jew elevated by suffering (386).

The history of Jewish persecution is considered once again in Eliot's essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' (1879), which reiterates the Philosophers' Club debate about the future of the Jews while setting it in the more topical context of the Eastern Crisis. Reading *Daniel Deronda* alongside the essay clarifies Eliot's intention, in both texts, to go against the grain of liberal opinion that considered Jewish assimilation as the goal of progress. In the essay, Eliot's narratorial persona Theophrastus Such, observing that antisemitism has resurfaced in modern liberal culture, denounces those 'anti-Judaic advocates' who, having fought for the emancipation of the Jews, insist on their total assimilation, and now charge that they 'hold the world's money-bag, that for them all national interests are resolved into the algebra of loans, that they have suffered an inward degradation stamping them as morally inferior'.[53] These were the claims made by the Liberal historian Goldwin Smith in his essay 'Can Jews be Patriots?', published in May 1878 in the *Nineteenth Century*. Convinced that the support shown for Turkey by the Jewish-born Prime Minister was motivated by his transnational affiliations, Smith argued that the 'ruling motives of the Jewish community

are not exclusively those which actuate a patriotic Englishman, but specially Jewish and plutopolitan', and demanded that Jews renounce their 'tribalism' and convert to 'the religion of humanity'.[54] Theophrastus, however, faces squarely up to the charges against Jews provoked by the Eastern Crisis to pose a different question: whether Jews are 'destined to complete fusion with the peoples among whom they are dispersed' or whether 'the feeling of separateness' might provide 'the conditions present or approaching for the restoration of a Jewish state' (162). Advocating the latter, the essay seeks to defend the virtue of Jewish particularism. The Jews' pride in their origins, Theophrastus contends, should be seen not as 'cosmopolitan indifference' to local patriotism but as an ideal example of a people who 'cherish [their] sense of a common descent as a bond of obligation' (155, 146).

Like Mordecai, Theophrastus finds this bond of obligation revealed in a Jewish history of noble martyrdom: 'I take the spectacle of the Jewish people defying the Roman edict, and preferring death by starvation or the sword to the introduction of Caligula's deified statue into the temple, as a sublime type of steadfastness' (150). Such a valorisation of suffering is articulated through a Christian moral value system. This emerges in Theophrastus' rhetorical reversal of the logic of antisemitism: 'It is more reverent to Christ to believe that He must have approved the Jewish martyrs who deliberately chose to be burned or massacred rather than be guilty of a blaspheming lie, more than He approved the rabble of crusaders who robbed and murdered them in His name' (154). But his support for Jewish separatism follows not only from admiration for the Jews; rather, it is a consequence of the principle that '[a] common humanity is not yet enough to feed the rich blood of various activity which makes a complete man. The time is not come for cosmopolitanism to be highly virtuous' (147). For Theophrastus, then, countering Goldwin Smith, Judaism represents *not* cosmopolitanism but nationality – demonstrated (and justified) by a Jewish history of suffering.

The figure of Mirah is essential for the sentimental illustration of this same principle in *Daniel Deronda*. Deronda's initial compulsion towards her is driven by the symbolic power of her corporeal presence. When he sees her by the Thames, '[h]er hands were hanging down clasped before her, and her eyes were fixed on the river with a look of immovable, statue-like despair', and he is drawn back to her because of 'the attractiveness of the image' that seems to him to emblematise 'the girl-tragedies that are going on in the world, hidden, unheeded' (187, 188, 188). Later in the novel, she is more sharply focused as an allegorical figure when she is painted by Hans Meyrick in a series of poses as the ancient Jewish queen (and Racinian

heroine) Berenice. In Meyrick's rendering of the story, Berenice not only pleads, Esther-like, with the Roman procurator of Judaea to spare her defeated people, but, rejected by her Roman lover and stripped of her power, is seen in the last painting 'seated lonely on the ruins of Jerusalem' (457). In Meyrick's view this invented conclusion expresses 'what ought to have been – perhaps was', but he is also charmed by Mirah's credulity in believing the 'tragic parable', at which she 'cries to think what the penitent Berenice suffered as she wandered back to Jerusalem and sat desolate amidst desolation' (457, 459). Deronda's discomfort at this representation of Mirah is ostensibly a manifestation of jealousy at her being once again on public display. But it also betrays his own ambivalent and uncomprehended attraction to the image of Jewish affliction.

The meaning of Mirah becomes clearest to Deronda, however, when she performs Leopardi's 'Ode to Italy', both for Klesmer and at Lady Mallinger's musical party. On the former occasion, we are given the opening lines of the song: 'O patria mia, vedo le mura e gli archi / E le collonne e i simulacri e l'erme / Torri degli avi nostri . . . Ma la Gloria non vedo' (O my fatherland, I see the walls and arches and columns and statues and lonely towers of our ancestors; but their glory I cannot see) (483–4). At Lady Mallinger's, the text is glossed by the narrator: 'when Italy sat like a disconsolate mother in chains, hiding her face on her knees and weeping', words which link the lyric to the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Now, hearing Mirah sing, Deronda is deeply moved at the thought of the 'heroic passion' for nation that is also 'the godlike end of . . . unselfish love' (559). In Mirah's performance, the self is subsumed rather than asserted. Her singing stirs emotional depths precisely because, rather than being a contrived 'representation' of the grief of exile, it is a direct expression of it. Mirah's submission to persecution and her self-identification with Jewish history now merge with and are given meaning by the political debate that Deronda has just witnessed at the Philosophers' Club. As his own comment in that debate had tentatively suggested, the image of Italy mourned in Mirah's song but re-envisioned by Mazzini provides a model for the national restoration of the Jews too: 'As long as there is a remnant of national consciousness . . . there may be a new stirring of memories and hopes which may inspire arduous action' (536). Mirah is Leopardi's weeping Italy in chains, Jeremiah's exiled daughter of Jerusalem and the Iberian crypto-Jew. Her own redemption by Daniel Deronda, then, stands emblematically and prophetically for the future redemption of the Jewish nation. By orchestrating images of Mirah in this way, *Daniel Deronda* provides an affective narrative of the development of 'national consciousness'.

The national consciousness sustained by Jews through their suffering is, argues Theophrastus Such, an ideal to be emulated. Indeed, it is only such a national consciousness that enables nations to maintain free institutions and to resist foreign conquest: 'The pride which identifies us with a great historic body is a humanising, elevating habit of mind, inspiring sacrifices of individual comfort, gain, or other selfish ambition, for the sake of that ideal whole' (156). Commenting on the essay, Bernard Semmel has noted George Eliot's turn, in the 1870s, away from her earlier commitment to a Comtian 'religion of humanity' and towards the 'idea of Nationality' and the protection of 'distinctive national characteristics'. Her thinking resonated with Disraeli's pronouncements in the 1860s and 70s on the need 'to preserve the British national inheritance from both a divisive and alienating individualism and a cosmopolitanism that denied the bonds of a shared past'. Despite her earlier disdain for Disraeli's Jewish chauvinism, Eliot was increasingly aligning herself not with Gladstone's liberal cosmopolitanism but with Disraeli's nationalism.[55] This perspective illuminates the ambivalence critics have detected in Eliot's attitude to Jews in *Daniel Deronda* and 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' – the essay which, after all, despite blasting antisemitism, also warns against England's 'premature fusion with immigrants of alien blood' (158).[56] Going even further, Susan Meyer contends that *Daniel Deronda*'s call for Jewish national restoration is tantamount to a desire for the expulsion of the Jews from England.[57] Just as Eliot was arguing for the protection of a distinctive British national inheritance, she also saw this as desirable for Jews. Such distinctions, however, were ultimately mutually exclusive.

In discussing Eliot's ambivalence towards Jews, critics have tended to focus on the sharp dichotomy drawn in the novel between the spiritual Mordecai Cohen family and the materialistic Ezra Cohen family – between, as Eliot puts it, Mordecai's 'sublime pathos' and Ezra's 'taste for money-getting' (517).[58] However, as I have shown, *Daniel Deronda* is more profoundly structured around a subtler version of this dualism, rooted in the contested debates of mid-Victorian nationalism. In the stories of the two Jewesses, Eliot illustrates the alternative routes of 'cosmopolitanism' and 'nationality' for the Jews and also for the English. Alcharisi, like Meyrick's paintings of Berenice, is arrested in an attitude of strife, re-enacting the irreconcilable conflict between individual ambition and collective destiny, between assimilation and racial loyalty, between universalism and particularism. The self-abnegating Mirah with her 'unselfish love', on the other hand, inspires the resolution of this conflict. Alcharisi stands for the discontents of the diaspora Jew, Mirah for submission to the higher ideal of

nationhood. As I have argued, these stories of the oppression, rebellion and suffering of the Jewess read like striking echoes of the tropes of Evangelical fiction. In Eliot's hands, however, they become a complex political allegory.

In other ways, *Daniel Deronda* brings together elements of the Jewish conversion narrative in a radically new configuration. The much-analysed project of the Jews' restoration to Zion suggested at the conclusion of the novel can be read, for example, not only as a recasting of Mazzinian Romantic nationalism but also as a specifically Protestant aspiration inherited from earlier philosemitic millennialist discourse.[59] More audaciously, in the novel's endorsement of Mirah's version of Judaism as a religion of affect over Alcharisi's legalistic patriarchalism, Eliot casts Judaism itself as feminine rather than masculine. 'Israel', declares Mordecai, 'is the heart of mankind, if we mean by heart the core of affection which binds a race and its families in dutiful love' (530). This metaphor of humanity as an organism, in which the different races are organs, each with their 'own work' to do but linked together in sympathetic affection by the Jews, is taken from the theory of Jewish nationalism proposed by the Young Hegelian German-Jewish radical Moses Hess, whom Eliot had read.[60] In the context of Eliot's oeuvre, however, it is being used as much for a gendered as a political vision. In the novel, Judaism is associated with the female capacity for domestic tenderness that, as Katherine Bailey Linehan has argued, Eliot regards as the linchpin of civilisation.[61] Mirah's ideally feminine 'unselfish love' is thus also an expression of Judaism itself. In characterising Judaism as the supreme religion of the heart, Eliot boldly challenges the symbolic economy of Evangelicalism.

Nonetheless, her text remains fundamentally structured by the theme of conversion. Most obviously, the novel presents the *Bildungsroman* of Gwendolen Harleth as an essentially Christian narrative of spiritual rebirth through sacrifice.[62] The awakening from 'selfish ambition and rivalry in low greed' that Mordecai envisages for the Jews is experienced at the novel's close by Gwendolen, and even, in a nascent form, by Alcharisi, both chastened through suffering, both eliciting the messianic ministry of Deronda (528). But the conversions effected by *Daniel Deronda* are not theological, though they are equally mystical. The modern, regenerating religion that will redeem Jews from their materialistic theology is neither Evangelical Christianity nor Arnoldian 'culture', but nationhood. Eliot's text, however, relies on an inherited symbolism of gender for this narrative. If the virile discourse of Jewish men offers nationalism as the future shape of Jewish history,[63] it is just as crucially dependent on the figure of the Jewish woman as a synecdoche for the tragic Jewish past.

'AN IDEAL BABYLON': PAINTING JEWESSES AND ANGLO-JEWISH APOLOGETICS

The story of the suffering and redemptive Jewess was not only a gentile fantasy. For the mid-Victorian Jewish writer too, it proved a usable narrative. Mirah Lapidoth had been a hit among Anglo-Jewish readers, who enthusiastically embraced *Daniel Deronda* as a long-needed corrective to antisemitic literary stereotypes.[64] But the Jewish nationalism that Mirah inspires in the novel was not espoused by the majority of Anglo-Jewry.[65] By the late 1870s, Jewish loyalties were under new scrutiny; the influence of liberal theology increasingly cast Old Testament rites as 'tribal' and retrograde, and Goldwin Smith had uncompromisingly posed the question of the Jews' potential for patriotism.[66] The unease that George Eliot's narrative of Jewish national redemption could provoke for Jews themselves is apparent in the work of the writer and social worker Emily Marion Harris. Her novel *Estelle*, published in 1878, two years after *Daniel Deronda*, addresses the question of Jewish patriotic feeling by reinterpreting the image of the suffering Jewess. Revisiting Eliot's theme of the strife of the Jewish woman artist, Harris uses it to engage with the specific religious and political challenges facing contemporary Anglo-Jewry.

Estelle tells the story of an aspiring Anglo-Jewish painter whose struggle with Jewish orthodoxy and female autonomy consciously invokes not only the tradition of conversion writing and its Anglo-Jewish competitors, but also Eliot's artist-heroines. As such it constitutes the first feminist novel by an Anglo-Jewish writer. Introducing her sad, sensitive protagonist contemplating her frustration within her Jewish family, in the setting of the English country house where they live, Harris proleptically suggests her role in the novel as a noble martyr:

> Sombre, appealing, almost tragic in its calm and force, that face of Estelle Hofer's, leaning against the oak-panelled, many-paned window, comes to her as an inheritance from her race. Majesty and melancholy, dignity and the habitual humility sprung from centuries of oppression, assert each their separate power in her straight features, and, combining, cause hers to be a most distinctive and interesting type.[67]

Estelle's destiny is already imprinted on the Jewish features of her face: the battle of defiance and deference that will impel the novel's plot. For Harris, the Jewess's hereditary fortitude particularly suits her to the 'patient aim' of draughtsmanship, and Estelle also imagines how being an actress 'would be an interpretation of all her repressed eloquence' (1: 20, 202). But in linking Estelle's story with a Jewish heritage defined by 'centuries of oppression',

Harris also shapes the Jewish past to fit a contemporary agenda. As in *Daniel Deronda*, the resolute submission of the Jewess is a 'type' of the historic experience of the Jewish people; in *Estelle*, however, the oppression of the Jewess – and the Jews – can be relieved only in England.

Published in modest anonymity, *Estelle* was described by its author in a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1892 as a novel 'which aimed at, and assuredly succeeded in the aim of plainly and truthfully delineating the life led by many a talented, aspiring, yet tender, and devout Jewish girl: her struggles, the strength and stedfastness [sic] of her religion; the singlemindedness and simplicity of her home life; all passing within the domestic household of an orthodox, intellectual Jew, her father'.[68] In this letter, Harris distanced herself from the satirical Anglo-Jewish writing of the 1880s (which I discuss in the following chapter) and placed her book squarely in the genre of earlier apologetic fiction. The influence of Grace Aguilar, whose collected works were republished in the early 1870s, is evident in Harris's depiction of the heroic Jewish martyr. Writing in this tradition, Harris implied, she offered the model of the virtuous and loyal Jewish woman, located within the hallowed space of the English bourgeois home and respectably underwritten by middle-class, patriarchal authority, as a counter-stereotype to misrepresentations of Jews in contemporary culture. That this problem remained despite the philosemitic strain in recent novels like *Daniel Deronda*, and Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend* (1865) is suggested by the heroine's resentment that, on the contrary, 'the Jewish race [is] fashionable just now' though no better understood (I: 36). In the novel, Estelle herself explicitly takes up the mission of Jewish defence, feeling compelled, when in the presence of gentile acquaintances, to launch herself into passionate protest:

> I cannot help seeing that the world judges us more with curiosity than respect. Industry is far more the source of our success than greed or avarice. Papa says so [. . . Judaism] is a code full of humanity, of gentleness, and an exquisite tenderness, that enjoins us in spite, or rather as a result, of our own misfortunes, to *love the unfortunate and the stranger* (I: 109; emphasis in original).

The novel repeatedly takes the opportunity to explain particularities of Jewish ritual to the reader through the ardent voice of its protagonist encountering ignorance or incomprehension in her acquaintances. Here, the tenor of Estelle's apologia both reaffirms the rhetorical heritage of Aguilar and reflects Anglo-Jewish concerns of the 1870s: she counterposes a feminised Jewish ethics against the ogre of Jewish commerce.

Harris's heroine takes up the cause of the Jews at a time when the traditional charge that Jewish prosperity was the result of 'greed or avarice'

had taken on a new acuteness. In the years immediately preceding the publication of *Estelle*, criticism of Jewish economic power as a corrupt and sinister force was intensifying, and became focused in the Liberal account of Disraeli's 'Hebrew' rather than 'patriotic' motives in supporting Turkey during the Eastern Crisis. Disraeli's pursuit of military intervention when Russian troops advanced into the Balkans in late 1877 provoked Goldwin Smith to warn that 'England is being drawn into a war, which many of us think would be calamitous, and that Jewish influence, which is strong both in the money-world and in the press, is working in that direction'. Jews were, he wrote, 'a political danger'.[69] It is in this context that Harris's portrait of domestic Anglo-Jewish life must be read. In *Estelle*, the story of a pious, unworldly Jewish family, set not in the urban milieu of the plutocracy but in a cathedral town in the West Country, Harris sought to reaffirm the affinities between Englishness and Jewishness. The English country setting and the narrative of female self-sacrifice perhaps also alluded to the biography of Aguilar, whose childhood was spent in a small Devon town and whose life, according to her mother, was dedicated to domestic concerns. Focused on a feminised and universalised Judaism seen as 'full of humanity, of gentleness, and an exquisite tenderness', the novel implicitly addresses accusations of Jewish material self-interest and tribal insularity.

The apologetic inclinations of Harris's earnest heroine, nevertheless, belie her more problematic experience of Judaism. Despite Estelle's publicly expressed 'womanly solicitude' for 'her nation', in private she is in 'unuttered rebellion' against the harsh religious law of her father (I: 136, I: 271). Differing generically from Aguilar's linear, omnisciently narrated family tale, Harris's *Künstlerroman* focuses instead on the subjectivity of its protagonist, producing an interior drama of conflict and ambivalence. Estelle is the neglected eldest daughter of the only orthodox, and resolutely private, German-Jewish family living in the cathedral town of Stadchester. Defying her parents' advice to '[t]ry to be domestic' she secretly develops her talent for drawing, encouraged by Miss Charteris, a gentile neighbour (I: 3). Miss Charteris's nieces take a superficial interest in the exoticism of the Jewish girls, while their brother, the more respectful and sympathetic Cecil, forms an increasingly close attachment to Estelle. But following the sudden death of her father, Estelle renounces her desire to go abroad to study art and then, insisting that too much prejudice still exists to make their union anything but a burden to him, refuses a marriage proposal from Cecil, moving to London where she supports her mother and sister by teaching drawing. As a single woman, eventually Estelle pursues her artistic vocation but represses her continuing passion for Cecil, whom she thinks of as 'her fair-haired

knight – who admired and rode away' (II: 294). Like Rebecca of York, then, Harris's heroine finally remains loyal to her religion and sacrifices romantic fulfilment.

Recent discussion of the female *Künstlerroman* has focused on the 'New Woman' fiction of the 1890s, which exhibits a contradictory feminism preoccupied with narratives of female artistic frustration or failure (despite the success that women writers actually enjoyed in this period).[70] Indeed, underlining an identification between the repressed artist-protagonist and her creator, Harris names her heroine, Estelle Mary Hofer, with her own initials. But the figure of the female artist, Lyn Pykett has argued, was deployed as a complex symbol with multiple significations, including as a device for exploring the contradictions involved in dominant definitions of middle-class femininity.[71] Between George Eliot's subordination of her story of female artistic ambition to a subplot, and the New Woman fiction's foregrounding of the conflicts between 'the self-sacrificial womanly vocation on the one hand, and the self-expressive artistic vocation . . . on the other',[72] stands Harris's novel, in which the contrary claims of femininity intersect with those of Jewish identity and its representation. In the figure of the Jewish woman artist, Harris articulated tensions not only between competing femininities but also between the attractions and threats of Jewish integration into gentile culture.

Estelle opens, significantly, with the heroine's withdrawal from the strictures of her family into the private space of her garret room – an image that was to become paradigmatic of the woman artist's struggle for autonomy in later feminist fiction.[73] At the same time, however, it strikingly recalls the scene of conversion in earlier Evangelical representations of the Jewess. Indeed, Estelle's 'little sanctuary' is decorated with Christian icons and here she clandestinely studies images of the Virgin Mary (I: 6). In quiet conflict with her father, who espouses the 'stern and unappreciative and despotic view which the eastern nature takes of women' (II: 3), she unconsciously turns to Christian art for a more worshipful valuation of the female: 'she copied every fold of the drapery, every limb and soft curve of her photographed Madonnas, acquiring gradually a firmness and delicacy of touch' (I: 9). Her own name, Estelle Mary, evoking *stella maris*, also suggests a secret affinity with the Virgin.

This is not the only trace of conversionist discourse in Harris's novel. Her depiction of the Jewess is crucially informed, in fact, by the Evangelical account of 'oriental' femininity. This comes to the fore in a comparison of Estelle's response to her domestic restriction with the more robust female heroism of Edith Craven, who suffers the constrained life of an invalid:

> High principle, and lofty ideals of virtue, of self-denial, of endurance, received in Edith's case the hues of the latter civilization of Christianity – the polish imparted by progress to the early rough stern models of simple morality. With Estelle the colouring of orientalism was quite as apparent. She had inherited some of the excessive and sad humility and meekness that define the limits of feminine independence in the East. These strongly tinged her temperament with a sort of unnatural and yet attractive submissiveness. Seclusion, the sense of frequently being misunderstood, the habit of silence concerning her favourite hopes, girded her disposition with a shrinking reserve, pathetically characteristic of the esteem – or want of esteem – in which the Jews held the women of their nation (II: 112–13).

Strikingly recalling Evangelical writing, the Christian supersessionist argument is here refracted through gender; the 'sad humility' and 'shrinking reserve' of the Jewess is brought into focus by the more 'progressive' Christian virtue of freely chosen self-denial. The characteristic ambivalence of the text regards Estelle's submissiveness as both 'unnatural' and 'attractive', suggesting the strain of the two directions in which it pulls – on the one hand protesting against the 'oriental' repression of the Jewish woman and on the other elevating it.

In her 1892 letter to the *Jewish Chronicle*, the author noted the disappointment expressed by hopeful Christian readers who had clearly picked up on these conversionist clues and expected a rather different ending to the story.[74] However, the New Testament images in Estelle's garret herald a revelation not of Christianity but of Estelle's own creative ability since they function for her as models for imitation by the paintbrush rather than the spirit. 'Surely pictures may be liked, appreciated, without being at once accepted as the signs of worship', she reasons. 'There are no good subjects illustrative of our own creed' (I: 15). Similarly, her attraction to the blond knight is motivated not by his religious but by his aesthetic sensibility. As the *Academy* review of the novel commented, in Arnoldian terms, 'we have laid bare for us longings after Gentile culture and breadth'.[75] When Estelle signs a pact of friendship with her mentor Miss Charteris, who promises to encourage her drawing, the encounter between Jewess and gentile woman is described as 'a romance of its own, equaling moonlight and lovers' vows' (I: 129). In this secularised conversion narrative, the romance with Christianity is replaced by a romance with art, to which Judaism is equally antithetical. Dr Hofer, who has banned the reading of novels and insisted that '[h]ome was, or should be, sufficient to girls', increasingly exemplifies the harshness of Jewish orthodoxy (I: 84). It is when, at the end of the first volume, he refuses Estelle's request to travel abroad to study drawing, proclaiming that outside the carefully superintended domestic space 'you could not

possibly preserve your own particular belief', that 'a great cry of unuttered rebellion rose to Estelle's throat and seemed almost to choke her' (I: 271). Like George Eliot, then, Emily Harris uses the theme of female professional and personal vocation to focus a critique of Judaism that reinvigorates conversionist themes of its patriarchal archaism and cruel legalism.

Unlike Alcharisi, however, Harris's heroine refuses to abandon Judaism. The author offers instead a range of ways of redeeming it that sharply contest the ways it is represented in Evangelical and liberal discourse and that draw eclectically upon Romantic literary tropes and contemporary currents in Anglo-Judaism and Christianity.[76] Challenging her father's interdiction of overseas travel, for example, Estelle demands:

> if in mere matter of rabbinical law I might transgress – for who can promise or guard against the necessary inroad of circumstances in foreign lands, – I would not eat really forbidden things, or travel on Saturday. Surely, papa, those strict precepts are but the extreme bulwarks to prevent the minor treasures of spiritual faith from attacks. Shall I give up art only for chimeras of custom? (I: 272)

In questioning the authority of rabbinical law, Estelle adopts the terms of Reform Judaism, which emphasised the 'spiritual' essence of Judaism over the 'extreme', orthodox letter of the law.[77] Elsewhere the novel takes up other elements of Reform Judaism to offer an account of Jewish tradition that opposes Dr Hofer's austerity. Describing a Passover service in the orthodox synagogue attended by Estelle, the narrator draws attention to 'the ornate and poetic form of adoration of which the Jews are deprived' since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (I: 259). In postlapsarian Jewish worship, 'no aid of musical instruments, no splendid display of gold and silver, no brazen pedestals carved and wreathed, and magnified in adornment, mark how dear and beloved is that sanctuary dedicated to his Creator by the Hebrew'. But the importance in the Temple ritual of 'the influence of all beauty of sound or sight on a cherished creed' suggests the central place of the aesthetic in Judaism (I: 258). Reform synagogues in Britain had recently introduced organ music and choirs to great controversy, arguing that such a modern approach to worship would increase spiritual edification.[78] Harris's suggested sympathy for this move emphasises, however, not its innovative, reforming character but rather its traditionalism. In Estelle's longing for the restoration of a specifically Jewish tradition of sacred art, Harris creates a context for her Anglo-Jewish *Künstlerroman*. If, in the English synagogue, '[e]nforced simplicity of adornment, and the old love of the Israelite for magnificence and colour . . . were pathetically mingled, or rather each could be discerned by a thoughtful spectator, as if

battling against the overwhelming pressure of the other', this description makes sense of Estelle's own internal struggle between the deprivations of a fallen, diaspora Judaism and an instinct for its original glories (I: 260). Far from sustaining the opposition between Judaism and art, then, Harris argues for a return to a more authentic Judaic aestheticism.

Harris's representation of Judaism differs markedly from earlier apologetic accounts, which attempted to assimilate it to Evangelical theology and practice. Judaism in her writing is, however, similarly accented by the dominant influence in mid-Victorian Christianity: Harris's analogy for the ancient Temple ritual is with '[t]he grandeur of the Catholic ceremonial' (I: 259).[79] Catholicism is a constant reference point for Estelle; she sees Passover, for example, the Jewish festival commemorating the liberation from slavery in Egypt – a celebration nevertheless defined by a plethora of laws and strictures – as a rite of self-denial, comparable to the Catholic Lent (I: 75). For Harris, in contrast to Aguilar, it is precisely ritual, rather than the biblical text, that induces religious feeling. This ritualist interpretation of Judaism appears not only in *Estelle* but in the work in the previous decade of the pre-Raphaelite painter Simeon Solomon, whose 'Hellenistic' depictions of Jewish religious practice highlighted the aesthetic and ceremonial dimensions of Judaism in the same terms as his representations of Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox ritual.[80] In the work of both Solomon and Harris the representation of Judaism was shaped by the increasing emphasis on ornamental splendour in Anglo-Catholicism.

Moreover, Harris presents Judaism as a religion closely connected to the natural world. *Estelle* is structured around the seasonal Jewish festivals of Passover and Pentecost, which are associated with the cycles of the changing earth and commemorated in the synagogue with flowers and song. In *The Narrative of the Holy Bible*, her book of biblical stories for children, Harris provides an account of the three major festivals that explicitly links Jews with an agricultural heritage:

> the beautiful spring festival of Pentecost, the first fruits of the year, and the harvest feast to celebrate the ingathering of the grapes at the end of the year, when the labours of the field were securely collected, the treasures of the earth gathered and garnered – that lovely autumnal holy day dear to the modern Jew, as it was to the ancient Hebrew agriculturist, who worked for, and rejoiced in it, in remote times.[81]

Universalising Jewish religious observance in this way serves to link nineteenth-century Jews not only to High Church ritualism but also to an agrarian tradition analogous to that of England. In *Estelle*, the rural

setting of the synagogue itself suggests a happy integration of Jewish worship within an English pastoral landscape:

> Across the high window of the little country synagogue the budding trees waved and threw their branches in a rhythmical, regular sweetness, so unutterably peaceful, so fraught with repose, and suggestive of cessation from all the weary impositions that man's restless desire of power enforces, that Estelle's imagination, her vivid picturing of that weary march through the desert [out of slavery in Egypt], were lulled into a sense of security (I: 256).

Here, the English landscape symbolises the same values of liberation as the Passover story of exodus; England itself becomes the promised land of respite from wandering.

The continuity between Estelle's present and her identification with the Jewish past, between the 'modern Jew' and the 'ancient Hebrew agriculturist' is emphasised throughout the novel. Harris's contemporary Jews, racially connected to biblical Hebrews, are thus living embodiments of a venerable and unbroken tradition. When Estelle visits working-class Jews in the East End of London for the first time, she laments the 'mean exchange of agricultural labour, the handling of the lyre or lute, for the present degrading trades she saw practised' and observes the 'splendid, dark-browed faces, of sometimes a rare Assyrian type, bent attentively over coarse, heavy garments, too weighty for the slender fingers that drove the thick tailor's needle through the material' (II: 231, 216). Fallen from their former nobility, Harris's Jewish workers, like her woman artist, nevertheless betray the signs of their ancient origins. English Jews, Estelle insists, do not resemble the literary caricatures found in Dickens or Scott; rather, they are 'grand and grave orientals' (I: 108). In theology and historical writing of this period, the links between ancient and modern Jews were more commonly invoked pejoratively.[82] Harris, however, turns to Romantic philosemitism – to William Wordsworth's abstract and aestheticised Hebrew wanderers in 'A Jewish Family' (1835), and to the language of ancient pedigree and racial election in the writing of Benjamin Disraeli, for whom Jews constituted an enduring 'aristocracy of Nature' essentially untouched by the fluctuations of history.[83] One of the purplest passages in Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847), for example, praised the ability of impoverished ghetto Jews, despite their extreme degradation, to continue to celebrate 'beautiful', 'graceful' and 'joyous' agricultural festivals.[84] Like her contemporary Benjamin Farjeon, Harris constructed Jews in Disraelian terms as a separate historic family whose identity 'mirrored the construction of Englishness as a completed identity rooted in past glory and the "pride of race"'.[85] In her writing, then, Harris

responds to 1870s representations of Jews by aligning them with the pastoral rather than the urban, with ancientness rather than modernity, with nature rather than intellect, with the aesthetic rather than the legalistic, with a unifying piety rather than cosmopolitanism; separate from and yet analogous to the English.

This apologetic strategy is apparent in Harris's narrative style too, in the numerous pictorial tableaux through which the novel's gentiles – and the novel's narrator – apprehend Jews. In his first encounter with the Hofer household, Cecil Haye views, framed through an open door, the scene of Estelle teaching her younger siblings Hebrew. Here, 'Estelle, leaning over the table, with her superb and sombre tints, her slender figure, where royalty and depression met in a beautiful union of tenderness and dignity, was looking away through the open casement, with its tiny panes' at the cathedral (I: 32). Cecil is struck, as it were, by the appearance in green and pleasant lands of a character from the canvasses of Edwin Long or Lawrence Alma-Tadema, whose Oriental subjects bear passive and picturesque witness to their fallen civilisations. He is moved not only by the exoticism of the Jewish domestic scene but also by its appropriateness in a Gothic house and in rural England: 'A jar of field-flowers was placed on the table, and with these English blossoms, this old-world apartment, the striking oriental countenances were oddly in contrast and harmony' (I: 32–3). This painterly construction is deployed again in Cecil's vision of Estelle during their visit to a ruined mediaeval castle:

> her companion felt in fullest force the subtle combination of that picturesque figure, with its distinct oriental traits, standing among the remains of the lofty, cool, grey castle. He was not an artist, but he was sensible of the artistic interest Estelle's appearance lent to the terraced walk, because it was a touch of a unique, not of an out-of-place singularity that was impressed on the old-world aspect of the castle falling to ruins, in the transparent atmosphere, by this foreign girl . . . [he] noticed the curious completeness and yet contradiction of her characteristic appearance (I: 148).

Rather than rendering her incongruous in the English landscape, Estelle's Jewishness reiterates its 'old-world aspect'. She may not be rooted in this landscape, but she is not 'out-of-place' either, because being 'oriental' differentiates her racially but links her metaphorically with the aristocracy of England's past. Repeatedly, however, these descriptions rely on a series of antinomies. The tension articulated in Cecil's sense of irreconcilable 'contradiction' between Jewishness and Englishness – the contradiction that will ultimately lead to his separation from Estelle – is held suspended in the

aestheticised stasis of the tableau; the novel is too tentative to push further its own paradoxes.

What is intriguing about Harris's writing is that it also comments more sceptically on the construction through this male ethnographic gaze of the Jewess as a 'picturesque figure'. Jews, Estelle considers wryly, have lately 'become precious, like old china, or lace, as regards our customs, and take our turn at public appreciation the same as pre-Raffaellite art' (I: 36–7). Responding to the philosemitic enthusiasm of Cecil's friend, the philanthropist Gerard Holden, she protests that he 'was, however good-naturedly, considering us only from that point of view that beholds us as if we were fine or funny pictures. We should be judged apart from adventitious aids of tents and palm-trees now, surely. We are in, and of, England' (I: 124). This misjudgment is precisely the error that Harris presents with considerable irony in her second novel on Anglo-Jewry, *Benedictus* (1887). Here, in a more obvious allusion to the pictorial themes of *Daniel Deronda*, the Christian artist Becquer indulges in his favourite image of the brave enduring Jewess:

> Ranged next to the wall were drawings minutely touched in pen and ink; studies in sepia of an ideal Babylon, symbolized in the shape of a dark-eyed woman, half crouching, half defiant, wringing her fine interlocked fingers, part in agony, part in useless rebellion: over her grief-knit brows fell her dusky, abundant hair, in absolute abandonment of desertion. The horror of captivity had set its seal on her.[86]

Becquer's mournful allegory of the Hebrew exile in Babylon recalls Harris's own representations of Estelle's futile yearnings, Hans Meyrick's painterly fantasies, and possibly the biblical Jewesses of the Moss sisters' writing. But Becquer becomes an object of ridicule when he imagines his biblical vision personified in this novel's modern heroine, Estelle's young protégée Thyra Freund, whom he regards as 'the fair Babylonian of those far-off times . . . that young creature who, restless in her chains, in fullest force possesses an inward yearning after the highest, after all that her fate withholds; in short, she who, rebelling, perforce submits'.[87] Far from tormented or submissive, the European-born, wealthy, assimilated Thyra is 'more British in her determination' than her parents and has successfully resisted their efforts to compel her to act the part of a respectable Jewish daughter, finding instead a career working in the slums.[88] She does not recognise Becquer's construction of Jewish history in her own life and, as if commenting on the author's own earlier novel, briskly dismisses the artist's gushing romanticism.

In *Estelle*, however, Harris is more reliant on than suspicious of the moral appeal of the figure of the suffering Jewess. Instead, it is through a transfiguration of Estelle's suffering that she becomes aligned with a

'progressive', more universal model of femininity. In the first part of the novel, her father forbids her study of art, assuming obedience because of her 'affectionate temperament that would not struggle and could not dispute' (II: 4). But when Estelle deliberately renounces her love for the gentile Cecil, the narrator is able to recast her suffering as 'a battle with self, more glorious than those the restricted spirit had encountered, where victory would bring to her life a fuller meaning, and grace it with something of the beauty all earth's uncrowned martyrs should wear' (II: 5). Hence, from an 'unnatural', childish submission to patriarchal will in relation to her artistic vocation, Estelle advances to the more active choice of 'self-denial' in order to preserve her Jewish identity. If she finally succeeds in reconciling art and Judaism, it is at the cost of 'self'. That this is the noble ideal embodied by the 'progressive' Edith Craven suggests the Christian framework in which the novel's notion of femininity is conceived; self-denial exhibits 'the polish imparted by progress to the early rough stern models of simple morality' (II: 112). In confirming Judaism's place as a 'simple morality' in relation to 'the latter civilization of Christianity' the novel defers to a supersessionist typology (II: 112). But it also shows a Jewish woman's achievement of such Christian 'progress', insisting that 'the attributes of natural nobility do not belong to a certain order; they are not distinctly the possession of either creed' (II: 112). This image of triumphant self-sacrifice bridges religious difference by affirming the heroine's loyalty to Judaism in terms appealing to a Christian reader, including Estelle in the company of 'all earth's uncrowned martyrs'. Where *Daniel Deronda* relied on the figure of the suffering Jewess so as to redeem her with the masculine narrative of nationhood, *Estelle* constructs Jewish martyrdom as replete with 'meaning' and 'beauty', a moral end in itself (II: 4).

While Anglo-Jewish intellectuals in the 1870s worked to accommodate Judaism to the challenges of biblical scholarship and political attack,[89] their efforts were also echoed in literature. Unable to portray simply the life of a 'tender and devout Jewish girl' in the tradition of Grace Aguilar as her letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* claimed, Emily Marion Harris nevertheless harnessed the trope of the dissenting Jewish daughter to serve a defence rather than a critique of contemporary Anglo-Jewry. Constructions of Judaism in the 1870s as legalistic, materialist, patriarchal and insular revivified the commonplaces of Evangelical and Enlightenment discourse; in contrast, Harris drew on elements of both ritualism and Reform Jewish theology to redefine Judaism as possessing an aesthetic tradition, a feminised ethics and a ceremonial practice with universal meaning. Linking modern Jews both with noble origins and a history of oppression, Harris presented them as

'grand and grave orientals' rather than tribalists arrested in an earlier stage of development. The inner drama of Estelle Hofer's struggling consciousness, moreover, focuses on an individual rather than a corporate solution to the Jewish Question. Finally, that Jews generally are seen as fallen from a former glory, and that Estelle specifically is destined to self-sacrifice, are indications not only of the Christian frame of reference in the novel. They also suggest a need to impress the reader with the modest nature of Jewish political and social aspirations. In this cause, the novel's articulation of the contradictions between Englishness and Jewishness are repeatedly subordinated to its aestheticising poetics. Attractive precisely because of her 'unnatural submissiveness', the emblem of the suffering Jewess stands as a corrective to contemporary images of Jewish power.

CONCLUSION

The 'selfish ambition and low greed' that for George Eliot's Mordecai accompanied the advent of Jewish emancipation haunts the texts I have examined in this chapter. Publishing at a time of unprecedented financial possibility and instability, liberal novelists of the 1860s and 70s expressed in the image of cosmopolitan 'Jewish' commerce an ambivalent hostility towards, and fascination with, the pleasures and perils of unrestrained speculation. But there was as strong a desire to redeem the moral degradation of capitalism. The figure of the Jewess, I have argued, expresses and enacts such a redemption. Drawing on the narrative of conversion inherited from the Evangelical tradition, a wide range of mid-Victorian writers represented the suffering and self-sacrifice of the Jewish woman as the inverse of and atonement for the excessive desires of the Jewish man of commerce. Moving beyond the religious terms of the conversion genre, moreover, novelists regarded the Jewess as elevated not by her greater piety but because of her artistic inclinations. The universalist and humanist connotations of 'culture', as influentially articulated by Matthew Arnold, marked the Jewess out from the narrow, self-interested Jew as, in earlier decades, had Christianity.

In each of these texts, however, the relationships among artistry, commerce and gender are configured differently. For Trollope, the romantic imagination of the Jewish daughter stands in opposition to the calculated artifice of her speculating father, but finally gives way to a more self-regulating sobriety. Eliot, on the other hand, counterposes the hubristic artistic ambitions of Alcharisi against the self-abnegating feminine and patriotic devotion of Mirah. While Trollope deploys the Jewess to delineate

the limits of liberalism, Eliot's Jewish women demonstrate the irresistible imperative of nationalism. These elements are driven in a different direction by Emily Marion Harris. If for Eliot the suffering of the Jewess would be relieved not by a flight into the false universalism of 'culture', but by embracing collective Jewish destiny, for Harris it is the introspective suffering of the artistic Jewess that gives her a place within the national culture of Christian England.

In their focus on the figure of the Jewish artist, moreover, these texts are self-reflexive, foregrounding the conditions of their own production. Their authors evince a fundamental ambivalence not only about Jews but about writing itself. For Trollope, artistic creativity is a pleasurable but dangerous aspect of the way we live now, for Eliot an awe-inspiring but ultimately sterile vocation. For Harris, art is associated on the one hand with an authentic Jewish tradition, and on the other with representational practices that exoticise or appropriate Jews. In the following decade, in contrast, the novelist William Sharp was to imagine a muse for modern art in the figure of the Jewish woman poet, one of those 'who live more intensely and suffer more acutely than others . . . the Children of To-morrow, because in us the new forces of the future are already astir or even dominant'.[90] Israel Zangwill's Anglo-Jewish writer and fictional alter ego Esther Ansell in *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), similarly, would represent the shape of the Jewish future, enduring – and surviving – the communal ostracism provoked by her heretical novel.[91] These more hopeful images of the Jewish woman artist, however, were produced in a context in which the modernity of the Jewish woman increasingly came to stand against a Jewish masculinity marked by irredeemable racial atavism.

6

The shadow of the harem: fin-de-siècle *racial romance*

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, public discussion of the Jews reached a new intensity. In the press and political rhetoric, the mass migration of eastern European Jews during the 1880s and 90s was represented as a threat to the labour market, housing conditions and public health of the ailing imperial metropolis. While Jewish immigrants came under increasing scrutiny for their alien cultural practices and 'tribal loyalties', the question of the assimilability of 'the Jew' returned to haunt their middle-class, Anglicised co-religionists too. This question was addressed in the languages of anthropology, racial science, and eugenics; in the field of the novel, it surfaced via the marriage plot.

For many novelists of the period, this chapter will show, the Jews' distinctiveness was manifested in their 'oriental' attitude towards women. It was to this theme, for example, that Evangelical missionaries returned when reviving the old conversion narratives from earlier in the century. *Disowned, or the Outlawed Jewess* (1889) claimed that although contemporary Jews were severely persecuted, Christians were rightly opposed to their 'social character', in particular their enslavement of women, who were 'bargained' for on the marriage market.[1] Celia Franks, the heroine of Violet Guttenberg's conversionist novel *Neither Jew Nor Greek: A Story of Jewish Social Life* (1902), is shocked at the acceptance among even middle-class Jewry of the uncivilised practice of arranged marriage; she cannot understand 'how any self-respecting girl can allow herself to be disposed of in that cut-and-dried manner'.[2] The title of the novel quotes Galatians to suggest Christianity's annihilation not only of ethno-religious difference but also of gender hierarchy. By contrast, Guttenberg sought to demonstrate, the Jews remained arrested in a less advanced stage of civilisation.

A more up-to-date version of this critique regarded the Jews not as socially and religiously retrograde, but as physically degenerate. In *Leah Wolfe, or the Converted Jewess* (1894), for example, the familiar narrative formula of the oppressed Jewess is overlaid with the contemporary vocabulary of

racial physique. In this story the persecuting Jewish father is domineering and typically pharisaical – concerned with ritual observance rather than spiritual sincerity – but 'the constant repetition of his prayers' also makes him suffer a 'wearied body'. While Judaism induces physical degeneration in the Jew's body, conversion is its cure: his granddaughter Leah's adoption of Christianity 'gave [her] a healthy mind and a healthy body'.[3] Similarly, Guttenberg's Celia is severely persecuted by her Jewish family for her interest in Christianity, but during her stay at the English country house where her conversion is completed, her brother notes, she has 'a healthy glow' in her cheeks and 'looked much better and brighter than when he had last seen her in London'.[4] Removed from the urban Jewish milieu of her family, the Jewess realises her potential not only for religious transformation and personal autonomy, but also for physical health.

The physiological language of these late nineteenth-century conversion texts is only one example of the way that in this period, in George Mosse's words, 'the anti-Jewish image rooted in religious discourse was secularised and given new credence by means of pseudo-scientific arguments'.[5] At the *fin de siècle*, the difference of the Jew became located not in theological dissent but in the 'pathological' or 'pathogenic' nature of the Jewish body.[6] This chapter investigates how in the 1880s and 90s representations of Jews repeatedly took up the theme of gender relations among Jews, and linked it with that of Jewish degeneration. Debate about the Jews from the 1880s onwards was articulated in the context of the rise of the bourgeois women's movement, the aftermath of Jewish emancipation and the prevalence of scientific accounts of 'race'. Considering the political and intellectual climate in which Jewish questions were discussed, I will argue, illuminates the ways that Jews, and particularly the figure of the Jewish woman, came to stand for urgent national anxieties about racial decline and revival.

Such concerns were expressed not only in conversionist tracts, but also across a wide range of scientific and sociological texts and literary fiction. The congruence of terminology and narrative tropes in all these texts, moreover, blurs the distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish writing and suggests instead the pervasiveness of a *fin-de-siècle* discourse about Jewish degeneration. In this chapter, then, I consider the novels of Jewish social life that appeared in this period and that thematised the regressive gender politics of Judaism, in narratives inherited from the conversion tradition and in terms borrowed from contemporary cultural debate. I discuss in detail the work of Amy Levy and Julia Frankau, the two most controversial Anglo-Jewish writers of their day, who, I will demonstrate, built their representations of Jews out of the discussions about women, Orientalism

and race that animated public discourse of the period. Their analysis of Jews cannot simply be dismissed as 'Jewish self-hatred', moreover. As I will show, for both authors creating fictions about Jews was indispensable to their construction of distinctive political and literary identities. As well as providing a new reading of Levy's and Frankau's work, then, this approach suggests the critical relationship among liberalism, feminism and racial discourse at the end of the nineteenth century.

'TRIBAL LOYALTIES': THE ETHNOGRAPHIC NOVEL OF JEWISH LIFE

Condemned by the *Jewish Chronicle* as 'clever ill-natured fiction of Jewish life', the scathingly satirical novels of Julia Frankau and Amy Levy on the materialistic ethos of late 1880s Anglo-Jewry have more recently been described as 'novels of revolt' against the apologetic heritage of Anglo-Jewish literature.[7] However, their writing also demonstrates the profound impact on Jewish self-representation of Enlightenment and Evangelical critiques of the Jews, refracted through the specifically late Victorian preoccupations of sexuality and race. In Julia Frankau's *Dr Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll* (1887) and Amy Levy's *Reuben Sachs: A Sketch* (1888) English Jews appear, in terms reminiscent of both the conversionist and liberal literary traditions, as patriarchal, insular, physically and morally degenerate, and unspiritual. 'The great Single Deity', writes Julia Frankau in prophetic mode, 'the "I am the Lord thy God, and thou shalt have no other" that binds Judaism together, is as invincible now as it was when Moses had to destroy the Golden Calf on Mount Horeb. And that Deity is Gain.'[8] For Amy Levy, what binds Jews together also binds Jewish women down: in its refusal to countenance female economic and social autonomy, Anglo-Jewry continues to be 'a society constructed on . . . a primitive basis'.[9]

Such statements provoked the Jewish press to accuse both authors of giving ammunition to Judaeophobes. The *Jewish World* deplored Levy's apparent pride in 'being able to offer her testimony in support of the anti-Semitic theories of the clannishness of her people and the tribalism of their religion' and the *Jewish Chronicle* asserted that both authors had based their sketches on a 'superficial knowledge of Jewish society'.[10] It is certainly possible that Levy's liberal intellectual upbringing, the bohemian life espoused by Frankau and the German-Jewish milieu into which she married, made them the kind of Jews most likely to disavow Judaism publicly.[11] Yet it was not only Levy and Frankau who articulated criticism of this kind; by the end of the century a chorus of editorials and sermons in the

Anglo-Jewish press and pulpit was also denouncing the community's 'rampant materialism' and observing that 'middle-class Judaism was in radical decline'.[12]

Historians have indeed used the Jewish novels of the 1880s and 90s as documentary evidence that illuminates the traumatic process of secularisation throughout Anglo-Jewry, or, on the other hand, the climate of increasingly overt and focused antisemitism at the end of the century.[13] Yet these novels do not simply or transparently *reflect fin-de-siècle* Jewish society; as literary texts they also enter into an interpretive dialogue with existing tropes and narratives for representing Jews. Thus, whereas earlier Anglo-Jewish writers had viewed the novel as a vehicle for establishing an image of Anglo-Jewry as cohesive, patriotic and worthy of political rights, Amy Levy instead satirises the newly acquired social and professional aspirations that emancipation had enabled. The protagonist of *Reuben Sachs* is a young barrister, who, abetted by his ambitious family, abandons his love affair with the novel's heroine Judith Quixano in order to pursue a political career, but dies of a heart attack soon after taking up office, leaving Judith to submit to a loveless marriage. Julia Frankau's *Dr Phillips*, published a year earlier, similarly attributes the moral iniquity of its hero to the Anglo-Jewish worship of 'Gain'. In the novel, Benjamin Phillips, a philandering physician, gives himself over to his passion for his gentile mistress Mary Cameron. He murders his wife so that he can marry Mary, only to be cast off by her and subsequently exposed and ostracised by the Jewish community. Viewed through the critical gaze of Mary, the West End Jews appear shallow and acquisitive – a community, as Chief Rabbi Herman Adler complained, whose 'whole mental horizon is bounded by the money-market and the card table'.[14] In these novels, the romantic plot serves to link the material ambitions of Jewish men to the exploitation of women – a theme reminiscent of earlier narratives about Jews. At the same time, however, this concern with the deleterious social effects of male power expresses a wider *fin-de-siècle* preoccupation.

Also distinctively modern is the narrative voice in both Levy's and Frankau's novels. In depicting the attenuating affinities between Jews who, in an era of emancipation and secularisation, are no longer united by a common theological bond or political agenda, these texts employ the voice of a distanced observer. Regarding the Maida Vale setting of *Dr Phillips* as the scene for a realist account of social change in Anglo-Jewry, Frankau remarks that '[t]heirs is a society worth describing before, as must be in the natural order of things, it decays or amalgamates' (140). In contrast to religious leaders, she recasts perceptions of Anglo-Jewish social and spiritual decline

in the language of modern social science. In these novels, Jewish social insularity, patriarchal customs and traditional practices are represented as 'savage survivals', what Edward Tylor called 'primaeval monuments of barbaric thought and life'.[15] It is in this sense that Levy's Reuben Sachs refers to the religious branch of his family, the Samuel Sachses, as 'a remarkable survival'.[16] He, like his cousins, on the other hand, 'showed symptoms of a desire to strike out from the tribal duck-pond into the wider and deeper waters of society' (210). In their attitude to matrimony, the German Jews of West London in Cicely Sidgwick's novel *Isaac Eller's Money* (1889) also unwittingly display their archaic barbarity: '[i]n an earlier generation, and even now, in any country but this foolish English one, a girl of their race could no more have stood up against her guardians, and refused the husband of their choosing, than a slave can stand up against his owner'; the novel, however, ends with the anglicised heroine successfully insisting on a romantic, that is to say 'English', marriage.[17] In thus imagining the 'natural' amalgamation of Jewish with British cultural life, these writers subscribe to a view of social evolution in which 'tribal' loyalties will be superseded by assimilation. Late Victorian anthropology, then, deeply embedded in the politics of the empire, provided a conceptual framework for understanding both the particularity of Jewish social life and the direction of its development.

But while anthropologists continued to assert the progress of civilisation, social critics of the period diagnosed its decadence. Late nineteenth-century writing was haunted by the spectres of degeneration and apocalypse.[18] In this context, Anglo-Jewry was frequently represented not only as an example of evolutionary adaptability but also as a regressive society determined by its inherited 'primitive' nature. In his novel *Violet Moses* (1891), the Jewish-born Leonard Merrick stages a Maida Vale card party, viewed through the eyes of his virtuous Christian heroine, as a scene of hysteria, primitive individualism and physical decomposition – an iconic image of Jewish degeneration.[19] And in his politicised ethnographic observations, the Liberal polemicist and anti-alienist Goldwin Smith drew on a venerable Enlightenment tradition, arguing that intramarriage, circumcision and social exclusivity amongst Jewry – 'a vast relic of primaeval tribalism, with its tribal mark, its tribal separatism, and its tribal God' – constituted a threat to liberal culture, and disqualified the Jews from the rights of emancipation. Their clandestine loyalties he saw as 'one of the new social diseases of the present day'.[20] For Smith, Jewish religious practice and collective identity were anomalous in modern civilisation, and represented precisely those forces that the imperial metropole was endeavouring to keep at bay.

In the writing of both Jews and non-Jews in this period, the critique of decadence in the Anglo-Jewish middle class, in particular its overpowering and ruthless materialism, resonates with anxieties about a more widespread reversion to (or invasion by) savagery in *fin-de-siècle* England. By locating the work of Anglo-Jewish writers of the 1880s and 90s within this discursive context, I now explore the ways in which their literary ethnographies of Jewish life, and in particular Jewish gender relations, emerge not only from Christian literary tradition but also from *fin-de-siècle* discussions about heredity, sexuality, progress and decline.

GENDER, JEWISH EMANCIPATION AND THE 'HEREDITARY STAIN' OF RACE: AMY LEVY'S 'COHEN OF TRINITY' AND *REUBEN SACHS*

For Amy Levy, the tension between the Jew's 'tribal' and 'wider' loyalties provided a new dynamic for narrative fiction. In an 1886 article for the *Jewish Chronicle* on 'The Jew in Fiction', she complained that:

> [t]he Jew, as we know him today, with his curious mingling of diametrically opposed qualities; his surprising virtues, and no less surprising vices, leading his eager, intricate life: living, moving, and having his being both within and without the tribal limits; this deeply interesting product of our civilisation has been found worthy of none but the most superficial observation.[21]

Levy's interest in the liminality of the modern Jew, a creature divided between 'tribal limits' and 'civilisation', and between virtues and vices, informs her two fictional accounts of Anglo-Jewry. At the beginning of *Reuben Sachs*, the hero returns to London 'to the innumerable pleasantnesses of an existence which owed something of its piquancy to the fact that it was led partly in the democratic atmosphere of modern London, partly in the conservative precincts of the Jewish community' (200). Recent readings of Levy's poetry have noted a similar thematising of ambivalence and inbetweenness, and early stories like 'Euphemia' (1880), 'Lallie: A Cambridge Sketch' (unpublished, *c.* 1881), and 'Between Two Stools' (1883) also articulate contradictory and unresolved positions with regard to the benefits of higher education for women.[22] In this section, I consider how the ambivalent effect of 'civilisation' on the Jew is pointed up by the figure of the Jewess. In Levy's writing, the tension between liberal 'democra[cy]' and racial 'conservati[sm]' was expressed through the symbolism of gender.

If Reuben Sachs found his double existence 'pleasant', the very title of Amy Levy's posthumously published story 'Cohen of Trinity' (1889)

suggests the untenable tension between the Jewish protagonist and the Christian ethos of the Cambridge college where he begins his career. The story is narrated by an undergraduate acquaintance, who first encounters Alfred Lazarus Cohen walking across an English meadow: 'One arm with its coarse hand swung like a bell-rope as he went; the other pressed a book close against his side, while the hand belonging to it held a few bulrushes and marsh marigolds', an incongruous combination of physical ugliness, intellect and natural beauty.[23] The figure of Cohen emerges only fragmentarily through the story, filtered through the narrator's fluctuating fascination and repulsion at his 'enormous pretensions, alternating with and tempered by a bitter self-depreciation' (479). Years later when they renew contact after Cohen's spectacular triumph as a writer, the narrator is once again baffled by Cohen's contradictory response to worldly success:

> 'Nothing,' he said presently, 'can alter the relations of things – their permanent, essential relations . . . "They *shall* know, they *shall* understand, they *shall* feel what I am." That is what I used to say to myself in the old days. I suppose, now, "they" do, more or less, and what of that?'(485).

Cohen's disenchantment with Romantic self-realisation and Jewish literary self-representation suggests that Amy Levy's 'revolt' was staged against both the ideology of Victorian Anglo-Jewish apologia and its characteristic textual forms. In the story, Levy's Jewish writer commits suicide at the summit of public recognition – in precisely the position of cultural power coveted by earlier Anglo-Jewish writers – and his despair denotes a broader disillusionment with the promises of liberal culture to which they subscribed. Cohen of Trinity dies believing himself ultimately unable to re-order the world through language; likewise, despite gesturing towards the inevitable evolutionary transformation of Anglo-Jewry, the narratives of both Levy's and Julia Frankau's novels are tragic rather than triumphalist. Although *Reuben Sachs* opens with a bold affirmation of Jewish success, detailing the protagonist's school and university achievements and asserting that '[t]he fact that he was a Jew had proved no bar to his popularity', the novel ends with his death from 'overdoing himself terribly' (197, 290). The promising careers of Cohen of Trinity, Reuben Sachs and Benjamin Phillips, heroes of Anglo-Jewish emancipation and 'the natural order' of social evolution, are cut short before their fulfilment, indicating not so much a progressive trajectory in Anglo-Jewish history as a predetermined, pessimistic one.

For Cohen, what determines the 'permanent, essential relations' of things is race. The narrator's last meeting with him takes place at 'a club dinner,

given by a distinguished man of letters' at which Cohen is lionised by 'notabilities of every sort – literary, dramatic, artistic', but where his 'strange, flexible face, with the full, prominent lips, glowed and quivered with animation' (484). Despite his penetration to the heart of liberal culture, Cohen remains marked by his Jewish body and its uncontrollable energies. Perpetually divided, he is finally unable to transcend his racial self, and, having 'often declared a taste for suicide to be among the characteristics of his versatile race' he surrenders to it (478). Levy's text bears the imprint of the heated debate in the period, deriving from psychiatric research, about the relationship between Jews, genius and psychopathology. European physicians, both Jewish and gentile, concurred in the belief that assimilating Jews displayed a marked predisposition to nervous illness, and some argued that in Jews 'great intellectual powers and cerebral debilities intersect'.[24] In medical debate as well as literary texts we can discern an ambivalent semitic discourse in which, as Bryan Cheyette has argued, Jews 'were constructed as both the embodiment of racial particularism as well as that of a modernizing "culture"'.[25] Like George du Maurier's Svengali in *Trilby* (1894), musical genius and sexual predator, Cohen is the extreme embodiment of both 'culture' and 'race'.[26] Moreover, Levy's racial discourse reflects wider contemporary concerns about the close relationship between savagery and civilisation. Like Svengali, Stevenson's Dr Jekyll (1886) and Wilde's Dorian Gray (1891), Cohen's self-division is ultimately fatal.[27]

The complex narrative structure of 'Cohen of Trinity', however, expresses *both* Cohen's view of himself as a racial reprobate *and* the climate of ambivalence towards him (in which the narrator is complicit) that endorses such a view. The narrator's abiding failure to comprehend Cohen, and his discomfort with his contradictory feelings about him, ultimately undermines his narrative authority. At the limit of realism, Levy's text, rather than replicating the ambivalence of semitic discourse, exposes its tortuous logic. Her earlier novel, *Reuben Sachs*, has been read as similarly critical of late Victorian racial representation. Deconstructing the novel's narratorial voice, Linda Hunt Beckman has concluded that '[b]y piling up *too many* generalizations about Jews', Levy is self-consciously 'imitating and parodying novels that contain negative remarks about Jews'.[28] But this reading of *Reuben Sachs* is forced; the narrator's persona is never as clearly defined or laid open to question as that of 'Cohen of Trinity'. Rather than viewing Levy as a defiantly liberal novelist, I want instead to explore the ways that her writing gains a particular force from the dynamic *tension* between the possibility of 'progress' and the compelling logic of 'race'. It is at this intersection, moreover, that Levy inserts the Jewess.

The dialectic of liberal progress and racial destiny that produces the impasse of 'Cohen of Trinity' is more openly discussed in *Reuben Sachs* in a dispute between Reuben, the successful barrister and aspiring politician, and his cousin Leo Leuniger, a Cambridge student and aspiring musician. The Victorian Jewish novel's oscillation between 'apology and revolt' is exemplified in the conflict between Reuben's confidence in Jewish emancipation and Leo's critical dissent. While Reuben regards the busy streets of the metropolis 'with an interest both passionate and affectionate', Leo is disgusted by 'the place . . . which had succeeded better than any other in reducing life to a huge competitive examination' (245).[29] In his argument with Reuben, which consciously echoes the Philosophers' Club debate in *Daniel Deronda*, Leo laments the debasement of contemporary Jewry: 'we are materialists to our fingers' ends . . . we have outlived, from the nature of things, such ideals as we ever had'. While he represents Jews as having fallen away from religious idealism, he also believes that the roots of contemporary decadence lie in Jewish theology itself, 'the religion of materialism. The corn and the wine and the oil; the multiplication of the seed; the conquest of the hostile tribes – these have always had more attraction for us than the harp and crown of a spiritualized existence' (238–9). In this formulation, Leo casts Judaism as a creed of nation rather than faith and, in the terms of Christian critique, encumbered by ritual and antithetical to spirituality and the aesthetic.

> 'Ah, look at us,' he cried with sudden passion, 'where else do you see such eagerness to take advantage; such sickening, hideous greed; such cruel, remorseless striving for power and importance; such ever-active, ever-hungry vanity, that must be fed at any cost? Steeped to the lips in sordidness, as we have all been from the cradle, how is it possible that any one among us, by any effort of his own, can wipe off from his soul the hereditary stain?' (238–9).

Although Leo's moral judgment of a Jewish fixation on physical existence through 'such . . . remorseless striving for power and importance' in one way reiterates that of religious and communal leaders within Anglo-Jewry, his language also draws on both biological and theological imagery. In seeing the Jewish 'soul' as stained and this stain as 'hereditary', Leo blurs traditional Christian anti-Judaism with the more contemporary language of racial degeneration, a key move in *fin-de-siècle* thinking.[30]

This view of Jews as hereditary racial degenerates is not only held by the malcontent Leo, but also often suggested by the novel's narrator. Indeed, it is anticipated in an 1886 article for the *Jewish Chronicle*, in which Levy adopts even more explicitly eugenic terms, warning that '[t]he rate of mental and

nervous diseases among Jews is deplorably high . . . [i]t is only by the most careful training, mental, moral, physical, that we can hope to counteract the tendencies inherited through countless generations by our children'.[31] Such anxieties are played out in the plot of *Reuben Sachs*. While the men of their family 'inherit' their ambition, both Reuben and his father die young of a weak heart, and Reuben's doctor, echoing the medical establishment of his age, confides: 'More than half my nervous patients are recruited from the ranks of the Jews' – a neurasthenic army unfit for the battle for survival (224, 198).[32] Leo's brother Ernest, 'of whom it would be unfair to say that he was an idiot . . . was nervous, delicate; had a rooted aversion to society'; their cousin, Esther Kohnthal, less fearful of euphemism, 'told everyone, quite frankly, that her own father was in a madhouse' (204). Reuben himself has the same tendency, 'curiously Eastern, and not wholly free from melancholy' (201). The women, too, are described as having faces distinctive for their 'deep, unwholesome, sallow tinge', and converse in 'rapid, nervous tones' (202, 198). It is in these terms that Leo delineates his only source of optimism:

> that is the inevitability – at least as regards us English Jews – of our disintegration; of our absorption by the people of the country. That is the price we are bound to pay for restored freedom and consideration. The Community will grow more and more to consist of mediocrities, and worse, as the general world claims our choicer specimens for its own. We may continue to exist as a separate clan, reinforced from below by German and Polish Jews for some time to come: but absorption complete, inevitable – that is only a matter of time (239).

Leo here echoes George Eliot's 'rational Jew' Gideon, who, in *Daniel Deronda*, imagined Jews 'melt[ing] away gradually into the populations we live among'.[33] But if Gideon saw this outcome as the objective of enlightenment and 'progress', Leo Leuniger's interpretation of Jewish history has a more Darwinian inflection. He sees the decline of religious conviction, itself in 'the nature of things', as being followed by the Jews' gradual extinction through the social selection of their 'choicer specimens'.

Significantly, the tone of Leo's conversation with his cousin, veering between tormented and sardonic, contrasts poignantly with Gideon's cheerful fatalism. In linking Jewish 'disintegration' explicitly with the 'restored freedom and consideration' of emancipation, Leo's words resonate with the pessimistic view of degeneration in the later nineteenth century: that it was an unavoidable result of social progress.[34] If, for *fin-de-siècle* social critics, degeneration theory 'effectively accounted for the terrible human costs of modernization, expressed in the perceived growth of "urban" diseases, of

alcoholism, crime, insanity, suicide, and various sexual perversions',[35] it could also, in *Reuben Sachs*, frame a sceptical account of Jewish emancipation. This view is borne out by the plot of the novel, in which Reuben's modern freedoms result in his failure to survive the struggle for existence in the urban world of high politics and high pressure; Levy's Jews, these 'deeply interesting product[s] of our civilisation' become exemplars of its perils.

Yet despite its degenerationist accents, the novel, in contrast to 'Cohen of Trinity', also points towards a narrative of racial regeneration. This episode ends, unexpectedly, with an epiphanic encounter between Reuben and Judith Quixano, his uncle's ward, who has been listening silently to his conversation. Their barely articulated romance is the subtext to the debate. When Reuben insists, against Leo's assimilationism, that '[t]hat strange, strong instinct which has held us so long together is not a thing easily eradicated' he is not only arguing with Leo's analysis of Anglo-Jewry: 'He praised her in the race and the race in her; and this was conveyed in some subtle manner to her consciousness' (240). Judith, likewise, 'felt the love of her race grow stronger at every word' (240). Just as Leo himself, the narrator says, will come to 'acknowledge to himself the depth of tribal feeling, of love for his race, which lay at the root of his nature' (229), the romance of racial affinity between Judith and Reuben emerges in this scene as the counter-argument to Jewish degeneration.

Indeed, throughout the novel, Judith's fitness as a match for Reuben is presented in overtly racialised terms: she is 'in the very prime of her youth and beauty; a tall, regal-looking creature, with an exquisite dark head, features like those of a face cut on gem or cameo . . . Her smooth oval cheek glowed with a rich, yet subdued, hue of perfect health'; her body has 'the generous lines of a figure which was distinguished for stateliness rather than grace' (204). Judith's 'regal' air, her 'perfect health' and her maternal figure contrast sharply with the 'ill-made sons and daughters of Shem' who populate the novel with their ailing and ugly bodies (251). Her 'air of breeding' suggests both her refinement and her reproductive potential, leading Reuben to fantasise about '[c]hildren on his hearth with Judith's eyes' (223, 241). Unlike Reuben and his extended family, she is of Sephardic lineage, from a 'family of Portuguese merchants, the *vieille noblesse* of the Jewish community' (208). As we saw in chapter 4, the myth of Sephardic racial supremacy, widely disseminated in Europe by the end of the eighteenth century, had been popularised in Victorian England through the writing of both Disraeli and Grace Aguilar. By the late nineteenth century, the Sephardic mystique was also being invoked by Jewish anthropologists, for whom it served as 'the equivalent of the Jewish "Aryan", a glorious

figure, characterised by his nobility, breeding and poise . . . the physical counterpart to the ignoble Jew of Central and Eastern Europe'.[36] Levy appropriates this counter-myth of the beautiful, refined Sephardic Jew – a paragon of dignified racial pride and openness to intellectual inquiry and cultural integration – to underline the noble and cultured ancestry of Judith and her father that is masked by their poverty: 'Long ago in Portugal there had been Quixano doctors and scholars of distinction. When Joshua Quixano had been stranded high and dry by the tides of modern commercial competition, he had reverted to the ancestral pursuits, and for many years had devoted himself to collecting the materials for a monograph on the Jews of Spain and Portugal' (225). Levy returns to Disraeli's model of the Sephardic Jew as enlightened intellect (rather than Aguilar's passionate patriot), yet this is a source of pessimism rather than celebration. While Quixano's unworldly scholarliness is a trace of past 'distinction', in modern London it is an obstacle to his survival in the struggle for existence. In the same way, the asset of Judith's racial supremacy is squandered by modern Jewish society, driven as it is by 'commercial' rather than biological contest: 'here, as elsewhere, the prestige of birth had dwindled, that of money had increased' (208). The ways that Jews have adapted to 'modern commercial competition' by disregarding attributes of physique and intellect suggest that, in the words of the eugenicist Francis Galton, writing in 1883, the struggle for survival in the modern world seems 'to spoil and not to improve our breed'.[37] The tragic force of the doomed romance between Reuben and Judith, then, is fully comprehensible only in terms of the popular scientific framework that underpins it, in which the progress of civilisation produces degeneracy by subverting the operation of natural selection.

Indeed, Leo's prediction of the extinction of Anglo-Jewry is metonymically enacted in the few short months of the novel's plot, during which both protagonists capitulate to materialistic rather than instinctive imperatives. Consequently, by the end of the novel, Reuben is dead and Judith has surrendered to a mercenary marriage with Bertie Lee-Harrison, an upper-class convert to Judaism – which renders her, like Eliot's Gwendolen Harleth (with whom she is compared by the narrator), no longer 'vital' but 'austere' and 'indifferent' (282, 280, 288, 289). The expensive decor of her fashionable Kensington drawing room includes, among other curios, 'an antique silver *Hanucah* lamp and a spice box, such as the Jews make use of in certain religious services', the narrative voice here indicating Judith's distance from the 'love of *her* race' that had animated her earlier (288; my emphasis). Indeed, it is in this room that Judith realises 'that she was in a fair way

to drift off completely from her own people; they and she were borne on dividing currents', and feels 'a strange fit of home-sickness, an inrushing sense of exile' (289). In marrying Bertie, Judith knows only too well, 'she flew in the face of nature' (278). Like the sociologist Joseph Jacobs, who argued that the 'vital advantages' that explained the survival of the Jews were produced by their social insularity, and were disappearing as 'the bonds of religion and tradition are relaxed', Levy casts Judith's marriage out of the community as a crime against 'nature'.[38] In suggesting that 'that strange, strong instinct' of race holds the key to redemption for degenerate Jews, and is overlooked at their peril, Levy grounds the moral authority of her parable in the discourse of evolutionary science.

'THE SHADOW OF THE HAREM': AMY LEVY AND THE MARRIAGE QUESTION

The figure of the Jewess, then, occupies a key position in Levy's novel. Offering an alternative to the dangerous promises of secular ambition, her beauty is a sign not only of her moral virtue but also of her physiological fitness for procreation. Thus, rather than deconstructing *fin-de-siècle* racial representation, the novel's scientific language underlines the biological 'instincts' that ought to govern Jewish society while critiquing the values of 'modern commercial competition' that do govern it. However, the story of Judith Quixano is also told from the perspective of feminist analysis. It is a narrative dramatisation of the author's diagnosis of the social and political causes of the plight of the contemporary Jewess, which she first articulated in 'Middle-Class Jewish Women of To-Day', an article published anonymously in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1886. Here also, Levy's construction of the Jewess was informed by contemporary social science, particularly as it influenced feminist thought of the 1880s. In this section, I consider the intellectual context of Levy's feminist writing, in order to understand the specific ways it shaped her analysis of Jewish gender relations.

In 'Middle Class Jewish Women of To-Day', as in *Reuben Sachs*, Levy invokes the conflict between modern liberalism and racial imperative. The subjection of women in Jewish society is ascribed a racial cause; Levy asserts that the Jew, 'while in most cases outwardly conforming to the usages of Western civilisation, . . . is, in fact, more Oriental at heart than a casual observer might infer'. The orientalism of the Jew manifests itself particularly in relation to women, on whom, '[f]or a long time, it may be said, the shadow of the harem has rested'. The author laments the fate of the middle-class Jewess, who is taught to suppress 'her healthy, objective activities . . . her

natural employment of her young faculties' and 'to look upon marriage as the only satisfactory termination to her career'. In this, she is governed by mercenary concerns, since Jews 'have not been educated to a high ideal of marriage'. The article deploys an argument common in late Victorian feminist polemic, warning of the detrimental effect on the vitality of the race if women are prohibited from exercising 'natural' political freedoms.[39] Neither western nor modern, Jewish life in this account appears as an atavistic throwback, 'a society constructed on . . . a primitive basis'.[40]

While Levy ends the article declaring that the commodification and social restriction of women flourishes in the Jewish minority 'with more vigour, more pertinacity, over a more wide-spread area, with a deeper root than in any other English Society' she also concedes that it is an 'evil . . . common to all commercial communities'.[41] By linking the oppression of women with capitalism in this essay Levy explicitly articulates the questions that would structure *Reuben Sachs*, published two years later, and locates her critique of the Jewish community within the context of the intense discussions of sexual politics and marriage that flourished in the late 1880s. In the same year that *Reuben Sachs* appeared, Levy's friend Beatrice Potter (later Webb) published her account, commissioned by Charles Booth, of labour relations in the East End of London, emphasising, along the lines of Marx's 'On the Jewish Question', the role of the Jew as a concrete expression of the spirit of economic liberalism in western society. Unlike Potter, who idealises Jewish respect for women and girls, however, Levy links the ruthless individualism of the male Jew with the systematic repression of the Jewess.[42]

As critics have increasingly noted, Levy's representation of Jews is inextricable from the feminist politics that informed much of her oeuvre.[43] While Judith, despite 'her beauty, her intelligence, her power of feeling, saw herself merely as one of a vast crowd of girls awaiting their promotion by marriage', the wealthier women around her are equally passive (209). Judith's pretty cousin Rose declares that '[w]e all have to marry the men we don't care for. I shall, I know, although I have a lot of money' (279). 'No prayer goes up from the synagogue with greater fervour than this', proclaims the narrator of the 'pride of sex' affirmed daily by Jewish men: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord my God, who hast not made me a woman' (214). Judith's destiny is already inscribed on her face, in her 'lustrous, mournful eyes'; her disappointment is anticipated in the pervasive discontent evident in the women of her extended family (204). Reuben's Aunt Ada, for example, has a face of 'haggard gloom' from which 'looked out two dark, restless, miserable eyes: the eyes of a creature in pain. Her dress was rich

but carelessly worn, and about her whole person was an air of neglect' – a futile display of her disregard for consumption (202).

Equally futile, as Meri-Jane Rochelson points out, are the novel's feminist statements, voiced by the gauche, eccentric Esther Kohnthal. Recognising Judith's desolation, Esther tells her that '[w]hen I was a little girl, a little girl of eight years old, I wrote in my prayer-book: "Cursed art Thou, O Lord my God, Who hast the cruelty to make me a woman." And I have gone on saying that prayer all my life – the only one' (265). Yet Esther's mordant words are undercut immediately by the narrator, who describes her as 'self-conscious, melodramatic, anxious for effect' (265), acknowledging with Judith their 'pathetic quality . . . uttered in surroundings where they have no impact'.[44] Although Deborah Epstein Nord locates Levy as part of 'a generation of women who imagined, and for a time lived out, the possibility of social and economic independence',[45] *Reuben Sachs* does not project such a possibility for its heroine, despite her 'strong, slow-growing passions, her strong, slow-growing intellect' (268). Instead, like later New Woman writing, the narrative serves only to 'awaken' Judith from her habit of passivity to a bitter consciousness of her oppression, to feel 'hatred of the position into which she had been forced' (270, 269).[46] Reading Leo Leuniger's copy of Swinburne's poems, Judith finds for the first time an external affirmation of her passionate sensibility, stifled by her life's training 'to treat as absurd any close or strong feeling which had not its foundation in material interests' (269). Although Judith must finally renounce Reuben and be led by her own 'material interests', the end of the novel tempers her utter devastation by leaving her not only an unknowingly expectant mother, but also with 'that quickening of purpose which is perhaps as much as any of us should expect or demand from Fate', as if self-consciousness itself is her reward (293).

Levy's feminism, as well as her racial discourse, draws on an interpretation of Darwin in which, as Emma Francis writes, '[s]exual instinct is envisaged as having a direction and integrity thwarted and compromised by capitalism'.[47] The pessimistic feminist vision that shapes both her fiction and poetry is given its most Darwinian expression in Levy's last published short story, 'Wise in Her Generation' (1890), which appeared posthumously in Oscar Wilde's periodical *Woman's World*. Here, the plot of *Reuben Sachs* is reworked without the final note of existential redemption. In the story, the narrator Virginia Warwick encounters her former lover Philip Shand, an ambitious young barrister who left her a year previously to marry an heiress. In a series of brief episodes Virginia comments sardonically on her love for

Philip and charts the recovery of her self-possession in the development of her friendship with him.

The rhetoric of evolution pervades the text. At a dinner, Philip pompously lectures Virginia on how '[i]n a civilisation like ours . . . You must go with the tide or drift into some stagnant backwater and rot. It's the old story of survival of the fittest' but is disturbed when she imitates his discourse, and finds it unwomanly.[48] Indeed, Virginia has earlier reflected on the social training of women which unfits them for the struggle for survival:

> I wonder, sometimes, that we do not go oftener to the bad, we girls of the well-to-do classes . . . Take a girl in the schoolroom and see what her life is.
>
> A dingy room, dowdy dresses, bread and butter, and governesses! In all the household there is, perhaps, no person of less importance than she. Then, one day, this creature, knowing nothing of the world, and less, if possible, of herself, is launched on the stream of fashionable or pseudo-fashionable life. At what has been hitherto her bedtime, she is arrayed gorgeously, whirled through a gas-lit city, and finally let loose in a crowded ball-room, there to sink or swim (489–90).

Undergoing temptation to go 'to the bad' in a more socially acceptable way, Virginia is being pursued by Sir Guy Ormond, an earnest, dull and very wealthy philanthropist. While remembering but repressing the sexual 'thrill' of her courtship by Philip, she also conveys her new-found self-confidence to the reader in brittle, flippant tones (492). The romance with Sir Guy becomes the 'game . . . which Philip taught me to play last year', and when he proposes 'I had won my game; it only remained for me to stretch out my hand and claim the stakes' (488, 495). But this language also suggests the brutal mating struggle that underlies the genteel competition between the men for her attention.

The complex narrative structure of 'Wise in her Generation' intersperses the narrative of Virginia's courtship with second-person addresses to Philip in which she repeatedly asserts her triumph over him. Yet the story ends with the collapse of her confidence when she refuses Sir Guy's proposal because she does not love him, and realises she has lost both lovers. The story descends into an apocalyptic vision as the narrator looks out of her window onto an urban scene:

> The wind is soft and very sweet; there is no sound save the distant murmur of the Great City.
>
> Black, black in its heart is the City; the blackness of man's heart is revealed in its huge, hideous struggle for existence.
>
> Better be unfit and perish, than survive at such a cost (497).

In the story's final words the narrator tells her maid to shut the window and leave her for the night, an ominous suggestion of her suicidal intention. At the end of *Reuben Sachs*, Judith, trying to assimilate the news of Reuben's death, is similarly bewildered by the incongruity of London's ceaseless vitality: 'The pulses of the great city beat and throbbed; the great tide roared and flowed ever onwards', yet the organic metaphors also anticipate the novel's hopeful announcement, in the last paragraph, of Judith's pregnancy (291). In contrast, Virginia Warwick's London is an arena for the relentless repetition of the 'huge, hideous' Darwinian struggle. The dinners, dances and gallery visits of her civilised world mask its savage motivations. But Virginia is alienated not by the 'struggle for existence' in itself, rather its corruption by materialistic values. Although she knows that she and Philip 'should have been a well-matched pair' the healthy process of sexual selection in 'Wise in her Generation', as in *Reuben Sachs*, is impeded by the social inequality of men and women and by the pressure on both to marry for material gain (495). Virginia Warwick's virginal wisdom is precisely to see the futility of reproductive 'generation'.

The language of social anthropology as well as evolution structured the public debate on marriage in the late 1880s. Galvanised by the sensational revelations of W. T. Stead's articles on the traffic in young girls, female intellectuals of the 1880s had begun to discuss more openly the fears that haunted their view of heterosexual relations.[49] Virginia Warwick's reference to mercenary marriage as a form of 'going to the bad', racily suggesting an analogy between middle-class matrimony and prostitution, echoes the most famous contemporary critique of marriage, published by Mona Caird in the *Westminster Review* in August 1888 when Levy was still working on *Reuben Sachs*. '[O]ur common respectable marriage', Caird wrote, 'upon which the safety of all social existence is supposed to rest . . . is . . . the worst, because the most hypocritical, form of woman-purchase'.[50] Under the present organisation of sexual relations, she insisted, in which women were economically dependent on men, there was 'no reasonable alternative' to mercenary marriage (99). Caird's 'victims' of the social order, the middle-class girls 'whose horizon is as limited as their opportunities, whose views of life are cribbed, cabined, and confined by their surroundings, whose very right and wrong, just and unjust, are chosen for them' (100), are given flesh in Levy's fiction, in Virginia Warwick's 'girls of the well-to-do classes' and in Judith Quixano, typical of 'many women placed as she, [for whom] it is difficult to conceive a training, an existence, more curiously limited, more completely provincial'.[51] But the subjection of women, Caird contended,

must lead to the 'deterior[ation]' of men; it was, crucially, bad policy for the race (101).

Amy Levy's representation of Jews can to some extent be ascribed to the snobbish critique of Jewish 'vulgarity' that was commonplace in her social circle.[52] But her analysis of Jewish society in *Reuben Sachs* was also driven by the intellectual agenda of contemporary liberal feminism. The reason for the novel's location specifically in the milieu of Anglo-Jewry comes into clearer focus in light of the way that discussions of marriage and sexuality in the late 1880s and 90s frequently deployed not only evolutionary terminology, but also an ethnographic framework and comparative reasoning with regard to the position of women in 'savage' and 'civilised' societies. In *Sexual Psychopathology* (1888), for example, Krafft-Ebing began by sketching a teleological history of humankind according to sexual principles: 'primitive' societies were 'shameless'; this was followed by the male-dominated rule of human law, and only Christianity raised women to a level of equality with men by elevating marriage to a 'moral and religious institution'.[53] Familiar from Evangelical rhetoric, this notion now carried the authority of sexual science. In Mona Caird's 'Marriage', the argument for supersession, according to which '[i]t is usual to trace all improvements in the position of women to Christianity', was subjected to radical attack. The Hindu text 'Institutes of Manu', which advocated the worship of a husband 'like a god' by his wife, regardless of his vices, would outrage the English reader, she wrote, yet 'this is precisely the doctrine that English wives have been taught from time immemorial, though in language which veils the admonition in a manner necessary for the protection of modern sensibilities. We like to have our survivals of barbarous old doctrine expressed with true refinement.'[54] While mocking the notion of Christian supersession, Caird's feminist argument is nonetheless underpinned by an analogy between 'barbarous' Eastern doctrine and respectable Western matrimony, in which the subjection of women is seen as an atavistic 'survival' of savagery in modern society.[55]

Indeed, the vocabulary of Victorian social reform was, Antoinette Burton notes, 'steeped in racial metaphors and civilizing tropes, to which the emerging discourses of social Darwinism and institutional anthropology added their share'. Caird's strategy was typical of feminist writers, for whom the figure of the Eastern female was conceptually foundational. In order to comprehend and articulate their own claim to emancipation, liberal feminists, like Evangelical activists earlier in the century, frequently relied on descriptions of '"Oriental" women as prisoners of the harem, suffocated by religious custom and at the mercy of brutish husbands'. Such depictions 'furnished a didactic contrast . . . as exaggerated and threatening examples of the limits

imposed on women's freedom in "uncivilized" countries'.[56] Although Amy Levy, like Beatrice Potter, regarded Jewish society as embodying the spirit of modern western capitalism, she also adopted the ethnological perspective of the Woman Question debate. In this context, Levy's 'Oriental' Jews, whose women live under 'the shadow of the harem', represent what would have been for liberal feminist thinkers an exemplary 'survival' of 'barbarous' society.

What has also gone unnoticed in accounts of Levy is the way that her representation of the Jewish woman draws on existing literary narratives of the Jewess. It updates in feminist terms the paradigm popularised by earlier nineteenth-century Evangelical novels, in which the Jewish woman was consistently presented as particularly oppressed and particularly in need of salvation. *Reuben Sachs*' repeated references to the physical debility and exceptional misery of the Jewish woman – Reuben's aunt Rebecca, for example, who sits apart from the rest of the family, because she is 'unmarried, and hated the position with the frank hatred of the women of her race, for whom it is a peculiarly unenviable one' – suggests the ways that *fin-de-siècle* feminist constructions of Judaism were perpetuating early Victorian Christian models (213). This influence is most striking in the scene in *Reuben Sachs* that takes place on the Day of Atonement in the Upper Berkeley Street synagogue. Here, surrounded by a congregation disheartened by 'the rigours and *longeurs* [sic] of the day' Judith 'went through her devotion upheld by that sense of fitness, of obedience to law and order, which characterized her every action' (228, 229). Judith's pharisaical attention to ritual observance typifies her unacknowledged discontent:

> [t]hese prayers, read so diligently, in a language of which her knowledge was exceedingly imperfect, these reiterated praises of an austere tribal deity, these expressions of a hope whose consummation was neither desired nor expected [for restoration to Zion], what connection could they have with the personal needs, the human longings of this touchingly ignorant and limited creature? (230).

Levy here replicates the Christian critique of Judaism, which regarded it as law-bound and lacking in spiritual sustenance, and the context recalls Evangelical narratives of Jewish conversion. Moreover, while the synagogue service leaves others, like Reuben, 'bored, resigned', it is Judith's 'longings' as an emotional but repressed woman that reveal the full deficiency of Jewish religious practice. Of Esther, who refuses altogether to attend synagogue, the narrator archly comments: 'She, poor soul, was of those who deny utterly the existence of the Friend of whom she stood so sorely in need' (230). Amy Levy's feminism, then, is not so much Jewish as Christian.[57] In

suggesting an analogy between masculine Jewish law and the social and legal repression of women, Levy both picks up on and modernises Evangelical women's constructions of Judaism.

The extent of Levy's debt to Christian literary tradition, as well as her departure from it, is clarified by a comparison with Violet Guttenberg's explicitly conversionist *Neither Jew Nor Greek: A Story of Jewish Social Life* (1902). Guttenberg's text relies heavily on *Reuben Sachs* for its portrait of Celia Franks, a Jewess marked out by her fair, 'Grecian' beauty and refinement, whose capacities are constrained by the philistinism and materialism of Maida Vale Jewry.[58] In *Neither Jew Nor Greek*, Levy's synagogue scene is developed into an extended narrative of the heroine's dawning realisation of the spiritual inadequacy of Jewish worship. Hoping to be 'impressed' by 'the ancient customs of her people', Celia instead feels 'keen disappointment'. Her 'well-trained ear' is offended by the dissonant strains of the choir, the ritual appears to her 'droll' and the congregation seem bored, indifferent or more interested in each others' attire. What is particularly frustrating is the distance between Old Testament Judaism and contemporary Anglo-Jewry: 'It might have been impressive had they worn the flowing garments of the ancient East; but silk hats, frock coats, and praying shawls in combination, seemed to her grotesque.' Middle-class London Jewry is here represented as fallen from its 'majestic' oriental grandeur into a 'grotesque', parodic hybrid.[59] Guttenberg's case for conversion does not, like earlier narratives, focus on the religious pedantry of the Jews, but rather the desacralising effect of their assimilation.

In *Neither Jew Nor Greek*, the synagogue scene presages Celia's rebellion against and eventual conversion from Judaism, to Christianity. As for earlier Evangelical writers, the malaise of the Jewess was evidently considered to be a promising ground for encouraging converts amongst female Jewry. In 'Middle Class Jewish Women of To-Day', Levy argues in a similar vein that Jewish women's greater discontent made them 'more readily adaptable, more eager to absorb the atmosphere around them' than men. Harbingers of modernity, evolutionary avant-gardists, they alone offer the potential for Jewish regeneration. Yet it is not religious conversion to which Levy's middle-class Jewesses are more amenable; instead they have, she argues, 'in many cases outstripped their brothers in culture'.[60] In *Reuben Sachs* this is exemplified when Judith, seeking consolation after her abandonment by Reuben, finds it unexpectedly in English poetry. Mechanically reading through Swinburne's 'Triumph of Time' she experiences a secular revelation when she finds her longings – 'feelings which had not their basis in material relationships' – at last legitimised: 'Clever men, men of

distinction, recognized them, treated them as of paramount importance' (269). For a moment at least, in owning the importance of 'feelings', Judith escapes the dominance of her devotion to Reuben and implicitly challenges his calculating ambition. Transcending the 'primitive' fixation on the physical that limits the bourgeois Jewish world around her, Judith's adaptability, her affinity for the values of high culture, is seen to lead from her Sephardic racial heritage and to culminate in her passionate female sensibility.

If there is any redemptiveness in Amy Levy's vision, then, it is in the figure of the Jewess. Unlike Cohen of Trinity and Virginia Warwick in Levy's despairing last writings, Judith Quixano retains something of the spirit of the conquering martyr from her literary genealogy in early Victorian conversion narrative. Rewriting that narrative, Levy views the Jewish woman as a figure of redemption for the uncivilised 'Oriental' Jews, not because of her greater propensity for Christian conversion but because she is more open to 'culture' and thus modernisation. Far from simply replicating anti-Jewish stereotypes, then, Levy deploys *both* the antisemitism and philosemitism of the Protestant tradition of ambivalence. In Levy's narrative of the Jewish woman, moreover, the racialised terms of 1880s feminism are evident. In the figure of the 'adaptable' Jewess, Levy allows a tentative expression of the redemptive rhetoric of late Victorian feminism, which insisted that materialism and patriarchy worked against the good of the race, and invested women with the power to impel racial progress.[61] In common with a number of late Victorian feminists, she places the moralising role assigned to women in nineteenth-century religious discourse within a secular, evolutionary narrative.[62] As Angelique Richardson summarises, 'degeneration was a masculine narrative, while regeneration was feminine'.[63] Or, as a character in Sarah Grand's novel *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) remarks, 'I believe myself that all this unrest and rebellion against the old established abuses amongst women is simply an effort of nature to improve the race.'[64]

'EASTERN VIRILITY': GENDER AND RACE IN JULIA FRANKAU'S *DR PHILLIPS*

The publication in 1891 of *Violet Moses* by Leonard Merrick, also an assimilated Jewish writer, signalled a shift in the focus of the Jewish novel on the suffering of a Jewess at the hands of Jewish men to the suffering of a gentile woman at the hands of the Jews. Violet, Merrick's cultured Christian heroine, is the vehicle for another critique of Anglo-Jewish decadence charged with both religious and racial antagonism.[65] The novel's literary progenitor

was Julia Frankau's successful and notorious *Dr Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll* (1887).[66] Writing under the male, gentile pseudonym Frank Danby, Frankau published this, her first book, with her friend George Moore's publisher Henry Vizetelly, who was prosecuted several times in the 1880s for publishing translations of Zola.[67] Whereas Amy Levy rewrote the Anglo-Jewish novel in the mode of New Woman fiction, Frankau's novels were to reference French naturalism, in particular Zola's themes of prostitution and hereditary degeneration.[68] *Dr Phillips* was criticised in these terms and Frankau issued an expurgated version for the second edition. In recent scholarship, the novel has emerged as a foil to *Reuben Sachs* – distinctive in particular for the way its racial politics display 'Jewish self-hatred'.[69] The following reading seeks instead to understand the novel as a highly allusive mutation of the *fin-de-siècle* literary critique of Jewish patriarchy, which draws on a rich seam of nineteenth-century semitic discourse. Considering *Dr Phillips* alongside Frankau's other novels of the *fin de siècle*, moreover, I show how her use of 'racial gothic' imagery serves to reinforce a concern – shared with liberal feminists – with the vulnerable bodies of England's women.

From the opening description of a Maida Vale house in which 'the furniture looked as if it were on view' and a Jewish girl who 'wore her clothes awkwardly, as the room wore its furniture', Frankau's satire establishes the same targets of conspicuous and uneasy consumption as *Reuben Sachs*.[70] *Dr Phillips* goes on to depict the sexual dimensions of Anglo-Jewish acquisitiveness, setting the protagonist's desire for physical luxury against his potential for intellectual achievement. Abandoning the rigours of a career in surgery, Benjamin Phillips succumbs to the ease and licence of a lucrative Maida Vale medical practice from which '[h]e made money, bought a carriage for his wife, and Mrs Cameron for himself' (20). Phillips's beautiful gentile mistress Mary Cameron is his prize possession, the symbol of his prosperity and of his aspiration towards a life outside the enclosed world of Anglo-Jewry. Locating himself ambivalently, like Reuben Sachs, between his professional career and his domestic life – 'the ties . . . binding him to his Jewish brethren, his Jewish wife, his Jewish patients' – Dr Phillips remains 'in them, not entirely of them', 'a curiously complex character' whose material and sexual desires compel him to transgress social boundaries (175, 141, 57).

The novel's moral economy is directed by a familiar visual semiotics of race. The overdressed, overweight, bad-tempered, card-playing Jewesses of Maida Vale are contrasted strikingly with the blonde, blue-eyed Mary Cameron, who looks 'like a grown-up cherub' and a 'perfect lady', and

'moved among the dark skinned women like the moon in a starry sky' (30, 8, 6). Unlike the parasitic 'women, his wife, his patients, and others, [who] clung round him and were gradually killing his heart and mind and conscience', Mary has the potential to save the doctor, to distract him from his instinctive pursuit of sensual and intellectual excitement by becoming the 'sole outlet for all the energies of his intricate mind' (20, 77). In fact, the narrator notes, in Phillips 'but for his race training and instincts all would have been good' (90). In the novel's subplot, the romance between Florrie Collings, a young Jewish girl, and her gentile lover Alec Murphy, Frankau also foregrounds the contrasting physique of Jew and non-Jew. The athletic, country-bred Alec assures his cousin Charlie that 'Jew men are cads; and they can't do anything. They may have brains. What's the good of brains? They haven't got muscles, they haven't got pluck, and they haven't got breeding', and the narrator endorses this view by describing Alec and Charlie as 'good hearted, clean living young fellows with more muscle than brain, but perhaps little the worse for that' (61, 62). The deep tradition in nineteenth-century European culture of the Jew's exclusion from the ideology of adventure, martial athleticism and gentlemanliness is here given an English accent.[71] In contrast to *Reuben Sachs*, Frankau's narrator approvingly depicts the efforts that some Jews are making 'to struggle against this race barrier, and with a modicum of success. But they have much to contend against' (47).

Indeed, it is to his racial nature that Dr Phillips's capabilities and vices are attributed. Considering himself enlightened, the doctor scorns what he considers the 'exploded traditions invented by fools for fools', yet the 'primitive' character of the Jew is undeniably visible in his own body (19). His appearance is vulpine, slender and stooping – 'a very ugly man' whose 'features were hidden beneath wiry black hair' (17). At the same time, his Jewish brains, both intellectual and intuitive, make him a gifted physician who can 'read life or death on a patient's face with unerring instinct' (56). Phillips's skill is both sensory and psychological: 'the magnetic touch of his smooth palmed hands had a remarkable power of nerve soothing. He had the faculty of at once exciting and gratifying the imagination' (35). Anticipating the menacing mesmeric force of du Maurier's Svengali, he possesses 'a singular galvanic power', an uncanny 'animal magnetism' to which women are particularly susceptible (20, 166).

But if Phillips's Jewish intellect once promised a glittering career in the medical world, it is now his 'Jewish love of comfort' that it serves: 'his character retrograded . . . It was no trouble to him to extend his practice and his income. Women liked him naturally and his adaptable

nature enabled him to secure and utilise that liking . . . [he] degenerated into the pet of Maida Vale drawing rooms' (20). Phillips's degeneration begins, the narrator asserts, with his entry into matrimony for mercenary reasons: 'the luxurious prostitution of his marriage had developed in him an Eastern virility that brooked no denial. His nature craved excitement' (77). Reverting involuntarily to his Jewish 'nature', Phillips indulges in sexual intrigue, stock market speculation, and, in his professional life, 'commenced to play with his knowledge . . . he sported with the King of Terrors and gambled with humanity' (77). Phillips judaises medicine, turning it into an extension of the Maida Vale card parties. At the novel's climax, when he murders his wife while she is unconscious following an ovarian operation, the doctor's response is chillingly intellectual: although her death liberates him to marry the woman he loves he feels instead 'nothing but satisfaction and pride; deep seated professional pride in his manual skill' (244). The contrast between cerebral Jew and physical gentile in *Dr Phillips* is thus moral as well as corporeal.

In *Dr Phillips* Frankau brings together a number of strands in what H. L. Malchow has termed 'racial gothic' discourse to construct her repulsive and compelling protagonist.[72] The figure of the malevolent Jewish doctor, John Efron argues, has a long European provenance and was still in wide circulation at the end of the century: 'the deep association of Jews with magic and sorcery made Jewish physicians, in Christian eyes, uniquely qualified to heal in a paranormal way . . . the mystique that enveloped the Jewish doctor served to make him feared yet desirable at one and the same time'.[73] Thus, in Frankau's novel, Dr Phillips 'sported with the King of Terrors' – consorting with the devil like his medieval fictional predecessors. At the same time, Phillips's serpentine charm is an aspect of his 'adaptable nature', here not only a Darwinian reference but also an allusion to the alleged superficiality of 'the Jew', his servile mimicry of a world that he could never truly enter.[74] Most significant of all, however, is Frankau's use of the notion of the perverse sexuality of the Jewish male, a pervasive European stereotype that surfaced in Britain a year later in rumours about the Jewish identity of the perpetrator of the brutal 'Jack the Ripper' murders.[75]

The predatory sexuality of Dr Phillips is well matched by that of his cynical, manipulative mistress Mary Cameron; their mutually self-serving compact of sex and money is at the heart of the novel's satirical thrust. While his iniquity is ascribed to his race, hers is shown to be the result of her early life as a working-class woman to whom material deprivation taught an attitude of 'bitter and callous defiance of the world' (36). Yet by focalising the narrative through Mary Cameron, Frankau lays particular emphasis on the monstrosity of Jewish masculinity. The narrator frequently

commiserates with the woman whose obligations to the benefactor who relieved her of both poverty and virtue are so demeaning: 'Poor woman, wearied to death after sitting three or four hours in an overheated room with the cards swimming before her tired eyes, she had to remain an hour or perhaps two hours more enduring this travesty of domesticity [with Dr Phillips] and yearning, half asleep, for her hour of deliverance' (55). The narrative evokes sympathy for Mary specifically by appealing to the reader's sexual repugnance at Phillips 'stroking [her] white flesh with his supple fingers'; the 'rough feel of a coarse beard scouring her soft cheek' increasingly appears as a racial violation, as does her giving birth to a 'dark skinned' baby (212, 167, 109).[76] Mary's neglect of her infant daughter, deception of Dr Phillips and final betrayal of him for a rich marriage are described as 'utterly heartless and shameless', but her deep-seated disgust at the Jews is shared also by the narrator (190).

The novel, then, establishes a framework of sexual exploitation in which the vulnerable Mary is drawn into a life of vice by Dr Phillips's use of his 'cogent logic' to persuade her to live as his mistress (36). This theme is continued in the scene in which Phillips murders his wife Clothilde 'on the bed that had been his nuptial bed', thinking just before injecting her with a grain of morphia 'of his wedding night' (231). Phillips's perverse sexuality is part of the novel's depiction of Jewish sexual relations as haunted by the shadow of the oriental harem; this encompasses both the patriarchalism that keeps Florrie Collings 'jealously guarded' and Phillips's own view of women as 'subordinate beings made but for one purpose, born with but one mission' (148, 199). It is in these terms that he justifies to himself the murder of his infertile wife, whose 'life – according to his conception of woman's life – was over and there was naught before her but pain for the present, disappointment for the future, and uselessness for ever' (257). Phillips's materialist attitude to women is shown to lead directly to the more general disregard for human life that, at the end of the novel, is the ultimate articulation of his 'Eastern virility'.

In this way, while Mary's abandonment of Phillips at the tragic denouement of the novel finally frees him from her 'insidious influence', it precipitates only a reversion to the more vicious aspects of his Jewish nature (276). The final chapter sees Phillips given utterly to his 'ambition' and to his desire for intellectual excitement (284). At the same time, the narrator also blames Phillips's final moral dissipation on the Jewish community, which casts him out because of their 'intolerance, which they carry into small matters as into large, that is thinning their ranks and driving day by day a larger number of their once united body into the vast ranks of the unacknowledged, there to be absorbed into the multitude, and their very

name of Jew forgotten' (280). Such assimilation is seen, in the final pages of the novel, in a much less positive light than in its opening endorsement of the struggle against the 'race barrier'. Indeed, if Phillips is liberated from Mary's insidious influence, being ostracised by the Jewish community also unleashes him from the tradition-bound ethos that had kept in check the full expression of his 'Eastern virility' (276, 282). Now it is given free rein:

> The rage for surgical interference which is overriding the pharmacopoeia and demoralising the physicians of today has no keener champion than Benjamin Phillips. A terrible curiosity to unveil the mysteries of nature, and absolute disregard for human life, characterise the surgeon whose magisterial aphorism to his pupils runs: 'When in doubt, operate. You may save life; you are certain to acquire knowledge.'
>
> Dr Slate is an old man now, but Benjamin Phillips lives to carry on his work, to unsex woman [sic] and maim men; to be a living testimony of manual dexterity and moral recklessness (284).

Following the murder of his wife, Phillips had been racked with guilt, but calmed himself by reasoning that just as he had been able to emancipate himself from the 'mummeries' of Jewish religious belief as a younger man, he would soon be able to cast off more recent moral scruples (246). And by the end of the novel, the assimilating Jewish doctor has brought his amoral Jewish intellectuality and sexual perversity to bear on the discipline of medicine itself, leading a degenerate, 'demoralising' movement in contemporary science. As Meri-Jane Rochelson has written, in *Dr Phillips* the late-nineteenth-century expansion of surgery is presented as 'the outgrowth of specifically Jewish power in the professions and, in the havoc it wreaks on ordinary gender categories, the destructive power of Jews allowed to enter the social mainstream'.[77] In particular, Frankau gives expression to the *fin-de-siècle* association between Jews and materialist science that was to be most notoriously posited in Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character* (1903). Arguing that the pathological nature of the Jew manifests itself specifically within the medical sciences, where the Jewish effort to understand everything robs the world of its mystery, Weininger calls the materialist tendency of modern medicine 'Jewification'.[78] In contrast to Reuben Sachs, whose weak body cannot survive the struggle for existence, Dr Phillips is an 'adaptable' and sinister, if tragic survivor, whose moral degeneration is not only suited to the decadent modern spirit of his time, but actively impels it.

For the character of Dr Phillips, Frankau may have been drawing on the historical figure of Ernest Hart, the celebrated Anglo-Jewish surgeon and

editor of the *British Medical Journal* at the time of the novel's publication. Hart was known for his love of luxury and had temporarily resigned his position in 1869 under suspicion of misappropriating British Medical Association funds; more significantly, perhaps, his first wife Rosetta had died in 1861 of 'accidental poisoning', giving rise to speculation about Hart's involvement in her death.[79] Frankau's melodramatic vision in *Dr Phillips* of a malevolent physician who 'unsexes' women, however, also positions the novel within the broader current of controversy about surgical intervention and the female body in the 1880s, when gynaecologists were frequently charged specifically with 'unsexing' women. Ovariotomists were linked with vivisectionists, whose empiricist approach was seen to reduce the body to a devalued object.[80]

In this context, it is likely that Frankau's literary source for Dr Phillips and his 'absolute disregard for human life' was the gothic villain at the centre of Wilkie Collins's *Heart and Science* (1883), the charismatic vivisector Dr Nathan Benjulia (himself based on the notorious Emanuel Klein, lecturer in histology at St Bartholomew's Hospital).[81] Although Benjulia's Jewishness is never stated as such, his name and his racialised appearance clearly suggest it. Benjulia, who dresses 'recklessly' like a dandy, is a kind of diabolic Disraeli, tall and 'hideously' thin, with a dark complexion, 'massive forehead' and fingers that 'felt like satin when they touched you'. The novel's description of Benjulia notes his theory that 'a head-dress should be solid enough to resist a chance blow – a fall from a horse, or the dropping of a loose brick from a house under repair. His hard black hat, broad and curly at the brim, might have graced the head of a bishop, if it had not been secularised by a queer resemblance to the bell-shaped hat worn by dandies in the early years of the present century'.[82] Anxiously protecting his head from injury, Benjulia is the high priest of heartless cerebrality. Nothing moves him except his quest for an understanding of brain disease, in the cause of which he experiments upon animals. He declares:

> I am working for my own satisfaction – for my own pride – for my own unutterable pleasure in beating other men – for the fame that will keep my name living hundreds of years hence . . . I say with my foreign brethren – knowledge for its own sake is the one god I worship. Knowledge is its own justification and its own reward. The roaring mob follows us with its cry of Cruelty. We pity their ignorance. Knowledge sanctifies cruelty![83]

Benjulia's veneration of intellect is a reformulation of the Christian critique of Jewish 'legalism'; since he is incapable of spirituality, it is his only hope of immortality.

In line with one of the key arguments of feminist anti-vivisectionists of the period, Benjulia's cruelty also manifests itself in his pleasure in tormenting girls and women, supposedly for the purpose of advancing his knowledge of physiology.[84] By appropriating sado-masochistic tropes from contemporary pornography, what Collins sought to reveal in *Heart and Science*, argues Coral Lansbury, were 'the sexual imperatives directing the vivisector's hand'.[85] For Julia Frankau it is a minimal adaptation to turn the un-English vivisector into a drawing-room gynaecologist, enhancing Collins's ascription of sexual sadism to his Jewish protagonist. This literary line of descent was recognised by the Anglo-Jewish writer and critic Israel Zangwill, whose satirical ballad 'Dr Reuben Green. A Study of the Maida Vale Jewish Colony. By Amy Danby', published in the *Jewish Standard* in 1889, exaggerated the criticisms of Anglo-Jewish materialism and immorality voiced by Amy Levy and 'Frank Danby', in the riotous story of an adulterous Jewish veterinary surgeon who dissects his wives in the cause of furthering his scientific wisdom.[86] In Frankau's text, however, the tone is far less flippant. The rhetorical strategies of *Dr Phillips* reconstruct the figure of the Jew as a threat in particular to women. If 'intellect', for Amy Levy, is conjoined with 'culture' and associated with the assimilatory capacities of the Jewess, for Frankau it is conjoined with 'science' and associated with the destructive 'ambition' of the Jewish male. In *Dr Phillips*, then, the preoccupation of the ethnographic novel of Jewish life with the themes of Jewish degeneration and female subjection converges with anti-intellectual, anti-science tendencies in 1880s culture.

Julia Frankau's subsequent novels continued to thematise race, sexuality and degeneration with hyperbolic alarmism. Banned by Mudie's Library, *A Babe in Bohemia* (1889) depicts the deformation wrought by modern London upon the wholesome hero, Rolly Lewesham, and his offspring. London's 'noxious atmosphere' manifests itself in the degenerate – presumably syphilitic – bodies of Rolly's children, Lucilla and the epileptic Marius, in whose physical and mental debility Rolly sees 'an embodied sin . . . also his frail young mother's transmitted revenge'.[87] Drawing on the language of both science and religion, Frankau's prurient portrait of an urban space teeming with sexual danger, a city of 'sinful aristocrats' and 'poor strayed' women, in which the innocent Lucilla is 'lost from her birth . . . vanished in the abyss, swallowed up in the darkness', reflects the media fixation in the late 1880s on 'darkest London' and the medical discourse on urban degeneration and heredity that was becoming popularly disseminated at the same time.[88] Condemned by her Lamarckian inheritance of urban corruption, Lucilla eventually commits suicide, believing herself to be 'stamped and

birthmarked . . . as the instincts of her womanhood to light and joy rose in her, she felt permeated with the stain that had filtered through her entire system'.[89]

Frankau's gothic tropes of degeneration are once again racialised in her Boer War novel *Pigs in Clover* (1903). Here, in an echo of Lucilla's sacrificial suicide, the heroine Joan de Groot, an English imperialist novelist, falls fatally victim to the sadistic manipulations of her Jewish lover and becomes tainted by his atavistic sexuality. By the end of the century, the figure of the villainous Jew who poses a special threat to British women had surfaced in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), George du Maurier's *Trilby* (1894), Marie Corelli's *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895) and, figuratively, in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).[90] The latter, in particular, has been seen as encoding anxieties about Jewish immigration.[91] If, in *Dr Phillips*, Frankau sought to distance herself from her own Jewish origins, increasing hostility to Jews at the time of the war may have motivated the even fiercer patriotism that this novel evinces.[92]

In *Pigs in Clover* Frankau links patriotism with a chivalric attitude towards women. Karl Althaus, a benevolent Jewish capitalist who dedicates himself to the cause of the empire and the defence of womankind, is contrasted with his adoptive brother, the financier Louis Althaus, son of a Polish-Jewish immigrant and his prostitute mistress, who is driven by less civilised instincts to be both 'lecherous' and 'treacherous'.[93] Louis's politically subversive and cosmopolitan rather than national loyalties are reiterated in his 'sympathetic, adaptive faculty, one of the secrets of his successes with women', in an echo of Dr Phillips (287). The 'strong and self-reliant and powerful' Joan de Groot, whose book on the Boers had galvanised imperialist fervour, is seduced by Louis, who appropriates the energies of her patriotic ardour, undermining her capacity to write and thus fight for Britain (120). *Pigs in Clover* suggests that while Britain's imperial supremacy may be bolstered by Jewish capital, its body and spirit stand to be undermined by Jewish immigration. Focused around the imperial trope of endangered white womanhood, Frankau's novel, like many others of the period, reflects the atmosphere in which the 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was conducted, its emphasis on Jews and prostitutes singling out the racial and sexual threats posed to the nation.[94] For in arousing her sexual passion, Louis, the novel suggests, has judaised Joan – has provoked in her a reversion to primitive sexual instinct: 'The panther in Louis, the mere beast she saw too. *And the beast within her leapt to it!*' (371, original emphasis). She kills herself acknowledging that 'the enemy was within, not without, it was herself she had to fight, not Louis' – a metonym

for an imperilled, vulnerable Britain (369). In *Pigs in Clover* an emphasis on Jewish sexual exploitation is given a national context and eugenic overtones.

By contrast, Frankau's 1906 novel *The Sphinx's Lawyer* reintroduces the (Sephardic) Jewish woman as a figure of moral redemption. Here, the narrative of the Jewess is framed within a larger tale of the relationship between a dissolute lawyer, Errington Welch-Kennard and Sybil, widow of Algernon Heseltine, an intellectual genius, 'moral invalid' and leader of a 'brilliant, bestial set . . . ever more daring and triumphant in their vices' that led to his degradation and downfall.[95] Frankau's evidently ambivalent fascination with the figure of Oscar Wilde underlies the story of Heseltine's protégé, Kenny du Gore, an aristocratic wastrel whom Kennard undertakes to save from a life of corruption in penance for his own participation in Heseltine's vicious circle. This he achieves indirectly through Kenny's miserable estranged wife, the fiery-tempered Jewess Lilian Henry. Kenny had impulsively married her with the expectation of inheriting her father's fortune, but the marriage faltered as Kenny grew frustrated with his wife's angry pride at her Jewish ancestry. When Errington meets her he is dazzled:

> In the vague picture that had formed itself in his mind, the daughter of Manny Henry had figured, aquiline, angular, semitic, with the typical *gaucherie* of the High School girl. Lilian du Gore, seated opposite to him at the dinner-table, that dinner-table without flowers, loaded with dull silver, Georgian, but badly cleaned, was as beautiful as Esther must have been, or as the Rachel for whom Jacob worked his fourteen weary years. And vaguely, whimsically, it was Ahasuerus or Jacob that Errington wished he might play to-night. Manny Henry's ancestors must have been Spanish or Portuguese Jews. Errington, listening to the little boy [the du Gore's son], answering him, playing his part well, was nevertheless all the time occupied in trying to find the exact adjective to describe her colouring. It was like pale meerschaum, he finally decided, ivory, golden-smoked, tinted. It deepened round the eyes into dark shades that accentuated those eyes' depths. Only the lips made a dash of scarlet amid the browns and blacks of that murky hair and skin. Crumpled, and scarlet, and soft, the lips broke over the dazzling teeth.
>
> . . .
>
> She was not well-bred, she lacked self-restraint. But, what a grace there was in her swift movements, how alluring were the soft liquid eyes when the light of indignation shone in their depths! (238, 242).

Constructing Lilian's image stroke by painterly stroke under his gaze, Errington figures her in terms of the decadent indulgences of tobacco, lowlife dirt and disarray, and then proceeds to remodel her, taking new pleasure in taming the temper he finds so alluring. The proverbial Hebrew

Bible beauties are here invoked only to be dismissed in the cause of Errington's programme of re-education. Under his tutelage, Lilian learns how to be the kind of wife who, far from provoking desire, now inspires men to moral reform. She learns 'self-restraint', to control her rage, to arrange flowers, to dress less flamboyantly, and '[s]he gathered so soon, on so slight a hint, that it was unnecessary to intrude her race and religion constantly upon the attention of her chance acquaintances' (252). Lilian's lessons in femininity are thus elided with her Anglicisation; she is applauded in particular by the narrator because '[h]er life was a continual fight against herself' (273). In subduing Lilian, Errington learns to curtail his own lascivious inclinations: Lilian's transformative powers work not only on her errant husband but also on her erring mentor. Realising the redemptive role suggested by the figures of Lucilla Lewesham and Joan de Groot in Frankau's earlier novels, the Jewess in *The Sphinx's Lawyer* embodies the conservative rhetoric of femininity that provides a moral structure for her fiction.

In Frankau's writing on Jews, then, the tropes of the conversion narrative take several different directions. In *Dr Phillips*, the notion of Oriental patriarchalism that was ubiquitous in nineteenth-century representations of Jewish life is developed to create a new kind of villain, whose 'Eastern virility', flourishing through the medium of modern science, constitutes a threat not only to Jewish women but to women more generally. In *Pigs in Clover*, the sexually charismatic Jewish immigrant is also imagined as a violator of English womanhood, inducing a kind of conversion to Jewish atavism. In the context of debate about Jewish immigration to Britain, Frankau adapted the 'Jewish novel' to produce a political parable about racial contamination. Mobilising the imagery of 1890s eugenic theory, in which women occupied the key imperial role of 'carriers of the race', Frankau's vulnerable heroines are figured as potential agents of degeneration.[96] Within the same eugenic logic, however, women were also potential saviours of the nation, and in *The Sphinx's Lawyer* Frankau returns to the traditional narrative of the suffering Jewish woman, whose capacity for Anglicisation becomes a model for and influence on the decadent English ruling class. Her oeuvre suggests the continuing interdependence of the stereotypes of the irredeemable Jewish male and the redemptive Jewess.

CONCLUSION

Produced overwhelmingly by assimilated Jewish writers, the numerous satirical novels of Jewish life that appeared in the 1880s and 1890s constituted an emphatic rejection of the 'apologetic' tradition of Anglo-Jewish

writing established earlier in the century. At the same time, however, they were very much in conformity with the dominant discourses of social science that shaped contemporary understandings of Judaism and Jewish society. Moreover, representing Jews had an urgent political context. In Britain, as Mitchell Hart has argued for nineteenth-century Europe, 'the racial and anthropological discourse on Jews had its impetus . . . in the struggles over emancipation, assimilation and national identity that came to be identified as "the Jewish Question"'.[97] In Britain, in the 1890s, the Jewish question addressed the anxieties of a nation encountering both democracy and declining imperial hegemony. Novels of Jewish life, reaching beyond an analysis simply of Jewish society per se, repeatedly articulate a tension between the liberal possibilities that modernity seemed to offer and the suspicion that the determinism of 'race' would undermine them.

This tension, I have argued, is characteristically expressed around the nexus of sex and the racial body. Transforming the tradition of the English conversion romance into a vehicle for engaging with contemporary controversy on marriage and sexuality, the fiction of Amy Levy, Julia Frankau and their contemporaries depicts Jewish society as a paradigm of patriarchy and the exploitation of women. They suggest the inexorability of Jewish degeneration; but at the same time, their narratives also serve to lend authority to their different conceptualisations of gender. For Levy, invoking the moral rights of women enables a critique of capitalism, for Frankau, it is part of an imperialist and implicitly eugenic discourse. Such arguments derive both from high intellectual and popular currents in the gender debate, in which the figure of woman is the key to racial de- or re-generation. Offering an exemplary narrative of female subjection linked on the one hand to the archaic structure of 'Oriental' societies and on the other to its modern manifestation in the capitalist marriage market, the novel of Jewish marriage displaced onto the Anglo-Jewish milieu broader *fin-de-siècle* preoccupations with the relationship between social progress and race.

Leo Leuniger's comment in *Reuben Sachs* that 'we have outlived, from the nature of things, such ideals as we ever had' draws on contemporary theories of degeneration to link Jewish racial decline with the advance of liberal progress. But it also grafts the discourse of racial degeneration onto an older, Christian construction of Jews as having lost the opportunity for salvation and therefore as languishing in spiritual stagnation. If, as Sander Gilman has argued, '[t]he theological model of the Fall as the wellspring of history with its culmination in Christ's sacrifice served as an explanation

for human degeneration (from the preadamic state) and regeneration',[98] the *fin-de-siècle* scientific understanding of Jews as degenerate relies, itself, on a more deeply embedded idea of the Jews as fundamentally fallen. In *fin-de-siècle* romances of Jewish patriarchalism, then, theological tradition and contemporary science converge, suggesting the persistence of Christian constructions of Judaism in a secularising age.

7

Conclusion: neither wild thing nor tame

I cannot remember my country,
  The land whence I came;
Whence they brought me and chained me and made me
  Nor wild thing nor tame.

This only I know of my country
  This only repeat: –
It was free as the forest, and sweeter
  Than woodland retreat.

When the chain shall at last be broken,
  The window set wide;
And I step in the largeness and freedom
  Of sunlight outside;

Shall I wander in vain for my country?
  Shall I seek and not find?
Shall I cry for the bars that encage me,
  The fetters that bind?[1]

Amy Levy's posthumously published poem 'Captivity' (1889) meditates on the fate of the caged lion and bird which, having strained against their confinements, are unable when freed to live without them. In these last four stanzas, the poem moves into the first-person lyric voice and takes on broader allegorical connotations. The theme of captivity invokes, as Cynthia Scheinberg argues, the tradition of Hebrew poetry on the pain of Jewish exile.[2] But the metaphor of enchainment also links Levy's writing to the imagery of the Anglo-Jewish emancipation campaign in the 1830s and 40s, and the Christian and abolitionist rhetoric that stood behind it. What is noticeable in Levy's poem, moreover, in contrast to the literature I have examined earlier in this study, is the more or less overt suggestion of an analogy between the politics of women's and Jewish emancipation. Both, however, produce not expectations of millennial transformation but profound uncertainties. Untethered, the speaker feels neither exhilaration

nor restoration but that her relationship to her origins is attenuated beyond recovery. What is also immediately apparent in 'Captivity' is the capacity of the lyric voice to articulate a self-conscious consideration of what twenty-first-century readers would call Jewish identity. In the self-addressed queries of these closing stanzas, more directly than any of the narrative texts I have discussed in this study, the poem examines the subjective – rather than collective – experience of constraint and liberation and leaves it as an unresolved, even barely comprehended, question.

That questions of modern Anglo-Jewish identity could speak to a broad general as opposed to an exclusively Jewish readership is evident also in the field of the novel. This was exemplified by the phenomenal success of *Children of the Ghetto: A Study of a Peculiar People* (1892), an epic narrative of native and immigrant Jews in London, by Israel Zangwill, the most prominent Anglo-Jewish intellectual of his day.[3] Although he had publicly criticised her work during her lifetime, Zangwill pays homage in *Children of the Ghetto* to Amy Levy. One of his two central protagonists is a young novelist, Esther Ansell, who writes a scathing critique of the materialism and desire for social prestige of middle-class Anglo-Jewry, and is anathematised by them. Esther's departure at the end of the novel for the religious and artistic liberty of the United States suggests metonymically one possible future for Anglo-Jewry. Another is signalled by Zangwill's second heroine, the passionate and intelligent Hannah Jacobs, who rebels against but is held back by the orthodoxy of her rabbinical father. On the point of eloping with her non-orthodox lover, Hannah decides instead to remain in the 'Ghetto' with her father. In these two alternatives, Zangwill turns into a stark polarity the questions that 'Captivity' poses about the future for women and for Jews.

Zangwill's fiction reiterates and transforms some of the key tropes in the literary history of the Jewess. In *Children of the Ghetto*, for example, it is the young Jewish women, both Esther and Hannah, who most forcefully represent the potential for religious modernisation that the novel implicitly favours. Moreover, while *Children of the Ghetto* frequently denounces the activities of Christian missionaries in the East End of London, it also relies for its heterodox, universalist message on the narrative conventions established earlier in the century by Evangelical writers. Esther Ansell's development as an autonomous individual and an artist begins with her secret childhood reading of 'a little brown-covered book' – a New Testament provided by missionaries.[4] While maintaining an earnest Judaic piety, she also admits that 'I feel good when I read what Jesus said.'[5] However, Bible-reading leads not, as in Evangelical fiction, to conversion, but to the

intellectual scepticism that will make Esther a writer of significance.[6] Here, Zangwill alters the well-worn Evangelical cliché to make the literary text an instrument of secular rather than religious enlightenment.

In his writing, Zangwill frequently casts women as the spiritual saviours of Judaism. In the short story 'Transitional' (1899), the poetry-reading young heroine, Schnapsie, goes the usual way of literary Jewesses and devastates her orthodox father by falling in love with a clergyman's son. Like a heroine of conversion fiction, Schnapsie's 'transitional' spiritual state is written on her body, where the vulgarity of her Oriental-looking sisters is refined and their religious narrow-mindedness rendered expansive: 'The thick black eyebrows and hair were soft as silk, dark dreamy eyes suffused her oval face with poetry, and her skin was like dead ivory flushing into life'.[7] When her father resolves to bless the union despite his misgivings, however, Schnapsie decides to renounce her lover. She writes to him that her father's self-abnegation has prompted her to re-evaluate Judaism, since it must 'somewhere or other, hold in solution all those ennobling ingredients, all those stimuli to self-sacrifice, which the world calls Christian'. She imagines that 'the future will develop (or recultivate) [Judaism's] diviner sides . . . all this blind instinct of isolation may prove only the conservation of the race for its nobler future, when it may still become, in the very truth, a witness to the Highest, a chosen people in whom all the families of the earth may be blessed'.[8] Schnapsie's own ability to sacrifice romantic love for higher ideals is reminiscent of the entire century's parade of courageous, spiritualised Jewesses. As in Grace Aguilar's vision, it is precisely Judaism's ethical similarity to Christianity that obviates the need for the heroine's conversion. But Zangwill's text is also shaped by the *fin-de-siècle* charge of Jewish tribalism, which it recasts in evolutionary terms as a 'transitional' stage in Judaism's 'develop[ment]' towards a universal religion. The supersessionist typology in the image of Schnapsie as 'dead ivory flushing into life' is unmistakable: her openness to Christianity enables her to reclaim Judaism from its 'blind' insularity and to recognise its messianic mission.

In Zangwill's much darker story 'Anglicization' (1907), the Jewess once again provides a glimmer of light. Hannah Cohn is the unworldly East European wife of a pompous businessman who tries to combine orthodox Judaism with ostentatious respectability. Although Cohn is keen to display his patriotism publicly, he is in fact dismayed when his only son enlists to fight in the Boer War. In the story's central scene, Hannah defies her husband's authority and attends a service at St Paul's Cathedral to salute and see off the new recruits. Initially apprehensive about the prospect of

churchgoing, Hannah finds herself 'borne forward into the Cathedral, her heart beat with a sense of dim, remote glories'. Most of all, she is amazed by the similarity of the Anglican liturgy to that of the synagogue:

> But never before had she felt its beauty: she had never even understood its words till she read the English of them in the gilt-edged Prayer-Book that marked rising wealth. Surely there had been some monstrous mistake in conceiving the two creeds as at daggers drawn, and though she only pretended to kneel with the others, she felt her knees sinking in surrender to the larger life around her.[9]

The progress of Hannah, the obedient Yiddish-speaking wife, first towards a personal understanding of Jewish scripture through English translations and thence to an ecstatic religious experience in the cathedral, is presented by Zangwill as a process of elevation from female subordination and ghetto parochialism to the 'larger life'. While she is the only character in the story to glimpse such ecumenical universalism, her 'surrender' is also laced with dramatic irony, since the patriotic enthusiasm that here includes the Jewish mother and son turns in the aftermath of the war against them. Hannah's coming to consciousness as an individual being takes place in the same context as her recognition of the common devotional texts shared by Jews and Christians alike. But it finally remains unclear whether her overwhelming affective affinity for the Anglican liturgy and the 'hurrahing hordes' is the false consciousness of a gullible woman.[10] In Zangwill's late Victorian and Edwardian fiction, then, the feminist subtext of the story of the Jewess comes to the surface but, informed by the legacy of writers like Amy Levy, it is also framed with a new scepticism about the politics of Jewish emancipation.

This study has sought to explore the shifts and continuities in the role of the Jewess in nineteenth-century literary discourse. The fundamentally contradictory place occupied by Judaism and Jews in both Christian and secular culture, I have argued, was inscribed into nineteenth-century narratives in gendered terms. Repeatedly, the figure of the Jewess marked the bifurcation between the discursive denigration and idealisation of Judaism. The Jew was represented as archaic, legalistic, materialistic, intolerant, superstitious and primitive; Judaism itself was masculinised. The Jewess, by contrast, was spiritual, cultured, patriotic, emotional and modern. While the Jew was irredeemable, the Jewess represented the capacity of the Jews to transcend their spiritual and social narrowness. Here, I have traced the persistence of this rhetorical figure across the nineteenth century. Again and again, it appeared at the crux of discursive contestations over religious, national and gendered identities.

Writing about Jews, this study has shown, encompassed not only the projection of otherness on to male Jews, but also the figuring of the Jewess as an ideal self. As the broader political and cultural questions represented by the Jews changed, however, so did the terms in which the Jewess was idealised. In the first half of the century, ecclesiastical controversy defined the public debate about Jews. For Evangelicals, anti-Catholicism provided the conceptual model for understanding Jewish difference but, at the same time, they enthusiastically reclaimed the Old Testament and Jewish textuality. In this context, Evangelical writers regarded the Jewess as the most desirable kind of convert, because she was both a link to the roots of Christianity and an emblem of its supersessionary power. During the legislative changes and political tensions of the 1830s and 40s, the Jews were repeatedly invoked in political discourse to figure the boundaries of national belonging. For advocates of religious tolerance the image of the virtuous Jewess was used to make the case for the Jews, and Anglo-Jewish writers cast her as the perfect imperial citizen. By the 1860s, the economic and social success of middle-class Jewry had become a symbol both for the ascendancy of liberalism, and for the apparent determinism of 'race'. The ubiquitous, racialised figure of the Jewish man of commerce, however, was frequently shadowed by the artistic Jewess, whose position between Jewish and gentile cultures was seen to produce a peculiarly alienated and eclectic intellect. Here, the exceptional spiritual potential ascribed to the Jewess in Evangelical culture was secularised. Similarly, within the discourse of degeneration prevalent at the *fin de siècle*, the Jewess appeared as a racial redeemer, the beautiful counterpart to the physically degenerate Jewish male. Deeply indebted to the literature of conversion, novelists dynamically reshaped semitic discourse by accommodating the existing narrative of the redemptive Jewess to the changing circumstances of the mid and late Victorian periods.

Ambivalent responses to the Jews were embedded in political, theological, scientific and philosophical texts in the nineteenth century. The medium of fiction, however, had unique rhetorical capabilities. In particular, writers used the image of the passionate and tormented Jewess to elicit a sentimental emotive response from readers. The spectacle of suffering exhibited in Scott's Rebecca of York or Daly's Leah, and the 'Jewish' autobiographers beloved of Evangelical readers, powerfully demanded sympathy from their audience. The sympathetic imagination, a cornerstone of Romantic politics and creativity, was equally central to the feminised theology of Evangelicalism. It was, therefore, Evangelical writers who developed the trope of the suffering Jewess most insistently of all, regarding her as particularly afflicted and hence particularly susceptible to the 'conversion of

the heart' with which women readers could especially identify. For Anglo-Jewish writers, by the same token, fiction offered especially ripe opportunities to practise persuasion, because, they held, it could evoke the 'spirit' of Judaism and Jewish history more effectively than political campaigning. In the context of an overwhelmingly feminised religious culture in England, their objective was to vindicate Judaism by feminising it. Later in the century, the Jewess continued to be linked with 'feeling': in the work of Trollope and Harris and in the Jewish novel of the 1890s, her refined sensitivity, or her 'instinctive' racial consciousness, was pitted against the cold, calculating and masculinised force of Jewish commerce. If Walter Scott's Jewess was somewhat suspicious for her stubborn and irrational belief, by the late nineteenth century the Jewess was admired above all for her resistance to the instrumentalising and excessive rationality of the Jews – suggesting changing attitudes across the century both to rationality and to the Jews. All these texts produced in the reader simultaneously and symbiotically an aversion to Jewish male figures and an identification with the Jewess.

The reader's identification with the Jewish woman was also a complicated affair. The very virtues that recommended her were double-edged. The passion of the Jewess, for example, was frequently associated with the especially devoted attachment to nation that had resulted in the historical survival of the Jews. Rebecca of York and Mirah Lapidoth are idealised exemplars of the enduring power of the myth of nation that bound Jews together across time and space. Both figure in novels centrally concerned with the cohesion of the nation: in *Ivanhoe* at the moment of the construction of 'England' from warring races and in *Daniel Deronda* at the moment of its crisis under modern cosmopolitanism. Thus while the Jewess is ultimately excluded by her loyalty to Jews from a place amongst the English, her Judaic allegiance itself exemplifies the passionate emotional component in national identity necessary to national cohesion. For Grace Aguilar, on the other hand, the historic *amor patriae* of the Jewess is what revealed most clearly of all the Jews' capacity for fidelity to their country of residence. The Jewess provided the opportunity for Scott, Eliot and Aguilar to explore the ongoing problem of the Jews' place within the modern liberal nation.

The Jewess was invariably seen as torn between incompatible allegiances, and therefore subjected to exceptional suffering. However, it was precisely this suffering that generated her unique relationship to religion, nation or art. The Jewess was not simply redeemable where the Jew was beyond salvation; she was an *ideal* version of the Christian, the patriot or the artist. The Jewess was valuable as a convert not in spite of but because

of her Jewishness, which gave her conversion miraculous and portentous meaning. Similarly, national loyalty in the face of intolerance gave the Jewess's patriotism a particularly poignant and durable quality. Struggling as an artist against a narrow world of religion or commerce, moreover, the Jewess's imaginative and performative propensities were heightened and honed. The Christian value of the virtue of suffering underpinned the story of the Jewish woman both within and beyond Christian narratives. Equally, Judaism as an absent presence haunted the representation of the religious or secular convert.

In these texts, the Jewess was persecuted by men. In *Ivanhoe* and in the fiction of Grace Aguilar, she was a victim of corrupt Catholic inquisitors, but in conversionist fiction and even in the work of the Moss sisters she suffered at the hands of Jews and of a masculinised Judaism. Traces of this narrative resurfaced in the exploitation of Marie Melmotte by her father in *The Way We Live Now*, and that of Mirah Lapidoth and Leonora Alcharisi by theirs in *Daniel Deronda*, while the Jewish heroines in the writing of Emily Marion Harris and Amy Levy were similarly martyrs to the will of their menfolk. In the Jewish novel of the *fin de siècle*, the trope was updated to emphasise the link between the moral iniquity of the Jewish male and his racial degeneracy or regression. Once again, the oppressed condition of the Jewess stood as the antithesis of late nineteenth-century ideals of modern womanhood. In introducing the theme of female subjection into the narrative of the Jewess, Evangelical writers had sought to heighten the analogy between the converting Jewess and the figure of Christ, persecuted and martyred by 'the Jews'; however, the Christian valorisation of martyrdom continued to resonate in secular fiction of the late nineteenth century. The few instances of feminised male Jews in Victorian literature – Charles Dickens's Riah in *Our Mutual Friend*, Anthony Trollope's Ezekiel Brehgert in *The Way We Live Now* and, most important of all, Daniel Deronda himself – do not so much problematise this paradigm as reinforce it. In contrast to the representation of the feminised Jewish male in French and German literary culture, these Jews are clearly rendered virtuous rather than despised through their association with femininity.

In contrast to their construction of intra-Jewish gender relations as inherently antagonistic, many of these texts depict an especially deep or formative relationship between the Jewess and a Christian woman. The seed for this narrative strand was sown in *Ivanhoe* in the scene where Rowena approaches Rebecca, offering her conversion in a spirit of sorority and compassion. It was most fully developed in Evangelical literature, where the encounter between the Jewess and the Christian woman formed the backbone of the

conversion narrative and the point of identificatory entry for the Christian woman reader. In Grace Aguilar's *The Vale of Cedars* this Evangelical scenario was pointedly and ironically referenced in the love between Christian woman and Jewess that was seen as constitutive of 'woman's nature' but cruelly subverted by religious intolerance and conversionist ambition. In the self-realisation of Amy Levy's heroine Judith Quixano beyond the terms of the marriage plot, there is a faint echo of this woman-centred theme. Levy's and Zangwill's Jewish heroines find in their experience as women a way to transcend the limitations of their lives as Jews. Even more dramatically, in both Aguilar's writing and Trollope's *Nina Balatka*, the rhetoric of female friendship adumbrates the utopian ethos of religious universalism to which the novels gesture. In these texts, love between women undoes the rigid binary division between Jew and Christian. It suggests the complex, triangular relationship among the categories of Jew, Christian and woman.

What this study has indicated is how intensely images of Jews circulated and re-circulated between Christian and Jewish writers in the nineteenth century. The Old Testament icon of the female captive of Lamentations, given specific new meaning by Christian abolitionists in the early nineteenth century, was also taken up by Jewish emancipationists in the 1830s and 40s and in feminist writing of the 1880s and 90s. Secondly, the Christian narrative of Jewish conversion provided the generic and narrative terms for Jewish self-representation, and was creatively appropriated by Grace Aguilar, Celia and Marion Moss, Emily Marion Harris, Amy Levy and her contemporaries. Evangelical women writers competed with Jewish writers for ownership of Hebrew scriptural heroines. More specifically, rewritings of the story of the Jewess echoed with intertextual resonances. While Trollope's Rebecca Loth repeats and reverses the sacrifice of Rebecca of York in *Ivanhoe*, in *Daniel Deronda* it is the gentile heroine Gwendolen Harleth who renounces her hope of romantic love to enable instead the Jewish couple's future. And in *Reuben Sachs*, Amy Levy herself rewrote *Daniel Deronda*, reverting to the novel's Evangelical subtext by recasting the gentile heroine, elevated by suffering and survival, as a Jewess. By the late nineteenth century, the distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish writers was even more blurred, with Protestants such as Violet Guttenberg and Cicely Sidgwick reliant on the representation of Jews in the work of the Jewish authors Amy Levy and Julia Frankau. Across the century, however, a set of assumptions governing the nature of 'woman' provided a common language for both Jewish and Christian writers.

Nineteenth-century philosemitism, as articulated in the literary figure of the Jewess, has its origins in the privileged status of both Jews and women

in Evangelical theology. This conjunction powerfully served polemical literature, from conversion tracts to arguments for Jewish emancipation to literary evocations of patriotism. But, as each chapter has suggested, the story of the Jewess was also constructed out of the contradictions that fissure even the most confident of didactic texts. Advocates of religious and racial tolerance like Scott were persistently troubled by Jewish difference, which remained an obstacle in the way of rational progress. The Jewess, in his novel, therefore, represented what could not be contained by the compromises of national reconciliation. She figured similarly in Evangelical writing, where the discontents to which she was subjected as a Jew were not so easily separable from those of women more generally. Inviting the reader's identification with the embattled Jewess, these texts risk stirring up her own resentments about patriarchal domination in Christian as well as Jewish culture. Writing by Anglo-Jewish women writers was also grounded in contradiction. These texts support the demand for Jewish civil rights at the same time as countering the arguments of conversionists, but insofar as they adopt the literary genres and rhetorical language of the latter in order to domesticate, privatise and universalise Judaism, they flatten out Jewish difference into sameness and thereby render religious liberty meaningless. The figure of the Jewess in novels of the 1860s and 70s expresses a different kind of uncertainty. Her resistance to the materialism of male Jewry and devotion to aesthetic purity made her a particularly apt metaphor for the commercial writer, identified ambivalently both with money and with art. Finally, the contrary strains in feminism of the 1880s and 90s, one in the liberal tradition and the other inflected by the determinism of racial discourse, are revealed in literary representations of Jews and particularly of the Jewess. If, in imperial culture, the unstable construction of the whiteness and purity of Britishness found one expression in the figuring of 'the Jew' as 'neither black nor white', the Jewess, similarly, was racially unplaceable.[11]

While the gendered narrative of the Jew especially flourished in the nineteenth century, it had its last, spectacular gasp in modernist writing. Dorothy Richardson's *Deadlock* (1921), part of her novel sequence *Pilgrimage* (1915–67) continues the late Victorian tradition of the struggle between a gentile feminist heroine and her patriarchal Jewish lover. James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), meanwhile, extends the alternative nineteenth-century tropes of the feminised Jewish man in the womanly Leopold Bloom, as well as the sensual 'jewess' Molly. Both texts, however, were drawing less on British literary precedents than on the influence of Otto Weininger's impassioned treatise *Sex and Character* (published in English in 1906). 'Judaism

is saturated with femininity to such an extent that the most manly Jew is more feminine than the least manly Aryan', wrote Weininger (insisting that what he meant by Judaism was a state of mind or 'idea' rather than a religious or cultural attribute).[12] In *Sex and Character*, the 'M' or masculine type is constructed in opposition to the sexualised other, 'Woman', and the racialised other, 'the Jew', both of which are devoted to family and to sexuality, and incapable of reason, individuality or of developing a moral ego. Weininger's chapter on Judaism ends by calling for a 'decision . . . between Judaism and Christianity, between trade and culture, between woman and man, between the species and the individual, between emptiness and value, between the earthly and the higher life, between nothingness and divinity'.[13] There are a number of congruences between this and nineteenth-century English versions of the same set of binaries but Weininger's thinking, refracted through German idealist philosophy, also strikingly reverses the ascriptions of gender explored in the course of this study. In contrast to the gendering of spirituality and culture as female in English religious and post-religious discourse, they were, in the dominant currents of continental European thought, exclusively the realm of the masculine. If, in Victorian England, Judaism and femininity were opposed, by the twentieth century they became conflated.

Richardson's *Deadlock* indeed suggests the analogous political positions of the Jew and the woman as similarly alienated subjects. Her heroine, Miriam Henderson, estranged from the construction of femininity in the public discourses of science and religion, and in search of an intellectual identity, meets and becomes engaged to a Russian Jewish student, Michael Shatov, through whom she comes to experience England from the point of view of an outsider. Their affair dives into conflict, however, over their opposing views of the relationship between the individual and the race. Michael considers the destiny of the race as paramount, and that the highest role for a woman is motherhood. Miriam, on the other hand, argues that '[t]he race is nothing without individuals' and declares: 'I'd rather kill myself than serve its purposes . . . the instincts of self-preservation and reproduction are *not* the only human motives. They are not human at all.'[14] Michael regards her devotion to the 'rights of the individual' as a mark of her Englishness.[15] But her argument is, more specifically, Weiningerian. In contrast to the pessimism of Amy Levy's heroines, Miriam's resistance to mating is necessary to her feminist project of self-realisation, and conceived in opposition to Weininger's notion of 'woman' as motivated only by biological reproduction. Miriam must assert herself not only against this view of woman, but against Michael, whose belief in the necessity of

self-sacrifice for the good of the race is deemed, in Weininger's terms, to follow from his Jewishness.[16] If the title of the novel sequence suggests the Christian connotations of the struggle for selfhood, in ultimately rejecting Michael, Miriam refuses the role of the Jewess. In this, she replicates the story of George Eliot's Alcharisi. Yet Richardson's novel, like Eliot's, is at the same time ambiguous in its representation of the individual aspiration to autonomy. As Jacqueline Rose points out, Miriam's liberal feminism and opposition to Jewish nationalism are linked to a blithe denial of English antisemitism and the assertion that '[t]he Jews are free in England' – and in her retreat into self-containment in the course of *Pilgrimage*, Miriam finally excludes herself from engagement with the domain of public existence.[17] The novel is thus 'a cameo, for feminism, of the clash between a liberal plea for individual rights and the particularities of cultures and nations' that would continue to plague twentieth-century feminist thought.[18]

Weininger's schema is given a quite different slant by James Joyce. In *Ulysses*, Weininger's view of femininity and his contention that 'no woman in the world represents the *idea* of woman so completely as the Jewess' was utilised with irrepressible gusto.[19] Woman, in the novel, is indeed pure flesh, but, in contrast to Weininger's interpretation, this is clearly affirmational. Similarly, Joyce replicates Weininger's notion of the womanly Jewish man in order to valorise it. Molly was first attracted by Bloom's ability to empathise with women, and his femininity distinguishes him from the crude violence of the Dublin citizens.[20] In 'Cyclops', Bloom's affirmation of love as 'the opposite of hatred' evokes this ironic response: ' – A new apostle to the gentiles, says the citizen. Universal love'.[21] In *Ulysses*, Joyce revitalises the philosemitic associations of Jewish femininity; his feminised Jew here evokes the universalist sympathies of the literary Jewess.

Joyce's and Richardson's different uses of the conjunction of Jewishness and femininity in modernism can be seen as presaging two strands in subsequent critical thought. Nascent in 1890s fiction, the mapping of the opposition between feminism and patriarchalism onto that between modernist aesthetics and Judaism is central to the intellectual structure of *Deadlock*. As Rose writes, in Richardson's novel, '[c]oherence, sequence, continuity, teleology – all these insignia of patriarchal language and culture, these aesthetic markers to which so much of modernist experimentation by women, although not only by women, comes as the response, are handed over to the Jewish concept of destiny'.[22] The view of Judaism as the antithesis of feminism, as Amy Newman has shown, has remained entrenched in the rhetorical and discursive conventions of twentieth-century feminism. In *Powers of Horror*, for example, Julia Kristeva follows Hegel in portraying

Judaism and Christianity as conceptual opposites, contrasting Judaism's conformity to the law with Christianity's freedom of conscience. For Kristeva, Jewish law, as expressed in dietary prohibitions, is the expression of the male fantasy of separation from the mother.[23] Many contemporary feminist historians and theologians, moreover, have advanced the theory that the Hebrew Bible was the origin of patriarchal values in western culture and that the ancient Israelites were deicides, responsible for the destruction of the worship of goddesses and for the subjugation of women. Newman demonstrates the genealogy of these arguments in German historiography of the early twentieth century, in which Judaism was credited as the origin of rationalism, achieved through an alienation from nature and the senses.[24] In the late twentieth century, then, the negative notion of Judaism was still in important ways constitutive of feminist thought, as it had been a hundred years earlier. While feminism's foundational contradictions are coming more and more under scrutiny, some remain as deeply rooted as ever. The image of the suffering and oppressed Eastern woman, both Other and ideal object of concern, is still very much with us, firmly lodged within the structure of liberal feminist self-definition.

A second trajectory can be traced from the gender anarchy of *Ulysses* to contemporary queer and postcolonial readings of Jewish identity. It is Jewishness in *Ulysses* that queers gender, producing not only the 'new womanly man' that is Bloom, but also the Jewish dominatrix prostitute Bella/Bello Cohen and Molly who 'wouldn't mind being a man and get up on a lovely woman'.[25] The questioning of Leopold Bloom's masculinity and virility by the Dubliners is linked in the novel to the uncertainty surrounding his religious and national identity. In the 'Cyclops' section, as the men debate Bloom's allegiance in his absence, Ned demands, '– Is he a jew or a gentile or a holy Roman or a swaddler or what the hell is he? . . . Or who is he?', and the narrator later comments: 'One of those mixed middlings he is.'[26] The way in which Jewishness troubles categories of both nationality and gender, used to exuberant creative effect in *Ulysses*, has been a central focus of recent work in queer studies and suggests rich new possibilities for the analysis of nineteenth-century texts too.[27]

Queer studies scholars echo the position of Jon Stratton, who views Jewishness as 'simultaneously a paradigmatic and idiosyncratic site of the problems of identity, of belonging and of cultural commentary, as these are played out in cultural studies'. He continues: 'If identity has become a trope of cultural studies then its corollary is a preoccupation with the unsettling of identity, or indeed with the never unified identity, and with partial identities, described by way of such theoretical terms as "hybridity" and

"creolisation".'[28] In *Ulysses*, Joyce's narratorial description of Bloom as a 'mixed middling' marks Jewishness itself as a state of hybridity. Eschewing Arnold's binary of Hebrew versus Hellene, Lynch's Cap in 'Circe' playfully turns Paul's description of the transcendent Christian as 'neither Jew nor Greek' into the eternally circular and intertwined 'Jewgreek is greekjew'. He continues, 'Extremes meet. Death is the highest form of life. Ba!' – mocking Stephen Dedalus's (and the text's) penchant for paradox as 'Woman's reason'.[29] That Jewish and gentile identities are both impure and interwoven, however, also lies at the heart of Bloom's protest against Christian antisemitism: 'Your God was a jew. Christ was a jew like me.'[30]

In these terms, recent readings of Victorian representations of Anglo-Jews have also emphasised their hybrid nature. As Amanda Anderson points out, for example, although Daniel Deronda reclaims his Jewish identity, he also insists that '[t]he effect of my education can never be done away with. The Christian sympathies in which my mind was reared can never die out of me' and later he tells Joseph Kalonymos: 'I shall call myself a Jew . . . But I will not say that I shall profess to believe exactly as my fathers have believed. Our fathers themselves changed the horizon of their belief and learned of other races.'[31] Deronda, according to Anderson, actively 'forges an identity out of hybrid traditions'.[32] For Gauri Viswanathan, meanwhile, Benjamin Disraeli's combination of Christian religion and Jewish racial pride 'gave to conversion the function of scrambling the accepted categories of English nationalist politics'.[33] Like *Ulysses*, such approaches run the risk of reinventing philosemitism in the image of postmodernism, ascribing to Jews and 'Jews' an exceptional capacity to subvert monolithic categories of identity. The identity of the Jewess, this study has shown, was most often represented as the product of painful tensions, rather than harmonious fusion. Daniel Deronda's active forging of identity, for example, is counterpointed with his mother Alcharisi's tautly strained 'double consciousness'. Elsewhere, the Jewess troubled, but more subtly upheld the boundary between Christian reader and Jewish subject. From the secret Bible-study of the nascent proselyte to the impassioned poetry-reading of Levy's and Zangwill's heroines, the Jewish woman was frequently associated with the solitary practice of reading. As such she invited the novel's own reader to identify with her and with the dangerous, transformative effects of literature. The scene of Jewish reading was one of thrilling liminality.

In many other ways, however, the literature examined in this study indicates that in nineteenth-century culture, much more than has been acknowledged, Jewgreek was greekjew. The image of Jews and Judaism helped give shape and content to the highly contested categories of

Christianity and Englishness, which in turn informed the constitution of the Anglo-Jewish self. And it is only through an analysis of the rhetoric of gender that we can see how these categories interpenetrated each other in extremely complex and mobile ways. The literary image of the Jewish woman – virtuous, suffering and redemptive – brought the instabilities of nineteenth-century religious, racial and national identity into uniquely sharp focus. Although since the modernist period the figure of the Jewess has been largely eclipsed, its resonances remain with us in an era in which, for both Jews and non-Jews, Judaism, suffering and redemption are no less intricately related and politically and culturally charged.

Notes

1 INTRODUCTION: THE JEWESS QUESTION

1 Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 576.

2 Scribe, *The Jewess*. See also Henri Drayton, *The Jewess, a grand opera in four acts*. Composed by M. F. Halévy (London: John K. Chapman, 1854), and P. Pinkerton, etc., *The Jewess . . . English version* [of Scribe's libretto to the opera of Halévy] (London: S. J. Garraway, [1900]). For an excellent account of the French context of *La Juive*, see Hallman, *Opera, Liberalism, and Antisemitism*. In chapter 5, Hallman documents Scribe's use of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*. For an account of the opera as 'an affirmative image of Jewish identity preserved within modern culture', see Lerner, 'Jewish Identity and French Opera, Stage and Politics'.

3 For a longer discussion, see Litvak, 'Actress, Monster, Novelist', pp. 235–69. Conversely, in a study of the figure of the male Jew on the late eighteenth-century stage, Michael Ragussis argues that 'anyone could occupy the position of the Jew; Jewish identity was an infinitely performable script'. See 'Passing for a Jew, On Stage and Off', p. 57.

4 Endelman, 'Comparative Perspectives on Modern Anti-Semitism', p. 95.

5 Although focused, unlike other studies, on the literary tradition of the Jew's daughter, Hyam Maccoby's anthropological analysis nonetheless regards the story as an allegory of the oedipal conflict between the Jewish father and the Christian son. See 'The Delectable Daughter'.

6 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986 [first publ. 1952]); Jean-François Lyotard, *Heidegger and 'the Jews'*, trans. A. Michel and M. S. Roberts (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).

7 Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, p. 5. Other studies that focus on discourses surrounding male Jews in nineteenth-century culture include Davison, *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature* and Pick, *Svengali's Web*. On the figure of the male Jew in the long eighteenth century, see Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*. Work in queer Jewish studies is also predominantly focused on Jewish masculinity; see, for example, Boyarin, Itzkovitz and Pellegrini, *Queer Theory*

and the Jewish Question and Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, pp. 224–33.

8 Gilman, 'Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt, and the "Modern Jewess"'; Pellegrini, *Performance Anxieties*, chs. 1 and 2. Studies of the figure of the Jewess that take the discussion beyond an analysis of antisemitism include, on biblical scholarship, Levine, 'A Jewess, More and/or Less'; and, on the Victorian American stage, Erdman, *Staging the Jew*, ch. 2.

9 Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*.

10 Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, pp. 50 and 60–1.

11 See Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 205–8, 241.

12 Ockman, '"Two eyebrows *à l'Orientale*"', pp. 526–7.

13 Krobb, '"La Belle Juive"', p. 6. See also Sartre, *Antisemite and Jew*, pp. 48–9. On the 'Beautiful Jewess' in German literature, see Chase, 'The Wandering Court Jew and the Hand of God', esp. pp. 731–4; and in French literature and painting, see Ockman, '"Two eyebrows *à l'Orientale*"'.

14 Valman, 'Semitism and Criticism'.

15 See Endelman, 'English Jewish History'; Feldman, 'Was Modernity Good for the Jews?' and, at the extreme end of the scale, William D. Rubinstein, *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support for Jews in the English Speaking World* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

16 See Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance'; Kushner, *Jewish Heritage in British History*; and Cesarani, *Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. See also Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*.

17 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 8.

18 Bauman, 'Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern', pp. 147–8.

19 Shapiro, 'The Uncanny Jew', p. 63.

20 Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, p. 5.

21 Anderson, 'George Eliot and the Jewish Question', pp. 42–3; Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, pp. 37–43.

22 Bauman, 'Allosemitism', p. 144; Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, pp. 4, 185.

23 On the Jewish emancipation debates, see Salbstein, *Emancipation of the Jews in Britain*; Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, chs. 1 and 2; and Gilam, *Emancipation of the Jews in England*.

24 For discussion of the cultural power of Protestant philosemitism in nineteenth-century England, see Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties* and Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, ch. 1.

25 'The Late Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna', *Voice of Jacob* 5 (31 July 1846): 173; Jacob [Franklin], 'To the Editor of the Christian Lady's Magazine', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 23 (January 1845): 76. For an earlier article in which the Jewish editor Jacob Franklin praised Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna and her periodical the *Christian Lady's Magazine* see, for example, 'Another Aspect of Christian Respect for Israel', *Voice of Jacob* 4 (14 March 1845): 121.

26 See the essays in Liedtke and Wendehorst, *Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants*. On the colonial discourse of the Jewish emancipation debate, see Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, pp. 3–43.

27 Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, p. 1.
28 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 28.
29 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 269.
30 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, pp. 12, 8.
31 Trilling, 'The Changing Myth of the Jew [1930?]', p. 54.
32 For Hazlitt, see my discussion in chapter 2.
33 Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 93–4.
34 Lampert, *Gender and Jewish Difference from Paul to Shakespeare*, p. 2.
35 Hall, 'Missionary Stories', p. 214.
36 John Beddoes, *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1885), cited by West, 'The Construction of Racial Type', p. 8.
37 Melman, *Women's Orients*, p. 60.
38 [Lewis], *Woman's Mission*, p. 146. Edgeworth also cites this blessing, pointedly without comment, in her anti-antisemitic novel *Harrington*, p. 217.
39 Garb, 'Modernity, Identity, Textuality', p. 27.
40 For a discussion of Jewish women poets in these terms, see Scheinberg, *Women's Poetry and Religion in Victorian England*.
41 Galchinsky, *Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer*; Scheinberg, *Women's Poetry and Religion in Victorian England*. See also Fay, 'Grace Aguilar: Rewriting Scott Rewriting History', and Page, *Imperfect Sympathies*, ch. 5. In *Figures of Conversion*, Michael Ragussis offers a different version of this approach in juxtaposing the dominant 'conversionist' narrative against 'revisionary' accounts that resisted it.

2 REPELLENT BEAUTY: THE LIBERAL NATION AND THE JEWESS

1 Grimstone, *Character*, II: 196. For a full account of the work of Grimstone, see Gleadle, *The Early Feminists*. On Unitarian support of Jewish emancipation, see Gilam, *Emancipation of the Jews in England*, pp. 18–19.
2 Grimstone, *Character*, I: 26, 35.
3 Ibid., I: 259.
4 Spector, 'Introduction' in Spector, *British Romanticism and the Jews*, pp. 1–16 (p. 13).
5 Davison, *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature*, p. 13.
6 Ibid., p. 22.
7 Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, p. 5.
8 Rürup, 'German Liberalism and the Emancipation of the Jews', p. 61.
9 Rürup, 'Jewish Emancipation in Britain and Germany', p. 58.
10 See Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, pp. 3–13.
11 Hazlitt, 'Emancipation of the Jews', p. 320.
12 Ibid., p. 321.
13 Ibid., pp. 324, 322.
14 Page, *Imperfect Sympathies*, p. 22.
15 Hazlitt, 'Emancipation of the Jews', pp. 324, 322, 324.

16 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 17.
17 Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*, cited in Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 19.
18 George Eliot, letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 29 October 1876, in Haight, *George Eliot Letters*, VI: 301–2.
19 For an expansion of this discussion, see Cheyette and Valman, 'Introduction', in Cheyette and Valman, eds, *Image of the Jew in European Liberal Culture, 1789–1914*, pp. 1–26.
20 See Ford, *Dramatizations of Scott's Novels*, pp. 20–7 and Bolton, *Scott Dramatized*, pp. 342–71. The most successful dramatisation of the novel, by Thomas J. Dibdin, produced as one of three productions playing simultaneously in London in the first year of *Ivanhoe*'s publication, had an alternative title, *The Jew's Daughter*, which became conventional in most subsequent dramatic productions. The titles of some versions, for example M. R. Lacy's *The Maid of Judah*; *or, Knights Templars*, first produced in 1829 and revived throughout the 1830s, show an exclusive focus on the story of Rebecca and her struggle against the Templar. The *Times* review said that 'nearly the whole interest of the piece is made to devolve upon the character of Rebecca'. See Bolton, *Scott Dramatized*, p. 353. This overt change of emphasis in the dramatic versions of *Ivanhoe* continued through the century.
21 'Ivanhoe', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 6 (1819): 263.
22 Walter Scott, 'Author's Introduction' [1830], *Ivanhoe: A Romance*, p. 545. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.
23 George Coleman the Younger, *New Hay at the Old Market* (1795), cited by Abba Rubin, *Images in Transition*, p. 108.
24 Rubin, *Images in Transition*, pp. 103–12.
25 Page, *Imperfect Sympathies*, ch. 3; Gross, *Shylock*, pp. 108–13.
26 William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (1817), cited in Page, *Imperfect Sympathies*, p. 67. The quotation aligns Shylock with King Lear as a tragic hero.
27 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 116.
28 On the dominant racial interpretation of British history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History*, chs. 4 and 5.
29 Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p. 247.
30 Scott, 'General Preface' [1829], *Waverley*, p. 523.
31 Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, p. 8.
32 Scott, *Letters (1815–17)*, IV: 478, cited in Wilson, *Laird of Abbotsford*, p. 156.
33 On Scott's discomfort with his earned wealth, see Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, ch. 3.
34 Voltaire, 'Juifs', *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, cited in Wistrich, *Antisemitism*, p. 45.
35 For an exposition of the contradictions in Voltaire's attitude to Jews, see Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, pp. 231–46.
36 George Soane's dramatic adaptation, *The Hebrew* (1820), rewrote Isaac of York as a figure whose human kindness overrides his desire for financial gain; he also

defends usury as crucial to the national interest. See Cox, *Reading Adaptations*, pp. 109–10.

37 Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, p. 160.

38 For a wide-ranging and detailed discussion of Scott's influence on Victorian mediaevalism, see Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*, chs. 3 and 5.

39 MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History*, pp. 73–103; Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, pp. 21–7; Garside, 'Scott and the Philosophical Historians'.

40 Cited by MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History*, p. 94.

41 Augustin Thierry's *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1825), deeply influenced by *Ivanhoe*, subscribed to the 'Norman yoke' theory of the subjugated Saxon race struggling against Norman conquerors. Readings of *Ivanhoe* that also emphasise the 'Norman yoke' include Briggs, 'Saxons, Normans and Victorians', and Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, ch. 3.

42 Cited by A. N. Wilson, 'Introduction' to *Ivanhoe*, p. xiii.

43 For a discussion of *Ivanhoe* as a novel that 'pits ruthless fanaticism against humane moderation, ignorant selfishness against enlightened social responsibility', see Lackey, 'Vainly Expected Messiahs', p. 163.

44 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, pp. 93, 126.

45 Thackeray, *Rebecca and Rowena*, p. 88. See also George Soane's drama *The Hebrew*.

46 See note 20 above.

47 For an account of the American history of *Leah, the Forsaken*, see Erdman, *Staging the Jew*, pp. 43–50.

48 On the conventions of Victorian melodrama, see Taylor, *Players and Performances in the Victorian Theatre*, pp. 119–33 and Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, pp. 150–62.

49 Playbills, New Adelphi Theatre, in the collections of the Theatre Museum, London.

50 Ibid. *Leah* enjoyed enduring popularity even after its success in 1863–4. Bateman reprised her role at the Lyceum in May 1872 and the play formed part of Sarah Bernhardt's London season in 1892.

51 See notices in *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Morning Star*, cited in playbills for *Leah*, in the collections of the Theatre Museum, London; *Illustrated Times*, 17 October 1863, cutting in ibid.

52 Chase, 'The Homeless Nation', p. 61.

53 Ibid., p. 67.

54 Lea, *Emancipation, Assimilation and Stereotype*, ch. 4.

55 Daly, *Leah, the Forsaken*, p. 7. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

56 Robertson, 'Historicizing Weininger', p. 26.

57 See, for example, Chase, 'The Wandering Court Jew and the Hand of God', p. 733.

58 See Erdman, *Staging the Jew*, pp. 46–50 on *Leah, the Forsaken* as a vehicle for female performers on the American stage of the 'emotionalist' school of acting, which was at its zenith in the 1860s.

59 *Illustrated London News*, 9 April 1864, p. 337.
60 Cuttings in the collections of the Theatre Museum, London.
61 Review of *Deborah*, 20 February 1864, unidentified cutting in the collections of the Theatre Museum, London.
62 *Observer*, notice of *Leah*, cited in playbills in the collections of the Theatre Museum, London.
63 On villainy in Victorian melodrama, see Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, pp. 160–2.
64 Cheltnam, *Deborah; or, The Jewish Maiden's Wrong!*, pp. 17, 19, 26.
65 Ibid., p. 32.
66 Trollope, *Phineas Finn*, II: 21. For a discussion of Madame Goesler, see Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, pp. 32–5.
67 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 24.
68 Trollope, *Nina Balatka*, pp. 133, 3. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.
69 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, pp. 23–42; Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, pp. 234–60.
70 Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (1883), cited in Robert Tracy, 'Introduction' to *Nina Balatka*, p. vii. Brief discussions of *Nina Balatka* include Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, pp. 29–32 and Baumgarten, 'Seeing Double', pp. 54–61.
71 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, pp. 48–9. For a longer analysis of this passage see Krobb, '"La Belle Juive"'.
72 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 206.

3 JEWISH PERSUASIONS: GENDER AND THE CULTURE OF CONVERSION

1 A Lady, *An Appeal to the Females of the United Kingdom, on behalf of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews*, p. 1. This text must have been published between 1811, the date of a sermon advertised at the back of the tract, and 1814 when the Female Asylum opened housing thirteen girls. By 1817 there were only three, and the project was abandoned. In 1819 the LSPCJ discontinued all attempts at providing the temporal relief for the Jews that is delineated in this tract. See Smith, 'London Jews' Society', pp. 282–3 and Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, p. 109.
2 For more on women abolitionists' concern for the moral welfare of other women, see Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, pp. 94–102, and Ware, *Beyond the Pale*, pp. 60–79. See also Midgley, 'From Supporting Missions to Petitioning Parliament'. On feminist campaigns on behalf of Indian women in the later nineteenth century, see Burton, *Burdens of History*.
3 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*.
4 See, for example, Ware, *Beyond the Pale*, p. 67.
5 Other contemporary LSPCJ publications included *An Address to Females on the Behalf of the London Society, by an Englishwoman; including a Plan and Rules for*

the Formation of a Penny Society [1810]. Scholars who have studied the activities of the LSPCJ, such as Smith and Scult, do not mention the separate and specific aims of the women's organisations.

6 'Historical Notices', *Tracts suitable for imparting information relative to the objects of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London, 1851), cited by Smith, 'London Jews' Society', p. 276.

7 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 122.

8 Smith, 'London Jews' Society', pp. 276–8.

9 Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, pp. 115, 123, 100. The Society's income was enormous, and by 1858 it had reached an average of more than £30,000 per annum. See Smith, 'London Jews' Society', p. 278.

10 William Carus, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Simeon* (New York, 1847), p. 432, cited by Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, p. 104.

11 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 88.

12 'To the Editor', *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* 1 (August 1831): 47.

13 Smith, 'London Jews' Society', pp. 279–80.

14 The significance of the conversion of the Jews derives from Paul's statement that their conversion would signal their return to God's favour as part of the Second Coming (Romans 11: 26–7). This was linked with Isaiah's prophecy of the national restoration of the Jews to their historic homeland in Palestine and became a prominent doctrine in seventeenth-century millennialism. Jewish conversion thus became a matter of national concern, because the spiritual fate of the nation as a whole was at stake. See Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, pp. 17, 34, 83–5.

15 Ibid., pp. 124, 129. Catherine Hall describes the new Evangelical morality as having 'liberal and humanist parameters on the one hand (the attack on slavery), yet buttressed by social conservatism on the other (the reform of manners and morals)'. See Hall, 'Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology', p. 82. While the LSPCJ opposed Jewish emancipation because it would provide a disincentive to conversion, the Philo-Judean Society, established in 1826, aimed 'to work for the relief of the disabilities to which the Jews were subject, with the hope that through such efforts Jews would come to look upon Christians more kindly and ultimately would be led into the "Pale of the Christian Church"'(Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, pp. 132–4).

16 The Jewish population of Great Britain was about 27,000 in 1828, rising to 40,000 in 1869. It was never more than 0.2 per cent of the population before the last third of the nineteenth century. See Salbstein, *Emancipation of the Jews in Britain*, p. 37.

17 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, pp. 17–26; Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, pp. 94–7.

18 Smith, 'London Jews' Society', p. 290; Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, p. 125.

19 Howsam, *Cheap Bibles*, pp. 18–19. For the bookselling boom which began in the 1820s, see Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, p. 3.

20 Altholtz, *Religious Press in Britain*, pp. 45–56; Scott, 'Business of Belief', p. 224.

21 On the Evangelical response to theatre, music and novels, see Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, pp. 191–205.
22 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 101–2.
23 The LSPCJ had begun producing its annual publication, the *Jewish Repository*, in 1813 (renamed the *Jewish Expositor and Friend of Israel* in 1816) and, from 1830, also published the *Monthly Intelligence* (renamed the *Jewish Intelligence, and Monthly Account of the Proceedings of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* in 1835). The Congregationalist *Christian Witness and Church Members' Magazine* (1844–64) also included reports about the progress of Jewish conversion. The *Jewish Herald and Record of Christian Effort for the Spiritual Good of God's People* (1846–94) was published by the interdenominational British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews.
24 Billington and Billington, '"A Burning Zeal for Righteousness"', pp. 83–4.
25 Hall, 'Competing Masculinities', p. 263.
26 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.
27 Rendall, *Origins of Modern Feminism*, pp. 76–7.
28 Ibid., p. 74; Hall, 'Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology', p. 86. For more on the relationship between philanthropy and 'woman's mission', see Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*, pp. 2–17.
29 Hall, 'Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology', pp. 79–81.
30 Krueger, *Reader's Repentance*, pp. 22–4.
31 Ibid., p. 9.
32 For a discussion of Victorian religious novels as 'women's sermons' see Melnyk, 'Evangelical Theology and Feminist Polemic'.
33 Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, p. 95.
34 'Extracts from the Female Scripture Readers' Reports', *Jewish Herald* 2 (February 1847): 46; 'First Annual Report of the Bristol Ladies' Association', *Jewish Herald* 2 (September 1847): 249.
35 By the end of the nineteenth century, 59 per cent of subscribers to the LSPCJ were women. In general women contributed more to Evangelical voluntary societies than to other Christian societies. See Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*, pp. 29, 38.
36 Rev. John Wilson DD of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission, Bombay, 'Recommendatory Preface', [Bristow], *Orphans of Lissau*, New rev. edn, p. x.
37 Melman, *Women's Orients*, pp. 165–209.
38 Amelia Bristow edited the *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* (1831–2) and Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna edited the *Christian Lady's Magazine* (1834–49), the *Protestant Annual* (1840) and the *Protestant Magazine* (1839–65).
39 On Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's negotiation of the boundaries of women's proper knowledge in the *Christian Lady's Magazine*, see Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own?*, pp. 51–3.
40 'Woman – her Original Dignity and Condition under the Patriarchal Dispensation', *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* 1 (October 1831): 50.
41 Krueger, *Reader's Repentance*, p. 129.

42 Charlotte Elizabeth [Tonna], '"Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics"', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 17 (June 1842): 549, 550, 554, 556.
43 J. L., 'Letter from a Converted Jew to his Brethren in Prussian Poland', *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* 1 (June 1832): 443–6. For another such account see 'Intelligence: Baptism of a Converted Israelite', *Jewish Herald* 6 (February 1851): 46.
44 Cited by Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, p. 40.
45 Unsigned review of 'Thirza, or the Attractive Power of the Cross. From the German by Elizabeth Maria Lloyd', *Jewish Herald* 1 (March 1846): 54–9.
46 'Intelligence: Letter from the Rev. T. Craig of Bocking', *Jewish Herald* 4 (July 1849): 182–3.
47 Charlotte Elizabeth [Tonna], 'The Jewish Press', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 18 (August 1842): 148–9. For Tonna's anti-slavery activities, see Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, p. 58.
48 Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 65, 101.
49 Ibid., p. 63.
50 Melman, *Women's Orients*, p. 203.
51 Unsigned review of 'The Spirit of Judaism' by Grace Aguilar, *Jewish Herald* 2 (February 1847): 31; [Tonna], 'Jewish Press', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 18 (August 1842): 143.
52 Charlotte Elizabeth [Tonna], 'The Jewish Press', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 18 (October 1842): 367; Charlotte Elizabeth [Tonna], '"Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics"', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 17 (June 1842): 550.
53 On nineteenth-century religious biography, see Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, pp. 148–63.
54 Heighway, *Leila Ada, the Jewish Convert*, pp. 14–15. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *LA*.
55 Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837–1914*.
56 Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, p. 195.
57 Mrs Ellis, *The Mothers of England: Their Influence and Responsibility* (1843), pp. 338–9, cited in Flint, *Woman Reader*, p. 83.
58 On the 'scene of reading' in conversion literature, see Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, pp. 31, 34.
59 Brendlah, *Tales of a Jewess*, p. 82, original emphasis. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *TJ*.
60 Heighway, *Select Extracts from the Diary, Correspondence, &c., of Leila Ada*, p. 172.
61 [Bristow], *Emma de Lissau*, pp. iv–v, original emphasis.
62 [Bristow], *Sophia de Lissau*, p. 4.
63 Wilson, 'Recommendatory Preface', [Bristow], *Orphans of Lissau*, New rev. edn, p. xi.
64 For readings of the double structure of *Castle Rackrent*, see Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, pp. 77–8 and, on *The Wild Irish Girl*, see Ferris, *Achievement of Literary Authority*, p. 126 and Moskal, 'Gender, Nationality, and Textual Authority', pp. 173–83.

65 'Notices Respecting the Jews', *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* 1 (January 1832): 238, 237.
66 Wilson, 'Recommendatory Preface', [Bristow], *The Orphans of Lissau*, New rev. edn, p. ix.
67 'Leila Ada', *Jewish Herald* 7 (October 1852): 289.
68 [Bristow], *Sophia de Lissau*, 'Preface', p. 4 (original emphasis).
69 This theme has its origins in the anti-Catholicism of the Gothic novel; see Carol Margaret Davison's discussion of Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1795) in *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature*, pp. 95–103. Later examples include Elizabeth Missing Sewell's *Margaret Percival* (1847), a 'female' version of her brother William Sewell's extreme anti-Catholic novel *Hawkstone: A Tale of and for England* (1845), in which England's social stability is threatened by a Catholic villain. Julie Melnyk discusses the theme in Evangelical women's novels of pious women pitted against Jesuitical or Tractarian-inclined clergymen – 'the power-struggle between the religion of the University and the religion of the heart' – in 'Evangelical Theology and Feminist Polemic', p. 114.
70 'Leila Ada', *Jewish Herald* 7 (October 1852): 294.
71 'A Pious Fraud', *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 January 1858, p. 35. By this time, Heighway had also produced *The Morning Land: A Family and Jewish History*. By the author of 'Leila Ada', 'Leila's Diary', etc., etc. (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1854), and *Adeline: or, the Mysteries, Romance, and Realities of Jewish Life*. By the author of 'Leila Ada, the Jewish Convert' etc. (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, n.d. [1857]). For a more detailed discussion, see Valman, 'Speculating upon Human Feeling', pp. 103–4.
72 Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, p. 152.
73 [Bristow], *Orphans of Lissau*, pp. 24–5.
74 Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, p. 102.
75 See Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 28–47.
76 On the topos of 'domestic' fiction that claimed to avoid 'politics', see Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, p. 48.
77 Other conversion novels by Annie Webb (afterwards Mrs J. B. Webb-Peploe) include *Julamerk; a Tale of the Nestorians* (1849), *Idaline; a Story of the Egyptian Bondage* (1854) and *Benaiah; a Tale of the Captivity* (1865).
78 Webb, *Naomi; or, the Last Days of Jerusalem*, p. v. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.
79 Frankel, *Damascus Affair*, pp. 291–310; Smith, 'The London Jews' Society', p. 290.
80 For more on Evangelical concern with the distinction between nominal and real Christianity see Hall, 'The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology', p. 77.
81 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 56.
82 See Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, p. 199n.
83 Krueger, *Reader's Repentance*, pp. 106–7.
84 Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, p. 7.

85 Eastlake, *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, p. 51; Lochhead, *Elizabeth Rigby*, pp. 1, 9.
86 Lochhead, *Elizabeth Rigby*, pp. 49, 21.
87 Eastlake, *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, pp. 71, 79.
88 Quoted in Lochhead, *Elizabeth Rigby*, pp. 49, 36.
89 [Rigby], *The Jewess: A Tale from the Shores of the Baltic*, pp. 25–6. Further references to this edition are given after quotations. The story was also reprinted in Rigby's collection *Livonian Tales* (1846).
90 *Quarterly Review* 84 (December 1848): 173–4, quoted in Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, pp. 337–8.
91 Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, pp. 146–8. Significantly, Stowe's novel provoked the first concerted engagement by aristocratic Anglican women in the anti-slavery campaign, perhaps stimulated by this image of their own 'racially based power'.
92 Indeed, there was a long tradition of Evangelical support for Tory measures in parliament. See Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, p. 88; Ware, *Beyond the Pale*, p. 72; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 73.
93 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 34.
94 [Webb], *Julamerk; or, The Converted* Jewess, p. 357.
95 Ibid., p. 481.
96 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 41.
97 Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, pp. 154–63.

4 WOMEN OF ISRAEL: FEMININITY, POLITICS AND ANGLO-JEWISH FICTION

1 Balfour, *Women of Scripture*, p. 9. Further references to this edition will appear in the text. See also Sarah Lewis, *Woman's Mission* (1839) for an earlier version of the same conjunction.
2 This argument was often repeated in Evangelical writing. See, for example, [Amelia Bristow], 'Woman – her Original Dignity and Condition under the Patriarchal Dispensation', *Christian Lady's Friend and Family Repository* 1 (October 1831): 51.
3 On the debates about Jewish emancipation, see Salbstein, *Emancipation of the Jews in Britain*; Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, chs. 1 and 2; and Gilam, *Emancipation of the Jews in England*.
4 *Hansard*, third series, XVIII (30 May – 1 July 1833): 50.
5 'On the Present State of the Jews', *Quarterly Review* 38 (1828): 114–15.
6 *Hansard*, third series, XXXV (8 July – 20 August 1836): 872; XVII (2 April – 20 May 1833): 225.
7 *Hansard*, second series, XXIV (8 April – 4 June 1830): 1311.
8 See, for example, Macaulay's reply to Inglis in the 1833 debate, *Hansard*, third series, XVII (2 April – 20 May 1833): 229.
9 Hazlitt, 'Emancipation of the Jews', p. 323.

10 Macaulay, 'Civil Disabilities of the Jews', p. 288.
11 Hazlitt, 'Emancipation of the Jews', p. 320.
12 Macaulay, 'Civil Disabilities of the Jews', p. 280.
13 F. H. Goldsmid, *The Arguments Advanced against the Enfranchisement of the Jews, Considered in a Series of Letters* (1831), cited by Gilam, *Emancipation of the Jews in England*, p. 135.
14 For this argument, see Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, chs. 1 and 2.
15 Frankel, *Damascus Affair*, pp. 81–3, 212, 261.
16 'Address', *Voice of Jacob*, 1 (16 September 1841): 1–2.
17 'What Are the British Jews and What May they Become?', *Voice of Jacob* 1 (16 September 1841): 3.
18 For an account of the establishment of the early Anglo-Jewish press, see Cesarani, *Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, pp. 8–31.
19 S. S., untitled poem, *Voice of Jacob*, 1 (16 September 1841): 8.
20 M. D., 'Another Conversion. (A Contrast)', *Voice of Jacob* 2 (27 May 1842): 138–9 (p. 139).
21 *Hansard*, third series, xxiii (25 April – 27 May 1834): 1166; xcv (18 November – 20 December 1847): 1271.
22 'Address', *Voice of Jacob* 1 (16 September 1841): 1–2.
23 Feldman, 'Jews in London, 1880–1914', p. 209, Cesarani, *Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, pp. 15, 22–3.
24 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 62.
25 For Jewish criminality in the eighteenth century, which continued to worry Anglo-Jewry until the 1830s, see Katz, *Jews in the History of England*, ch. 7.
26 Montefiore, *A Few Words to the Jews*, p. 36.
27 Unsigned review of 'The Women of Israel' by Grace Aguilar, *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 September 1845, p. 246.
28 C. and M. Moss, *Romance of Jewish History*, 1: iv. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *R*. The book is dedicated to Sir Edward Lytton-Bulwer, the Liberal MP and leading English novelist of the late 1830s who may have been an attractive model for Celia and Marion Moss as the author of two recent bestselling historical novels, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) and *Rienzi* (1835). Their earlier work, *Early Efforts*, also had a parliamentary dedicatee: their local MP, the liberal Tory Sir George Staunton, later a supporter of Jewish emancipation.
29 Aguilar, *Spirit of Judaism*, p. xii.
30 Zatlin, *Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Jewish Novel*, p. 40. See also Cheyette, 'From Apology to Revolt', pp. 254, 264.
31 Galchinsky, *Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer*, p. 30.
32 For an account of Aguilar's life see Galchinsky, *Grace Aguilar: Selected Writings*, pp. 11–46.
33 Aguilar, *Records of Israel*, p. x. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *RI*.
34 Aguilar, *Women of Israel*, p. 2. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *WI*. Here Aguilar alludes to the Christian chauvinism of Mrs Ellis,

author of *The Women of England* and *The Wives of England, their Relative Duties, Domestic Influence, and Social Obligations* (1843), and Mrs Elizabeth Sandford, author of *Woman, in her Social and Domestic Character* (1831) and *Female Improvement* (1836).

35 Gidney, *History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews*, p. 217. Gidney was specifically referring to the Society's work among Jewish women in London in the 1840s.

36 [Charlotte Elizabeth], 'Jewish Literature', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 20 (September 1843): 226.

37 Quoted by Charlotte Elizabeth, 'The Jewish Press', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 18 (August 1842): 139.

38 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 55.

39 [Aguilar], 'History of the Jews in England', p. 25. Further references to this article will be abbreviated as HJ.

40 Aguilar, *Jewish Faith*, p. 446.

41 Aguilar, *Sabbath Thoughts and Sacred Communings*, p. 130. In a letter to an American friend, Aguilar wrote of her reluctance to publish the prayers she had written for her own private use. She feared the reaction of British Jews, after the description of *Records of Israel* as 'anti-Jewish'. The anxiety Aguilar expresses here suggests she was aware that her work was already on dangerous ground, and that the prayers in particular, with their intensely Evangelical style, would overturn the balance. The prayers were eventually published after her death in 1853 by her mother, presumably for financial reasons. See Grace Aguilar to Mrs Cohen of Savannah, Georgia, Cohen Papers, Southern Historical Collection, MS 2639, 30 October 1844.

42 Galchinsky, *Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer*, pp. 17, 133.

43 Abrahams, 'Grace Aguilar: A Centenary Tribute', p. 142. On similar Victorian responses to Aguilar's work, see *Voice of Jacob* 3 (10 May 1844): 142, a review of *Records of Israel* that criticised Aguilar for not condemning Marrano conversion more severely as 'hypocrisy'. The conversionist *Jewish Herald*, however, applauded 'the influence of Christianity in her work' and 'could scarcely tell that the book had not been written by a Christian'. See unsigned review of 'The Spirit of Judaism' by Grace Aguilar, *Jewish Herald* 2 (February 1847): 39.

44 Zatlin, *Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Jewish Novel*, p. 38.

45 For an extended discussion of historical romances by Bulwer, Aguilar and George Eliot, set in fifteenth-century Catholic Spain and focusing on 'the Jewish Question', see Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, ch. 4.

46 For an account of the Jews during the Inquisition by an Evangelical author, who also uses this period of history to illustrate Catholic iniquity, see 'The Confessional: A Portuguese Recollection. By an old campaigner' – the story of a Jewish couple persecuted by 'popish devils' in Portugal – in the *Protestant Annual* 1 (1840): 120–36.

47 Milman, *History of the Jews*, p. 556.

48 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 126–7.

49 Grace Aguilar to Mrs Cohen of Savannah, Cohen Papers, Southern Historical Collection, MS 2639, 30 October 1844, pp. 2–3, original emphasis.

50 Unsigned review of 'The Spirit of Judaism' by Grace Aguilar, *Jewish Herald* 2 (February 1847): 29; 'Sketch of the Life of Grace Aguilar', *Jewish Herald* 3 (July 1848): 171–2.

51 [Charlotte Elizabeth], 'Jewish Literature', *Christian Lady's Magazine* 20 (September 1843): 223, 226.

52 'Notice of the death of Grace Aguilar', *Jewish Herald* 2 (September 1847): 294; 'Sketch of the life of Grace Aguilar', *Jewish Herald* 3 (July 1848): 171–2. See also 'Death of Grace Aguilar', *Jewish Intelligence* 15 (February 1849): 42–4. The Christian interest in Aguilar's writing was not limited to the 1840s and 50s. All of her work, including her fiction on Jewish themes, continued to be considered as edifying Christian reading matter throughout the century. Collected editions of her fiction were republished in the 1890s by J. Nisbet and Co. and in 1906 by Routledge, both as part of a series of Protestant works including Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and earlier nineteenth-century novels favoured by Evangelicals such as *John Halifax, Gentleman*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Naomi* by Mrs J. B. Webb.

53 For example, the synagogue introduced an edifying English-language sermon and celebrated festivals for one day rather than the customary two (which had been sanctioned by rabbinical rather than scriptural authority). See Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 50. For a full account of the British-Jewish debate about religious reform see Feldman, pp. 48–71, and Salbstein, *Emancipation of the Jews in Britain*, pp. 86–94. See also Liberles, 'Origins of the Jewish Reform Movement in England'.

54 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 53–4; Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 156–64.

55 Englander, 'Anglicized not Anglican', p. 260.

56 Charlotte Elizabeth, "'Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics'", *Christian Lady's Magazine* 17 (June 1842): 553–4.

57 Aguilar, *Sabbath Thoughts and Sacred Communings*, pp. 147–8.

58 Aguilar, *Home Influence: A Tale for Mothers and Daughters*, I: v (original emphasis). Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *HI*. Sarah Aguilar's preface to *The Mother's Recompense* (1851), the sequel to *Home Influence*, states that both novels were written when her daughter was 'little above the age of nineteen', i.e. during 1835–6. See *Mother's Recompense*, p. iii. At least twenty-nine editions of *Home Influence* and twenty-two editions of *The Mother's Recompense* appeared between 1847 and 1905.

59 Hall, 'Competing Masculinities', p. 256.

60 Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own?*, p. 54.

61 Aguilar, *Mother's Recompense*, pp. 50, 46. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *MR*.

62 Robert A. Colby links Aguilar's philosophy of education with George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* in its questioning of the moral value of academic learning. The female central characters in both are denied the education given to their brothers, but they grow up with a deeper moral sense, having imbibed from their close contact with nature a profound love of living things. See Colby, *Fiction with a Purpose*, pp. 229–33.

63 Aguilar, 'Vale of Cedars', p. 194. Further references to this edition will appear after quotations in the text.
64 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 151.
65 Sir Robert Inglis, *Hansard*, third series, xvii (2 April – 20 May 1833): 224. See also, for example, Earl of Winchilsea in *Hansard*, third series, cxviii (1 July – 8 August 1851): 892.
66 For a masterful discussion of Aguilar's portrait of Sarah as a counter to Romantic poetic versions of the Hagar story, as well as a counter to Christian conduct manuals, see Harris, 'Hagar in Christian Britain', pp. 150–6.
67 Balfour, *Women of Scripture*, p. 92; Krueger, *Reader's Repentance*, p. 138.
68 Cheyette, 'The Other Self', pp. 97–8.
69 Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'Minute on Indian Education, 2 February 1835', cited in Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, p. 5.
70 On the coercive nature of these demands, see Williams, '"East and West"', p. 19.
71 Aguilar, 'Vale of Cedars', p. 122.
72 *Hansard*, second series, xxiv (8 April – 4 June 1830): 1309.
73 *Hansard*, third series, xvii (2 April – 20 May 1833): 241.
74 *Hansard*, third series, xcv (18 November – 20 December 1847): 1328.
75 On the sexual politics of Disraeli's writing on Jews, see Valman, 'Manly Jews', pp. 77–8.
76 Ibid., pp. 67–71.
77 See Endelman, 'Benjamin Disraeli and the Myth of Sephardi Superiority'.
78 In *Landmarks of a Literary Life*, Mrs Crosland (Camilla Toulmin) recalled Aguilar declining the offer from the publishers Colburn, saying, 'We are so well treated in England now, that it would be most ungrateful to revive the memory of those half-forgotten wrongs.' Cited by Abrahams, 'Grace Aguilar: A Centenary Tribute', p. 144.
79 Roth, 'The Portsmouth Community'.
80 Entry for 14 March 5596 [1836], Minute book 2 (October 1835–October 1868), Portsmouth Synagogue, p. 2.
81 C. and M. Moss, *Romance of Jewish History*, i: iv.
82 Frankel, *Damascus Affair*, pp. 131, 143–7, 207–24.
83 Ibid., pp. 143–6, 206–12.
84 See note 74 above.
85 Webb, *Naomi*, p. 20.
86 'Obituary of Mme Alphonse Hartog' [Marion Moss], *Jewish Chronicle* (1 November 1907), p. 6. On Byron and Moore as poets who exalt the heroism of Eastern resistance to imperialism, see Marilyn Butler, 'Romanticism in England', pp. 58–9. On Moore's *Irish Melodies*, see Dunne, 'Haunted by History', p. 86.
87 C. and M. Moss, *Early Efforts*, p. 13. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *E*.
88 Franklin, '"Some Samples of the Finest Orientalism"', pp. 227, 239.
89 On the genres of national romance and historical romance, which expropriated the 'national' past in contemporary bourgeois terms, see Gary Kelly's comments

on the work of Sydney Owenson, Jane Porter and Anna Porter in *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, pp. 92–8.

90 For the conjunction of sexuality and violence in Orientalist writing and painting, see Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions*, pp. 25, 68, 74–81. See also Melman, *Women's Orients*, p. 68.

91 Ferguson, *Subject to Others*; Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*. On Jewish involvement with the Anti-Slavery Society and abolitionists' support of Jewish emancipation, see Salbstein, *Emancipation of the Jews in Britain*, pp. 66–7 and Gilam, *Emancipation of the Jews in England*, p. 78.

92 Dunne, 'Haunted by History', pp. 87–8.

93 Ferguson, *Subject to Others*, pp. 3–4.

94 Ibid., pp. 4, 132, 149, 162, 159.

95 Ware, *Beyond the Pale*, pp. 104–8.

96 Milman, *History of the Jews* (London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd, 1892), p. 282.

97 C. and M. Moss, *Tales of Jewish History*, I: 117–18. Further references to this edition will be abbreviated as *T*.

98 Galchinsky, *Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer*, pp. 113–33.

99 Macaulay, 'Civil Disabilities of the Jews', p. 279.

100 Frankel, *Damascus Affair*, pp. 311–28.

101 Ibid., pp. 217–24.

102 Frankel, '"Ritual Murder" in the Modern Era', p. 5.

103 Galchinsky, *Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer*, p. 36.

104 [Sarah Aguilar], 'Memoir of Grace Aguilar', pp. ix, xii, xii.

105 Unsigned review of 'The Women of Israel' by Grace Aguilar, *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 September 1845, p. 246.

106 Unsigned review of 'The Mother's Recompense' by Grace Aguilar, *Jewish Chronicle*, 31 January 1851, p. 33.

5 HELLENIST HEROINES: COMMERCE, CULTURE AND THE JEWESS

1 [Eden], *Semi-Detached House*, p. 161. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.

2 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 73–4.

3 Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, p. 159.

4 A Foreign Resident [T. H. S. Escott], *Society in London* (London, 1885); *The Truth*, 21 March 1878, p. 33, both cited in Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 81.

5 Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 15–16. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.

6 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 94–120 (p. 99).

7 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 203. See also Wohl, '"Ben Juju"', pp. 133–6 and n. 124.

8 John Ruskin, 'Traffic', in *The Crown of Wild Olives* (1866), cited in Reed, 'A Friend to Mammon', p. 182.

9 Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, p. 161. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
10 For further discussion of Arnold's notion of Hebraic England see Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, pp. 211–33.
11 *The Economist*, 19 June 1875, pp. 722–3.
12 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, ch. 2; Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, ch. 2; Levine, *Merchant of Modernism*, chs. 1 and 2; Gallagher, 'George Eliot and *Daniel Deronda*'.
13 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 76.
14 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 7.
15 Ibid., p. 27.
16 Trollope, *The Way We Live Now*, II: 59. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
17 Franklin, 'Victorian Discourse of Gambling', p. 903. For a comprehensive account of fictional representations of financial speculation see Reed, 'A Friend to Mammon'.
18 Tracy, *Trollope's Later Novels*, pp. 158–61. Carlyle's diatribe against Hudson is in 'Hudson's Statue', *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850).
19 Delany, 'Land, Money, and the Jews in the Later Trollope', p. 775. Michael Ragussis argues that '[t]he most marked characteristic of Trollope's representation of Jewish identity is its genealogical uncertainty'. See Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 242.
20 Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, p. 240.
21 Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, p. 80. See also Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, pp. 38–9.
22 For a discussion of the suffusion of metaphors of gambling in relation to marriage in *The Duke's Children* (1880), for example, see Franklin, 'The Victorian Discourse of Gambling', pp. 906–7. For a broader discussion of this theme, see Reed, 'A Friend to Mammon'.
23 Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali*, pp. 148–9.
24 Tracy, *Trollope's Later Novels*, p. 176.
25 For a discussion of domestic violence in *The Way We Live Now* arguing that 'woman-abuse is presented as a problem of epidemic proportions, rife in all segments of society', see Smith, 'Trollope's Dark Vision', p. 21.
26 Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, p. 85.
27 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, pp. 31–2; Mullen, *Anthony Trollope*, p. 470.
28 Delany, 'Land, Money and the Jews', p. 783.
29 Franklin, 'The Victorian Discourse of Gambling', p. 918.
30 Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, pp. 78–9.
31 Critics have disagreed about Trollope's representation of women's emancipation. Monika Rydygier Smith, for example, argues that *The Way We Live Now* dramatises Mill's *Subjection of Women* (1869), anchors its sense of social crisis 'in the assault and battery of women' and implicitly demands that readers recognise that women's subordination is 'an act of violence' (Smith, 'Trollope's Dark Vision', p. 26). In 'Trollope and Feminism', John Halperin, on the other

hand, surveys the range of anti-feminist statements in Trollope's work and concludes that '[h]e was not a sympathizer' (p. 188). My argument follows R. D. McMaster, who argues that Trollope's ambivalence towards self-willed women is expressed in figures like Mrs Hurtle and Marie Melmotte. See McMaster, 'Women in *The Way We Live Now*'.

32 Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, p. 157.
33 For this argument in relation to Arnold, see Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, p. 47.
34 Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*, cited in Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 19.
35 Arnold, letter to his mother, 29 October 1863, in *Letters of Matthew Arnold 1848–1888*, p. 202.
36 Arnold, *Poems*, p. 522.
37 Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, p. 49.
38 Arnold, *Poems*, p. 523.
39 Ibid., pp. 524–5.
40 Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, p. 49.
41 Linehan, 'Mixed Politics', p. 325. See also Wohlfarth, '*Daniel Deronda* and the Politics of Nationalism', and Lesjak, 'Labours of a Modern Storyteller'.
42 Brownstein, *Tragic Muse*, p. 9.
43 Lewes, 'Rachel', p. 25.
44 Anderson, 'George Eliot and the Jewish Question', p. 42.
45 See, for example, Litvak, 'Poetry and Theatricality in *Daniel Deronda*', and Gallagher, 'George Eliot and *Daniel Deronda*'.
46 Marshall, *Actresses on the Victorian Stage*, p. 72.
47 Gallagher, 'George Eliot and *Daniel Deronda*', p. 53.
48 Marshall, *Actresses on the Victorian Stage*, p. 70.
49 Brownstein, *Tragic Muse*, pp. 62–3.
50 Meyer, '"Safely to their own Borders"', p. 181.
51 Nancy Pell argues that emphasis on the oppression of the Jewish daughter enables Eliot to express a tentative feminism by displacing her critique of patriarchy safely onto the 'alien' Jews. See 'The Fathers' Daughters in *Daniel Deronda*', p. 432.
52 Baker, *George Eliot and Judaism*, pp. 144–6.
53 Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, pp. 154, 155. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
54 Smith, 'Can Jews be Patriots?', pp. 875, 886.
55 Semmel, *George Eliot and the Politics of National Inheritance*, pp. 132, 127.
56 See, for example, Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, pp. 43–53.
57 Meyer, '"Safely to their own Borders"', p. 187.
58 Ibid., pp. 180–2; Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, pp. 221–9; Linehan, 'Mixed Politics', p. 338.
59 The imperial dimension of the notion of Jewish national restoration is also considered at length in Meyer, '"Safely to their own Borders"', pp. 183–7.
60 Hess, *The Revival of Israel*, pp. 123–6.

61 Linehan, 'Mixed Politics', p. 340.
62 On Gwendolen's 'baptism into the religious life' in the latter part of the novel, see Bonaparte, '*Daniel Deronda*: Theology in a Secular Age', p. 36. On Eliot's use of the Evangelical trope of conversion in other novels, see Jay, *Religion of the Heart*, pp. 60–5.
63 For the argument that what Mordecai teaches Daniel is 'the regenerative and intrinsically national power of homosocial love', see Press, 'Same-Sex Unions in Modern Europe', p. 311.
64 For a full discussion of the contemporary reception of *Daniel Deronda* by both Jewish and non-Jewish critics see Martin, 'Contemporary Critics and Judaism in *Daniel Deronda*', and Bar-Yosef, *Holy Land in English Culture*, pp. 220–5.
65 Bar-Yosef, *Holy Land in English Culture*, pp. 210–13.
66 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 82–93.
67 [Harris], *Estelle*, I: 4–5. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
68 Harris, letter, *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 May 1892, p. 12.
69 Smith, 'England's Abandonment of the Protectorate of Turkey', p. 617, and 'Can Jews Be Patriots?', p. 875.
70 Pykett, 'Portraits of the Artist as a Young Woman', pp. 135–50; Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction*, pp. 155–93; Nelson, *British Women Fiction Writers of the 1890s*, pp. 29–40.
71 Pykett, 'Portraits of the Artist as a Young Woman', p. 138.
72 Ibid., p. 143.
73 See Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction*, pp. 178–93.
74 Harris, letter, *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 May 1892, p. 12.
75 Cited in 'Opinions of the Press', Harris, *Within a Circle*, endpapers.
76 Harris's own religious practice was similarly eclectic, combining affiliations to both Reform and orthodox Judaism, and participating in both institutional and informal forms of worship. In the 1880s and 90s she became the guiding force of the Jewish Girls' Club in Soho, a 'semi-religious, semi-social' organisation that had developed from the Sabbath classes for working-class girls originally held in her family home ('The Late Miss Emily M. Harris', *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 December 1900). In a memorial service at the Club following her death in 1900, the Rev. D. Fay of the Central Synagogue attested that the classes were characterised by 'a sweet spirituality which our synagogues might have envied'. At her funeral the traditional Hebrew service was performed in the Mortuary Chapel while simultaneously, at her wish, a hymn of her own composition and psalms were sung in English (untraditionally) at the graveside by members of the Club. The funeral service was conducted by Rev. M. Hast of the orthodox Great Synagogue where her father had been a member, but she was also eulogised by the Rev. Morris Joseph, preaching at the Berkeley Street Reform congregation ('The Death of Miss Emily M. Harris', *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 December 1900, pp. 14–15).
77 Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, pp. 17–18; Englander, 'Anglicized not Anglican', pp. 236–73, esp. pp. 258–9.
78 Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, pp. 47–8, 66.

79 Davies, 'The Catholic Trend of Anglican Worship', pp. 114–38. On echoes of the Royal Commission on Ritual of 1867–70 in Anglo-Jewish attitudes to ceremony, see Cesarani, *Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, p. 56.
80 Lambourne, 'Simeon Solomon: Catalogue of Works'; Weiner, '"An Artist of Strong Jewish Feeling"', p. 19; Goodman, 'Reshaping Jewish Identity in Art', p. 17.
81 Harris, *Narrative of the Holy Bible*, p. 117.
82 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 82–93.
83 Disraeli, *Coningsby*, II: 138. For a discussion of Disraeli's use of the rhetoric of race, see Valman, 'Manly Jews'. In 'A Jewish Family', Wordsworth describes two impoverished German Jewish girls as radiant Orientals: 'Such beauty hath the Eternal poured / Upon them not forlorn, / Though of a lineage once abhorred, / Nor yet redeemed from scorn.'
84 Disraeli, *Tancred*, III: 98–9.
85 For this argument with reference to Farjeon, see Cheyette, 'The Other Self', p. 101.
86 [Harris], *Benedictus*, I: 110. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
87 Ibid., I: 79.
88 Ibid., I: 42.
89 Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 124–5.
90 Sharp, *Children of To-Morrow*, p. 75.
91 Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto*.

6 THE SHADOW OF THE HAREM: *FIN-DE-SIÈCLE* RACIAL ROMANCE

1 E. M. M., *Disowned; or, The Outlawed Jewess*, pp. 6, 8.
2 Guttenberg, *Neither Jew Nor Greek*, p. 116.
3 E. W., *Leah Wolfe: The Converted Jewess*, pp. 11–12, 169.
4 Guttenberg, *Neither Jew Nor Greek*, p. 192.
5 Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution*, p. 116.
6 Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, p. 39.
7 'New Books', *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 August 1889, p. 12; Cheyette, 'From Apology to Revolt', p. 260.
8 Danby, *Dr Phillips*, p. 9.
9 'Middle-Class Jewish Women of To-Day. By A Jewess', *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 September 1886, p. 7. Melvyn New attributes this unsigned piece to Levy. The similarity of phrasing and sentiment to other work by Levy suggests to me that this is a correct assumption.
10 'The Deterioration of the Jewess', *Jewish World*, 22 February 1889, p. 5; 'Critical Jews', editorial, *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 January 1889, p. 11.
11 Todd Endelman analyses German-born Jews' tendency to disavow their Jewishness in *Radical Assimilation*, pp. 126, 108. Frankau and her husband Arthur were briefly members of the Reform congregation at the West London Synagogue of British Jews (which Levy's family also occasionally attended), but left

in 1885 after refusing to circumcise their son Gilbert and went on to raise their children in the Church of England. The 'overwhelmingly gentile precincts' of bohemia in which Frankau moved may also have provided a motivation for her hostility to Jews. See Endelman, 'Frankaus of London', pp. 126–7, 134. See also the description of Frankau's upbringing and youth in the memoir written by her sister Eliza Aria, which evinces both Jewish 'pride' and derogatory representations of Jews: Aria, *My Sentimental Self*, pp. 33, 49–50. For Levy's upbringing and education see Beckman, *Amy Levy*, pp. 12–57. For adolescent drawings and letters exchanged privately with her sister Katie that suggest a shared disgust with Jewish society, see Beckman, 'Leaving "The Tribal Duckpond"', pp. 192–3.

12 Cited in Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, pp. 97, 96.

13 In *Radical Assimilation* Endelman draws on *Dr Phillips* and *Reuben Sachs* for the evidence they provide of the materialistic, irreligious and socially insular character of contemporary Anglo-Jewry (pp. 92–6). See also Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, pp. 72–3. For an analysis of this fiction as an index of a broader antisemitic climate, see Endelman, 'The Frankaus of London', p. 132.

14 Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, p. 97, and, for similar comments by contemporaries, p. 93.

15 Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1871) cited in Ledger and Luckhurst, *The Fin de Siècle*, p. 321.

16 Levy, *Reuben Sachs*, p. 227. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.

17 Dean, *Isaac Eller's Money*, p. 14. For hostile response to Sidgwick's novel, see 'New Books', *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 August 1889, p. 12. For a more detailed account of the Jewish-born Sidgwick's radical assimilationist fiction, see Valman, '"Barbarous and Mediaeval"' and Zatlin, *Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Jewish Novel*, pp. 41–8.

18 Siegel, 'Literature and Degeneration', p. 200, Ledger, 'In Darkest England'.

19 Valman, '"Barbarous and Mediaeval"', p. 125.

20 Smith, 'Jewish Question'.

21 [Levy], 'Jew in Fiction', *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 June 1886, p. 13.

22 Francis, 'Amy Levy: Contradictions?'; for an account of 'Lallie' see Beckman, *Amy Levy*, pp. 43–4.

23 Levy, 'Cohen of Trinity', p. 478. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.

24 Goldstein, 'Wandering Jew', p. 543.

25 Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew'*, p. 53.

26 On Svengali, see ibid., p. 6, and, for extended discussions, Pick, *Svengali's Web* and Freedman, *Temple of Culture*, ch. 3.

27 Brooker and Widdowson, 'A Literature for England'.

28 Beckman, *Amy Levy*, p. 169, emphasis in original.

29 For the common association between Jews and modern city life see Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, pp. 48–9.

30 In a number of recent studies Sander Gilman has explored the *fin-de-siècle* preoccupation with the degeneration of the Jewish race, ascribed variously to

the effects of endogamy, the pressures of modern city life, or, alternatively, according to Jewish physicians, 'the Jewish brain's inability to compete after a "two-thousand-year Diaspora" and "a struggle for mere existence up to emancipation"'. See Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender*, p. 100.

31 Levy, 'Jewish Children', *Jewish Chronicle*, p. 531. For an analysis, see Francis, 'Amy Levy: Contradictions?', pp. 187–8. In a letter written a month after Amy Levy's suicide in September 1889, Vernon Lee, to whom Levy was strongly attached, wrote to a friend that Levy 'had every right; she learned in the last 6 weeks that she was on the verge of a horrible & loathsome form of madness running in the family, & of which she had seen a brother of hers die' – suggesting that Levy may have considered herself tainted by racial degeneracy. See Beckman, *Amy Levy*, p. 208.

32 His remark closely echoes that of Jean-Baptiste Charcot, who commented in the 1880s that 'Jewish families furnish us with the finest subjects for the study of hereditary nervous disease' (Goldstein, 'The Wandering Jew', p. 536).

33 Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 527.

34 By the 1870s Herbert Spencer was arguing that although there had been a quantative improvement in people's lives during his lifetime there had been a qualitative decline; greater attention to healthcare, for example, had weakened the population's natural capacity to combat disease. See Nye, 'Sociology and Degeneration'.

35 Ibid., p. 67.

36 Endelman, 'Benjamin Disraeli and the Myth of Sephardi Superiority', pp. 23–39; Efron, 'Scientific Racism', pp. 76–7.

37 Greenslade, 'Fitness and the Fin de Siècle', p. 42.

38 Jacobs, 'Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews', p. 33.

39 Burton, *Burdens of History*, p. 70.

40 [Levy], 'Middle-Class Jewish Women', p. 7.

41 Ibid.

42 [Beatrice Potter], 'The Jewish Community', in Charles Booth, ed., *Life and Labour of the People in London*, III: *Blocks of Buildings*, *Schools*, *and Immigration* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1892), pp. 166–92 (p. 189).

43 Rochelson, 'Jews, Gender and Genre', Francis, 'Socialist Feminism'.

44 Rochelson, 'Jews, Gender and Genre', p. 320.

45 Nord, '"Neither Pairs Nor Odd"', p. 181.

46 See, for example, Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894), George Egerton, 'Virgin Soil' and 'Wedlock' (1894), Mona Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) and, preceding *Reuben Sachs*, Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* (1883).

47 Francis, 'Socialist Feminism', p. 121. On Levy's poetry, which expresses 'her vision of a world which is unredeemed by faith, love, or social change', see Leighton and Reynolds, *Victorian Women Poets*, p. 591.

48 Levy, 'Wise in her Generation', p. 491. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.

49 Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 144.
50 Mona Caird, 'Marriage', p. 100. Further references to this edition will appear in the text. For a discussion of the contours of the Marriage Question in the 1880s and 90s see Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, ch. 4.
51 Levy, *Reuben Sachs*, p. 210.
52 For hostility to Jews amongst the Social Democratic Federation see Beckman, *Amy Levy*, p. 83. For the snobbish critique of Jewish 'vulgarity' that Levy herself reproduces, see ibid., p. 203, on Vernon Lee, and Gorni, 'Beatrice Webb's Views on Judaism and Zionism', p. 101 on Beatrice Webb.
53 Cited in Gilman, 'Sexology, Psychoanalysis, and Degeneration', p. 78.
54 Caird, 'Marriage', p. 95.
55 For an anti-feminist argument that relies on the same comparison of pagan and Christian women, see Linton, 'Wild Women as Social Insurgents'.
56 Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 2, 63, 73. Billie Melman's discussion of Victorian women travellers' accounts, in contrast, emphasises their idealisation of the harem as a space of female freedom. Muslim women were seen not as victims but as 'autonomous individuals, liberated from sex, and from an enslaving sexuality'. See Melman, *Women's Orients*, pp. 98–162 (p. 112).
57 For a nuanced discussion of Christian intertexts in *Reuben Sachs*, see Hetherington, 'New Women, New Testaments', ch. 2.
58 Guttenberg, *Neither Jew Nor Greek*, p. 12.
59 Ibid., pp. 64–6.
60 [Levy], 'Middle-Class Jewish Women', p. 7.
61 For example, Burdett shows how for Olive Schreiner '[i]t is the "New Woman" – the feminist woman – demanding new forms of work, who will prevent [the] slide into degeneracy'. In a discussion of the way that Schreiner's feminist writing 'is pervaded by a rhetoric of racial supremacy', Burdett notes that this is 'a consequence of the way in which feminism – as a progressive movement – depended upon narratives of progress and improvement which were central to the formation of *national* identities in Europe in the nineteenth century' (Burdett, 'Hidden Romance of Sexual Science', pp. 56, 57). See also Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction*, pp. 33, 142–4, and Ledger, *The New Woman*, pp. 69–76.
62 Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, p. 48. See also Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood'; Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 48–52, 79–87.
63 Richardson, 'Eugenization of Love', p. 240.
64 Grand, *Heavenly Twins*, p. 219.
65 For a longer discussion, see Valman, '"Barbarous and Medieval"', pp. 124–8.
66 The novel went through five editions in ten years.
67 See Thomas, *A Long Time Burning* and Cheyette, 'The Other Self', pp. 103–4.
68 For a discussion of hereditary degeneration in Zola's Rougon Macquart cycle of novels, see Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, pp. 74–87.
69 For a critique of the novel's racial politics, see Galchinsky, '"Permanently Blacked"'.

70 Danby, *Dr Phillips*, pp. 1, 4. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
71 See Hoberman, 'Otto Weininger and the Critique of Jewish Masculinity', pp. 141–53.
72 Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race*, p. 2. Cheyette and Endelman have argued that Frankau 'internalized a racial discourse about Jews'. See Cheyette, 'The Other Self', p. 104. Endelman describes Frankau's 'very strong desire to escape identification with the common run of London Jews' in *Radical Assimilation*, p. 134.
73 Efron, 'Interminably Maligned', p. 302.
74 Gilman, *Jew's Body*, pp. 128–9. In *Sex and Character* (1903), Otto Weininger also stresses the fundamental lack of creative intellect in Jews, who lack deep-rooted and original ideas because of their materialist doubt of all and any truths. See ibid., p. 136.
75 See Gilman, *Jew's Body*, pp. 104–27 and Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 203–4.
76 For a discussion of the novel's imagery of whiteness and blackness see Galchinsky, '"Permanently Blacked"'. For more on nineteenth-century notions of the 'blackness' of Jews see Gilman, *Jew's Body*, pp. 171–6.
77 Rochelson, 'New Women, Jewish Men'.
78 Gilman, 'Otto Weininger and Sigmund Freud', pp. 112–13.
79 Lock, 'Introduction', pp. viii–xii.
80 Moscucci, *Science of Woman*, pp. 144–62. By apparent coincidence, a surgeon named Benjamin Phillips commented in 1850 on the debate about the efficacy of ovariotomy: 'If I turn to one side, I am assured that the operation is little short of murder; if I turn to the other side, I am told that it is comparatively harmless.' 'Discussion on Robert Lee's "Analysis of one hundred and eight cases of ovariotomy which have occurred in Great Britain"', *The Lancet* 2 (1850): 584–7 (p. 585), cited in Moscucci, p. 140.
81 On the impact of the pro-vivisection evidence of the 'heavily accented' Emanuel Klein before the Royal Commission in 1875, preceding the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876, see Lansbury, *Old Brown Dog*, p. 130.
82 Collins, *Heart and Science*, p. 95.
83 Ibid., p. 190.
84 Elston, 'Women and Anti-Vivisection', pp. 277–81, Lansbury, *Old Brown Dog*, chs. 5 and 8.
85 Lansbury, *Old Brown Dog*, p. 135.
86 Marshallik [Israel Zangwill], 'Dr Reuben Green', pp. 9–10.
87 Danby, *Babe in Bohemia*, p. 21.
88 Ibid., p. 199. For discussions of the widespread anxieties about urban degeneration see Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*; Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, pp. 176–221; Greenslade, 'Fitness and the Fin de Siècle', pp. 37–51; and Greenslade, *Culture, Degeneration and the Novel*, pp. 26–7.
89 Danby, *Babe in Bohemia*, p. 277.

90 Davison, *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature*, pp. 133–4.
91 For analyses of *Dracula* in these terms, see Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race*, pp. 148–66; Halberstam, 'Technologies of Monstrosity'; and Davison, *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature*, ch. 5.
92 For the identification of the South African war as a 'Jews' war' see Holmes, *Antisemitism in British Society*, pp. 69–70. On Frankau's self-identification as a patriot, see Salaman, 'Obituary: Death of "Frank Danby"'.
93 Danby, *Pigs in Clover*, p. 116. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
94 See Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, p. 216. On the fear of racial contamination in 1890s fiction, see Warwick, 'Vampires and the Empire'.
95 Danby, *Sphinx's Lawyer*, pp. 98, 43. Further references to this edition will appear in the text.
96 Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, pp. 229–31; Valverde, '"When the Mother of the Race is Free"'.
97 Hart, 'Picturing Jews', p. 160. See also Patai and Patai, *Myth of the Jewish Race*, ch. 1.
98 Gilman, 'Sexology, Psychoanalysis and Degeneration', p. 87.

7 conclusion: neither wild thing nor tame

1 Levy, 'Captivity', ll. 25–40, in *A London Plane Tree*.
2 Scheinberg, *Women's Poetry and Religion in Victorian England*, pp. 230–2.
3 On Zangwill's novel, see Rochelson, 'Language, Gender and Ethnic Anxiety' and Rochelson, 'Introduction' to Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto*, pp. 11–44.
4 Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto*, p. 148.
5 Ibid., p. 208.
6 Rochelson, 'Introduction', p. 34.
7 Zangwill, 'Transitional', p. 33.
8 Ibid., p. 53.
9 Zangwill, 'Anglicization', pp. 64, 65–6.
10 Ibid., p. 66.
11 On the inability of imperial culture to categorise Jews racially, see Cheyette, 'Neither Black Nor White', p. 41.
12 Cited in Radford, 'The Woman and the Jew', p. 93.
13 Ibid., pp. 94–5.
14 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, III: 150, 152.
15 Ibid., III: 150.
16 Radford, 'The Woman and the Jew', pp. 99–101.
17 Rose, 'Dorothy Richardson and the Jew', in Cheyette, *Between 'Race' and Culture*, pp. 124, 128; Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, III: 167.
18 Rose, 'Dorothy Richardson and the Jew', p. 125.
19 Robertson, 'Historicizing Weininger', p. 24. See also Hoberman, 'Otto Weininger and the Critique of Jewish Masculinity'.
20 Rosenfeld, 'James Joyce's Womanly Wandering Jew', p. 223.

21 Joyce, *Ulysses*, p. 273.
22 Rose, 'Dorothy Richardson and the Jew', p. 126.
23 Newman, 'Idea of Judaism in Feminism and Afrocentrism', pp. 157–8. See also Plaskow, 'Blaming the Jews for the Birth of Patriarchy' and Daum, 'Blaming the Jews for the Death of the Goddess'.
24 Newman, 'Idea of Judaism in Feminism and Afrocentrism', pp. 154, 162–6.
25 Joyce, *Ulysses*, pp. 403, 633.
26 Ibid., pp. 276, 277.
27 See, for example, Hirsch, 'Dickens' Queer "Jew"'.
28 Stratton, *Coming Out Jewish*, p. 18.
29 Joyce, *Ulysses*, p. 411.
30 Ibid., p. 280.
31 Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 661, 725.
32 Anderson, 'George Eliot and the Jewish Question', p. 48.
33 Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, p. 38.

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