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“PERMANENTLY BLACKED”: JULIA FRANKAU’S JEWISH RACE

By Michael Galchinsky

IF THERE IS to be a challenge to the increasingly prevalent impulse to recover Anglo-Jewish texts from the silences of the archives, the challenge will undoubtedly arise in relation to the novels of Julia Frankau.¹ Frankau’s late Victorian novels on Jewish subjects, *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll* (1887) and *Pigs in Clover* (1903), explore and authorize a particular set of attitudes known as “Jewish self-hatred,” and, I will argue, legitimate these attitudes by recourse to an idiosyncratic form of scientific racism. Moreover, as I will demonstrate, these texts have served as spurs to the production of racial anti-Semitism. In such a case, what does it mean to recover the text? For what purposes does one revive interest in a self-hating work that has a history of generating dangerous consequences?

Before I can give a provisional answer to these questions, I must first establish that Frankau’s novels *are* the kinds of texts I’ve just described. All critics seem to agree that Frankau’s two novels on Jewish subjects contain an element of what Sander Gilman calls “self-hatred,” the subject’s internalization of dominant stereotypes about his or her marginalized group (Gilman 2). Moreover, most would probably agree that Frankau attempts, in Gilman’s words, to “distance the specter of self-hatred, at least for the moment” by projecting “all the negative qualities feared within oneself” onto others (Gilman 270). In Frankau’s case, I will argue, the negative projection is onto recent Central and Eastern European Jewish immigrants, or *Ostjuden*. But not every critic agrees that Frankau’s self-hatred is racial in nature or that it is thoroughgoing. Todd Endelman and Bryan Cheyette have both argued that Frankau’s criticism of Jews restricts itself to a *section* of the late Victorian Jewish community (Endelman, “The Frankaus”; Cheyette, “The Other Self”). This would imply that Frankau’s critical stance towards Jews is a cultural rather than racial matter. But while I agree that Frankau *attempts* to split Jews into good and bad sections, I believe her attempt ultimately fails, that Frankau’s hatred of Jews is thorough (with a single significant exception), and that this hatred is motivated by her adoption of late Victorian racial discourses, which she then alters for her own idiosyncratic purposes.

The atypical nature of Frankau’s work is brought into relief when we compare it to the literary tradition from which it departs as well as to the fiction being generated by her Jewish contemporaries. The late Victorian racial discourse of Jewishness that Frankau adopts represented quite a departure from the way Jewishness was typically discussed during the early and mid-Victorian periods. In the earlier periods, Jews had been seen as

a small religious minority arguing for emancipation from the remaining legal hindrances placed on their integration and “advancement” by an unenlightened British constitution. Early and mid-Victorian Jews believed that the greatest threat to their community’s integrity was not eugenics but conversion, not any attempt to deny them status as an inferior race, but an attempt to bequeath them status by eradicating their religious difference. Between 1830 and 1857, the years during which the English Jews were struggling for emancipation, the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity Amongst the Jews was most active (Galchinsky, *Origin* 50–52; Ragussis 15; Endleman, *Radical Assimilation* 18). Jews’ emancipation efforts, along with the Catholic Emancipation Act, raised anxiety over the religious boundaries of Englishness, and one way to ease such anxiety was to erase religious diversity through conversion. Conservatives and Liberals alike were drawn to conversion as a means of incorporating Jews and other marginalized groups into the nation. A case in point is the liberal M. P. and historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, whose maiden speech in Parliament was on behalf of Jewish emancipation, and who was noted for his Minute on Indian Education (qtd. in Anderson 91). In both speeches, his argument was to grant foreigners rights while engaging in a cultural program to anglicize them. For him, one of the salient results of anglicization would be non-Christians’ conversion through persuasive rather than coercive means. The salient difference of the natives abroad and the Jewish community at home was a religious difference.

Early and mid-Victorian novelists contributed to the conversionist effort, and seldom articulated a racial discourse about Jewishness. Bulwer Lytton’s *Leila, or the Siege of Granada* and Thackeray’s *Rebecca and Rowena* were two of the novels that updated the Shylock/Jessica plot of Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* to depict spiritual Jewish women leaving their materialistic fathers’ houses to marry a charismatic Christian suitor. In numerous conversionist romances, the price Jewish heroines had to pay for full integration into English life was their conversion to Christianity. Their race was not at issue (Ragussis 146; Galchinsky, *Origin* 52–58).

Anglo-Jewish writers in the 1830s and 1840s had responded to conversionist fiction, missionary efforts, and the imperatives of anglicization by writing novels in which Jewish women marry Jewish suitors and yet are still accepted fully as English citizens. These writers had depicted Jewish life as a domestic religious affair that would not intrude into English public life. In public their heroines spoke, dressed, sang, and read according to English (Christian) customs. Novelists such as Grace Aguilar and Marion and Celia Moss had interpreted Jewishness as primarily a religious and cultural inheritance rather than as a biologically determined race (Galchinsky, *Origin* 127, 136, 165, 183–84). These middle-class writers had worked under the belief that when Victorian Christians became accustomed to images of decent, hard-working, respectable, and graceful Jews, Christians would be glad to grant English Jews full rights of citizenship without converting them. It had been in their interests to depict the community as unified, at least in publications meant for an audience other than Jews. They did not foresee the racial turn that British politics would take in the late Victorian period, nor the divisions that would take place within the Jewish community itself.

Beginning in the 1880s, an increasingly prevalent view of Jews’ racial inferiority was articulated in the discourses surrounding imperialism, immigration, and the Darwinian sciences. Imperialist discourse frequently represented Jews as the domestic colony of the British empire, and assumed that, like the “natives” abroad, Jews at home were members



Figure 21. “The Jew,” illustration from Robert Knox, *The Races of Men* (Philadelphia, 1850).

of an inferior non-white race. In immigration discourse, the influx of 200,000 *Ostjudische* immigrants into the East End in the 1880s and 1890s resulted in a rise of nativist racism, as the “Jewish Question” became intertwined with the “Alien Question” in British politics (Feldman 278, 310). In Darwinian sciences of race like anthropology, Spencerist sociology, and eugenics, Jews were generally classified as “Semites” or “Orientals,” and were thus treated under the same non-Caucasian racial rubrics as Arabs and Indians (Said 234; see Figure 21).²

All late Victorian Jewish writers — including Frankau, Israel Zangwill, Amy Levy, Benjamin Farjeon, and a few others — confronted these three discourses in their novels, especially the discourses surrounding immigration and science. Yet most did so in order to reject the racialization of these discourses. In terms of immigration, late Victorian writers began to perceive greater disunity within the Jewish community than did the previous generation as a result of the community’s changed demographics due to immigration. Unlike the anglicized and often radically assimilationist middle class Jews who lived in the West End, the *Ostjuden* who crowded into the East End were not acculturated to middle class English Christian standards and often resented the attempts made by West End Jews and English Christians to socialize them. West End Jews were, for the most part, opposed to converting East End Jews to Christianity, but they did hope to train them to the English language and to middle class English standards of work, dress, and play. West

End Jews often feared that the immigrants' "alien" ways would reflect back on *them* and would impede their own integration (Feldman 262, 292–94, 383). Writers like Israel Zangwill ascribed the differences between West and East Enders mainly to differences in culture that could be overcome (at a cost) through anglicization (Zangwill 21).

In terms of racial science, almost all late Victorian Jewish writers rejected the view that Jews constituted a biologically determined and inferior race. To be sure, Benjamin Farjeon adopted Benjamin Disraeli's Jewish racial supremacism in his novel *Aaron the Jew*. Among late Victorian Jewish writers, I suggest that only Frankau adopted the increasingly prevalent view of Jews' biological inferiority, including elements drawn specifically from all three of these discourses in her novels.

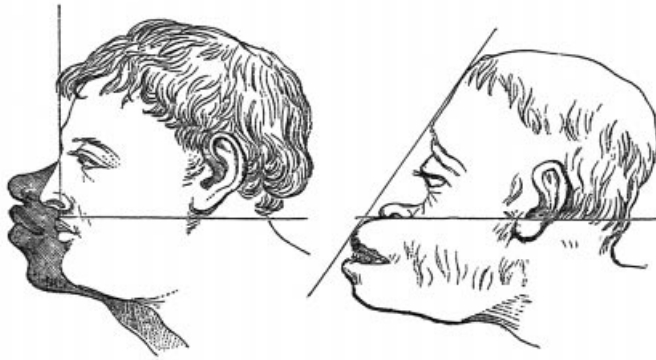
Frankau's adoption and alteration of racist ideology is apparent in both of her novels with Jewish content. In *Dr. Phillips*, a West End Jewish physician puts an end to his miserable marriage to a woman imported for him from Frankfurt when he murders her with an overdose of morphine, in so doing hoping to free himself to marry his Christian mistress. The title character's wife, Clothilde, is not typical of most recent immigrants, in that she hales from a wealthy family and never lives in the East End, but she is typical of the cultivated West Enders' view of East Enders in being stupid, boorish, uncultivated, and full of primitive religious rituals. She lacks the quality that Germans referred to as *Bildung*, or cultivation (Sorkin 15–18). But Clothilde's inferiority does not necessarily imply that Frankau believes the West Enders superior. Frankau undermines her attempt to "split" the Anglo-Jewish community into good and bad sections before she ever introduces Clothilde into the novel. She thoroughly satirizes the West End Jews of Maida Vale, representing them as *nouveau riche* and clannish, their religion full of superstitious and outdated religious practices. The Maida Vale Jews' favorite activities are to play cards and gossip about one another, and though they are "socially ambitious," they, too, lack *Bildung*, and are as jealous of Christians as they are desirous of emulating them (*Dr. Phillips* 9). If the West Enders are better than the recent immigrants, they are so only in relative terms.

So far, the Jews' inferiority to the larger Victorian society appears to be largely cultural. Yet, significantly, the West End Jews' materialism and lack of cultivation are secondary to, and are caused by, their racial character. The narrator foretells this social circle's "natural" degeneracy — "Theirs is a society worth describing before, as must be in the natural order of things, it decays or amalgamates" (168) — and identifies the cause of this decay as the Jews' "inviolable seclusion" (168) — in other words, their inbreeding, a eugenically negative practice likely to produce defective offspring. Frankau's portrait of an inward-looking "nation" seems to conflict with the earlier Anglo-Jewish fictions that depicted the West End Jewish community as integrationist. While Frankau's West Enders may be "ashamed" of their narrow exclusiveness, they are also fiercely committed to it.

For Frankau, these Jews have no choice but to be clannish: their biology unites them. When Dr. Phillips' Christian mistress, Mary Cameron, is first introduced into the Jews' circle, her whiteness is contrasted with Dr. Phillips' and the other Jews' blackness:

The first thing the black eyes [of the Jews] saw was the tall familiar figure of their dear Doctor, his stooping shoulders, and the black beard, whiskers, and moustache that hid all his features; then . . . they concentrated their glance upon a really beautiful woman. Her white profile was crowned with corn-coloured hair, her dark blue eyes had starry centres, . . . and she moved among the dark-skinned women like the moon in a cloudy sky. (11)

Jewish; but these latter elements now prevail, I believe. The grand classic face has all but disappeared, and in its place comes out a people with a rounded profile; the nose large and running into the cheeks, like the Jew; the chin receding; the eyebrows arched. Anti-classic in all things, how Greece has fallen! Yet this was the country which produced the men who fought



[*Profile of Negro, European, and Oran Outan.*]

Figure 22. "Profile of Negro, European, and Oran Outan," from Robert Knox, *The Races of Men* (Philadelphia, 1850).

The contrasting skin colors of the women seem to account for their differences in cultivation, just as the contrasting skin colors and facial angles in the profile from Knox's *Races of Men* seem to account for black "primitiveness." Knox linked his understanding of blacks to his understanding of Jews when he wrote immediately above the profile that "the grand classic face has all but disappeared, and in its place comes out a people with a rounded profile; the nose large and running into the cheeks, like the Jew; the chin receding; the eyebrows arched. Anti-classic in all things, how Greece has fallen!" (Figure 22). In more general terms, the narrator explains that "the difference between Jew and Gentile was once one of religion. Now it is a difference that it will take as many centuries of extermarriage [sic] to overcome as it has taken centuries of intermarriage to bring about" (60). Whereas earlier Anglo-Jewish novelists such as Grace Aguilar had asserted that Jews and Christians (while differing in forms) were equal in spirit, Frankau seems to assert the existence of an unassailable, biological, and hierarchical difference between Jews and whites that will require eugenic breeding to remove.

For Frankau, Jews' "blackness" explains their moral degeneracy. Benjamin Phillips's black whiskers not only hide his face, they penetrate deeper into his soul: "In that sudden flash of knowledge, [Phillips] saw the blackness of his past; and the blackness that had

surrounded him . . . he knew was the blackness of sin" (328–29). The Jews' primitive religion, their materialism, their triviality and dinginess — all these are, for Frankau, to some degree results of their racial degeneracy. Apparently Frankau even considered Jews' blackness to be catching. When a minor Jewish character, Florrie, asks Mary Cameron for her opinion on whether the Christian man Florrie loves would ever agree to become a Jew to marry her, Mary responds: "Good Heavens! do you think a white man would consent to go about with his face permanently blacked?" (137). Here Mary draws on the late Victorian slang that identified English Jews (and the Irish) as blacks to suggest that conversion stamps one indelibly as a part of the Jewish race.

Benjamin Phillips at first seems to be a test case for whether a Jew can escape "the blackness of his past," whether a Jew can forge an individual identity through merit and charisma outside of the collective shame conferred on him by his race. As the novel opens, he is proud of his Jewishness but seems to have transcended the clannish boundaries of the community. One young Maida Vale woman, Florrie, tells her sister that the good doctor is better than their Jewish contemporaries: "Dr. Phillips is a gentleman. He is in a profession. He went to a university and he doesn't give card-parties" (14). Yet the doctor's relationships with two women, his *Ostjudische* wife and his Christian mistress, both manifest his incapacity to escape his race.

The incompatibility of the relationship between Benjamin and Clothilde Phillips is evident in every sphere of their domestic life: her stupidity conflicts with his intelligence, her loyalty to Jewish rituals with his enlightened rejection of tradition. The narrator reveals that Benjamin has only married her for her money, and that "the domestic qualities of his German wife helped to drag him down to a dead level of ease" (29). Clothilde's traditionalism, materialism, and stupidity appear to be elements of Frankau's "negative projection" onto the *Ostjudische* immigrant. But the most extreme representation of their incompatibility is the couple's incapacity to produce a child. Frankau naturalizes what she sees as the unproductiveness of the relationship by having Clothilde's doctor discover a tumor in her ovaries. In biological terms, a pair's incapacity to reproduce is a sign that they are not of the same species. Frankau apparently sees the attempt to cross-breed West Ender with immigrant as a form of miscegenation, a racially mixed coupling.³

This might seem to support the theory that Frankau splits the community into a good section and a bad section, except that Frankau has already described the supposedly "good" section, the West End circle, as black and morally degenerate. Better to distinguish the sections as bad and worse. Benjamin Phillips himself, the test case, turns out to be a philanderer, a man desperate for legitimacy and control, a murderer, and in the end, a lonely example of utter alienation from Jews and whites alike. The test case fails, and so does Frankau's attempt to distance good Jews from bad via negative projection.

Since the sexual relationship of two different species of Jew leads to murder, it should not be surprising that the sexual relationship of Jew and white is also doomed. At first it seems that Benjamin Phillips's success with the white beauty, Mary Cameron, is evidence that he transcends his race. Yet, although Mary at first claims to love Benjamin, she hates all Jews, as is apparent when, in response to being called a "procuress" for helping a Jewish woman elope with a Christian man, she calls Jews "the scum of civilization . . . , Money-dogs! pedlars, sharps" and claims, "You [Jews] — your company has degraded me, me, me!! Do you hear? Jews!" (204). She turns her anger at her accuser into a generalized

racial hatred, a hatred, which, not surprisingly, eventually envelops Benjamin as well. Neither the narrative voice nor the plot ever undermines Mary's general Jew-hatred. Her hatred does inspire Benjamin to become abusive, raging, and possessive — "You are mine, you have always been mine, and mine you will remain" — he tells her (255). But the reader identifies with her as his victim. Moreover, the novel further endorses Mary's belief that she has been "degraded" by her contact with Jews when she bears Benjamin a child who suffers from inherited defects. The text describes the child as "a very fragile little creature. A transparent-skinned baby, with blue veins, and black eyes that seemed too large for the tiny features" (22). In this passage, the delicacy of the baby's "white" inheritance (her transparent skin, tiny features) seems overwhelmed by her "black" inheritance (her overgrown black eyes). As she grows older, her blackness overwhelms her whiteness to an even further degree and she turns out to be a "dark-skinned sickly child" (199). Long before the child shows any sign of the mysterious illness that will kill her, Clothilde remarks that she is "dreadfully delicate-looking. I don't think she has very long to live" (29). The racial mixture of Jew and white is no more productive than the racial mixture of West End and immigrant.

The emphasis on the reproductive consequences of these mixed unions is a telling sign that Frankau is employing a biologically determinist racial theory. By contrast, Shakespeare's conversionist descendants writing early and mid-Victorian novels of Jewish identity are not anxious over the progeny of intermarriages between Jews and Christians.⁴ Since they are not using a racial framework, there is no reason why their Jewish heroines cannot produce healthy children. Once converted, any child the intermarried couple produces will suffer no degradation. But a racial theory raises an anxiety over the consequences of miscegenation.

Frankau offers a single exception to this harsh vision. When in a reversion to conversionist plots dating back to *Merchant of Venice*, a young West End Jewish woman converts to Christianity and elopes to Scotland with a gentile, there is no representation of their progeny, but there is also no suggestion of any biological mishap. In fact, Mary Cameron aids the couple in their escape, as if to suggest that whites need fear nothing from this particular mixture. Even the young woman's lover discounts her initial scruples about the union: she impresses upon him "the existence of an obstacle of which he had not dreamed" (115), but when he discovers her Jewishness, he regards it as a trivial impediment. After the marriage, the couple eventually returns to London and enters society at large with little difficulty.

What accounts for the relative lack in this subplot of the miscegenation anxiety that rules the main plot? Frankau may be simply making an inconsistent concession to the pressure of the conversionist plot on Anglo-Jewish fiction, a pressure now amply documented in Michael Ragussis's *Figures of Conversion*. (If so, she is ignoring the efforts of the previous generation of Anglo-Jewish writers like Grace Aguilar to revise and complicate the conversionist plot.) But a more convincing argument is that for Frankau this mixture is different than the others, the difference being the gender of the Jewish member of the couple. For Frankau, the "race instinct" appears to inhere more strongly in men than in women. Jewish women's race is not as fixed as men's. Because the eloping woman is a weak-willed Victorian angel she is able to "succumb utterly to [her lover's] masterfulness" (*Dr. Phillips* 144). If, as Mary asserts, a convert to Judaism becomes "permanently blacked," so, apparently, a Jewish woman can succumb to the masterfulness of a

Christian man and be permanently whitened. Yet this avenue is only available to Jewish women. Frankau's Jewish men can never be subsumed by a Christian's masterfulness in the same way. Their biology either expresses itself in degenerate materialism and superstitious rituals, or as in Benjamin Phillips's case, in criminality, sexual promiscuity, self-hatred, and alienation. The Jewish woman who desires to escape from her Jewishness seems to represent a loophole in Frankau's racial schema, a moment when race itself is gendered.

When, sixteen years after the publication of *Dr. Phillips*, Frankau published her second novel dealing with Jewishness, *Pigs in Clover*, she attempted once again to split Jews into acceptable and unacceptable camps. Once again, the novel's racial theory renders such a separation unsustainable. And just as Mary Cameron's perspective rules the plot in *Dr. Phillips*, so here, too, the novel is largely narrated through the eyes of a Christian woman who has been abused by her Jewish lover.

Written immediately following the Boer War (1900–1902), *Pigs* takes as its ostensible subject the fortunes of two South African Jewish brothers, Karl and Louis Althaus. These brothers have become millionaires by participating in shady gold- and diamond-mining deals, and then, at Karl's insistence, have become patriots for the British Uitlanders against the Boers during the war. Frankau seems to organize the novel as a refutation of accusations by anti-imperialists that the British had been embroiled in a war on behalf of foreign Jewish capitalists. Whatever else he is fighting for, Karl Althaus makes it clear that he is fighting on behalf of British interests, not narrowly for South African Jewish money.

The contrast between Karl and Louis Althaus could not appear more striking. While Karl is a conscientious British patriot, Louis would rather look after his own needs than the empire's. While Karl is a self-denying lover, Louis is a selfish and tyrannical womanizer. Several critics have noted a continuation here of the division in *Dr. Phillips* between the good Jew and the bad Jew (Endelman, "The Frankaus" 134; Cheyette, "The Other Self" 105), arguing that these Jews are once again emblems of splits between the salvageable and unsalvageable sections of the Jewish community. Just as in the case of *Dr. Phillips*, however, this analysis will not bear much scrutiny. Once again, Frankau applies a racial analysis to her characters. This analysis produces a startling result: not only are the two men not brothers, one of them is not a Jew. The division between them is not a division between two types of Jews, but between a Jew and a half-Jew.

When Karl Althaus meets a South African Christian novelist, Joan de Groot, he falls in love with her while she becomes ethnographically fascinated by him. When Joan has the idea of writing a book on "The Making of a Millionaire" (to be subtitled "The Book of the Jew"), she asks Karl to tell her his history. What follows is the sentimental domestic tale of Karl's upbringing. Karl is the Anglo-Jewish child of a bric-a-brac dealer and his hardworking Jewish wife. When Karl's father dies, his mother takes in and eventually marries a Polish Jewish beggar, a lazy scoundrel whose first name is Ludwig and whose last name is "unpronounceable" (*Pigs in Clover* 111). The unpronounceability of his Eastern European surname indicates Ludwig's alien status to Joan, through whose eyes the narrative is filtered. Here the division between Jews is clearly the division between settled Jews and immigrants. Joan's perspective indicates a hegemonic attitude toward the "aliens," perhaps one shared by the anglicizing West Enders.⁵

Ludwig takes the family name, spends the family's money and refuses to work. Then, when Karl's mother falls and is paralyzed, Ludwig brings a poor Christian woman into the

house as his substitute wife. On her deathbed, this woman gives birth to a son, called Louis Althaus, and begs Karl to raise him as a brother, which Karl consents to do. Thus, Karl and Louis are not brothers. Louis's father is Karl's *Ostjudische* stepfather, and Louis is born to a Christian mother. Louis is of a mixed race.

This complex racial set-up is an important key in interpreting the text. In many ways, Louis repeats the career of Benjamin Phillips. Seducing Joan de Groot behind his brother's back, he convinces her to live with him without the benefit of marriage, just as Benjamin seduces and then lives with Mary. Like Benjamin, Louis has a child by his Christian mistress who dies. And like Benjamin, he neglects his mistress until she finally leaves him. But Louis goes beyond Benjamin's villainy by then seducing the daughter of an important British politician. It is as if Frankau trumps the villainy of her earlier protagonist so as to call into question the reader's racial association of such villainy with a Jew. Rather, the unhealthy mixture of a male Jewish immigrant's blood with that of a deracinated Christian woman might be the cause. Perhaps Louis's half-Christian blood is the poison that disfigures him and ensures that the mixed-race child will not survive. How, after all, is it possible to tell which of his parents' blood is responsible?

It would be a mistake to conclude that since the "good" brother is the full-blooded Jew, Frankau has decided to revise her earlier theory of the Jews' racial degeneracy. To begin with, Karl is not entirely good: in financial matters, he is a proud swindler, as materialistic in his way as the Jews of Maida Vale. To be sure, he does care selflessly for his paralyzed mother and his "brother" Louis, acts which the text represents as noble. Later, after Louis has nearly ruined Joan with his cruelty, Karl acts altruistically again: he convinces Joan to marry him in order to defend her property from one of Louis's vindictive financial schemes. Yet here is where Karl's goodness becomes somewhat problematic. Although Joan agrees to marry him, she is still attracted to Louis and not in the least attracted to Karl. Negating his own desires, Karl agrees to keep the marriage platonic. Thus the "good" brother is he who agrees to negate his own desires and refrain from miscegenation.

Karl's attitude toward his Jewishness helps further define his "goodness." Karl boasts to Joan, "I am a Jew by birth, by instinct, by sympathy. Judaism is to me what England is to you, part of myself, the best part" (105). His insistence on birth and instinct confirm his racial self-understanding. In telling Joan, a South African, that Judaism for him is "what England is to you," he is also suggesting that to be Jewish is to be part of a colony, and that like a colonist, a Jew must be loyal both to his colony and to the empire of which it is a part. Karl's "goodness," then, is partly a result of Frankau's adoption of racial and imperialist representations of Jewishness.

Finally, his goodness is due to his acceptance of conversionism. While Karl is proud of being Jewish, he is not interested in practicing Judaism, which he says "is not a religion at all; it is a thing of forms and foods, a race habit" (106). Because this "habit" was not helpful during his spiritual crisis at the time of his mother's death, Karl looks to Christianity for spiritual sustenance. He himself cannot believe in Christ but says he would "give half a million if I did" (107). Unlike the Jewish woman who successfully elopes with a Christian man in *Dr. Phillips*, this Jewish man cannot convert. Instead, he dreams of converting all the East End Jews to Christianity, and at one point actually begins to build a theater in the East End to perform passion plays (362). He is a conversionist's dream character, what earlier in the century was referred to as a "Jewish Protestant" (Galchinsky, *Origin* 73, 144, 150, 187).

Thus, the good Jew's goodness consists in his capacity for self-negation, his voluntary resistance against miscegenation, his loyalty to his "race habit" and his Crown, and his desire to be Christian. In her "good" Jew, Frankau seems to uphold her theory of Jews' degeneracy, although explaining it as a mixture of racial and cultural characteristics.

At the end of the novel, even the good Jew's most selfless care of the Christian woman proves incapable of saving her life. Her contact with even the best of this race is fatal. Caught in an intractable conflict between her continuing obsession for Louis (her abuser) and her unhappiness in her kind though platonic marriage to Karl, Joan de Groot eventually commits suicide. Narratively her death reads as tragedy, for here as in *Dr. Phillips*, the story is told substantially through the eyes of the Christian woman, Joan or Mary Cameron. Perhaps Frankau uses this narrative perspective for the same reason that she permits a young Jewish woman to escape her race and join the white community — because to gain a female vantage point free of Jewish self-hatred is what Frankau seems to have desired most. That neither Mary nor Joan is able to escape from being damaged by her contact with the Jewish community only confirms that Frankau felt she herself had been "permanently blacked" by her Jewish racial nature.

Any desire to describe or explain Frankau's psychology must remain speculative, but there is some biographical evidence that Frankau did have such feelings. Although brought up in an Orthodox household in Maida Vale and given an Orthodox education, she ultimately denied her training, when she and her husband refused to circumcise their son. She did have models in her family of self-hating Jews, particularly an older relative who had served for years as Thomas Carlyle's secretary. Having escaped from Maida Vale to become one of Oscar Wilde's circle, she often took the opportunity at gatherings of the decadents to denigrate other Jews for the entertainment of the Christian company (Endelman, "The Frankaus" 124–31). Finally, the speculation that Frankau desired to transcend her Jewishness could help illuminate her choice of pseudonym, Frank Danby. The pseudonym is not only male — a common device of Victorian women writers — but gentile. Perhaps adopting it helped Frankau to feel that she was escaping the constraints of both her gender and her "race."

Pigs in Clover does succeed in articulating a more complex vision of Jews than does *Dr. Phillips*. The familiar division between settled Jew and immigrant is still visible in the conflict between Karl and Ludwig, and Frankau still relies on a racial subtext and on a fear of miscegenation. But in the figure of Louis, she questions the Jew-hater's habit of ascribing all negative consequences to the Jew. In Karl, she defends Jews from charges of national and imperial disloyalty. And she uses the narrator to begin to question racial ideology's habit of generalizing from an individual to a type (296). Thus, to some degree, Frankau questions the very racial theories she herself adopted.

There is some evidence that to mitigate her racism was her conscious intention. The publication of *Dr. Phillips* had resulted in an outcry in the Anglo-Jewish community. It was immediately attacked for its negative depiction of Jews — by the foremost journalist and novelist in the community, Israel Zangwill, among others (Zangwill 26). In the wake of the novel's reception, Frankau's sister publicly denied that the novelist had any anti-Semitic intentions (Endelman 132). Then, in 1889, the anti-alien publicist Arnold White used *Dr. Phillips* — "a brilliant and sinister novel," in his words — as evidence of Jews' "aloofness" and lack of "national feeling" in his tract, *The Modern Jew* (White 145–46, 156; Endelman 132). Here was an irrefutable demonstration that Frankau's text was

capable of being coopted for unethical and dangerous purposes beyond her ostensible intention.

Yet despite the later novel's gestures at undermining the racist vision expressed in the earlier novel, *Pigs in Clover* ends by substantially reconfirming that vision. In its insistence on the importance of blood, in its "good" Jew's self-negation and anxiety over miscegenation, in the narrative's recursion to the white woman's perspective, *Pigs* continues to suggest that Jews' difference is unalterable and debilitating. This vision not only distinguishes Frankau's work from the earlier generation of Anglo-Jewish writers, but from almost all Anglo-Jewish writers of her own day.

This conclusion returns us, then, to the question of the purposes for recovering Frankau. Given that these texts are atypical of their period, and that at least one of them has proven capable of providing fodder for others' racial anti-Semitism, ought these texts to be remembered? Is it the scholar's responsibility, particularly after the atrocities committed in the name of scientific racism in this century, to prevent the possibility that words can be used to damage Jews? And if not, what is an ethical and responsible means of approaching these texts?

My provisional answer is that Frankau must be recovered and must continue to be studied carefully. Although Frankau's racism is not typical of the Victorian Jews, it does mark a leitmotif in Anglo-Jewish thinking, and is therefore necessary to a historically accurate understanding of the period. Other Victorian writers, like Aguilar, Zangwill, and Levy, can be more sensitively comprehended by their distinction from Frankau. Since self-hatred is an aspect of marginalized discourse in general, Frankau's work can profitably be compared to fiction produced by other Victorian outsiders — Indians, Afro-Caribbeans, homosexuals. Finally, Frankau's work must be recovered if only because one can't fight what one can't see. Yes, Frankau's novels must be read in the context of Anglo-Jewish literature, although the thought of being designated an Anglo-Jewish writer would no doubt have Frankau herself turning in her grave.

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NOTES

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1. Recent forays into recovering Anglo-Jewish texts include Melvyn New's edition of Amy Levy's selected writings and Meri-Jane Rochelson's edition of Israel Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto*. For a review of recent literary criticism in the field, see Galchinsky, "The New Anglo-Jewish Literary Criticism."
2. Mid-Victorian British scientists of race such as the anatomist Robert Knox, in his *Races of Men* (1850) had already proclaimed that "Race is everything, civilization depends on it" (Knox, qtd. in Mosse 67), determining the inferiority of non-white races through craniometric measurement of skull volumes and facial angles. Knox's pre-Darwinian theories were congenial to the members of the Anthropological Society, among others (Said 232). Darwin himself did not believe in the accuracy of ranking human racial groups along a linear scale of "advancement" or "complexity" (Gould 75–77). Yet the subtitle to the 1859 edition of *The Origin of Species* — "The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life" —

- already suggests how amenable this theory was to be applied to human groups that could be defined as races. An evolutionist such as the founder of eugenics and statistics, Francis Galton, claimed in his widely hailed work *Hereditary Genius* (1869) to be able to determine "The Comparative Worth of Different Races" (Galton 336–50).
3. Earlier in the century, English Jews had referred to marriages between Spanish-Portuguese Jews and German-Polish Jews as "intermarriages." See Galchinsky, *Origin* 25.
 4. Metzger does suggest, however, that Shakespeare himself may have employed some racial categories in his depiction of Jessica in *Merchant*.
 5. West Enders' desire to "anglicize" did not, for the most part, entail conversion to Christianity. The West Enders constantly shifted their understanding of the requirements of anglicization. Earlier in the century, they had understood anglicization to require cultural assimilation, the alteration of synagogue practices, and a transformation in gender roles (Galchinsky, *Origin* 71). During the late Victorian period, West Enders interpreted anglicization as the development of Jewish imperialists who could support the needs of empire, or alternatively, Jewish socialists who could support the workers' struggle (Feldman 310, 330). The meaning of the term "anglicization" was thus always in flux.

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