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Whose Line is it Anyway? Rhetoric, Pathology, and the Jewish Race in Late Victorian England

by
Stephanie Pokras

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of Senior Independent Study

Supervised by
Dr. Christina Welsch
Department of History

Spring 2021

Abstract

This thesis examines how both late Victorian Anglo-Jews and Gentiles used rhetoric of race science and Jewish pathology to encode lines of difference, as well as the relationship between these discourses. My first chapter analyzes the role of Gentile discourse of disease and disability as the foundation of late Victorian anti-Semitism. My second chapter focuses on Jewish ‘expert’ engagement with race science. In this chapter, I argue that contrary to the dominant historical narrative, not only was the Jewish community engaged with race science, but their scholarly conversations were dynamic and diverse. Ideas about race and pathology became central to how individuals in the Jewish community distinguished among themselves in an increasingly heterogeneous body. My last chapter analyzes the way popular mediums allowed for a transformation of expert Jewish discourses on race, injecting the voices of women in the broader debate on the Jewish race within community.

Dedication

To Eleanor Pokras, the strongest woman I know and the best sister I could ask for.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Christina Welsch for being the best I.S. advisor of all time. This thesis would never have been written without your countless hours of support, feedback, and historical jokes. Thank you for everything you have done for me. I will dearly miss our weekly meetings, and I wish you the best of luck with the publication of your book. I would additionally like to thank the Department of History at the College of Wooster for your support and guidance in the production of this thesis. Thank you as well to the College of Wooster and donors to the Copeland Fund, without which I would not have been able to conduct my research. I would also like to thank Rabbi Gary Pokras, who spent hours on the phone with me both in his capacity as a Rabbi, helping me with the esoteric details of historical Jewish theology, and as my father, putting up with my frequent meltdowns and excitement about my research. Thank you as well to my mother, Shauna Pokras, and my friends for their endless emotional support through this process.

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Lastly, I would like to acknowledge David Cannadine whose dismissive comments on Anglo-Jewish history inspired me to write this one-hundred-and-twenty-six-page reply.

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Introduction

On a sunny day in 1898, Lord Rothschild, one of the most prominent Jewish figures in English society, posed outside Buckingham Palace for a photograph in a carriage drawn by three zebras and one cleverly disguised pony, which can be seen hiding behind the zebra in the front row of the photograph.¹ The show of opulence was part of the way that Rothschild demonstrated financial equality with the Victorian English elite. However, Rothschild's extravagant act also marked him as other, the exoticism of the zebras highlighting Rothschild's own exoticism as a Jewish peer. In fact, it was Rothschild's status as an immutable other that allowed him to make such bizarre displays without the fear of further damaging his reputation. Rothschild's otherness was only intensified by another photograph, this time of Rothschild attempting to ride a giant tortoise he procured from the Galapagos. This transcended a mere display of wealth into eccentricity and marked Rothschild as fundamentally different from his gentile peers.²

While Rothschild's zebras emphasized his own position in society as an object of exotic fascination, it nonetheless was part of a broader interest in zoology in the nineteenth century among the elite. The London Zoological gardens were a fashionable site for recreation and socialization among the wealthy. Additionally, a strong consumer culture emerged around acquiring exotic pets such as parrots and small monkeys and the taxidermized corpses of everything from housecats to tigers and giraffes became desired pieces of furniture for those who could afford it. To an extent, this Victorian fascination with acquiring exotic animals can be contextualized by a movement emphasizing the need for

¹ Kerry Lotzof, "Walter Rothschild: A Curious Life" *The Natural History Museum at Tring*. Accessed May 2020.

² Ibid.

species-based classification in the natural sciences. While Rothschild's zebras and turtles were in part a display of wealth, Rothschild professed an equal interest in exploring natural science, establishing his first museum at the age of seven. In 1892, at the age of twenty-four, Rothschild opened his museum, now known as the Natural History Museum at Tring, to the public. Scientific curiosity, despite playing a major role in Victorian animal culture, only accounts for a small part of Victorian fascination with exotic animals. The importation of exotic animals from British colonies served as a mark of imperial strength. Similarly, projects among the Victorian elite to civilize exotic animals served as a proxy for the subjugation and 'civilization' of members of the 'savage' races among men. Thus, zoology and its related recreational practices were forums for comparing humans and animals through the lens of race.³

At the same time Rothschild was harnessing his zebras, on the other side of London, in the East End, Jewish immigrants maneuvered through narrow alleys and tenement homes going about their daily lives. The vast majority, nearly two thirds of the men, toiled in sweatshops owned by middle class Jews, under unsanitary and inhumane working conditions for very low wages. The rest primarily worked in retail, many peddling and hawking goods in Yiddish markets. The London Ghetto was isolated, very few of the Jewish immigrants ever interacted with anyone from outside the community. They spoke mostly in Yiddish, opened their own traditional synagogues, and provided afterhours religious education to boys in one room schools.⁴ Most members of the ghetto never left, and those who did never returned. Despite their stark difference in circumstance, like Rothschild, the foreign Jews of London

³ Sarah Amato, *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.)

⁴ Todd Endelman, "Native and Foreign Jews." *The Jews of Britain: 1656 to 2000*. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002.)

were also marked as other, not only by their social status, but due to an “otherness” within their very bodies.

Just as Rothschild played with his own position as an ‘other’ within the English elite by defining his eccentricity on his own terms, so too would Jewish communities draw on emerging scientific discourse in ways that highlight their own concerns. This thesis intends to explore how lines of difference, both between Jews and Gentiles as well as within the Jewish community, were encoded through racial comparison. Additionally, I will analyze the ways in which Anglo-Jewish communities navigated these tensions. Central to this process were solidifying ideas about race that increasingly came to define Jewish identity. I am particularly interested in looking at the ways discourses of race pathology were applied to and taken up by Jewish communities in Victorian England. Additionally, I will explore the ways in which these discourses impacted politics and cultures of Jewish identity and difference in late Victorian England.



Figure 1- Rothschild Driving His Zebra Carriage

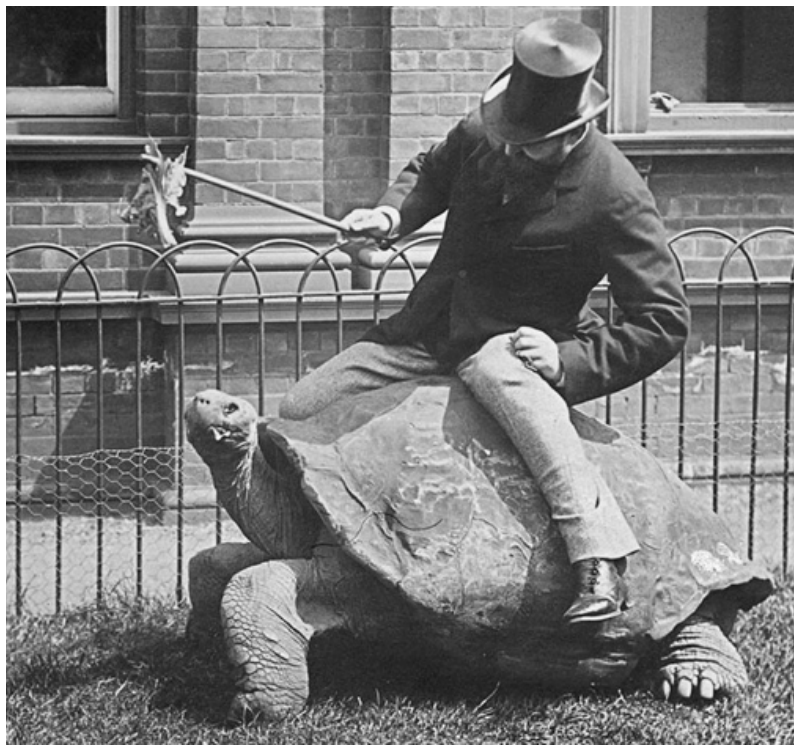


Figure 2- Rothschild Riding a Galapagos Tortoise

The history of modern Anglo-Judaism is distinct from the history of other diasporic Jews. England was a well-known hotspot for anti-Jewish hatred in the medieval period, culminating in the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290. Under Oliver Cromwell, a small Sephardic community was allowed to settle in England in 1655; however, it wasn't until 1890 that Jews in England were fully emancipated. In the Victorian Era, England's Jewish population expanded rapidly due to a massive wave of Jewish immigrants settling in London, the largest such migration anywhere in Europe. This influx of Jewish immigrants (labeled "foreign" Jews) encountered an existing "native" Jewish population, which had been established in England for centuries. The meeting of these groups would be fraught with tension. The vast majority of native Jews—though not all—had Sephardic heritage, which was viewed as being hereditarily superior to an Ashkenazi background. Sephardic Jews primarily descend from Spain, Turkey, and Northern Africa. On the other hand, Ashkenazi Jews claim primarily eastern European heritage. To complicate things, a small but significant portion of the native Jewish population were Ashkenazi. Similarly, the vast majority of immigrant Jews were Ashkenazi. In addition to their distinct heritages, Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities were divided by different religious practices and historical experiences. These distinctions between Jewish racial origin informed conversations within Jewish populations about Jewish identity, and these distinctions only became more convoluted through institutions like conversion and imperialism.

Most significantly, these differences gained further significance in the context of the contemporary popularization of race pathology, the comparative study of disease and disability through the lens of race. In the Victorian era, race existed as a somewhat amorphous category which served as an explanation of human difference. These differences

were framed in terms of a Darwinian fight for survival between races which served as a source of conflict between groups of people. Unlike contemporary racism, Victorian conceptions of race were not based primarily in skin color but rather in terms of hereditary strength and weakness, although dark skin was widely believed to be indicative of a poor pedigree. Race, in significant part, was attributed to geographic lines of descent which diverged over time. Victorian conceptions of race were rooted in a complex system of hierarchy and comparison. Not unlike with plant classifications, Victorian race scientist theorized that there were four 'Great Races' of which all other races were members. The members of these Great Races could then be broken up into family groupings such as Semitic or Gothic. These hierarchies were complicated by the widespread belief that race was the primary determinant of physical character, moral character, culture, and behavior. Thus, races with weaker or poorer pedigrees were considered to be undesirable. Another complicating factor was the idea that races could 'degenerate' or decline due to hereditary corruption. This intensified racial tensions in populations where members of one race came into contact with members of another, as it was believed that interbreeding would pollute and weaken the bloodline of the stronger race.

From the mid-nineteenth century, many Gentiles began to conflate Jews with disease and degeneration. Gentiles used the native/foreign distinction to frame their discourse on Jewish pathology. Ultimately, the conflation of Jews and racial degeneration in Victorian England formed the basis for a new brand of anti-Jewish sentiment based on the body of the foreign Jew. While debates over the categorization of Jews as a race occurred as early as the eighteenth century, the solidification of Jews as a racial group in the nineteenth century fundamentally altered the role of Jews in Gentile society. Whereas, prior to the nineteenth

century, methods such as conversion were considered an appropriate way to integrate Jewish populations, the racialization of Jews meant that ‘Jewishness’ was an immutable and hereditary trait. As a result, Jewish difference became a potentially insurmountable barrier to assimilation. This had profound impacts on contemporaneous debates surrounding Jewish emancipation and subjecthood.

The conflation of Jews and disease in England has a deep and pervasive history, carrying back to when Jews were blamed for early outbreaks of the Black Death.⁵ In the Victorian era, this long-standing discourse gained a new formulation when contextualized in the larger European dialogue on race sciences which England was engaged, encompassing Anthropology which originally developed in France, the English invention of Eugenics, and Italian Criminology. All three of these disciplines engaged with issues of disease and Jewish pathology.⁶ There is a deep pool of scholarship on ideas of race, disease, and degeneration in Britain and British participation in this intellectual exchange such as Stephen Jay Gould’s *The Mismeasure of Man*; Edward Said’s *Orientalism*; and Marlene Tromp, Maria Bachman, and Heidi Kaufman’s anthology, *Fear and Loathing: Victorian Xenophobia*. These texts, with the exception of Gould’s book, are representative of a broader scholarly focus on imperial constructions of race almost to the exclusion of Jews living in England. The majority of the existent scholarship only briefly touches on Jews if at all. *Fear and Loathing: Victorian Xenophobia* is a notable exception to this.

Nonetheless the Jews occupied not only a critical role as the most ‘alien’ racial minority in England during the twentieth century but also as an important case study in

⁵ For more see Samuel K. Cohn Jr, “The Black Death and the Burning of the Jews.” *Past and Present*. No 196 (August 2007) pp. 3-36.

⁶ For more see: E.W. Count, ed., *This is Race, An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man*, (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950).

international dialogues on race science. Since the development of the race sciences in the eighteenth century, Jews have served as a natural experiment in determining what race is and how it functions. Unlike many racial groups, Jews were not bound to a single geographical location, yet they allegedly remained racially distinct from the people in the lands where they dwelled and racially similar to each other. As a result, European race scientists studied Jews to answer questions about the immutability of race, the impact of environment on racial character, and the (in)equality of races. These studies became influential across Europe and the United States and included works by Johann Fredrich Blumenbach, Samuel George Morton, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, and Charles Darwin.⁷

In light of the complex international discourse concerning Jewish pathology, it is unsurprising that English discourse on the topic was broad and varied. Discourse on Jewish pathology existed among multiple populations, including the Jews themselves, and focused on a variety of themes. In England, these emerging discourses particularly placed an emphasis on heredity.⁸ As we will see in Chapter 1, this had profound impacts for the way which ideas about degeneration and disease were written on the incoming foreign Jew.

Generally speaking, modern Anglo-Jews are an understudied group. Nonetheless, in keeping with broader traditions, what little scholarship does exist tends to paint Anglo-Jews as victims. The question of Jewish victimhood versus agency is not restricted to conversations about anti-Semitism in England. However, it is all the more complicated in an English context where there is a strong historical narrative that, after the reintroduction of Jews to the country in the seventeenth century, there was little to no anti-Semitism in

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ For more see: Deborah Cohen, "Who Was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century Britain." *Journal of British Studies*. Vol 41. No. 4. (October, 2002.) 460-483.

England. British cultural historian David Cannadine wrote that this lack of anti-Semitism means that Anglo-Jewish history is “little more than a bland and lukewarm chronicle...neither very interesting nor very exiting [and] in the context of British history...not all that important.”⁹ However, since there is no question that Anglo-Jews existed as a community distinct from other English citizens, Cannadine’s statement offers a paradox. If a presupposed lack of anti-Semitism is what makes Anglo-Jewish history “uninteresting” it would imply that Anglo-Jews did not face racialized barriers which limited their roles as major historical actors. Subsequently, Anglo-Jews would have become more “important” in English affairs. The reality is, not only did anti-Semitism thrive in modern England, but the Anglo-Jewish communities’ perceived role as invaders allowed them to become a significant historical force.

One potential reason for historians’ tendency to downplay anti-Semitism in England is simply a matter of relative hate. European history has witnessed an orgy of anti-Semitic acts reaching an unprecedented scale and encompassing the Holocaust. While doubtlessly an important topic of study, the sheer horror of these monumental acts of hatred has skewed our ability to analyze anti-Semitism. Whether past or present, we as a society tend to hold the definition of anti-Semitism to the impossible standard of the Holocaust. We define how “bad” an anti-Semitic act is by the death toll or number of injuries instead of the sentiment behind said attack. This approach, while understandable, fundamentally fails to account for the importance and pain of “smaller” acts of anti-Semitism.¹⁰ It is in part through this post-Holocaust analytical mindset that academics like Cannadine have tended to disregard anti-

⁹ David Cannadine, “Cousinhood.” *The London Review of Books*, 27 July 1989, pp. 10-12

¹⁰ For more see Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002) and Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939*. (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979.)

Semitism in England, and thus Anglo-Jewish history, as negligible. Instead, academics have tended to focus on the emergence of philo-Semitism, defined as being a love of Jews, in Victorian England. Many academics tend to view philo-Semitism as the opposite of anti-Semitism. However, this interpretation of philo-Semitism is not only incorrect, but also dangerous as it excuses anti-Semitic behavior.

Although philo-Semitism was initially coined as a slur for “Jew-lovers,” by the late Victorian era it came to encapsulate an obsessive fascination with Jews that characterized the rise of Christian Hebraism. Victorian English philo-Semites greatly admired Judaism in its antiquity. However, this admiration did not extend to key tenets of modern Jewish identity. For instance, Philo-Semites disdained Yiddish as a language. This is most famously demonstrated in George Elliot’s popular novel *Daniel Deronda*, in which the titular character explores the positive aspects of Judaism through liturgical study while simultaneously failing to engage in aspects of his Jewish identity that reflect modern Judaism.¹¹ In many ways, philo-Semitism and anti-Semitism are the same, they both separate out the Jew as an object of scrutiny, and both tolerate Jews only insofar as they conform to the boundaries set out by gentiles. Philo-Semitic narratives paint Jews as passive as much as, if not more than, narratives of anti-Semitism. In the words of historian Deborah Lipstadt, “A philo-Semite is merely an anti-Semite who likes Jews.”¹² The philo-Semitic’s emphasis on the ancient; therefore, created a disconnect between Gentile expectations and the lived experiences of modern Jews. English Gentiles adopted this disconnect to create an ancient versus modern dialectic that served as a core element of their scholarship on Jewish pathology.

¹¹ George Elliot, *Daniel Deronda*, 1876.

¹² As quoted in Bari Weiss, *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*. (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2019)

The trope of the passive Jewish victim is repeated in what is widely acknowledged to be one of the most comprehensive studies of modern Anglo-Jews, Colin Holmes's *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939*.¹³ Holmes clearly states in his introduction that he intends to focus on Gentile narratives of anti-Semitism, and he subsequently uses the passive voice when referring to the Jewish community writing, for instance, "All sections of the British Isles have witnessed some Jewish settlement."¹⁴ While Holmes does on occasion highlight Jewish voices, his engagement with the Jewish experience is limited to exceptional Jewish figures like the Rothschild family, who existed in the margins between Jewish and Gentile society.¹⁵ Holmes published his book in 1979, but it remains the most cited and influential work on modern Anglo-Jewish history today. More recently, Todd Endelman has made significant contributions to the topic, breaking away from Holmes's focus on the Gentile perspective. However, Endelman operates on the opposite end of the extreme, focusing on the Jewish community as functionally isolated. As a result, Endelman narrowly defines Jewish agency as impactful only within the community, failing to explore the role of the Jews in broader English history. This project challenges this hegemonic narrative of passivity and victimhood, proposing instead that despite suffering under legal and cultural disabilities, Victorian Anglo-Jewish communities were in part able to reclaim their agency through their participation in conversations surrounding Jewish race pathology. Just as Rothschild framed his role of "other" in his own terms, Jews engaged with this discourse in dynamic and powerful ways. By the late nineteenth century, not only were Jews engaging with Gentile discourses surrounding the Jewish race, but they were also producing their own

¹³ Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

scholarship and literature. These Jewish discourses were not reactive, but rather products of the broader cultural milieu which included imperialism, the popularization of eugenics, and nineteenth century scientific innovations.

The Jewish society that these discourses emerged in was split into two. Nevertheless, community was the cornerstone of both Native and Foreign Jewish culture. Outside of regular religious practice, middle-class Native Jews gathered frequently to share meals, play cards, and attend parties. It was expected that Jewish children would marry within the community. Likewise, in the London ghetto, Jewish immigrants formed strong social communities founded on shared language and experience. Immigrant Jews primarily lived with, worked with, and socialized with other Jewish immigrants. At the heart of these communities was the Jewish press. Jewish newspapers served not only as a form of community organization, but also as a platform for scholarly and popular conversations on science, religion, and politics. As a result, this thesis will examine newspapers as a locus of Anglo-Jewish and English cultural, scientific, and social networks. Analyzing newspaper articles helps to reveal not only expert discourses but also the way in which those discourses were adapted and disseminated to the larger community. I will supplement this analysis of newspapers with articles from contemporaneous scholarly journals. Lastly, I will consider the role of literature and fiction in the spread and transformation of ideas about Jewish pathology.

Jewish discourses rather than being reactive were diverse, dynamic, and nuanced. These conversations seeped into nearly every corner of modern Anglo-Jewish society, transforming through various mediums over time. Chapter One sets the stage for our analysis of these conversations by examining the broader contexts within which the Jewish discourses

emerged, exploring Gentile engagement with Jewish race science. Chapter Two analyzes the multilayered Anglo-Jewish engagement with and production of scientific scholarship, broadening understandings of who can use eugenicist ideas and how these ideas were acted upon. Chapter Three examines the role of popular media as a locus for the transformation of these discourses.

The implications of the history of Jewish race pathology in Victorian England extend far beyond their specific time and place. The Anglo-Jewish population was one of the most important historical forces in structuring the way in which England learned to deal with racial diversity on her own shores. At the same time, the history of Anglo-Jews has important implications for diasporic Jewish history as the social and political climate of England allowed for the creation of a native Jewish population with no parable. While native Jews faced significant anti-Semitism, they were nonetheless able to acquire a level of social acceptance and political freedom which opened increased opportunities for Jewish contribution to debates on race science and pathology.

Chapter 1: Gentile Discourses

In order to do justice to an analysis of late Victorian Jewish discourses on race pathology, this chapter first seeks to establish the broader discourses concerning the Jewish race in England. These conversations, which were distinctly Gentile in nature, both informed and necessitated the Jewish discourses which I will analyze in later chapters. The nineteenth century represented a moment of change in England with regards both to scientific-racial thought and the positionality of Anglo-Jews. In response to these changes, rhetoric of Jewish hatred shifted in the late Victorian era from a religious-cultural basis to anti-Semitism based in the Jewish body. In particular, new patterns of immigration made the body of the foreign Jew and object of new attention, and subsequently ire.

Today, most people use the term “anti-Semitism” to refer to all expressions of a hatred of Jews in history. However, to use the term in this way is anachronistic. Indeed, at the time of its conception, anti-Semitism was widely considered to be something separate from other forms of Jewish hatred.¹⁶ The phrase “Antisemitismus” which directly translates to the English “anti-Semitism” was coined in Germany in 1879 by Wilhelm Marr. In his pamphlet, *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanthums über das Judenthum* (The Way to Victory of Germanism over Judaism), Marr used the term as a replacement for “Judenhaß” or “Jew-Hatred” to express his idea that Jews were of a separate race to Germans, and subsequently intended to overpower the German race, and eventually the world, in a Darwinian conflict for

¹⁶ One of the best examples of this is the Anglo-Jewish author, Lucien Wolf’s article “Anti-Semitism” which, in part, argued that the Russian Pogroms were not anti-Semitic because they were irrational and incendiary riots based in a medieval religious fanaticism. For more see, David Feldman, “Toward a History of the Term “Anti-Semitism.” *The American Historical Review*. Volume 123, Issue 4, October 2018. Pp. 1139-1150.

survival.¹⁷ As a result, “anti-Semitism” was used by contemporaries to distinguish a racially based hatred of Jews. This can be further seen by breaking down the term into two parts, *anti* which means against and *Semite* referring to the Semitic races.¹⁸ Subsequently my argument extends beyond the idea that rhetoric of late Victorian Jewish hatred manifested in the bodies of Jewish immigrants. In addition, this rhetoric concurrently shifted from a religious to a racial basis.

Another concept which needs to be defined is that of the Jew. Even today the categorization of Jews remains somewhat in flux. Are Jews a race, a nation, an ethnicity, a religion? It wasn't until the end of the Holocaust that Jews were considered to be primarily a religious group rather than a distinct race. During the Victorian era, Jews were not considered to be white but rather a separate race of yellow (Oriental or Asiatic) or black (African) origin.¹⁹ There was also a conflation between Jews and skin disease, particularly syphilis, which will be discussed in further depth later in this paper. Syphilitics were considered black due to the darkly colored full body ulcers and sores which appear in the second stage of the disease. As a result, the Jews themselves were also considered to be black. In the Victorian

¹⁷ Wilhelm Marr, *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanthums über das Judenthum* (Bern: Rudolph Constenoble, 1879.) Trans. By P. Mendes-Flohr and J. Reinharz. It should be noted that there is some debate over the translation of the pamphlet's title. Historically it has been translated as both *The Way to Victory of Germanism Over Judaism* or as *The Victory of Judaism Over Germanism*, which mean very different things. After careful analysis and consultation with native German speakers, and in context of the pamphlet's content, I have determined that the first translation was likely the original intent of the title.

¹⁸ It is important to mention that while the concept of Semitic races included several distinct groups of people, the term anti-Semitism by definition referred specifically to anti-Jewish sentiment. As Bernard Lewis points out, if we were to define anti-Semitism as to include all peoples who speak Semitic languages and/or belong to Semitic races it would mean that a copy of *Mein Kampf* published in Spanish would be anti-Semitic, but a copy published in Arabic could not. However, very few people would agree that *Mein Kampf* is not anti-Semitic when written in Arabic. Subsequently the semantic criteria for anti-Semitism needs to extend beyond going against Semitism to a deeper set of ideologies. Throughout history, these ideologies, which are defined by the belief that Jews are a separate race whose interests were in conflict with those of Gentiles, have been exclusively aimed at Jews. For more see, Bernard Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry Into Conflict and Prejudice*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999.)

¹⁹ See Joseph Bannister, *England Under the Jews*. 1901.

era blackness marked those who had the racial or hereditary characteristic of being unclean and impure. The connection between skin disease and blackness existed long before the Victorian Era. For instance, in 1498 Francisco Lopez de Villalobos, court physician to Charles V, observed that in syphilitic patients the, “color of the skin becomes black.”²⁰ However, in the Victorian era the racialization of disease and similar characteristics meant that blackness was something hereditary. To Victorian race scientists the Jews were always black as, “[they are] a mongrel race which always maintains this mongrel character.”²¹ While religion was undoubtedly important, it was not the only defining characteristic of the Jew.

The use of the term anti-Semitism as racialized form of Jewish hatred emerged in a German context, but by the late nineteenth century it had been adapted by both Jews and Gentiles across Europe. However, English anti-Semitism developed unique dimensions specific to England. The unique qualities of anti-Jewish sentiment in England during the late-nineteenth century can be informed by the influence of empire and subsequent anxieties over race and hereditary contamination. By the late eighteenth century, Englishmen were coming into regular contact with groups of people who looked and acted different to how they did. This, in combination with imperialistic competition with other European nations, led to the need for the English to define themselves against “the other.” This was intensified by the fluid nature of English national identity which was being restructured in response not only to empire, but also to internal class conflict. By the late nineteenth century, at the pinnacle of English imperialism, English “othering” was a well-established process.²² This

²⁰ Lopez de Villalobos 1973: 159-61; see Sander Gilman, “I’m Down on Whores.” Ed. David Theo Goldberg, *The Anatomy of Racism*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.) 125.

²¹ Gilman, 126.

²² This paper uses England and English imperialism in favor of Britain not to suggest that England was necessarily idiosyncratic, but to reflect a source base that does not fully examine the way that these ideas played out in other parts of the British Isles and that acknowledges the fact that the Jewish population of Britain was centered in London (with a smaller presence in Liverpool).

movement was one of the major influences in the rise of English exceptionalism as a widespread and ingrained cultural belief.

Most English encounters with “the other” happened outside of mainland England in a distinctly imperial context. Subsequently, imperial discourses about contagion focused on an outside threat being brought home. This moment of imperially driven international comparison led Britain to look inward at their own bodies in comparison with “the other.” While there was certainly no dearth in scholarship proclaiming English racial superiority and comparative strength in constitution, imperial competition, the prevalence of illness among the urban poor, and a series of humiliating military failures fueled a national project in the 1880s and 1890s to improve the English race. Contextualized by an unstable national identity, this project was also underlined by the fear that outsiders which England interacted with through empire would contaminate English racial purity and strength.²³ In contrast these imperial “others”, the “threat” of Jewish contagion had already infiltrated England. Jews were one of the only, and by far the most visible, example of “the other” in England. As a result, Jews became a common target for a form of English exceptionalism. The huge controversies surrounding the issue of Jewish emancipation and subjecthood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were in part fueled by this cultural belief in exceptionalism.²⁴ Rhetoric surrounding disease and racial degeneracy, though they often overlapped, were two vectors through which this fear of Jewish pollution found expression.

The extent to which race versus religion defined a Jew was in large part influenced by what type of Jew the individual in question was. There were two distinct groups within the

²³ Marlene Tromp et. al., *Fear, Loathing, and Victorian Xenophobia*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013.)

²⁴ For more on Jewish emancipation see: Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*.

Anglo-Jewish community in Victorian Britain. The first were the native Jews, a mix of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews who immigrated to England in the seventeenth century from the Mediterranean.²⁵ By the late Victorian Era, most of these Jews were middle class with a few notable exceptions, such as the Disraeli and Rothschild families, both of whom had gained access to the upper classes and enjoyed peerage.²⁶ For the next hundred and fifty years the native Jews existed as the only Jewish presence on British soil and began to assimilate. By the Victorian era native Jews dressed like, spoke like, and ate the food of English gentiles. When Anglo-Jews first were allowed to sit in parliament in 1858, it was an unspoken privilege that was reserved for the native Jews.²⁷

The second group, referred to as both foreign and alien Jews, began arriving in England in the mid-nineteenth century, peaking in 1880.²⁸ The cause of this spike in Jewish immigration can be generally attributed to the advent of the Pogroms in the Russian Empire, which caused a significant portion of the Eastern European Jewish populations to flee the region. The exact number of Jew who immigrated to England in the late nineteenth century is contested. However, of the one million Jews who fled the Russian pogroms after 1880 it is believed that eighty percent immigrated to the United States. Of the remaining 200,000 Jewish immigrants approximately 100,000 immigrated to England. The remaining 100,000 primarily scattered among Western Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Unlike the Jews who immigrated to England, the majority of those who went to Western Europe stayed only a few years before continuing to the United States. This means that England hosted the largest

²⁵ Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (Edward Arnold, 1979).

²⁶ It should be noted that the Rothschild family was one of the small percentages of early *Ashkenazi* Jews in England, immigrating from the Holy Roman Empire in 1798 for business purposes.

²⁷ While the emancipation of the Jews in England began as early as 1833, civil disabilities against Jews in England were not fully removed until 1890.

²⁸ Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939*.

permanent Jewish immigrant population in Europe.²⁹ Most of the foreign Jews were lower class and they primarily settled in the East End of London where they ran shops, peddled, or worked in industry.³⁰ This massive wave of immigration sparked tension between the English and immigrant population, leading to an increase of xenophobia, and subsequently anti-Semitism aimed at Jewish immigrants.

It is important to note here the role of the native Jew versus foreign Jew distinction. Victorian engagement with Judaism complicates the way in which the eugenics model is generally understood. While most English gentiles believed that Jews were undeniably an “other,” it is unclear if they defined native Jews and foreign Jews as distinct races. In addressing this, Victorian scholars seemed to use a framework that was more complex than pure eugenics. This framework considered questions of morality and behavioral practice that, while connected to eugenics, did not completely fall under the eugenics umbrella.³¹

One of the best examples of this intersection of morality and race is contemporaneous beliefs surrounding Yiddish, a language spoken exclusively by Jewish immigrants. Due to the Jewish practice of Kol-Nidre, in which Jews annually seek forgiveness from God for their

²⁹ Holmes, 1-10.

³⁰ There were also smaller but still significant communities in Manchester and Leeds. Todd M. Endelman, “Native Jews and Foreign Jews (1870–1914),” in *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (University of California Press, 2002), 127–81.

³¹ This type of Jewish exceptionalism in race-science has a long tradition across Europe, tracing back centuries to questions of whether or not humans had a monogenic or polygenic origin, and subsequently whether race was inherited or defined by the environment. For some of these discussions see, Immanuel Kant, “On the Different Races of Man,” and Johann Fredrich Blumenbach, “On the Natural Variety of Mankind,” in *This is Race, An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man*, (New York: Henry Schuman), 1950, and Ernst Haeckel, *The History of Creation, or the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes*, (London: King and Sons), 1867, vol. 2, pp. 334-369.

wrongs, it was predominately believed that Yiddish was the degenerate language of liars and thieves.³²



WHAT'S IN A NAME?

“WHAT A PRETHUTH NOOTHENTH IT ITH! JUTHT BECAUTH MA THIRNAME
HAPPENTH TO BE ABRAMTH, AND MA PARENTH CHRITHENED ME MOTHETH,
LOTH O' PEOPLE THEEM TO THUTHPECT I MUTHT BE O' HEBREW ECTHTRACTHION?
WHEREATH A THWEAR A HAVEN'T GOT A THINGLE DROP O' HEBREW BLOOD IN
ALL MA VEINTH, 'THELPME!”

Figure 3- George du Maurier, "What's in a Name?" *Punch Magazine*, 1883.

³² For more on Kol-Nidre see, Shlomo Deshen, "The Kol Nidre Enigma: An Anthropological View of Atonement Liturgy." *Ethnology*. Vol. 18. No. 2 (April, 1979), pp. 121-133.

Gentiles believed that the Kol-Nidre released Jews from their oaths, and thus speaking Yiddish was considered synonymous with being an oath breaker.³³ According to the *Jewish Standard*, the mouth organ of the Eastern European Orthodox community in London, “It was not criminal to use a word of [Yiddish] in speaking or writing; it was worse than criminal, it was vulgar.”³⁴ Eventually, this emphasis on the Jewish corruption of language transformed into the belief that speech impediments were a racial characteristic of the Jews. This belief is clearly evident in an 1883 cartoon in *Punch* which depicts a foreign Jew who is attempting to pass as a gentile but is betrayed by his speech. In contrast, native Jews didn’t speak Yiddish and were often depicted as able to speak perfect English. Rather, rhetoric concerning the separation of native Jews from gentiles often focused on comparisons of beauty and physical features.³⁵

Alongside these two living populations, English discourse during the Victorian period made reference to a third, less dynamic category of Jews: the Hebrews and Israelites. These terms referred specifically to the ancient Jewish people as they are mentioned in the bible. The use of the terminology Hebrew or Israelite was often specifically to the exclusion of the modern Jew, implicitly echoing the idea that the modern Jewish race had degenerated from the once great Hebrew civilization. This idea belongs to the broader belief that the Orient was once a source of great civilization which had become enervated. One of the most dramatic examples of discourse concerning Jewish health in the Victorian era, that of contemporaneous medical scholarship, was not primarily concerned with the native/foreign dynamic. Rather medical scholarship focused primarily on the distinction between the Philo-

³³ Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986.) p68.

³⁴ Unknown, “Jargon Lecture.” *The Jewish Standard* (London). February 8, 1889.

³⁵ For more see Chapters 2 and 3.

Semitic ancient and degenerate modern Jew. However, this ancient-modern dichotomy was framed by its native-foreign counterpart, with native Jews having a closer association to their ancient counterparts. This distinction played on contemporaneous views of the Middle East as the exemplification of civilization decay.³⁶ Therefore, the presence of foreign Jews, who were the living embodiment of Middle Eastern decay, in England represented the intrusion of civilizational decay into British society. To Victorian Gentiles, this intrusion was synonymous with the pollution of English heredity and subsequently marked a threat to British imperial strength and civilizational dominion. Thus, all three categories of Jews- native, foreign, and ancient- played a significant role in how the Jewish body was racially imagined and excluded from English Gentile society.

Ancient and Modern Jews

Medical scholarship on Jewish pathology in the Victorian era was vast, covering everything from biblical disease, to eugenics, to sanitation. There are two distinct tropes which emerge throughout Victorian scholarship on Jewish pathology. The first is that Jews were a degenerate race more susceptible to disease and deformity. The second is that Jews were an evolutionarily supreme race that was immune to major diseases such as Syphilis and Cholera. These conflicting tropes not only appear in the same medical journals, but also often within the same article. While these tropes may at first glance seem to be mutually exclusive, both tropes effectively other the Jewish body and are subsequently anti-Semitic. This contradiction is unsurprising as it mirrors a wider pattern of bigotry in general being

³⁶ For more see Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989.)

inherently contradictory. As a result, there was an emphasis on the study of individual race pathologies. This study was frequently comparative in nature.³⁷ This comparative element in Victorian race science, combined with the Victorian obsession over national health, sparked a debate concerning which races were inherently medically superior or inferior to others.

Articles published in the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal*, Britain's most prominent medical journals at the time, identified the Jew as a separate specimen for study with concern to conditions ranging from major diseases such as Cholera and Syphilis to color blindness.³⁸ Opinions in the articles differed as to whether Jews were more or less susceptible to these conditions, but all of the article's argued that Jewish health was undoubtably and absolutely separate from English health. Whether diseased or supreme, the Jew was treated as a medical anomaly, an exotic object of morbid fascination not unlike that elicited by Victorian Freak Shows.

Many Victorian scholars tended to self-resolve the conflict of whether Jews, be it specific subsets of Jews or the entire population, were superior or inferior through the careful use of terminology. Many of the articles in medical journals which focused on the superior health of the Jew did so with heavy or exclusive reference to the Hebrews and Mosaic Codes.³⁹ This trend of implicitly distinguishing Hebrews from modern Jews parallels the popularization of philo-Semitic ideology in late Victorian England. At the same time this

³⁷ The comparative nature of Victorian race science can be traced back to the early categorization of race in the eighteenth century through the methodologies of botany, which in itself was a comparison-based science. For more see, Snait B. Gissis, "Visualizing 'Race' in the Eighteenth Century," *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 41-103.

³⁸ Charles Roberts, "Colour-Blindness as a Racial Character.," *The Lancet*, originally published as Volume 1, Issue 3047, 119, no. 3047 (January 21, 1882): 124.

³⁹ "Sanitation and the Mosaic Law," *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 2, Issue 3665, 142, no. 3665 (November 25, 1893): 1340-41; Erasmus Wilson, "On the Nature and Treatment of Leprosy, Ancient and Modern; Including the Jewish Leprosy, Leprosy of the Middle Ages, Leprosy of the Crusades, Leprosy of the Arabians, And Elephantiasis of the Greeks: With a Description of the Forms Under Which Leprosy Exists in Britain at the Present Day.," *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 1, Issue 1699, 67, no. 1699 (March 22, 1856): 309-10.

reliance on a distinction between ancient and modern functionally isolated foreign Jews from positive rhetoric on Jewish race pathology.

The Mosaic Codes were frequently used in articles to justify the idea that Jews were somehow immune or less prone to disease. This can be seen in the 1893 *Lancet* Article, “Sanitation and the Mosaic Law,” in which the author asserted, “that whoever kept the letter of the Mosaic law would enjoy immunity from infectious disease.”⁴⁰ The author then continued to discuss the specific effect of a kosher diet, and specifically the Mosaic laws forbidding the consumption of pork and carrion birds, on health, “Dr. Adler traced in the exclusion of the flesh of swine a distinctly sanitary purpose and alluded to the terrors of trichinosis ; and there can be no doubt that the flesh of swine is more often the vehicle for the transmission of the trichina parasite than is the flesh of all other animals put together.”⁴¹ Similarly in 1890, a lecturer at Owen’s College claimed, “‘That no Jew or Jewess has ever been known to suffer from cancer’ ; and that ‘the immunity of the Hebrew race from this frightful scourge was attributed to their abstinence from swine’s flesh.’”⁴²

Despite this, the Mosaic Codes were not always used to portray Jews in a positive light. The application of the Mosaic Codes in order to criticize Jewish health was generally used to describe foreign Jews. The best example of this is the Lancet Special Sanitary Commission on the Polish Colony of Jew Tailors. The commission was originally instituted

⁴⁰ “Sanitation and the Mosaic Law.”

⁴¹ Ibid. It is of particular interest here that Dr. Hermann Adler was the Chief Rabbi of England at the time of this lecture. Despite being Jewish, Adler was considered the “Patrician English Gentleman,” and was described by the prominent Zionist Theodore Herzl as, “Everything English with the old Jewish custom peeping through.” The fact that Adler’s lecture was recorded almost verbatim, even if for the purpose of criticism, in this article demonstrates his influence. Adler’s lecture also shows that the Jewish community as a whole were also deeply engaged in issues pertaining to Jewish pathology. For more on Adler see “History of the Chief Rabbinate,” online at the *Office of the Chief Rabbinate*.

⁴² “Cancer Mortality Among the Jews,” *The Lancet*, originally published as Volume 2, Issue 3506, 136, no. 3506 (November 8, 1890): 986.

in 1884 in response to sanitation concerns caused by the massive wave of Polish and Russian Jewish immigrants to the East End of London. The commission identified the Jewish kosher diet as a source of noxious fumes polluting the slums which they inhabited.⁴³ However, most of the time the Mosaic Codes were used to positively describe the ancient Israelites, or in rare cases modern native Jews.

The role of ancient and modern Jews as separate categories of contemplation is best demonstrated by an 1844 *Lancet* article, “On the Theory of Menstruation.” This article provides an excellent example, because while other articles refer to the Mosaic Codes only in how they were used biblically, this article pulls the use of biblical sanitation law into the present:

That conception takes place about, and most probably antecedent to, the time of the periodic discharge, is illustrated, on a great scale, by the nation of the Hebrews. It is the custom amongst Jews, who are scrupulous, for the wife to retire from the society of her husband for a period of thirteen days.⁴⁴

Essentially, the use of present tense in qualifying who among the Jews participates in this custom excludes the ancient Israelites from the statement. However, The use of “Hebrews” at the beginning of this quote, especially with the qualifier scrupulous, implies that the following paragraph specifically does not apply to the foreign Jew.

There is room for speculation as to whether the article could refer to native Jews, as the article later mentions “rabbinic law.”⁴⁵ Rabbinic law implies post-biblical, although not

⁴³ “Report of The Lancet Special Sanitary Commission on the Polish Colony of Jew Tailors,” *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 1, Issue 3166, 123, no. 3166 (May 3, 1884): 817–18.

⁴⁴ G. F. Girdwood, “On the Theory of Menstruation,” *The Lancet*, originally published as Volume 2, Issue 1111, 44, no. 1111 (December 14, 1844): 333–36.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

necessarily modern, practice. It is equally possible that the author is referring to late ancient or early medieval Jewish practice prior to large scale assimilation or to modern Judaism. While the condition of morality in British eyes would have precluded the foreign Jew from participation in this practice, the same does not necessarily hold true for the native Jew.

The word scrupulous was almost never used to describe modern Jews, whether native or foreign, in the Victorian era. However, it is clear from the article that the author did believe there were scrupulous modern Jews both from his use of the present tense, and his explicit reference to Jews he knew,

I have it from most excellent authority, from individuals of this nation, for whose probity of conduct and veracity I have the highest respect, that after extensive inquiries made amongst their friends and relations, they find, that no pregnant female, observant of this Rabbinical law, can calculate within fifteen days when to expect her accouchement.⁴⁶

Any Jewish person the author knew well enough to inquire as to their sex habits must have been of a high enough status to regularly interact with a well to do British scholar, likely middle class or higher. Additionally, the author's qualification of his friend's "probity of conduct and veracity," excludes them from the categorization of being a foreign Jew, and subsequently their "scrupulous" friends and relations were also likely native Jews.

This passage also implies that foreign Jews would not participate in these rabbinic laws. Firstly, the fact that the author needed to reassure his reader of the "probity of conduct and veracity" of his Jewish sources shows that there was a preexistent and sufficiently strong cultural belief that Jews were immoral and dishonest. The moral status of Jews as prescribed

⁴⁶ Ibid.

by English Gentiles was heavily influenced by the conflation of class and morality. Like with the Gentile urban poor, many middle- and upper-class Gentiles believed that the Jewish poor were more predisposed to immorality than their upper-class counterparts. This distinction is inherently intertwined with the native-foreign distinction as the majority of native Jews were middle class while the majority of foreign Jews were part of the lower classes. This further strengthens the assertion that the author intentionally excluded foreign Jews from his positive statements about Jewish health.

However, while the author may have been inclined to believe that native Jews were more likely to participate in biblical sanitary practices, it is important to note that the reality was different.⁴⁷ There was significant variation in modern Anglo-Jewish practice, with Orthodox foreign Jews following biblical law most rigorously. None the less, these gradations in practice among native Jews were a significant topic of exploration in literature surrounding Jews at the time, especially as the works of Jewish authors such as Amy Levy and Julia Frankau became popular among gentile audiences.⁴⁸ It is likely that the author of this article, who is clearly trying to position himself as an expert on Judaism, would have understood these gradations in practice. This is especially true in context of the revitalized Victorian interest in ancient, including ancient Hebraic, culture which in many cases was

⁴⁷ Despite self-identifying as Orthodox, most native Jews, while remaining active within the Jewish community, would not have participated in rigorous religious practice.⁴⁷ This is in large part due to the intensity of assimilation culture within the native Jewish community. Native Jews of significant wealth and social status such as the Rothschilds, Montefiores, Henriques, and others practiced varying forms of anglicized liberal Judaism. These practices consisted of anything from unconventional observances of the sabbath by visiting with the elderly in workhouses, to attending synagogue but allowing some forms of work such as riding in a carriage or playing tennis. The one common denominator through the varying religious practices of the Jewish elite were their non- doctrinal nature. This means that if they were even aware of the more obscure Mosaic sanitation laws, prominent native Jews would not have practiced them. The exceptions to this were the Chief Rabbi of England and a small handful of wealthy Jewish scholars. In actuality, these sanitation practices would have been more common among recent orthodox Jewish immigrants than their native counterparts. For more see Todd Endelman, "Communal Solidarity Among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London." *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 3. (Spring, 1985.)

⁴⁸ For more see Chapter 3.

believed to be more desirable than modern culture.⁴⁹ This interest was in part fueled by Britain's status as the self-styled "New Rome," and can be seen in an 1893 *Lancet* article on the Mosaic laws, "It clear that as a sanitarian the great Jewish law-giver [Moses] was not only well ahead of his time but in many respects abreast of ours."⁵⁰

Additionally, prior to 1880, the majority of Jews in England were assimilated, and many of the most famous such as Benjamin Disraeli had completely ceased Jewish religious practice, while others such as the Rothschilds were known to practice a less rigorous anglicized, and in many ways Christianized, form of Judaism.⁵¹ Since the author of "On the Theory of Menstruation" wrote the article in 1844, these are the examples of English Judaism he would be most familiar with. Therefore, it can be reasonably concluded that the author is implying that the majority of modern Jews do not follow this practice, and thus fail to qualify for the categorization of being superior in any way to Gentiles.

The author's engagement with menstruation is not merely scientific, but moral. The moral component of the discussion can be seen in a footnote in which the author compares hereditary diseases stemming from conception during menstruation to hereditary disease stemming from rape and incest:

Rabbis alleged many diseases as having their origin in conception during the catamenia.... The children of Ammon were in this predicament. They were a race accursed, inheriting, as was the belief of the Jews, pollution of blood, from the

⁴⁹ Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁵⁰Ibid. "Sanitation and the Mosaic Law." It is of particular interest that this article is a summary of a speech given by the Chief Rabbi of England, and while it includes heavy commentary, it nonetheless demonstrates the active role which the Jewish community played in discourse concerning Jewish race pathology.

⁵¹ Endelman, "Communal Solidarity Among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London."

circumstances under which the grandson-son of Lot, their great pro-genitor, received his origin.⁵²

This invocation of a widely understood reference to a morally bankrupt group involved both moral and medical judgments.⁵³ While this footnote is referring to the Ammonites rather than the Jews, it demonstrates that discourse concerning adherence to sanitation was not merely scientific, but moral in quality. This also falls in line with Victorian English beliefs that a person's cleanliness is a direct reflection of their moral character. This is important because earlier in the article the author asserted that the Jews, and only the Jews, have known for thousands of years that 1) conception is possible during menstruation and 2) that the babies conceived during menstruation are born diseased due to the nature of their conception. Therefore, the article is implying that majority of Jews not only fail to abstain from sex during menstruation, but that they are immoral enough to fail to do so knowing that it will produce a diseased or degenerate child. This then suggests, although the author never explicitly states so, that modern Jews themselves are an exceedingly poor physical and moral quality.

The article also implies that modern Jews were degenerate because they carried blood diseases from conceiving during menstruation. As the example of the Ammonites demonstrates, the author alleges that the blood pollution in question is a dominant hereditary trait passed down with equal strength through the generations. The author's assertion that only the most "observant" Jews abstain from sex during menstruation implies that the

⁵² G. F. Girdwood, "On the Theory of Menstruation."

⁵³ The Ammonites were largely considered, both by Jews and Christians, to be a morally and culturally inferior race having descended from both rape and incest between Lot and his daughter. Throughout the bible the Ammonites remain a consistent enemy of the Israelites and commit a series of heinous deeds including the refusal of hospitality and the assassination of Gedaliah. The destruction of the Ammonites by God for their poor behavior is predicted no less than three times in the books of Prophets.

majority of Jews who were less observant participated in sex during menstruation. The author also argued that, following Aristotle's theory, "animals during menstruation are fittest for impregnation."⁵⁴ In combination these arguments indicated that it was probable that a significant portion of the modern Jewish population were conceiving during menstruation and producing diseased and degenerate offspring. These diseased offspring would have then polluted the rest of the population by marrying other members of the community.⁵⁵ In other words, as Jews veered from religious observance and morality over time it directly corrupted their hereditary constitution leading to the degeneration of the race as a whole.

The framework of the civilized ancient versus the degenerate modern drew specifically on Eugenicist scholarship which, while ideologically entangled with the medical scholarship discussed above, existed as a separate discipline. Eugenics by its very nature engages in an ancient/modern discourse by analyzing degeneration and constitutional improvement over time. At this point in time Eugenicist discourse was aimed at improving the overall constitution of England, to which Jewish immigrants were believed to be a significant threat. As a result, discourse within this scholarship mirrored the dual tropes common in the wider field of Victorian Jewish pathology. Much of this discourse depicted Jews as degenerate. In one piece in *The Lancet*, an author suggested that color blindness, a degenerate characteristic, is associated with red hair and, "that colour-blindness is more prevalent among Jews, who are the most decidedly red-haired of all the races we are

⁵⁴ G. F. Girdwood, "On the Theory of Menstruation."

⁵⁵ Victorian Jews were well known for marrying exclusively within the community.

acquainted with.”⁵⁶ This was intensified by the fact that red hair in of itself was considered a degenerate characteristic.⁵⁷

Paradoxically, though, the same discourse depicted Jews as evolutionarily superior to other races. The idea that Jews were the positive result of eugenics, while perhaps foreign to us, was popular and its influence can be seen in medical articles dealing with Jewish “immunity” to disease. One article in *The Lancet*, for instance, claimed:

The health of Jews is, as a rule, remarkably good. They suffer in a very slight degree from hereditary diseases and from prevailing epidemics. Dr. Stallard pointed out years ago their immunity from scrofula.⁵⁸

The emphasis on a lack of heredity disease in the population served as a foil to contemporaneous anxieties in England about the prevalence of hereditary disease and weakness among Anglo-Saxons.

On the whole, Victorian medical scholars used the ancient/modern distinction, as framed by the preexisting native/foreign divide, to navigate and resolve their paradoxical engagement with Jewish pathology. Whether explicitly eugenicist or not, this scholarship affectively separated out Jewish bodies from Gentile bodies. The rhetorical use of the native/foreign and ancient/modern divides allowed medical scholars to maintain a philo-

⁵⁶ Roberts, “Colour-Blindness as a Racial Character.”

⁵⁷ Hair plays an important role in the definition of barbarian races and moral quality in the Bible. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the Victorian cultural fascination with the fact that Judas, the ultimate symbol of moral inferiority, was a red head. The first direct reference to hair in the Bible is in Genesis 25:25, “And the first came out red, all over like a hairy garment; and they called his name Esau.” There is a long tradition of medieval commentary on this verse linking Esau to barbarianism. Later in the passage, Esau is referred to as Edom. The word Edom stems from the Hebrew word *adom* meaning red or ruddy. However, it also refers to the Edomites- a barbarian race, possibly connected to the Romans, which was believed to stem from Esau. This is compounded by the use of the word *se’ar*, for hairy garment. *Se’ar* directly refers to Edom’s territory, Seir. For more see, Robert Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*. Vol 1. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company), 2019.

⁵⁸ “The Health of Jews.,” *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 1, Issue 2692, 105, no. 2692 (April 3, 1875): 484.

Semitic veneer while simultaneously condemning the Jewish body as other. More importantly, rhetoric surrounding the ancient/modern distinction implicitly identified modern foreign Jews as degenerate, and subsequently a locus of disease. These ‘diseased’ Jewish immigrants became a focal point in medical scholarship and popular discourse concerning the Jewish body.

The Diseased Jewish Immigrant

While the ancient Israelites were a topic of focus among Victorian Jewish pathologists, connected to the form of philo-Semitism then coming to the fore, the majority of this scholarship argued that the Jews were of an inferior constitution to English Gentiles. The evidence and target of this discourse was aimed specifically at the foreign Jew.⁵⁹ This can be seen in articles such as “On The Occurrence Of Relapsing Fever Among The Polish Jews Admitted Into The German Hospital In London,” published in 1869.⁶⁰ The article covers several incidents of a mysterious relapsing fever among Jewish immigrants. The article focuses on the patient’s status as immigrants beginning with the statement that, “relapsing fever has not occurred in an epidemic form either in London or in any other part of England since 1855,” and continuing to claim that the first patient, “had arrived in England scarcely a month.”⁶¹ Outside of a brief and nondescript mention of other cases, this is the only patient the article discusses. This focus on a single patient is in contrast to the title’s implication that the fever was affecting all of the Polish Jews admitted to the hospital.

⁵⁹ See Walter Wyman and Spiridion Zavitziano, “Foreign,” *Abstract of Sanitary Reports* 6, no. 45 (November 6, 1891): 519–23. And “Alien Immigration,” *Lancet* 142, no. 3659 (October 14, 1893): 950–51.

⁶⁰ “On The Occurrence Of Relapsing Fever Among The Polish Jews Admitted Into The German Hospital In London.,” *Lancet* 93, no. 1869 (February 13, 1869): 221–22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

One element which helps explain the preponderance of medical scholarship focused on the inferiority of the foreign Jew is the Victorian conflation between immigration and poor hygiene. In early Victorian England, Miasma Theory was the predominate belief among medical experts. Miasma Theory is the idea that disease is caused and spread by fumes from dirt and rotting flesh. Germ Theory began to overtake Miasma Theory in the late Victorian era.⁶² However, even then it was believed that disease was spread primarily through contaminated water and unsanitary environmental conditions rather than person to person contact. As a result, the stereotype that immigrants were unhygienic due to their moral inferiority, a product of their foreignness, meant that immigrants were often blamed for the spread of disease. This rhetoric can be explicitly connected to the ancient/modern divide. Many scholars argued that ancient biblical sanitation codes were not only revolutionary for their time, but superior to modern practices. However, foreign Jews, as a degenerate subsection of the Jewish race, had lost their cultural capacity to follow these laws, becoming slovenly and carriers of disease.⁶³ In the case of the Jew, this stereotype was extended to the belief that disease was a racial characteristic of foreign Jews. For instance, in his novel, *Remembrance of Things Past*, Proust, himself an ethnic Jew, declared that syphilis was the “ethnic eczema,” of the Jews.⁶⁴

This racialization of disease among Jews, while occurring in medical scholarship, was especially prominent in non-scholarly discourses such as political newspaper articles and ideological essays. These sources, which were held to as less rigorous standard of proof than

⁶² John Snow’s epidemiological research into the 1854 cholera outbreak is considered the beginnings of germ theory, but the actual bacteria was not identified until 1883 by Robert Koch.

⁶³ “Sanitation and the Mosaic Law,” *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 2, Issue 3665, 142, no. 3665 (November 25, 1893): 1340–41; “Report of The Lancet Special Sanitary Commission on the Polish Colony of Jew Tailors,” *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 1, Issue 3166, 123, no. 3166 (May 3, 1884): 817–18.

⁶⁴ Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terrence Kilmartin (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1986) vol. 2, p. 639.

scientific scholarship, opened up new extremes in conversations surrounding Jewish race pathology. At the same time, these sources drew their authority from reference to contemporary scientific and medical thought and were influential due to mass circulation. On the whole, popular sources played an integral role in the creation of a dynamic debate over Jewish race pathology in the public sphere.

The belief that disease was a racial trait among foreign Jews was justified by the Lamarckian idea that long-term exposure to poor conditions in Russia and Poland caused alien Jews to have degenerate and diseased constitutions.⁶⁵ This idea also provided a rationalization for how foreign Jews could be degenerate whilst native Jews were not. Robert Sherard, a prominent Victorian author and journalist, also demonstrated this belief in an expose on immigration in the United States compared to that in England written for the *London Evening Standard*. Sherard's vitriol towards the diseased Jew was aimed specifically towards immigrants to the noticeable exclusion of native Jews. On the topic of immigration to England Sherard wrote,

Long ages of hunger and suffering have brutalized a race which of all races is most intelligent. The faces that, under matted verminous locks, peer out into the streets are scarcely human. They are the faces of imbeciles, of idiots, ape-faces, dog faces...their half naked bodies are black with filth and red with sores.⁶⁶

There are several important elements in this passage. First, while Sherard fails to explicitly name the race he is referring to, his assertion that the race in question is the most intelligent

⁶⁵ Lamarckian refers to the idea, conceived by Lamarck, that an organism can pass on to its offspring physical characteristics that the parent organism acquired through use or disuse during its lifetime.

⁶⁶ As quoted in Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society*, p. 38.

cannot be mistaken for anything but a reference to the trope that Jews use their superior intelligence in order to plot world domination.⁶⁷

Secondly, Sherard's assertion that hunger and suffering caused the degeneration of alien Jews blurs the line between disease and disability. In doing so, Sherard suggests that temporary conditions that may affect a person's constitution can, over time and with enough exposure, become permanent evolutionary fixtures, which can be passed down through reproduction. The heritability of these environmentally driven traits functionally takes this theory beyond climatic humoralism to a level of immutability based in race.⁶⁸ This also means that disease itself could become a racial characteristic, one that Sherard doesn't hesitate to ascribe to the Jews. The reference in the passage to sores is particularly important in this respect. While the occasional sore could be caused by physical trauma to the skin, full body sores such as those described above tended to be associated with skin diseases such as Leprosy and Syphilis. Syphilis was considered to be a foreign disease as the nature of its transmission made a statement concerning the moral quality of the afflicted population.⁶⁹ No nation wanted to claim Syphilis; however, the widespread and decentralized Jewish population offered a logical scapegoat that lacked the political consequences of blaming the disease on other nations. Skin disease was both highly visible and carried an intense negative stigma. As a result, the conflation of alien Jews and skin disease served as a brand, marking the inferiority of the Jewish constitution. The conflation in the passage of permanent

⁶⁷ For more on the belief that Jews have superior intelligence see, Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body*. (New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁶⁸ Popular in the 16th and 17th centuries climatic humoralism is the believe that long exposure to the environment permanently effects physical traits. For more see Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*.

⁶⁹ There was also a belief in the 18th century that Syphilis was divine punishment for immoral behavior.

conditions such as imbecility and the Jewish immigrants' "scarcely human" faces serves to dehumanize both the disabled and Jews as a race.

In a similar vein to Sherard's article, and published several years prior, is Joseph Banister's book, *England Under the Jews*. Banister was a rather obscure journalist from St. Pancras, the son of a cow-keeper. However, despite his lack of influence as a journalist, Banister's book received enough circulation to justify three editions by 1907.⁷⁰ Unlike Sherard, Banister's low class and obscurity allowed him the freedom to use incendiary and controversial language in his book, cumulating in one of the most overtly anti-Semitic publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷¹ While Bannister's virulent brand of anti-Semitism was aimed at all Jews, he organized his book into sections based on the native/foreign divide. To Bannister, native Jews are bad and foreign Jews are worse. For instance, Bannister argues that Jewish immigrants living in the East End are degenerate and slovenly. This can be seen in the title of the fourteenth chapter of his book, "How our Invader's Antipathy to Soap and Water Renders Their Odor as Rank as their Perjury..."⁷² Bannister's use of the word "invaders" specifically refers to Jewish immigrants, as in other sections of his book he refers to native Jews as "English born Jews."⁷³ In this chapter, Bannister begins his attack on immigrant Jewish health by asserting that "[the Jews] may have bathed in Jordan a couple of thousand years ago, but very few of them appear to have bathed in anything since," and continues on to claim, "the unpopularity of bath among the members of the Wandering tribe, accounts for the extraordinary extent to which they are

⁷⁰ Holmes, 39.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Joseph Bannister, *England Under the Jews*, 1901. p1.

⁷³ Ibid.,2

subject to blood and skin diseases. Jewish blood...seems to be loaded with scrofula.”⁷⁴ The assertion that the disease is not merely on the skin, but also in Jewish blood, implies that the disease is a permanent characteristic of the Jewish race and echoes the argument from “On the Theory of Menstruation” that unsanitary behavior leads to blood pollution and hereditary diseases.⁷⁵ In contrast, Bannister’s critique of native Jews focused on their treasonous loyalty to their degenerate kin and material ambition.

The Profane Jewish Body

Victorian definitions of, and therefore anxiety over, disease and contagion were not limited to what today we would consider physical illness but also extended to psychological and social diseases. Social diseases, in particular, dealt with abnormal social behavior linked to moral depravity. For instance, sexual promiscuity, not to be confused with venereal disease, was considered a mutable condition passed down from the seducer to the seduced.⁷⁶ Similarly, drunkenness and gambling were also considered to be transmissible health issues. In all cases of Victorian disease, the emphasis was on contagion and transmissibility. It is also important to note that disease and disability were not distinct categories during the Victorian era, but rather a singular descriptor of the compromised body which through either contact or breeding was transmissible.

A strong example of this was gambling. In 1871, the *Times* described gambling as, “a fever,” and this remained the primary view of gambling well into the twentieth century.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid., 84, 88

⁷⁵ Girdwood, “On the Theory of Menstruation.”

⁷⁶ Gilman, “I’m Down on Whores.”

⁷⁷ “Gambling in Germany,” *The Times*. August 24, 1871. p6.

Other examples of social diseases were intoxication, addiction, sexuality, and criminality. The conflation of Jews, especially Jewish immigrants, and disease extended to these social diseases. Almost as much scholarship on Jewish sobriety, or lack thereof, existed as on fevers and skin disease.⁷⁸ However, one of the most dramatic examples of the conflation of Jews and social disease was the idea that the Jewish body was the racialized embodiment of profanity.⁷⁹

The reasoning behind this belief emerged from a plethora of other deeply rooted anti-Semitic stereotypes. One major element was the Jewish practice of ritual circumcision, which many Gentiles believed to be a form of genital mutilation.⁸⁰ While late nineteenth-century scholarship proposed that circumcision led to lower rates of venereal disease, the belief that Jewish circumcision was an expression of sexual deviancy through self-mutilation remained strong. In fact, there was a purposeful blurring of the line between circumcision and castration throughout Europe which was best demonstrated by German psychiatrist Oskar Panizza's 1894 essay, "The Operated Jew." The essay was a fictionalized satire, which, while it was widely read as fiction, nonetheless made an ontological claim about Jews based in contemporaneous scientific discourses. In this piece, a Jewish man who is described as undergoing rigorous ethnic reassignment surgery, immediately reverts to his previous Jewish state upon the need for sexual performance.⁸¹ While *The Operated Jew* was originally published in Germany, the themes of the essay were influential in England appearing in a

⁷⁸ See: "The British Medical Temperance Society," *The Lancet*. Vol. 130. November 22, 1887, "Dr. Richardson's Lecture in the Chapter House of St. Paul's on the Jewish Sanitary Code." *The Lancet*. Vol 117. February 5, 1881, and "Jewish Longevity," *The Lancet*. Vol 90. July 13, 1867.

⁷⁹ While it is outside the scope of this paper, this idea is inextricable from the sexual fetishism of the orient and the middle east. For more see Said, *Orientalism*.

⁸⁰ Gilman, "I'm Down on Whores." 117.

⁸¹ Oskar Panizza, *The Operated Jew*. 1893.

variety of English publications including popular tabloids such as *Punch Magazine*.⁸² Even in *Daniel Deronda*, widely considered to be one of the most philo-Semitic texts of the Victorian era, the source of the titled character's otherness, and subsequent revelation that he is a Jew, is his 'unnatural' sexual attraction to Mirah Cohen, a Jewess. Deronda's circumcision is not considered to be abnormal until this revelation. In the words of Sander Gilman, "Here the icon is a reversal of the traditional image of the phallus as a beast out of control. In this image it is the man, not his phallus, who is bestial (read: Jewish)."⁸³

In many cases, the anti-Semitic preoccupation with Jewish noses and "nostrility" as a racial characteristic served as a euphemism for the Jew's circumcised phallus. The nose provided a point of focus for English anxiety over circumcision as a primitive process marking the male Jewish body as other.⁸⁴ While this displacement is not explicit in most Victorian text due to social conventions of politeness, in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, published in 1900 Freud notes, "comparisons between the nose and penis are common."⁸⁵ Freud's identification of Jewish difference through the conflation of the nose and sexual fetish in later texts represents the culmination of the nineteenth century exchange between the Jewish nose as racial type and the practice of circumcision.⁸⁶ As male circumcision was considered the essence of the sexually diseased Jewish male, this meant that the Jewish nose served as a prominent and visual remind of the Jew's sexual depravity. The scientificization of the Jewish nose in the late Victorian era inverted preexisting dialogue surrounding the Jewish nose and sexual deviancy. Whereas prior rhetoric painted the Jewish nose as a

⁸² George du Maurier, "What's in a Name." *Punch Magazine*, 1883.

⁸³ Gilman, "I'm Down on Whores." 121

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 125

⁸⁵ Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1900. 387.

⁸⁶ Jay Geller, "'A Glance at the Nose': Freud's Inscription of Jewish Difference." *American Imago*, Vol. 49, No. 4, The Body, (Winter 1992) pp. 427-444

product of sexual immorality, Victorian race scientists argued that Jewish sexual deviancy was based in racial heredity, concomitant with the atavistic trait of a beak-like nose.

Additionally, by the late nineteenth century, there was a strong association between prostitution and Jews. Just as circumcision represented sexual difference and the male outsider, prostitution represented the other extreme of sexual deviancy.⁸⁷ The conflation of the two was largely fiscal in its justification. There is a long history of ideation that Jews are obsessed with money. This belief can be traced all the way back to the role of Judas as a usurer and the subsequent betrayal of Jesus by the Jews. Perhaps one of the most famous examples of this trope is the characterization of the greedy and immoral moneylender, Shylock, in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. This stereotype led English Gentiles to believe that the Jews were heavily involved in London's prostitution scene as prostitution represents the "conversion of sex into money and money into sex."⁸⁸ This notion was only strengthened by the Victorian use of the metaphor "spending semen" in describing acts of sex and masturbation.⁸⁹

The conflation of Jews and prostitution was primarily ascribed to foreign Jews.⁹⁰ This can be seen through a consistent emphasis on the Jewish seducer's corrupted dialogue. The idea that Yiddish was a corrupt language paralleled perceptions of Jewish corrupt sexuality. In "The Operated Jew," half of the essay is devoted to fixing the Jew's pathological inability to speak respectable language, and, upon the Jew's failed sexual act, it is his corrupt language which resurfaces first. Another satire, a pornographic dialogue between a Jewish man and

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 118.

⁸⁹ Alain Corbin, "Commercial Sexuality in nineteenth Century France: A System of Images and Regulations." *Representations* Vol. 14, 1986. 209-219.

⁹⁰ And in an exceptional and politically charged move to Benjamin Disraeli.

woman originally published in 1830, but which was reprinted in London in 1892, also combined poor speech and sexual appetite: “den I think of your snowy thighs, and den my fancy glowing hot got to de fountain of bliss, and dere I vill go immedietly.”⁹¹ The dialogue, titled *The Adventures of Miss Lais Lovecock*, recounted a Jewish man’s seduction of his father’s Jewish, and therefore sexually degenerate, maid. The maid is depicted as hermaphroditic with a, “clitoris, which was hard and shaped like a penis.”⁹² The Jew’s corrupt speech is highlighted later in the story when the Jew attempts to seduce a Christian prostitute who, while being considered marginal, speaks more fluently in English.⁹³

The Criminal Jewish Body

Another social disease generally ascribed to immigrant Jews was criminality. As with sexuality, criminality was generally associated with foreign Jews. Once again, the concept that Jew’s were exempt from their oaths due to *Kol-Nidre*, and thus the use of Yiddish among the Jewish immigrant population, played a role in the belief that Jews were criminals. The same holds true with the idea that Jews were obsessed with money. Fagin, the criminal antagonist of Charles Dicken’s *Oliver Twist*, offers an example of this set of stereotypes. Dickens description of Fagin as a “shriveled Jew, whose villainous- looking and repulsive face was obscure by a quantity of matted red hair,” demonstrates this point.⁹⁴ It is

⁹¹ *The Bagino Miscellany Containing the Adventures of Ms. Lais Lovecock Written by Herself and what Happened at Miss Twigs Academy and Afterwards. Dialogues Between a Jew and a Christian, a Whimsical Entertainment Lately Performed at the Dukes Place.* London, 1830. p66

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Gilman, “I’m Down on Whores.” 119.

⁹⁴ Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*. Online at Guttenberg, 1996.

important to note Dicken's emphasis on Fagin's physical state as a reflection of his criminality and status as a foreign Jew.⁹⁵

While the trope of the criminal Jews appeared centuries before the Victorian era, it is not until the nineteenth century that criminality became a definitive racial characteristic. This movement towards the scientific racialization of crime in England drew heavily on European discourse, especially the emergence of the Positivist School of Italian Criminology in the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ The Italian school, founded by Caesar Lombroso, posited that rather than being part of human nature, criminality was an inherited trait that could be identified by congenital defects.⁹⁷ These defects, according to Lombroso were atavistic in nature.⁹⁸ In his book, *The Criminal Man*, Lombroso defines and categorizes the physiognomy inherent to criminals.⁹⁹ However, the compilation of Lombroso's congenital criminal traits mirrors the European Jewish caricature. Lombroso notes, "[the criminal's] nose...is often aquiline like the beak of a bird of prey," which parallel's the stereotype of the bulbous, crooked, and hooked Jewish nose. Another marker of Lombroso's criminal man is the use of corrupted speech and slang, one of the most defining racial characteristics ascribed to Jews in Victorian London.¹⁰⁰ Lombroso also identifies dark curly hair, red hair, enlarged misshapen ears, bushy unibrows, and flat feet as criminal characteristics, all of which are also attributed to the Jewish racial type.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ For more see: Mark Gelber, "Teaching 'Literary Anti-Semitism': Dickens' 'Oliver Twist' and Freytag's 'Soil Und Haben.'" *Comparative Literature Studies*. Vol. 16. No. 1. (March 1979.), pp. 1-11.

⁹⁶ While the science itself had existed several decades prior, the term criminology was not coined until 1885.

⁹⁷ David G. Horn, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance* (New York: Routledge), 2003, pp. 1-59.

⁹⁸ Atavism refers to the reappearance of an ancestral trait thought to be lost to evolution.

⁹⁹ It should be noted here that Galton appropriates Lombroso's methodology of composite photography in his attempt to define the Jewish type.

¹⁰⁰ Lombroso, *The Criminal Man*. (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.)

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Two physiognomic characteristics Lombroso identifies play a particularly important role in the conflation between Jews and the criminal body. The first is that in criminals, “The abdomen, pelvis, and reproductive organs sometimes show an inversion of sex-characters.” This element in particular mirrors perceptions of Jewish sexual deviancy and brings to mind the Jewish maid with the phallic clitoris in *The Adventures of Miss Lais Lovecock*. The bridge between Jewish sexual deviancy and criminality is drawn even more clear by Lombroso’s assertion that, “the lips of violators of women and murderers are fleshy, swollen and protruding.” Swollen lips were frequently attributed to Jews, and in this context marks the Jew as not only deviant but a sexual criminal. The concept of the Jewish murderer and rapist is further supported by Lombroso’s assertion that the criminal is not only predisposed to, “extinguish life in the victim, but to mutilate the corpse, tear its flesh, and drink its blood.”¹⁰²

The trope of blood drinking here played on a well-established and distinctly English tradition of anti-Jewish sentiment, that of Blood Libel. Blood Libel refers to the accusation that Jews murdered Christians and consumed their blood in ritual practice. Early examples of Blood Libel focused specifically on the use of children’s blood in baking *Matzah*.¹⁰³ However, by the Victorian era, this definition has expanded to include the use of sex organs as ritual objects in addition to the consumption of blood.¹⁰⁴ Lombroso’s treatment of the

¹⁰² Ibid., xv.

¹⁰³ It is believed that Blood Libel emerged in late eleventh or early twelfth century England. The earliest recorded case of blood libel is the murder of William of Norwich in 1144, although there is evidence to suggest that isolated and unrecorded cases of blood libel had occurred as early as the 10th century. For more on William of Norwich see, Raphael Langham, “William of Norwich.” *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996). 216. For more on blood libel see, Israel Yuval, *Two Nations in the Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁴ This expansion of blood libel can be contextualized by the contemporaneous belief, stemming from Eastern and Central Europe, that among primitive peasant communities, human tallow from uteruses and infants could be used to create “soporific” candles. During the Ritter Trail in Austria this belief was connected to “Talmudic” Jewish ritual expungement which was required of Jews after they had intercourse with gentiles. This belief was repeated in English newspapers after the murder of Kelly Chapman, whose uterus was missing from her corpse.

consumption of blood as an inherent pathological tendency, elevates Blood Libel from an indictment of religion to an indictment of race.

While Lombroso and the positivist school of criminality were distinctly Italian, they held major influence in Britain. The best example of this is Irish author Bram Stoker's novel, *Dracula*. Stoker's description of the titular character is lifted almost word for word from Lombroso's *Criminal Man*. For instance, in the novel, Harker describes Dracula, "His face was...aquiline, with high bridge of the thin nose and peculiarly arched nostrils."¹⁰⁵ Lombroso, similarly, writes of the criminal man, "[The criminal's] nose on the contrary...is often aquiline like the beak of a bird of prey."¹⁰⁶ While Stoker writes that Dracula's eyebrows were "very massive, almost meeting over the nose," Lombroso characterizes the criminals eyebrows as, "bushy and tend to meet over the nose."¹⁰⁷ A similar comparison could be made to Stoker's description of Dracula's pointed ears, and Lombroso's assertion that criminals have the atavistic trait of pointed ears. While Stoker's description of Dracula is lifted straight out of Lombroso's text, English society in this period also reshaped Lombroso's theories. In its original context, Lombroso's work is focused on the criminal individual. While criminality can be read onto the body, it was not necessarily hereditary. In England, the cultural and scientific emphasis on eugenics and race science transformed Lombroso's rhetoric into one centered in racialized embodiments.

Not coincidentally, recent scholars such as Barbara Belford have suggested that *Dracula* was actually based off of the 1894 novel *Trilby*, which recounts the story of a Jew

For more see Perry L. Curtis, "The Inquests: Reporting the Female Body." *Jack-the-Ripper and the London Press*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.)

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1981) pp. 123.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

who seduces innocent European girls, rather than, as has widely been assumed, the Christian ruler, Vlad Tepes.¹⁰⁸ Proponents for the argument that Dracula was an anti-Semitic allegory for the foreign Jew cite his “aquiline” brow, foreign speech patterns, and position as the alien other.¹⁰⁹ This was further supported by the fact that Dracula establishes haunts in areas of London associated with Jewish immigrants, including Chicksand Street in Whitechapel and Jacob’s Island. A few years prior to the publication of *Dracula*, Whitechapel became famous for the Jack-the-Ripper murders, which as I will expand upon later, Jewish immigrants were blamed for. Similarly, Jacob’s Island was the slum where Fagin lived in Charles Dicken’s *Oliver Twist*.¹¹⁰ In addition, the trope that Vampires consume blood parallels Blood Libel accusations that Jews consume human blood. In fact, Blood Libel had been associated with vampirism since the middle ages.¹¹¹

Simultaneously, scholars have suggested that Dracula is a metaphor for the creation of prostitution through seduction and the transmission of Syphilis, with vampirism representing the disease itself.¹¹² Dracula, an immigrant who brings disease into England, represents Gentile perceptions that Foreign Jews were themselves both criminal and carriers of disease. This can clearly be seen in the way Dracula is able to move unnoticed in large crowds, an invisible threat to the health and safety of the English people. Additionally, the role of Dracula as the diseased seducer is demonstrated through the character of Lucy, who is depicted as a hypersexual ‘modern woman’ and is subsequently preyed upon by Dracula repeatedly though the novel. While Lucy receives a series of blood transfusions to hold off

¹⁰⁸ Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996.)

¹⁰⁹ Israel Drazin, “Was Dracula Jewish as Some People Seem to Claim?” *The Times of Israel*. October 15, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Greg Buzwell, “Dracula: Vampires, Perversity, and Victorian Anxieties.” *The British Library*. May 15, 2014.

¹¹¹ Ushi Derman, “The Myth of the Vampire Jew and Blood Libel.” *Museum of the Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot*, September 27, 2017.

¹¹² Gilman, “I’m Down on Whores.” 107.

the vampiric disease, she inevitably succumbs to the vampirism. Once a Vampire, Lucy then goes forth to feed on young children, representing the ultimate form of irreversible corruption by inverting Victorian ideals of motherhood and femininity. Drawing on the relationship between Jews and prostitution discussed earlier in this chapter, this framework of analysis affirms the idea that Dracula represented Jews as it was the foreign Jew who occupied the role of the sexual deviant or seducer and was blamed for the descent of innocent girls into prostitution. Additionally, the metaphor of vampirism and Syphilis is analogous to the image of the Jew as a syphilitic.

The impact of the conflation of the Jewish body with the criminal body in Victorian England perhaps reached its apogee in the most famous criminal case of the nineteenth century, the Whitechapel Murders, which took place in 1888.¹¹³ The victims were all female prostitutes who were stabbed and had various organs removed, including the uterus and ovaries.¹¹⁴ The murders quickly captured national attention and became a favored topic for sensationalized news. The police assigned to the Whitechapel case believed the murders were committed by a sexual deviant due to the removal of the sex organs from the corpses and occupation of the victims.¹¹⁵ The fact that the women were prostitutes was added proof of the degeneracy of the murderer, as, contemporaries assumed, only a degenerate predator would consort with women of that character.¹¹⁶ For the duration of the investigation the predominant opinion of the detectives in charge of the case was that Jack-the-Ripper was a syphilitic, and therefore, a Jew.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Also known as the Jack-the-Ripper murders.

¹¹⁴ Judith Walkowitz, "Jack-the-Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 8. No. 3. (Autumn, 1982.) pp. 542-547.

¹¹⁵ Sander Gilman, "I'm Down on Whores." 154.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 155.

In his personal memoir, the assistant police commissioner on the case, Sir Robert Anderson wrote,

One did not need to be Sherlock Holmes to discover that the criminal was a sexual maniac of the virulent type; that he was living in the immediate vicinity of the scenes of the murders; and that if he was not living absolutely alone, his people knew of his guilt and refused to give him up to justice...the conclusion we came to were that he and his people were low-class Jews.¹¹⁸

Anderson's use of the phrase, "a sexual maniac of the virulent type," plays into the Lombrosian typification of the Jewish criminal type as being rooted in sexual deviancy. All one hundred and thirty suspects interviewed by the police for the case were Jewish, and the media readily began portraying Jack-the-Ripper as a Jew.¹¹⁹ However, the larger issue with this mindset was not that the criminal might be Jewish or a syphilitic, but the idea that the Jewish community was both aware of his identity and shielding him from the law. This led to a sharp increase in anti-Semitism, displayed through riots and acts of vandalism, geared towards Jewish immigrants, the vast majority of whom lived in the East End near the crime scenes.

The situation was compounded by several other prominent criminal trials happening on the continent. In the year before the Whitechapel murders, there had been two high profile murder cases in Europe where Jewish suspects were accused based on ascribed Jewish sexual deviancy. In the Ritter Trial in Austria, Moses Ritter, a Jewish man, was accused of murdering a Christian woman to ritually expunge his sin of sleeping with her. This case also dealt specifically with a blood libel accusation concerning the use of female sex organs to

¹¹⁸ Sir Robert Anderson, *The Lighter Side of my Official Life*. 1910. p32.

¹¹⁹ Sander Gilman, "I'm Down on Whores." 159.

make ritual *Shabbos* candles.¹²⁰ The gentile press picked up on the similarities between this case and the Whitechapel murders. A correspondent to the *London Times* wrote,

[The murders are of] an exactly similar kind...evidence was given, and passages quoted from the Talmud to show, that a belief existed among ignorant Jews that an Israelite who had been intimate with a Christian woman might make atonement by slaying and mutilating her. The correspondent adds there was no doubt Ritter was innocent, but that the evidence as to this superstition was never wholly disproved.¹²¹

In essence the correspondent was suggesting that while Ritter himself was innocent, it was still possible- even likely- that Jews participated in this practice. This ideation that despite Ritter being innocent, Jews still used human body parts in ritual practice strengthened beliefs that Jack-the-Ripper was a Jew. Additionally, the use of the qualification, “ignorant” to describe the Jews who participate in this practice seems to suggest that the aforementioned criminal Jews were exclusively foreign Jews. The resultant anti-Semitism led to anti-Jewish riots in London’s East End that nearly became an outright pogrom.¹²² According to the *East London Observer*,

On Saturday the crowds who assembled in the streets began to assume a very threatening attitude towards the Hebrew population of the District. It was repeatedly asserted that no Englishman could have perpetrated such a horrible crime as that on Hanbury-street, and that it must have been done by a Jew- and forthwith the crowds

¹²⁰ L. Perry Curtis, *Jack-the-Ripper and the London Press*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.) 236.

¹²¹ “Notes of the Week.” *The Jewish Chronicle* (London). October 5, 1888. Online at *The Jewish Chronicle*.

¹²² “A Riot Against the Jews.” *East London Observer*. October 15, 1888 as cited in Judith Walkowitz, “Jack the Ripper and the myth of Male Violence.”

proceeded to threaten and abuse such of the unfortunate Hebrews as they found in the Streets.¹²³

The riots were stopped by the metropolitan police before they could escalate too far, but the initial riot demonstrates that anti-Semitism remained both real and prominent in the lives of the East End Jews. Precious little information has survived on the riots, the only explicit recovered source being the newspaper article cited above. Despite this, the importance of these riots cannot be understated, as they indicated the much deeper wave of anti-Semitism sparked by the murders.

The pervasive and potent nature of this anti-Semitism was once again demonstrated in September of 1888, when the murderer allegedly wrote a message on a wall on Goulston Street near the scene of one of the murders, “The Juwes are the men That Will not be Blamed for nothing.”¹²⁴ This message was taken by several detectives and a large portion of the public as proof that Jack-the-Ripper was in fact Jewish. In a controversial report made to the Home Secretary, it was revealed that the at the time Chief Police Commissioner, Sir. Charles Warren, had erased the Goulston Street Graffito merely two hours after its initial discovery in order to prevent further anti-Jewish riots.:

The most pressing question at that moment was some writing on the wall in Goulston Street evidently written with the intention of inflaming the public mind against the Jews, ...A discussion took place whether the writing could *be left covered up* or otherwise or whether any portion of it could be left for an hour until it could be photographed; but after taking into consideration the excited state of the population in

¹²³ “A Riot Against the Jews.” *East London Observer*. September 15, 1888.

¹²⁴ There were two transcriptions at the time of the message, this version was recorded by PC Alfred Long and was accepted by the Metropolitan Police. Another version, transcribed by DC Daniel Halse read, “The Juwes are not the men That Will be Blamed for nothing.” This version was accepted by the City Police.

London generally at the time, the strong feeling which had been excited against the Jews, and the fact that in a short time there would be a large concourse of the people in the streets, and having before me the Report that if it was left there the house was likely to be wrecked (in which from my own observation I entirely concurred) I considered it desirable to obliterate the writing at once, having taken a copy of which I enclose a duplicate.¹²⁵

Warren's immediate conclusion that the graffito was intended to incite anti-Jewish sentiment is particularly telling, especially considering that many of his contemporaries took it as irrefutable proof of Jewish guilt. The front page of the October 12 issue of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, trumpeted both official's and public belief of Jewish guilt in a scathing response to Warren's actions, "The evidence given at the inquest yesterday proves that in all human probability the murderer left behind him in Goulston-street an invaluable clue to his identity."¹²⁶ Nonetheless, Warren himself immediately believed the graffito to be anti-Semitic propaganda, implying that undercurrents of anti-Semitism were strong enough in London at the time that this single message would have incited an anti-Jewish riot had it been seen at that moment by a large crowd. This is further supported by his emphasis on the "strong feeling that had been excited against the Jews."

The events following the Goulston Street Graffito only served to intensify the connection between Jews and Jack-the-Ripper; subsequently, the anti-Semitism sparked by the murders was also amplified. A minority in his opinion that the Graffito would have incited an attack against East End Jews, Warren was forced to resign as Chief Police Commissioner in November of 1888. Warren remained in office until his successor was

¹²⁵ Charles Warren, *Report to the Home Secretary*. November 6, 1888.

¹²⁶ "The Handwriting on the Wall." *The Pall Mall Gazette*. October 12, 1888. 1.

found and installed on the first of December, 1889. However, in combination with his prior inability to capture Jack-the-Ripper and a controversy surrounding his use of police dogs, his erasure of the Goulston Street Graffito served to undermine his role as an authority on the murders. Instead, Sir. Robert Anderson became the primary authority on Jack-the-Ripper. Anderson, as discussed earlier, firmly and vocally believed that Jewish immigrants were responsible for the murders. As a result, subsequent investigations into the murders visibly targeted Jews, increasing anti-Jewish sentiment among the general public.

Conclusion

The Jack-the-Ripper murders and their aftermath represent the culmination of English anti-Semitic engagement with the foreign Jewish body. Not only did the murders demonstrate Victorian ideas of Jewish criminal pathology, but they also highlighted the conflation between Jews, sexual deviancy, and venereal disease. The investigation's reimagining of Blood Libel from a religious practice to an indicator of pathological criminality reflected the transition of anti-Semitism in the Victorian era from being based on religion to being based on the body of the foreign Jew. This transition is also evident in the way contemporaneous medical scholarship distinguished between the evolutionarily superior body of the native Jew and the degenerate body of the foreign Jew. In the end, it was the fear of foreign Jewish contagion that fueled this shift.

The Jew's body exists in a permanent state of liminality. The Jews are a liminal people due to their diasporic status. The Jew is liminal through immigration and shifting nationality. The Jew is liminal through their conflation with disease, disease itself being a liminal state of body. Many scholars have argued that liminality is a state of ambiguity, and

that ambiguous beings are seen by those around them to threaten prevailing definitions of the social order. This, in theory, leads to marginalization.¹²⁷ While it would be fallacious to define the cause of anti-Semitism as being the Jew's liminal status, what is clear is that the liminal status of both the ill and the immigrant place the foreign Anglo-Jew at the nexus of anti-Jewish sentiment.

The implications of this extend far beyond England's borders. The position of England as an incubator of anti-Semitism based on the native/foreign divide becomes all the more important when contextualized in a larger European discourse. English scientists and intellectuals were incredibly active in international discourse on race pathology. As much as England borrowed some of their ideas about Jews from France, Italy, and Germany, so too would other European nations be influenced by England. The influence of Eugenics, an English invention, on the international landscape is both well studied and abundantly clear.¹²⁸ However, more research is needed in order to truly understand how England's unique engagement with Jewish pathology influenced the way the rest of Europe perceived Jews.

Another area in which this research has significance is in Jewish diasporic studies. England has been written out of the dominant narrative concerning the Jewish diaspora. However, England's Jewish population represented one of the largest Jewish immigrant populations in Europe. Therefore, the lived experiences of Jews in England occupy a level of importance not represented by the current historiography. In order to fully understand the impact of the Anglo-Jewish experience on the larger diasporic discourse it is necessary to

¹²⁷ Jeffery Willett and Mary Jo Deegan, "Liminality and Disability: Rites of Passage and Community in Hypermodern Society." *Disability Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 21. No. 3 (Summer 2001.) pp. 137-152.

¹²⁸ For more see: *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, edited by Bashford, Alison, and Philippa Levine. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

conduct further research on both the Jewish perspective concerning gentile perceptions of Jewish pathology, and the Jews' own engagement with the subject.

This chapter represents only one piece of a much larger and more complex series of discourses concerning Jewish race pathology in late Victorian England. So far, we have explored the ways in which Gentiles read infirmity onto the Jewish body. In doing so, we have removed the experiences and agency of the Anglo-Jews' whose bodies were under scrutiny. Contrary to what contemporaneous Gentile belief would suggest, Jews were by no means merely the objects of exotic fascination or inanimate threats to public health. Rather, Victorian Anglo-Jews were significant participants in conversations about Jewish race pathology, producing a rich and complex dialogue of their own. In the next chapter, we will explore this Jewish engagement with race science and pathology, restoring Jewish agency to the narrative and challenging hegemonic ideas concerning who could participate in, or even own, eugenicist rhetoric.

Chapter 2: Jewish Scientific Discourses

In the previous chapter, we explored the many ways that rhetoric of race science and pathology was foundational to anti-Semitic Gentile discourse about Jewish populations. However, Gentiles were not the only people participating in discourses on these topics. Jewish writers, scientists, and community leaders were also active in these conversations. These scholars participated both in Gentile discourses and debates within the Jewish community. Not only was the Jewish community engaged with race science, but their scholarly conversations were dynamic and diverse. Ideas about race and pathology became central to how individuals in the Jewish community distinguished among themselves in an increasingly heterogeneous body. Race-science also became a tool which members of the divided Jewish community used to further a variety of political agendas. Native Jews mobilized race science to combat the negative impacts of mass immigration and to advocate for social equality. On the other hand, Jewish immigrants applied principles of race science to justify and promote the formation of a Jewish national identity.

When talking about narratives of anti-Semitism, most scholars tend to treat Jewish discourse and Gentile discourse as distinct. For the purposes of this paper, “Jewish discourse” refers specifically to any verbal or written exchange wherein at least one party self-identified as Jewish or who had an immediate family member who identified as ethnically Jewish. Scholarly analysis of the relationship and overlap between Jewish and Gentile discourses is rare, the notable exception being David Feldman’s work on nineteenth century Anglo-Judaism which he describes as “[bringing] together histories we usually

consider separately or even divergently.”¹²⁹ Todd Endelman also described the historiography of Anglo-Judaism saying, “[Historians] have tended to either ignore Jews altogether or treat them superficially, as victims– of anti-alien laws, social discrimination, or fascist hooliganism– or as success stories...in this context Jews have no voice of their own as Jews....”¹³⁰ Faced with this exclusion, Endelman focused on Jewish ideas about the native and foreign divide in Victorian London and thus left largely unexplored Gentile perceptions of Jews in this context.¹³¹ In contrast, Sander Gilman’s work on Gentile perceptions of Jewish bodies focused almost exclusively on Gentile ideas, exploring the hegemonic culture, and thus shed little light on Jews’ own viewpoints.

Talking about Jewish and Gentile discourses as distinct makes sense: Jewish and Gentile discourses *are* distinct because they are based in different experiences. However, in the context of Jewish pathology in late nineteenth century England, that separation was not absolute. Jewish discourse concerning Jewish pathology both borrowed from and directly responded to its Gentile counterpart and vice-versa. As noted in Chapter One, the publication of a speech given by Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler on how the Mosaic Codes prevent disease in *The Lancet* is a prime example of this.¹³² The framework of exclusivity is even more problematic in the areas in which these discourses not only overlap but are produced collaboratively. The best example of this is the work of Joseph Jacobs. Jacobs’s positionality between Gentile and Jewish discourses demonstrates the liminality of native Jewish scholars and serves as a dramatic example of the relationship and tension between Jewish and Gentile

¹²⁹ David Feldman, “Conceiving Difference: Religion, Race, and the Jews in Britain, c. 1750-1900.” *History Workshop Journal* (Autumn, 2013). 163.

¹³⁰ Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.) 6.

¹³¹ Arguably this is part of a broader methodological trend in which scholars analyze the subaltern or hegemonic narrative, but not both.

¹³² “Sanitation and the Mosaic Law.” *The Lancet*, Originally published as Volume 2, Issue 3665, 142, no. 3665 (November 25, 1893).

discourse. Through his scholarship, Jacobs used Gentile discourse to inform Jewish conversations about assimilation and identity. Simultaneously Jacobs used his position and experiences as a Jew to inform Gentile conversations about the social status of the Jewish race.

Jewish and Gentile Discourses: The Case Study of Joseph Jacobs

Joseph Jacobs was a scholar, polymath, and a superstar in the Victorian Anglo-Jewish community. He was born in Australia in 1854, died in the United States in 1916, and spent most of the time in between in London. He dedicated his life to a wide array of academic pursuits, from Jewish history to literary studies to race science. However, he is best known today for his contributions to scholarship on folklore through his popularization of the English versions of fairytales such as “Jack and the Beanstalk,” “Goldilocks and the Three Bears,” and “The Three Little Pigs.”¹³³ He was also a major figure in research identifying Jewish racial characteristics, some of which he completed in partnership with Francis Galton—the “father” of eugenics, one of the most respected anthropologists of his time, and a Gentile.

In 1880, after studying anthropology and statistics under the mentorship of Galton, Jacobs asked Galton to work with him to create composite photographs of the Jewish type. Jacobs did so in an attempt to identify the physical features which together made up “the Jewish expression,” a vague term commonly used by Gentiles to identify members of the

¹³³ For more on Jacobs’ work in folklore see, Joseph Jacobs, *English Fairytales*. 1890. Online at Project Gutenberg; Gary Alan Fine, “Joseph Jacobs: A Sociological Folklorist.” *Folklore*. Vol. 98, No. 2 (1987). 183-193; and Mary Bruccoli Clark et al. *British Children’s Writers, 1890-1914*. Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol. 141. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994).

Jewish race.¹³⁴ Composite imagery was a technique developed by Galton in which several photographs of individuals of a specific group were merged to create a singular image or “type.” Originally, Galton developed the technique to identify physical characteristics common among criminals, but later in his career Galton expanded his use of the technique to other marginalized groups such as immigrants, tuberculosis patients, and residents of insane

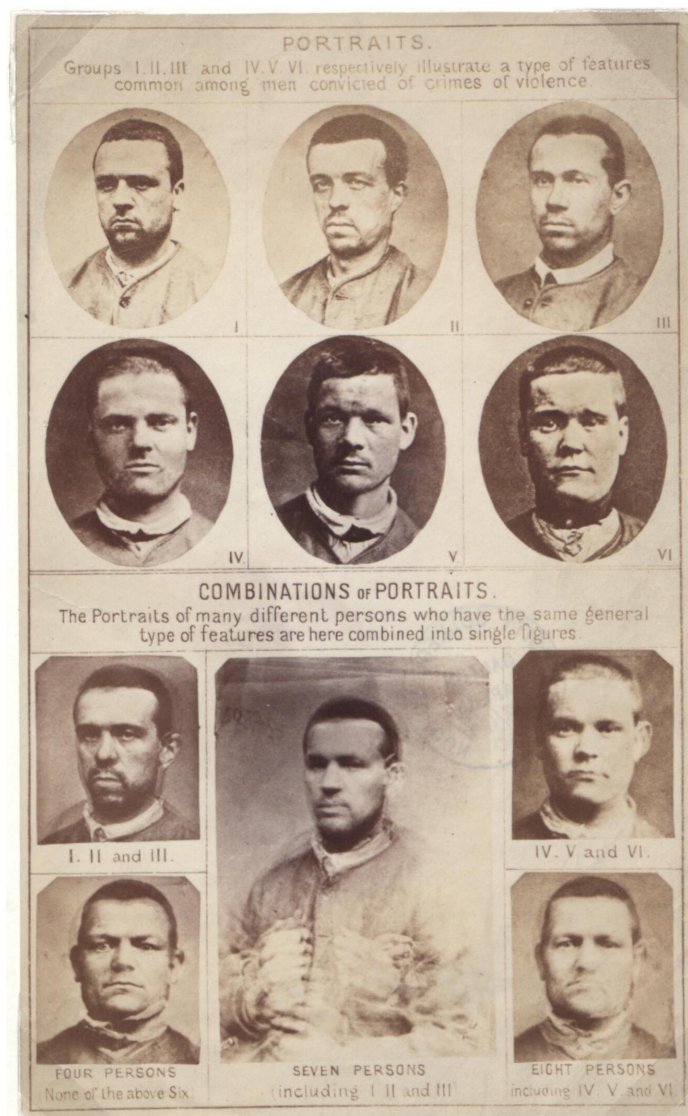


Figure 4- Francis Galton, "Composite Portraits of Criminal Types." 1877.

¹³⁴ Daniel Novak, "A Model Jew: 'Literary Photographs' and the Jewish Body in *Daniel Deronda*." *Representations*. Vol 1. No. 85 (Winter, 2004). 68.

asylums. Eventually Galton applied the technique to what he considered to be the “healthy and talented” classes.¹³⁵

Jacobs took photographs of young Jewish boys from the Jewish Working Men’s Club and the Jew’s Free School, a tuition-free institution meant to anglicize immigrants, and sent them to Galton who transformed the photographs into composite images. The boys photographed were working class Jewish immigrants living in the East End. From this material, Galton and Jacobs published articles in several issues of *The Photographic News*. Despite being both Jewish and a student, Jacobs was given authorship credit side by side with Galton, giving Jacobs’s work a level of prestige and authority out of reach for the majority of Jewish scholars. However, Galton’s essays focused almost entirely on the process and quality of the composites which Galton claimed were, “the best specimens of composites” he ever produced.¹³⁶ In fact, Galton deliberately avoided making claims about the Jewish racial type instead writing, “on this point [the Jewish type] I will consequently abstain from saying anything.”¹³⁷ On the other hand, Jacobs focused his analysis of the composites almost exclusively on the question of the Jewish type. In 1885, Jacobs wrote a paper “On the Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews,” which expanded upon his earlier essays in the *Photographic News*. Jacobs read his paper in front of the Anthropological Institute, the most prestigious society for anthropological research in England, and subsequently published it in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* and *The Jewish Chronicle*.

¹³⁵ Mia Fineman. *Faking It: Manipulated Photography Before Photoshop*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012. no. 92, pp. 109, 232.

¹³⁶ Novak, 68.

¹³⁷ Francis Galton, “Photographic Composites,” *Photographic News* 29, no.1398 (17April 1885): 243.

Despite Jacobs's success in Gentile academic spheres, he retained status as an "other." This is best seen in an 1885 statement made by Francis Galton, acting as the chairman of the Anthropological Institute, directly prior to the presentation of two papers on Jewish racial characteristics written respectively by Dr. Neubauer and Jacobs, both of whom were Jewish scholars:

Ladies and gentlemen, when travelers communicate to us descriptions of the races they have traveled amongst, we have commonly to regret that no members are present of the race which they describe, and again, however keenly they may have observed, their information has been based only on cursory acquaintance. On the present occasion we have no such regret. We are honored by the presence of many eminent Jews, among whom is the Delegate Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler, and the authors of the papers to be submitted are themselves Jews who have made the history and characteristics of their people a special study for many years.¹³⁸

Jacobs and Neubauer are effectively labeled as being separate from the other attendees and scholars at the meeting due to their Jewishness. This has the impact of suggesting that their scholarship also belongs to a separate discourse. This is particularly interesting in Jacobs's case as his paper was based on the work that he did in partnership with Galton himself, something which Galton conspicuously fails to mention in his introduction of the papers. At the same time that Jewish scholarship is marked as other, it is also marked as valuable to Gentile scholars.

It can be argued that the view demonstrated by this quote is not that Jewish scholarship is valuable, but rather that it is exotic, and subsequently mildly interesting despite

¹³⁸ "Racial Characteristics of Jews." *The Jewish Chronicle*, February 27, 1885.

not being particularly important. This argument has merit, especially due to the ways which Galton designates Jewish scholarship as other. To some extent, the quote does treat Jewish scholars as valuable only due to their role as interlocutors. However, this argument is limited by its failure to take into account the context of the native versus foreign Jewish divide.

Native Jewish scholars were acting as interlocutors, albeit poorly due to their cultural separation from immigrant Jews. However, they carried a level of social, and subsequently scholarly, authority that extended beyond what would have been granted to them by their position as members of the Jewish community. The description of “eminent” which Galton used to describe Jewish conference attendees in the quote would never have been used to describe either foreign Jews or most members of other marginalized races.¹³⁹ Additionally, all three of the Jewish attendees identified by Galton were native Jews. While they may have been considered racially inferior to Gentiles, they had some measure of social standing and or significant wealth. Lastly, Jacobs’s prestige as Galton’s student, regardless of Galton’s thoughts on Jacob, gave him a level of respectability among other Gentiles especially with regards to his scholarship. As a result, the inclusion of Jewish scholarship is less a result of tokenization, and more an acknowledgment of the role of anglicized native Jews as a middle ground between English scholarship and a degenerate Jewish race.

¹³⁹ The exception to this was Indian nobles, for more see David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).



Figure 5- Joseph Jacobs and Francis Galton, “Composite Photographs of Jewish Faces.” 1885

Jacobs occupied a liminal space between Jewish and Gentile scholarly spheres. While Jacobs participated in both, he belonged fully to neither. However, the Jewish community enthusiastically claimed him as their own. Jacobs’s obituary in the *American Jewish Yearbook*, described him as, “one of the most important figures in the Jewry of our age.”¹⁴⁰ Even more astonishingly, after his death in 1916, a memorial meeting was held for him by the Jewish Historical Society of England, attended by both native and immigrant Jews alike. At the meeting several of the most significant Anglo-Jewish scholars, such as Israel Zangwill and Lucien Wolf, gave speeches in his honor.¹⁴¹ A significant portion of these speeches was

¹⁴⁰ Mayer Sulzberger, “Joseph Jacobs.” *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 1916. 68.

¹⁴¹ For more on Israel Zangwill see, Harry Schneiderman, “Israel Zangwill: A Biographical Sketch.” *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 1927; for more on Lucien Wolf see Mark Levene, “Wolf, Lucien (1857-1930).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.)

dedicated to Jacobs's work on race science.¹⁴² Joseph Jacobs proved that Victorian Jews were by no means the passive subjects of Gentile conversations concerning race science, and his Anglo-Jewish peers knew it. Jacobs's position as a participant in both Jewish and Gentile discourses allowed him to add layers of complexity to both discourses on race. Jacobs's work was extraordinary in the way in which it simultaneously responded to Gentile perceptions of the Jewish type while still representing to a decidedly Jewish viewpoint.

Native Jewish Scholarly Discourse

The Native Jewish community, of which Jacobs was a part, had various concerns surrounding their liminal position as simultaneously English and "other." Many of these concerns were debated publicly in Jewish newspapers, where race science and scientific developments were widely reported. These were most often brought into two distinct conversations—one on assimilation and one on the way that the Jewish community could establish and enhance its social capital. The first conversation, that of assimilation, had existed among native Jews for centuries. One example of this, as discussed in chapter one, is the way in which wealthy native Jews changed their religious practices to better fit English sensibilities. The end goal of assimilation was to have Anglo-Jews' English identity to equate or supersede their Jewish identity, thus allowing them to fully belong to English society.

Conversely, the native Jewish attempt to accrue social capital was a cultural shift firmly based in the status of late Victorian Jews as politically emancipated but socially subordinate to their Gentile peers. Contextualized by a broader cultural emphasis on social

¹⁴² H. P. Stokes, Israel Zangwill, Lucien Wolf and I. Abrahams, "Dr. Joseph Jacobs. Memorial Meeting. *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)*. Vol. 8. 1915-1917. 129-152.

Darwinism and biological determinism, race science transformed into a form of social capital which could propel the Anglo-Jewish community to a position of social equality. While the project of assimilation intersected with the native Jewish attempt to gain social capital, in terms of their engagement with race science the two movements were distinct. Native Jews considered the role of race science in assimilation to be an issue specific to the immigrant Jewish population, only effecting native Jews through association. On the other hand, the proposed social mobility on the basis of racial contribution was possible only for native Jews who had already gained political equality.

The scientific debates which characterized these two cultural movements primarily took place through the medium of Jewish newspapers. Subsequently, it is important to understand the benefits and limitations of this platform. Jacobs's work exemplifies the role of Jewish newspapers as a nexus of Jewish scholarship. Jacobs published his paper, "The Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews," both in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, one of the most prestigious English language journals in his field, and in *The Jewish Chronicle*, daily paper which sold for 1d. per issue and tended to focus on communal affairs.¹⁴³ In the nineteenth century, Jewish scholars would often present their research at various Jewish literary societies in Britain. However, the Jewish community lacked a dedicated professional platform such as a journal through which scholars could publish their research. As a result, Jewish newspapers served as the primary forum for Jewish scholarly discourse. The use of newspapers as a platform for scholarly conversation extended the

¹⁴³ The pre-decimal penny, denoted by the letter d, was the equivalent of 1/12 of a shilling or 1/240th of a pound. To put this in perspective, the cost of the paper was equivalent to \$0.02 in 1880. according to the Reserve Bank of New Zealand £1 during the fourth financial quarter of 1880 is the equivalent of \$172.41 in the third financial quarter of 2020. Subsequently, the price of the paper in 1880, accounting for inflation, in terms of the value of the USD in 2020 was equivalent to \$0.71. This price made the paper accessible to working-class subscribers.

reach, and subsequently the impact, of Jewish scholarship beyond the small and geographically constrained groups of attendees of lectures at Jewish literary societies. This had the additional effect of bridging “expert” narratives and popular engagement with scientific scholarship.

The Jewish Chronicle was the most influential Jewish newspaper in these discussions, having a fifty percent greater circulation than its closest competitor, *The Jewish World*. *The Jewish Chronicle* represented the viewpoints of the native Jews and was a pillar of the Victorian native Jewish community. The paper not only served to organize the community: it was also the single greatest influence in native Anglo-Jewish ideology and politics. In reference to the long-term former editor of the paper, Asher Meyers, thirty years after his death in 1902, the Reverend A.A. Green recalled, “in his quiet strong way he managed the community without it knowing that it was being managed.”¹⁴⁴

As a hub for Jewish scholarship, *The Jewish Chronicle* was actively engaging with discourse concerning Jewish race and pathology. This engagement occurred through several formats: paper presentations printed verbatim, summaries of academic lectures, and letters to the editor. Verbatim reporting played a unique role in the dissemination of Jewish scholarship. From the onset of the Reform Act of 1832, newspapers had gained an increasingly important role in English politics.¹⁴⁵ Newspapers reported political speeches in full, which allowed newly enfranchised populations to be informed about elections. However, the constraints of print format meant that newspapers could not publish every relevant political speech. As a result, most speeches were summarized by journalists. Only

¹⁴⁴David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo Jewry 1841-1991*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 95.

¹⁴⁵ For more on the reform acts see Martin Pugh. *Britain since 1789: A Concise History*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.)

speeches which concerned uniquely important or distinguished speakers were published verbatim. This tradition was well-established by the late nineteenth century, when Jewish newspapers began to engage with issues of race science. Subsequently, academic presentations which were printed verbatim in *the Jewish Chronicle* carried a sense of importance and prestige which would have been readily apparent to the average reader.

Another important platform for Jewish scholarship in newspapers was letters to the editor. In fact, the vast majority of the papers' scholarly conversations emerged as debates through such letters, written in response to academic papers printed in previous issues. These letters were written by both academics and laypeople. The authors of the letters often directly addressed each other, creating ongoing conversations across consecutive issues. Letters to the editor were a place where intellectual ideas and free discussion could converge. Subsequently, through this platform, Jewish scholarship transformed into an active and evolving discourse.

The Immigrant Problem and the Project of Assimilation

Just as Joseph Jacobs's work embodied the positionality of Jewish academics between scholarly spheres, he was also a key contributor to conversations surrounding assimilation in Jewish newspapers. Several scholars have argued that Jacobs's studies into race science were done in an attempt to combat anti-Semitism.¹⁴⁶ While the results of Jacobs's studies differed significantly from those of Gentiles, to characterize Jacobs's work as simply a heroic attempt to fight anti-Semitism risks anachronism. Analyzing Jacobs's own

¹⁴⁶ See Harry Ostrer MD, *Legacy: A Genetic History of the Jewish People*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.)

writings concerning the motivations behind his work provides a more useful lens for determining how Jacobs viewed his own role in the Jewish community. The most compelling reason Jacobs didn't intend to fight anti-Semitism in England is that he didn't believe it existed. In the preface to a collection of essays he published in 1896, Jacobs wrote, "Here in England we are almost absolutely free from any taint of anti-Semitism."¹⁴⁷ That is not to say that Jacobs work was entirely divorced from the issue of anti-Semitism. On the contrary, a significant portion of his work was dedicated to dispelling Gentile misconceptions about the Jewish race, a great many of which fueled anti-Semitism.¹⁴⁸

Rather than fighting anti-Semitism, Jacobs was more interested in responding to a Jewish community which was in flux. His observational starting point was the massive wave of Jewish immigrants settling in London after fleeing the Russian pogroms. What had been for the most part a homogenous native Jewish community was suddenly faced with examples of Jewishness that looked, spoke, and behaved differently from them. Jacobs was heavily engaged with the "immigrant issue" through his work as the secretary to the executive committee of the Mansion House Fund, and it was in the context of these immigrants that he sought to identify a Jewish "racial type."¹⁴⁹ This sudden influx of Jewish immigrants engendered new internal questions concerning Jewish identity in terms of race versus religion, particularly among the native Jews.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896) xvi.

¹⁴⁸ It should also be noted that outside his work on race science Jacobs was a fervid advocate against the anti-Semitic policies of the Russian government during the pogroms.

¹⁴⁹ The Mansion House Fund was an organization which was established to help direct Russian-Jewish immigrants to the United States rather than England, which many Anglo-Jews considered to be an unsuitable destination for the refugees. Despite this, nearly 100,000 Jewish immigrants settled in England between 1881 and 1905, the largest percentage of Jewish refugees outside the United States. For more see, Joseph Jacobs, "The Russian Refugees." *The Jewish Chronicle*. August 4, 1882. 6.

In addition, native Anglo-Jews worried that the foreign characteristics of Jewish immigrants would inspire anti-Semitic behavior. They feared that Jews would be viewed as a whole, regardless of country of origin, by Gentiles leading to overall increase in anti-Semitism. A clear example of this is an 1881 editorial written in the *Jewish Chronicle*:

They come mostly from Poland; they, as it were, bring Poland with them, and they retain Poland while they stop here. This is most undesirable; it is more than a misfortune, it is a calamity...our fair fame is bound up with theirs; the outside world is not capable of making minute discriminations between Jew and Jew and forms its opinion of Jews in general as much, if not more, from them than from the Anglicized portion of the community...It is tolerably clear what we wish to do with our foreign poor. We may not be able to make them rich; but we may hope to render them English in feeling and in conduct.¹⁵⁰

In addition to demonstrating the ways in which native Jews perceived the foreign Jewish immigrants as a threat, this quote reveals several important aspects concerning native Jewish engagement with Jewish immigrants. First, the use of the phrase “while they stop here” demonstrates the native Jewish refusal to view the immigration as permanent. This phrase also serves to reject the incorporation of immigrants into the Anglo-Jewish community. The relationship between the native and foreign Jews in late nineteenth century England can be best described as comparable to that of a dysfunctional family. The native Jews approached the foreign Jews as the cousin nobody wants to acknowledge at Thanksgiving dinner, but who are invited anyways out of a sense of obligation.

¹⁵⁰ “The Work to be Done” *The Jewish Chronicle*. August 12, 1881. 9 as cited in David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991*. 76.

This distinguished this movement from contemporary Gentile elite movements responding to poverty. The early nineteenth century was marked by Malthusian theories of population, in which it was believed that disease, famine, and other natural checks served the necessary role of culling the population. These population checks disproportionately affected the lower classes, something which many of the elite found acceptable as the lower classes were often also considered to be morally corrupt and diseased. However, the late nineteenth century saw a shift towards welfare systems, where the English elite attempted to increase the health and condition of the poor in an attempt to strengthen the overall constitution of the nation and empire.¹⁵¹ The native Jewish project to support their immigrant poor cannot be separated from this wider social movement. At the same time, it extends beyond it. The Jewish duty to care for their immigrant population was fundamentally informed by a shared Diasporic identity, religious duty, and common history of persecution.

The last, and most important, element of the quote is the reference to the project of “rendering them [the immigrants] English.” This project was evidently a response to fears of increased anti-Semitism due to the foreign Jews’ otherness. However, the movement to Anglicize the Jewish immigrants was also a paternalistic take on social welfare which ultimately benefited native Anglo-Jews. One example of this project, already touched upon in this paper, was the establishment of the Jew’s Free School, which consistent with its name was a tuition free institution designed to Anglicize foreign Jewish boys through a proper “English” education. Race science and pathology was another tool through which the native Jews could demonstrate the potential for assimilation among the foreign Jews.

¹⁵¹ For more see Anna Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood.” *History Workshop*. (Spring, 1978.) 9-65.

Following this reasoning, Jacobs was vested in the issue of assimilation as part of his larger project concerning the redefinition of Anglo-Jewish identity. In particular, Jacobs utilized race-science as his primary methodology for addressing these issues. Jacobs's interest in using race science to answer questions concerning identity was sparked by the most famous Philo-Semitic commentary concerning the definition of "Jewishness" of the time, *Daniel Deronda*. The role of Jewish identity in novels, and in particular ways that Jewish writers engage with identity will be further explored in Chapter 3. As briefly discussed in Chapter 1, George Eliot's book *Daniel Deronda*, published in 1876, is a Philo-Semitic novel that follows the journey of the titular character into London's Jewish community, culminating in the protagonist's discovery that he was actually born a Jew. Jacobs initially encountered and wrote about *Daniel Deronda* in his capacity as a literary scholar and critic. In his essay on *Deronda*, "Mordecai: A Protest Against the Critics by a Jew," which was published by Macmillan's Magazine in June of 1877, Jacobs argues that, "the gallery of Jewish portraits contained in 'Daniel Deronda' gives in a full and marvelously accurate way all the many sides of [the Jewish] complex national character."¹⁵² Jacobs believed that *Daniel Deronda* was for the most part an accurate depiction of variation in modern Judaism, the only area in which the book failed being in its portrayal of "Jewish girlhood."¹⁵³

However, Jacobs's appreciation of *Daniel Deronda* was far deeper and more personal than his belief that the novel accurately portrayed modern Judaism. In a subsequent version of his essay, updated nearly two decades after the article's original publication, Jacobs wrote,

¹⁵² Joseph Jacobs, "Mordecai: A Protest Against the Critics by a Jew." *Macmillan's Magazine*. June 06, 1877.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

When [Daniel Deronda] appeared, I was just at that stage which comes in the intellectual development of every Jew, I suppose, when he emerges from the Ghetto, both social and intellectual, in which he was brought up. He finds the world outside pursuing a course quite oblivious to the claims of his race and his religion. This oblivion is in itself a tacit condemnation of the claims which justified his former isolation. He is forced to reconsider them, and the result is either that he re-enters the Ghetto never to emerge or come outside never to re-enter. Just as I was at these cross-paths 'Daniel Deronda' appeared...justifying from the standpoint of the most advanced thought the historic claims of the position of Judaism.¹⁵⁴

This quote demonstrates just how revolutionary *Daniel Deronda* was in shaping the role Jacobs would occupy as a scholar in-between the Gentile and Jewish academic spheres. In this quote, Jacobs notes that the division between the Gentile and Jewish experience and mentality was so deep that any attempt to bridge the two through scholarship would be at best pointless and at worst impossible. *Daniel Deronda* refuted that notion by providing an example of a respected Gentile scholar who seemingly understood the Jewish experience. If Eliot could bridge the gap, so too could Jacobs. Subsequently, *Daniel Deronda* proved to Jacobs that a scholar could participate in both spheres without having to forfeit their identity in either.

In addition to influencing Jacobs's navigation of academia, *Daniel Deronda* also served to direct Jacobs's scholarly interest to the issue of Jewish race science. To Jacobs, *Daniel Deronda* was as much as a treatise on Darwinism as it was an exploration of modern Jewish culture. In the same passage as above, Jacobs explained,

¹⁵⁴ Joseph Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays*. xiii.

It is difficult for those who have not lived through it to understand the influence that George Eliot had upon those of us who came to our intellectual majority in the “seventies.” Darwinism was in the air and promised...to solve all the problems of humanity. George Eliot’s novels were regarded by us not so much as novels, but rather as applications of Darwinism to life and art.¹⁵⁵

There are several parts of this quote which provide insight into why race science appealed to Jacobs. *Daniel Deronda* introduced Jacobs to what he considered to be a sympathetic application of Darwinism to Jewish identity. This, in combination with other parts of the essay in which Jacobs reverentially cites *Daniel Deronda* as one of his chief intellectual influences, suggests that the novel inspired him to think about Jewish identity in terms of race science. In addition, the quote demonstrates the fact that Jacobs believed that in Darwinism lay a solution to “all the problems of humanity.” This implies that Jacobs also believed that the framework of Darwinism could answer, or at the very least provide insight to, the problem of redefining Jewish identity. *Daniel Deronda* prompted this reading due to its emphasis on the immutability of Jewishness combined with its sympathetic rendering of the Anglo-Jewish community. The titular character’s inability to escape his own hereditary Jewishness, and the role which his inherent differences played in the eventual formation of his Jewish identity, demonstrated that Jewish identity was biological. However, when combined with Eliot’s Philo-Semitic portrayal of the Anglo-Jewish community as honorable and culturally rich, the text offered Jewish readers a vision of Jewish identity which both adhered to scientific beliefs of the time and was positive.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., xii.

Jacobs firmly believed in the potential of Darwinism as a tool in defining Jewish identity. As a result, Jacobs attempted to gain a foothold in the scientific community. Subsequently, his exploration into the Jewish racial type embraced contemporaneous scientific methodologies, focusing on experimentation and objectivity rather than the goal of combatting anti-Semitism. Jacobs's work relied primarily on the conclusions he drew from his statistical observations of Anglo-Jews, which ranged from measurements of skull and nostril diameter to the rates of miscarriages among Jews. In other words, Jacobs practiced a version of Baconian experimental methodology.¹⁵⁶ Jacobs's desire to belong to a Gentile scientific discourse further supports the argument that Jacobs did not explicitly intend to combat anti-Semitism with his scholarship. The idea that his scientific explorations would have an explicit activist agenda would have been anathema to his participation in the scientific community.

Unsurprisingly in light of his Jewish background, Jacobs's work on Jewish race science deviated significantly from the dominant Gentile narrative. Unlike Gentile scholars, Jacobs attributed the vast majority of what was considered to be the Jewish "type" to social factors such as religious practice and consanguineous marriage among the Jewish community. Jacobs emphasized the fact that these social factors, and subsequently the Jewish "type," varied between native and foreign Jews, going as far as to create separate chapters for native Jews and the "foreign contingent" in his book on Jewish Statistics.¹⁵⁷ These social attributes included things such as the alleged propensity of deaf mutism within

¹⁵⁶ Francis Bacon is perhaps best known for his development of a scientific method which standardized the empirical observation of natural phenomenon. It is important to note that Bacon's method, which remained dominant in Europe through the nineteenth century, placed the formation of the hypothesis at the end of the scientific process. For more on Bacon see, Jürgen Klein and Guido Giglioni, "Francis Bacon", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2020 Edition).

¹⁵⁷ Joseph Jacobs, *Studies in Jewish Statistics: Social, Vital, and Anthropometric*. (London: D. Nutt, 1891.)

the Jewish population. Jacobs acknowledged that undesirable traits such as high mortality rates were more common among foreign Jews but postulated that anglicization would remove these statistical discrepancies between native and foreign Jews:

I cannot refrain from pointing out the very obvious conclusion from the above calculations that the immediate problem before the Jews of London is to Anglicize their “foreign contingent” ... owing to the large numbers of foreign poor, the death rate of London Jews is, quite exceptionally, higher than that of Londoners in general. We may anticipate that this condition will only be temporary until the “foreign contingent” has been assimilated....”¹⁵⁸

This quote is of particular importance because Jacobs deviated from his typical tone of scientific objectivity to argue for the assimilation of Jewish immigrants. However, it should be noted that unlike some of his peers, Jacobs did so not out of an explicit desire to reduce anti-Semitism, but to improve the general health of the community. Nonetheless, Jacobs indirectly addresses the root of the relationship between immigrants and anti-Semitism: the view that immigrants were a contagion which would negatively affect the health of England as a whole.

Jacobs’s approach to the question of the need for assimilation directly responds to a broader conversation concerning the way in which metrics became targets and the problems that stem from that. During the late Victorian era statistics became a measuring tool through which experts could determine the social value of a population in comparison with that of others. Jacobs himself wrote, “almost all questions of interest to Jews with which statistics can deal take this comparative form...when it is desired to determine how far Jews have

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 21.

progressed or retrograded...no results can be regarded as satisfactory which do not take the form of statistics.” In the late Victorian era, Gentile views of immigrants as a contaminant centered on fears of disease.¹⁵⁹ That is not the case with Jacobs who explicitly rejects there being any evidence that Jews are more or less diseased than other populations. Instead, Jacobs’s concern focuses on the strength of the Jewish statistical profile in the eyes of Gentiles. This worry was not unique to Jacobs, extending to the native Jewish community as a whole.

However, the biggest difference between the way in which Jacobs and Gentile scholars engaged with the idea of immigrant contamination is in the outsider-insider dynamic. Despite fixating on the topic, Gentiles rarely worried about themselves falling prey to the health problems which allegedly afflicted immigrants because immigrants were firmly “other,” separate from the general population. However, while native Jews attempted to distinguish themselves from their foreign counterparts, they still conceived Jewish immigrants as part of the larger Jewish community. Subsequently, native Jews faced a moral, religious, and ethnic imperative to care for their immigrant Jews as they would care for their own families.

Jacobs held that most of the traits which Gentiles labeled as belonging to the Jewish type did exist within the population, the exception as mentioned above being Jacobs’s fervent belief that there was no way to determine whether any race was immune or more susceptible to certain diseases. However, his belief in a social origin meant that these traits were not immutable and subsequently not a sign of inherent racial inferiority. As a result, Jacobs is essentially arguing that through the process of assimilation the foreign Jewish population

¹⁵⁹ Marlene Tromp et. al., *Fear, Loathing, and Victorian Xenophobia*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013.)

could escape their status of contaminant. This would theoretically have the impact of averting anti-Semitism sparked by the increase in immigration.

However, that did not mean that Jacobs didn't believe in a Jewish racial type. On the contrary, Jacobs argued that Jews maintained racial purity and subsequently had some inherent racial traits such as red-headedness and colorblindness. The most important racial feature of Jews that Jacobs identified in his work with Galton was something which he described as "nostrality." Jacobs defined "nostrality" as a wide and oddly shaped nostril which Jacobs argued was at the heart of Jewish stereotypes concerning noses. Jacobs also argued that Jewish "nostrality" formed the basis for the distinct "Jewish expression" which Jacobs posited existed among all members of the Jewish race regardless of geographic origin or immigrant status. It was this "Jewish expression," Jacobs argued, which allowed Gentiles to discern members of the Jewish race from non-Jews everywhere in the world.¹⁶⁰

While Jacobs provides a dramatic and well documented example of native Jewish scholarship on race-science, he was far from the only native Jewish scholar to tackle the issue. Several scholars regularly published scientific papers in the *Jewish Chronicle*. One example of how these articles contributed to this debate is an article published in the *Chronicle* entitled "Jewish Adaptability." The article was a verbatim account of a speech by the same name given to the North London Jewish Literary Society on November 14, 1901 by Dr. Alfred Eichholtz, a Jewish physiologist and lecturer at Cambridge.¹⁶¹ Unlike Jacobs,

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Alfred Eichholtz was a well-respected scholar within the Jewish community who occupied a prominent role in community leadership. Part of his position was gained through his marriage to Ruth Adler, the youngest daughter of Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler. This can be seen in their marriage announcement in which they are referred to as "Dr. and Mrs. Adler" instead of Dr. and Mrs. Eichholtz. In light of his relationship to the Chief Rabbi, in addition to his own significant achievement of gaining a lectureship position at Cambridge, it is unsurprising that Eichholtz's lecture was printed verbatim. For more on Eichholtz and his marriage see, "Notes of the Week." *The Jewish Chronicle*. October 5th, 1894. 6.

Eichholtz proposed that the Jewish type was a purely racial issue, rather than a combination of racial and social. During his lecture, Eichholtz posited,

Originally, before the dispersion, [the Jews] were part of a sub-division of the white race...they were never a race, ethnologically speaking, apart from other white people; they were a portion of a sub-division of a great race, the white race; and their distinguishing ethnological feature then, as now, was their religious Monotheism.¹⁶²

The question as to which ‘great’ race—white, brown, black, or yellow—the Jews belonged to was one which was highly contested among both Gentile and Jewish scholars. As demonstrated in the first chapter, Jews were often associated with blackness due to their conflation with skin disease. Similarly, in his virulently anti-Semitic treatise Joseph Bannister referred to Jews as “Yiddish Coolies” implying that they were an Asiatic race. In the same vein the Jewish scholar Dr. J. Snowman posited that the Jews were in fact a yellow race of Asiatic origin in his paper, “Some Physical Aspects of Jews in Judaism” which was published in *The Jewish Chronicle* in 1902. Eichholtz’s address was meant to challenge this rhetoric, rejecting ideas of Jewish blackness and yellowness to emphasize the similarities between Jews and Anglo-Saxons.

In addition to portraying Jews as white, Eichholtz alleges that the Jewish race has the inherent ability to adapt to other populations. This spoke directly to the native Jewish project of assimilation. Eichholtz argued that this ability for adaptation was unique to the Jewish racial type,

Every nation knows its Jews as much by their face as their creed. Yet it is one of the most striking facts in the whole range of anthropological knowledge that our

¹⁶² Alfred Eichholtz, “Jewish Adaptability.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. November 22, 1901. 28.

people, after a stay of very few generations, experiences changes of features...these are the facts. Though every nation professes to be able to separate its Jews as oil from water, it is, nevertheless, true that the Jews after some generations approximate in type to the people among whom they dwell. ¹⁶³

The proposed Jewish ability of adaptability had significant implications for the native-Jewish project of assimilation. If all Jews have the inherent ability to racially become like their host country within only a couple of generations, then the large numbers of Jewish immigrants can also become English within a relatively short period of time. Eichholtz drives this point home by emphasizing that Jews are particularly well-suited to adapt to Englishness,

The Jews conform very readily to the English type.... And in a cursory view of a school full of children containing Jews, it is often difficult to know who are Jewish and who are Anglo-Saxon, which means the natural power of variability among the Jews readily yields a type not very different from the English.... We have the same thing occurring among the lower animals. In cold, icy climates the bear is white. In dark forest countries he is brown or black. ¹⁶⁴

In other words, Eichholtz was arguing that it was easier for Jews to become English in character than with other nationalities.

One important aspect of Eichholtz's argument is that this process of racial assimilation occurs through both conscious choice and unconscious Lamarckian adaptation. In reference to assimilation, Eichholtz wrote, "we may discover therein the workings of a protecting destiny which chooses as the medium for its manifestation the interaction of two ethnological forces—the one our ambition to conform to the customs of the civilised

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 29.

environment which affords us hospitality.”¹⁶⁵ Eichholtz posits that this “voluntary adaptation” is a central force in the process of assimilation. While assimilation happens naturally overtime even without these conscious choices, it is in large part “voluntary adaptation” which is responsible for the speed of Jewish adaption. However, due to anti-assimilatory ideologies many Jewish immigrants would have refused to make conscious choices that would lead to them becoming more English. Subsequently, it was up to native Jews to hasten the process through tools such as education and selective breeding, both of which Eichholtz noted as being key features of voluntary adaptation. This would have been desirable to native Jews who saw an immediate need for assimilation in order to offset anti-Semitism.

Social-Darwinism and Jewish Fitness as Social Capital

In addition to the project of assimilating Jewish immigrants, the native Jewish population was also working to establish a place of equality within the Gentile population. The late nineteenth century represented a moment of opportunity for the native Jewish population. Over the course of the century, England began its slow crawl towards universal suffrage, with Jews gaining the right to vote in 1858 and Lionel de Rothschild taking his seat as the first Jewish member of the House of Commons that same year.¹⁶⁶ Ten years later, in 1868, Benjamin Disraeli briefly became the first ethnically Jewish prime minister, and in 1885 Sir Nathaniel Rothschild became the first Jewish lord.¹⁶⁷ Despite all of this, Jews

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Jews were granted the right to vote only insofar that they met the requirements stipulated for voter eligibility in the Reform Act of 1832. In addition to requiring that the voter be male, these requirements included the ownership or sixty-year rental of land worth £10, a twenty plus year lease of land worth £50, or an annual rent of £50. In borough constituencies all male heads of house living in properties worth £10 were eligible to vote.

¹⁶⁷ While Disraeli was born a Jew, he was baptized as a child and did not actively practice Judaism.

remained the “other” and struggled to find social parity to their political equality amongst their Gentile peers. For instance, as explored in Chapter One, Philo-Semitism was a prevalent ideology in late Victorian England, which functionally marked Jews as the objects of exotic fascination. This supports the Victorian definition of class as something not merely indicative of political or social equality but more nuanced.¹⁶⁸ In response to this class structure, race science was one tool with which native Jews attempted advocate for social equality between Jews and Gentiles.

Just as Jacobs’s research was informed by Darwinism, Jewish use of race-science was steeped in contemporaneous Gentile Social-Darwinist ideology.¹⁶⁹ During the late nineteenth century, scientists across England were redefining its social hierarchy in Darwinian terms of fitness wherein social value was determined by biological contribution. This process of redefinition was spurred by nationalism, colonialism, and the entrenched English belief that the health of the nation was based in the health of individuals. In 1859 Herbert Spencer, a prominent English philosopher and social scientist who is best known for coining the term ‘survival of the fittest’ wrote, “the first requisite of success in life is ‘to be a good animal’; and to be a nation of good animals is the first condition of national prosperity.”¹⁷⁰ This quote, which was part of an essay advocating for public hygiene enlightenment on diet and exercise, demonstrates this English belief in the body politic.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ For more see Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*.

¹⁶⁹ The term “Social Darwinism” is a misnomer. Most commonly it is used to refer to an organicist explanation of social evolution, class, race, and development. Although Darwin was undeniably influential in the development of this ideology, not all organicist explanations for social phenomena are Darwinian, and many directly conflict with Darwin’s own beliefs. For more see Gregory Claeys, “‘The Survival of the Fittest’ and the Origins of Social Darwinism.” *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Vol. 16. No. 2. (April, 2000). 223-240.

¹⁷⁰ Herbert Spencer, “Physical Education.” *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860.) 232.

¹⁷¹ This term has come to be associated with the Nazi regime in Germany. However, it is by no means exclusive to the German context. The definition of ‘body politic’ according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* is, “a nation regarded as a corporate entity,” and it is in this capacity which I use the term.

By the late Victorian era, the influence of colonialism and Darwinism led to the popularization of an organicist view of the English body politic. Based on the concept of ‘survival of the fittest,’ it was widely believed that all of the European colonial powers were in competition with each other, and that subsequently those nations which were composed of individuals with inferior traits would die out. Reginald Brabazon, the twelfth Earl of Meath and Irish politician, articulated this ideology in his 1881 treatise “Health and Physique of City Population” in which he wrote, “large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities are physically unfitted...to defend the country in time of war, or to carry on her work in peace,” postulating that this was an, “evil which would ultimately lead to a degeneration of the race and to national effacement.”¹⁷² The use of terms such as ‘degeneration’ and ‘unfitted’ in this quote demonstrate the influence of Social Darwinism on conceptions of nation and colonial competition. Under this paradigm, an individual’s value was placed in their ability to contribute to the national hereditary strength. As a result, racial and hereditary fitness transformed into social capital which could in theory catapult the native Jewish population into a position of social equality. This was a specifically English phenomenon, as unique historical circumstances in England allowed for the creation of a category of native Jews with no analogue. Only in England were native Jews able to accrue enough social and political capital to allow for the potential of further mobility.

The native Jewish population was eager to capitalize on this opportunity for social movement. For instance, young Jewish men were urged by leaders in the community to enlist in the army in order to prove that Jews contributed to the overall health of the nation and empire, and the *Jewish Chronicle* made it a specific point to recognize successful Jews in

¹⁷² As cited in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain 1880-1939*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.) 25.

military service.¹⁷³ Additionally, in a sermon given in 1900 at the eighth annual Chanucah Military Service, a worship service dedicated to honoring English Jewish soldiers and veterans, the Chief Rabbi said,

In a way never apparent to some of the older and happier stocks among the many races which make up the British people, [Jews] have been taught by the sharp contrast how sweet and how precious a distinction it is to be a citizen of the Queen's Empire. It necessarily follows that on no section of the British people than on the Jews of this nation does the duty more solemnly lie of gratefully devoting themselves, alike in bright days and in dark, to the service of this generous realm... remembering that the Anglo-Jewish community is a far smaller body than many people seem to imagine...there is now no doubt that British Jews have not only borne a full share of our dear country's burdens in this struggle, but that we have actually borne a larger share than our mere numerical proportion would allot to us.¹⁷⁴

This quote demonstrates not only the connection between Jewish enlistment and the accumulation of social capital through contribution to the nation, but also the role of race science in this thought process. The timing of this sermon lines up with the overwhelming British loss in the Boer war, echoing Gentile fears concerning the fitness of soldiers. Subsequently the “fitness: of Jewish soldiers gains more weight with concern to national contribution. The Chief Rabbi's use of terms such as “stock” and “races” explicitly refers to the eugenicist movement which reached a fever after the war. In addition, the fact that this sermon was given by the Chief Rabbi signifies both that these issues were of prominent

¹⁷³ “A Distinguished Jewish Veteran.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. November 9, 1900. 10., “An Australian Jew on Naval Service in China,” *The Jewish Chronicle*. September 28. 1900. 15. “Royal Naval and Military Bazaar.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. June 22, 1900. 19.

¹⁷⁴ “The Chanucah Military Service,” *The Jewish Chronicle*. December 21, 1900. 11-12.

concern in the Jewish community and that the views presented were representative of the majority of the native Jewish population.

In light of the pervasive influence of social Darwinism and race science on English reconstructions of social hierarchies, it comes as little surprise that many native scholars used race science as a tool to justify Jewish social equality. The use of race science in this context overlapped with the use of similar discourse in justifying assimilation. However, whereas scientific aspects of the problem of assimilation was considered by native Jews to be specific to the immigrant population, the necessity of preestablished social capital placed the Jewish project for social equality as a distinctly native Jewish affair. A strong example of overlap between the two movements is the Eichholtz article previously analyzed in this chapter. While Eichholtz was responding to the native Jewish desire to assimilate their foreign counterparts, his assertion that “[Jews] were never a race, ethnologically speaking, apart from other white peoples,” had the additional effect of supporting the idea that Jews could contribute to the hereditary strength of the English nation and British empire.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, the use of race science to promote Jewish social equality is even more explicit in an interview held by the *Jewish Chronicle* with Francis Galton in 1910 in which the interviewer asserts:

It may be said that from the days of Moses Jews have been “eugenicists” aside from the hygienic laws enjoined by the Mosaic code, which affect the individual rather than the race. The intense love of children, and the idealization of home-life have

¹⁷⁵ Alfred Eichholtz, “Jewish Adaptability.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. November 22, 1901. 28.

contributed in a notable degree to the production of a race that has withstood greater trials and tribulations than have befallen any other race in history.¹⁷⁶

One thing which marks this article as important is that it is blatantly eugenicist in its construction, debunking the common misconception that eugenics was a Gentile science to which Jews were the passive victims. Going even further, the quote describes eugenicist practice, if not the scientificization of the field, as something first constructed by Jews. Under this interpretation, eugenics was configured as an inherently Jewish practice. This has two important implications for the native Jewish project to gain social capital. First, the assertion that eugenics could be considered an ancient Jewish practice suggests, albeit cautiously, that through religious influence the Jews contributed the very tools through which Britain as an empire could become strong. This, if it became commonly accepted, would have been a persuasive appeal for social equality. Secondly, the length of time the Jews had allegedly practiced eugenics, in combination with the trials they had withstood, suggests that Jews had evolved to be hereditarily strong. As such, the Jewish race would by their very nature contribute to the national strength.¹⁷⁷

Additionally, the interviewer formatted his questions to emphasized Jewish fitness. This is demonstrated by the interviewer's second question: "Do you think that the hygienic regulations of the Mosaic Codes have contributed to the fitness of the Jewish race?"¹⁷⁸ The formulation of this question assumes that the Jewish race is indeed fit, leaving little room for answers on the part of Galton that would suggest otherwise. The interviewer specifically

¹⁷⁶ "Eugenics and the Jew: Interview for the Jewish Chronicle with Sir Francis Galton." *The Jewish Chronicle*. July 29, 1910. 16.

¹⁷⁷ The emphasis here on the ancient nature of Jewish eugenic practice serves as an appeal to the Philo-Semitic fascination with ancient Christian-Hebraism. While I have defined Philo-Semitism in this paper as a form of anti-Semitism, many Victorian Jews viewed it as a positive cultural trend.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

frames his introduction and questions to present the Jewish people in a triumphant light. The impact of this frame working on the interview can clearly be seen in the way which Galton answers a later question:

INTERVIEWER: What effect do you think persecution has had on the Jewish race?

GALTON: So far as persecution weeds out those who are unfit so far it tends to evolve a race suited to meet hard conditions. We in England have reaped the good effects of persecution in that we have benefitted enormously from the immigration of the Huguenots, who were among the best of their race and who have handed down their qualities to many descendants.¹⁷⁹

Galton is undeniably cautious in asserting that the Jewish race itself has become fit. However, framed by the interviewer's emphasis on Jewish fitness and eugenicist practice, his comment that as a result of the persecution they faced Huguenots helped improve the English race implies that the same could be said of the Jews. As a result of this careful frame working, the interviewer is able to persuasively claim through an appeal to Galton's authority as both a Gentile and the preminent scholar in his field that the Jewish race is evolutionarily fit and contributes to the benefit of the nation.

Foreign Jewish Scholarly Discourse

Of course, while native Jewish narratives in *The Jewish Chronicle* dominated the Jewish press industry, the *Chronicle* was not the only newspaper. As much as *The Jewish Chronicle* represented and shaped the position of native Jews, several other Jewish newspapers were run by immigrants, the most important being *The Jewish Standard*, which

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

presented the foreign Jewish perspective.¹⁸⁰ None of these papers were ever as widely circulated or influential as the *Chronicle*, but they nonetheless served as an authority on the foreign Jewish experience. *The Jewish Standard* was the mouth organ for the orthodox immigrant community, which made up a significant portion of the foreign Jewish population. In contrast to the *Chronicle*, *The Jewish Standard* for the most part did not engage in an ‘expert’ discourse relating to race science and pathology. Instead, the paper focused on popular narratives based in Zionism and combatting anti-Semitism.

The ideological differences and communal conflict between native and foreign Jews can be seen by comparing how each paper engaged with race science and pathology. On one hand, native Anglo-Jews wanted to prove that Jews could be anglicized and were fit to occupy a place in English society. On the other hand, foreign Jews had an explicit Zionist agenda which was supported by ideas concerning the uniformity of the race but rejected the need for assimilation. This internal divide necessarily influenced how the two platforms approached broader questions on race pathology.

In contrast to the native Jewish view, most orthodox Jewish immigrants neither wanted to assimilate nor did they desire social equality in England. Many immigrant Jews considered assimilation to be a form of betrayal. This was especially true for Jewish immigrants coming from regions in which Jews had historically been faced with ultimatums to convert or face death.¹⁸¹ However, that didn’t mean that foreign Jews rejected the idea of social equality in its entirety. Instead of focusing on the treatment of Jews in England,

¹⁸⁰ Another influential paper was *Arbeter Fraynd*, a Yiddish radical periodical which represented the viewpoints of a small group of foreign Jewish anarchists.

¹⁸¹ This ties directly to Diasporic Jewish conceptions of martyrdom and community formation. For more on this see: Madga Teter. “Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews Respond to Blood Libels.” *Blood Libel: On the Trail of an Anti-Semitic Myth*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020.) and Jacob Marcus Rader and Mark Saperstien “The Black Death and the Jews 1348-1349.” *The Jews in Christian Europe*. (New York: Hebrew Union College Press, 2015.)

foreign Jews were proponents of Zionism, the movement for the establishment of an independent Jewish nation. As with the native Jewish discourse, rhetoric of race science also found expression in support of this movement.

In recent years, the term Zionism has come to be associated with the oppression of Palestinian refugees under legally questionable Israeli governance. While Zionism has always been both controversial and highly political, Zionism in this earlier period lacked this connotation of oppression, but instead reflected one response to the pervasive nature of anti-Semitism and Jewish “otherness” in Europe. In essence, Zionism can be characterized as the Jewish form of nationalism. While some early Zionists preferred a Jewish homeland in Palestine due to the region’s religious significance for Jews, the location of the proposed Jewish nation took second place to the Zionist agenda of establishing a Jewish nation.¹⁸² In theory the establishment of a such a nation would resolve Jewish alien status which had been intensified by the massive waves of Russian Jews fleeing the Pogroms. It should be noted that not all Jewish immigrants were Zionists; however, early Zionism held significantly more traction in England than in other European nations. To complicate matters, many native Jews supported the Zionist movement as a potential way to reduce the number of Jewish immigrants in England, even if they had no intention of emigrating themselves.

Despite this, most explicit Zionist rhetoric came from the foreign Jewish population through popular mediums such as *The Jewish Standard* and literature. As in the case of native Jewish projects of assimilation and social equality, race science became a powerful tool which supported the Zionist agenda by providing a biological basis for the establishment of a Jewish nation. Many influential scholars within the Zionist movement adopted the

¹⁸² Derek Fraser, “Zionism in Leeds 1892-1939.” *Leeds and its Jewish Community: A History*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019.)

ideology that nation is or should be determined by race. For instance, Nathan Birnbaum, the man who coined the term Zionism, wrote:

The insights and mental dispositions of a nation may not be explained otherwise than by the natural sciences. “Race is everything,” said our great race-member, Lord Beaconsfield [Benjamin Disraeli]. In the uniqueness of race, the uniqueness of the nation is enfolded. National variation is founded on racial differences.¹⁸³

Under the paradigm that nation was in part determined by race, if scholars could prove that Jews were a unified and “pure” race it would support the Zionist agenda of the establishment of a Jewish nation.

Despite this, there was much less of an emphasis on scientific scholarship among immigrant Jews. Unlike the *Chronicle*, the *Standard’s* engagement with scientific scholarship was for the most part limited to small adverts notifying any interested readers that a paper had been published and one paragraph summaries of lectures. For example, in a February 1890 issue the *Standard* issued the following advert, “Jewish Vitality- for an interesting article by Dr. Andrew Wilson, F.R.S.E., on the above subject, see *Health* for Friday, Feb. 14.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ As quoted in Raphael Falk, *Zionism and the Biology of the Jews*. Online at Springer Link. 50.

¹⁸⁴ “Jewish Vitality.” *The Jewish Standard*. February 14, 1890.

JEWISH VITALITY. — For an interesting article by DR. ANDREW WILSON, F.R.S.E., on the above subject, see *Health* for Friday, Feb. 14. Of all news-agents and at all railway book-stalls, price 2d., or post free, 2½d., from the Publisher, 2, Paternoster Square, E.C.

Figure 6- Advert on page 2 of *The Jewish Standard*. February 14, 1890.

This lack of scholarly discourse can in part be attributed to class. Unlike middle- and upper-class native Jews, the majority of Jewish immigrants could not afford the privilege of dedicating their time to scholarly pursuits. As a result, most foreign Jewish engagement with race science was through popular mediums such as newspaper articles on international affairs and literature. The few Jewish immigrants who could afford to participate in scholarly discourse were usually rabbis or rigorous orthodox Jews, who focused overwhelmingly on theological questions. As a result, among immigrant Jews, engagements with race science served more as a tool to be used within other scholarship than a popular topic in of itself.

What little scholarship relating to Jewish race science can be found in the *Standard* directly engages with Zionism. A strong example of this is a short summary of a lecture titled, “The Jews and Their Neighbors.” Which was printed in the *Standard* on March 14, 1890.

What was most remarkable in the Jewish race, was the combination of strong national individuality and the power of adapting themselves to their surroundings...In

concluding a discourse which was listened to with great interest, the lecturer dealt with the question of a restored nationality of the Jews in their own land.¹⁸⁵

The reference to race science in this article is minute, a single line on the Jewish racial characteristic of adaptability. However, the line in question demonstrates a marked difference from native Jewish treatments of the same racial characteristic. Rather than looking at Jewish racial characteristics as justification for equality, this article instead suggests that the retention of Jewish individuality and racial identity in spite of adaptability demonstrates Jewish nationhood. This is supported by the fact that the lecture concluded with a discussion of the Zionist movement.

Interestingly, while there was relatively little mention of Jewish race science in the *Standard*, there was significant mention of anti-Semitism being primitive racial trait and disease which was infecting Gentile societies:

Anti-Semitism must be viewed in three different aspects.... In this complication is the cause of the virulence of the disease. Anti-Semitism is an ecclesiastical dispute, a conflict of races, and a struggle of classes. Only in this way the phenomenon can be explained, that it arose simultaneously in different countries— in the age of a Pasteur and a Renan. Anti-Semitism is a sign of retrogression, a proof of “Atavismus;” it is a ghost in modern apparel.¹⁸⁶

The article frames anti-Semitism as both a disease and a symptom of a Darwinian conflict between races. The mention of Pasteur and Renan is particularly telling for the way in which race, disease, and anti-Semitism are merged in the article. Louis Pasteur was a French microbiologist who is credited as being the father of Germ Theory. Ernest Renan, on the

¹⁸⁵ “The Jews and Their Neighbors,” *The Jewish Standard*. March 14, 1890. 5.

¹⁸⁶ “Mr. Leroy Beaulieu on Anti-Semitism.” *The Jewish Standard*. April 3, 1891. 11.

other hand, was a race scientist who was best known for his anti-Semitic portrayal of the Jewish race as inferior to the Aryan race. The combination of their names in the article demonstrates that there was little distinction between concepts of disease and racial traits. The article then inverts traditional anti-Semitic rhetoric within discourses on race science by suggesting that anti-Semitism itself was an atavistic trait, a marker of racial inferiority.

In contrast, native Jewish scholars such as Jacobs held that anti-Semitism didn't exist in England. Even if they believed it did, to frame anti-Semitism as a racial trait would fundamentally undermine the native Jewish projects of assimilation and to gain social capital. On the whole, immigrant Jewish scholarly discourse on race science vastly differed from that of their native Jewish peers, in large part due to their differing experiences and political agendas.

Conclusion

Jewish scientific discourse on race science in late Victorian England was a complex and multi-faceted web, representing the entanglement of dozens of viewpoints and motivations. This chapter offers only a cursory overview of a much deeper and more complicated conversation. More research is needed to truly grasp the impact the various strands of this debate had on Jewish self-conceptions of identity in Victorian England. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Victorian Anglo-Jewish community was not only engaged in rich conversations surrounding Jewish race pathology, but also producing significant scientific scholarship. It is evident that Victorian Anglo-Jews were not the passive recipients of anti-Semitic gentile rhetoric concerning Jewish pathology. The confrontation of native Jews with large numbers of Jewish immigrants in the late Victorian England uniquely

positioned the Anglo-Jewish community as a ripe breeding ground for scholarly conversations concerning Jewish racial identity.

Even so, only a small percentage of the Jewish community, made up almost entirely of wealthy native Jewish men, actively participated in the production and discussion of scientific scholarship. As such this scholarship only speaks to a narrow part of the Jewish experience in Victorian England. That's not to say; however, that this scholarship held little influence in the Anglo-Jewish community, On the contrary these somewhat exclusive scholarly exchanges bled into popular mediums and were disseminated to larger audiences. In the next chapter, I will explore the ways in which this discourse transformed through popular platforms. In particular, I will focus on the impact of the experiences of women within the Jewish community on this changing discourse. Lastly, I will address the mutation of this discourse into a form of self-hatred among some members, women especially, of the community

Chapter 3: Jewish Popular Discourses

In the last chapter, I argued that different parts of the Anglo-Jewish community appropriated rhetoric of race pathology in order to support and debate diverse visions of Jewish identity. As this rhetoric bled through into a different kind of popular discourse it carried with it similar political implications. However, the lack of scientific rigidity and the malleability of popular platforms allowed these ideologies to transform and mutate through popular mediums. At the same time, popular platforms increased access to these discourses, allowing for the inclusion of more diverse voices and experiences, especially those of women. The transformation of Jewish debates on racial identity through these popular platforms allowed for the emergence of new types of rhetoric such as racialized Jewish self-hared.

Popular Mediums and the Transformation of Scientific Discourse

The phrase, “popular mediums” covers an extensive range of formats. For instance, the scientific articles analyzed in chapter two arguable qualify as a “popular” mediums because they were printed in newspapers. However, while they may have been printed on a popular platform, the discourse they participated in remained exclusive to a select class of wealthy educated men. When I use the term “popular mediums” in this chapter, I am referring to mediums which are accessible larger diverse groups of people, mediums which invite the participation of these people in conversations on race science.

There were many types of popular mediums in the nineteenth century: art, novels, music, newspaper articles, and theatre among others. These mediums were much freer than scientific articles in their engagement with race science, and they served an essential role in normalizing race science as part of the cultural code of the late Victorian Anglo-Jewish

community. One of the clearest ways this emerges in is in Jewish humor. The French cultural historian, Robert Darnton, once wrote, “when you realize that you are not getting something— a joke, a proverb, a ceremony— that is particularly meaningful to the natives, you can see where to grasp a foreign system of meaning in order to unravel it.”¹⁸⁷ In other words, humor is one avenue through which a researcher can gain a deep understanding of the core of a culture. This is because humor necessarily occurs within and subverts cultural norms. This can be seen in “Mourer and Charouseth,” a regular satire column published in *The Jewish Standard*:

Dalton’s mother was a Jewess and his father was a Christian, and so we Jews are well off. If it turns out that he *did* swim across the Channel, we can claim him as a Jew; if he is a fraud, we can fall back upon his Aryan ancestry. He ascribes all his success to his power of lying still for long periods in the water; but it is possible that this may be due to his power for lying for long periods on the land.¹⁸⁸

The passage is making a joke about Captain Davis Dalton, an American swimmer who allegedly swam from France to England across the English Channel in 1890. The joke is framed in terms of contemporaneous conceptions of race. In order for the joke to be funny, its audience, in this case Jewish immigrants, must have a sufficient understanding of the dialogues concerning race which are embedded in it. Subsequently, the column demonstrates the fundamental and widespread influence of discourses on race in the Jewish community. Even further, the passage represents a subversion of traditional rhetoric surrounding race-science, granting additional cultural meaning to race beyond the scientific discourse.

¹⁸⁷ Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. (New York: Basic Books, 1984.) 78.

¹⁸⁸ Israel Zangwill. “Mourer and Charouseth.” *The Jewish Standard*. August 29, 1890. 10. The title of the column refers to the bitter herbs and sweet paste traditionally consumed during the Passover seder.

Platforms like scientific scholarship were methodologically restricted in a way which prevented this type of cultural embedding and transformation.

Complexifying Race Science and Assimilationism: Julia Frankau and Jewish Self-Hatred

Of all popular media, it is perhaps the novel which allowed for the most creativity, and subsequently deviation from the scientific discourse. While novelists were bound by social norms and the conventions of writing, they nonetheless had more space and freedom than newspaper articles and satire columns. As a result, novels are uniquely positioned as a source to inform and complexify understandings of Jewish engagement with race science. A strong example of this is the 1887 novel, *Dr. Phillips a Maida Vale Idyll*, written by Julia Frankau, a middle-class native Jew, under the pen name Frank Danby. The novel follows Dr. Phillips, a native Jewish west London physician who murders his vulgar and dim immigrant Jewish wife in order to abscond with his Gentile mistress. At the conclusion of the book, the mistress finds herself to be irreparably tainted by her Jewish lover, condemned to a life of misery and degeneracy. Frankau's novel depicts an internalized tension between extreme assimilationism and Jewish self-hatred, expressed through a rhetoric clearly informed by that of race scientists. There is significant tension in Frankau's use of race science. On the one hand, the only way in which Frankau can use anti-Semitism to escape her racial constraints is to draw on rhetoric of Jewish racial inferiority. At the same time, that racialized rhetoric precludes her from escaping her Jewish roots. Most importantly, Frankau's novel demonstrates the way that native Jewish writers operating outside of the newspaper debates examined in the previous chapter formed their own ideas about the importance of race science and assimilation to their own senses of identity.

Before diving into *Dr. Phillips*, it is important to define Jewish self-hatred. In the Victorian era, the term ‘Jewish self-hatred’ was used pejoratively by Zionists to refer to anti-Zionist Jews.¹⁸⁹ However, while the term has a long and politically loaded history, it has more recently been used by the scholar Sander Gilman to refer to the psychological phenomenon common to marginalized minorities of internalized self-loathing in a specifically Jewish context. Gilman’s analysis of Jewish self-hatred is primarily focused on language and the status of Yiddish. He never makes any mention of authors participating in racialized self-hatred such as Julia Frankau. Nonetheless, it is Gilman’s definition of self-hatred which is prominent in Frankau’s novel. In a Jewish context, this form of self-hatred is characterized by the rejection of Jewish culture, religion, and racial identity. As such it is often accompanied by anti-Semitic rhetoric and behaviors which originated in gentile populations.

While contemporary scholars universally acknowledge that Frankau’s novel was steeped in Jewish self-hatred, there is a debate over the extent and purpose of her anti-Semitic rhetoric. The two most important scholars who have contributed to this debate are Todd Endelman and Michael Galchinsky. In his article on Frankau, Endelman argues that Frankau wrote her novel from a “radical assimilationist perspective.”¹⁹⁰ Endelman wrote this article as a qualitative study of changes in Anglo-Jewish practice through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a continuation of his prior work on Anglo-Jewish community organization and practice. According to Endelman, Frankau’s anti-Semitism is a tool which she uses to distance herself from the Jewish community. Endelman’s analysis of Frankau’s

¹⁸⁹ For more see, Paul Reitter, *On the Origins of Jewish Self-Hatred*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.)

¹⁹⁰ Todd Endelman, “The Frankaus of London: A Study in Radical Assimilation, 1837-1967.” *Jewish History*. Vol 8. No. 1, 1994.

anti-Semitism was primarily focused on her hatred of Anglo-Jewish culture, arguing that over time Frankau's anti-Semitism became more nuanced and forgiving to certain groups of Jews which she separated into "good" and "bad" categories, which align with the native versus foreign divide. In contrast, Galchinsky argues that Frankau's self-hatred was primarily based in race and biological determinism. In his article, Galchinsky directly responds to Endelman, arguing that Frankau's anti-Semitism was both harsh and pervasive, placing Jews not into categories of "good and bad," but "bad and worse."¹⁹¹

There is a strong case to be made for Endelman's argument that Frankau was writing from a radical assimilationist perspective. Frankau's personal history demonstrates a long existent devotion to extreme assimilationist beliefs. Julia Frankau (née Davis) was born to an affluent and well-established family in the Anglo-Jewish community. Frankau grew up in a religious household and received her primary education at an Orthodox school. After leaving school, she was tutored until the age of twelve by Laura Lafargue, the daughter of Karl Marx. However, even in her childhood Frankau expressed discontentment with her Judaism. In her late teens James Davis, Frankau's well-connected brother, introduced her to Gentile bohemian circles. There she befriended figures such as Oscar and Willie Wilde, John Raphael Smith, and George Moore. In particular, Frankau cited Moore, who introduced her to French naturalism, as one of her strongest literary influences. Frankau saw bohemianism as an opportunity to leave behind her Jewish shackles. She often chatted with Marie Belloc Lowndes, the sister of the anti-Semitic writer Hillaire Belloc and one of her close friends, about the "unpleasing traits" common to Jews, and in one memorable conversation Frankau

¹⁹¹ Michael Galchinsky, "'Permanently Blacked': Julia Frankau's Jewish Race." *Victorian Literature and Culture*. Vol 27. No. 1. 1999. 171.

went as far as to claim that her (Jewish) husband's looks and character were a result of his German-Lutheran heritage and his distinct lack of Jewish ancestry.¹⁹²

In 1883 she married Arthur Frankau, a merchant class Anglo-Jew, who came from a family with a long assimilationist history, and like Julia strove to shed his Judaism. Frankau published *Dr. Phillips* in 1887, three years after the birth of her eldest son, and two years after both her and her husband formally left the reform synagogue at which they previously held membership. The couple refused to circumcise their son, functionally leaving the Jewish community. Circumcision was a core mark of tribal and religious belonging in the Anglo-Jewish community.¹⁹³ To refuse to circumcise was to refuse entrance to the sacred Covenant between Jews and God, something unthinkable to any ethnic Anglo-Jew. Subsequently, Frankau's refusal to circumcise her son was an extreme and blatant rejection of her Judaism. Frankau raised her children in the Anglican church, baptizing her son at age thirteen. Additionally, Frankau did not inform her son of his Jewish heritage until he was more than sixteen years old, knowledge which her son struggled with for the rest of his life.¹⁹⁴ Even Frankau's pen name demonstrates assimilationist ideology. While male pen names were common among Victorian women authors, Frankau's pseudonym, Frank Danby, is not only a male name but also a Gentile name.

However, Frankau's version of native Jewish assimilationism deviates significantly from the native Jewish project to accrue social capital outlined in Chapter Two. While the native Jewish project for gaining social capital was focused on the general improvement of

¹⁹² As quoted in Endelman, "The Frankaus of London: A Study in Radical Assimilation, 1837-1967." 135.

¹⁹³ For evidence concerning the importance of circumcision in late Victorian Judaism see: "Judaism in the United States." *The Jewish Chronicle*. February 29, 1884. 12; "Surgeon Mohel" *The Jewish Chronicle*. December 3, 1886. 3; and "Circumcision" *The Jewish Chronicle*. July 13, 1900. 6.

¹⁹⁴ Frankau's son, Gilbert, himself became a writer who supported increasingly anti-Semitic viewpoints. His most notorious instance of anti-Semitic writing was his 1933 article for *The Daily Express*, "As a Jew I am not Opposed to Hitler." For more see Endelman, "The Frankau's of London."

conditions for native Jews, Frankau's extremist version of this ideology focuses on escaping one's Judaism, bordering on the eradication of one's Jewishness as a whole. For instance, Frankau asserts that, "Sections of [middle-class Jewry] are trying very hard to struggle against this race-barrier, and with a modicum of success. But they have much to contend against."¹⁹⁵ The last sentence of this quote implies that pushing through the race barrier is a desirable outcome. However, Frankau places the burden of doing so on the individual Jew, implicitly condemning those content to fester in their Judaism.

Similarly, on page fourteen of *Dr. Phillips*, two Jewish girls, Ray and Soph, are arguing about the way their Gentile guest perceived them:

Ray: "She knew she was coming among Jews, and if she had any prejudices, she could have stayed away. Besides, they must know we are better than they are.

Mendelssohn was a Jew, and Heine, and Beaconsfield."

Soph: "You can't argue from three people, of whom two denied their Judaism, and the third refused to admit it."¹⁹⁶

Ray's argument in the quote parallels contemporaneous native Anglo-Jewish rhetoric of Jewish racial equality to the superior Anglo-Saxon race.¹⁹⁷ All three men which Frankau lists were common examples of Jewish hereditary health in scientific and popular literature alike. However, Frankau's use of the phrase "we are better than they are" pulls this rhetoric over the line of equality with Anglo-Saxons into the territory of superiority over English Gentiles, serving as a scathing critique of Jewish rhetoric surrounding race science and heredity. Even more poignant is the fact that according to Frankau, it is not the Jewish heritage of these three

¹⁹⁵ Julia Frankau. *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyl*. (London: Vizetelly, 1887.) 50.

¹⁹⁶ Frankau. *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyl*. 14.

¹⁹⁷ For more on the Anglo-Jewish race scientists and the native Jewish project to accrue social capital refer to Chapter Two.

men which make them the greatest of Jews, but their denial of their Judaism. In other words, the success of these men can be attributed to assimilation. Thus, serving as an inversion of the use of Jewish hereditary strength to accrue social capital.

In addition, in her novel Frankau argues that intermarriage could be a potential route through which Jews could escape their tribal bonds, “How wide a vista opened out in the mind of the little Jewish girl, as she lay there in the arms of Christianity. How centuries of bigotry and generations of prejudice melted away in the flame of her passion.”¹⁹⁸ Frankau’s assertion that “centuries of bigotry” could be erased in the union of a single generation demonstrates the extreme impact Frankau believes could be achieved through assimilation.

At the same time, Galchinsky’s argument that Frankau’s self-hatred was founded on an idiosyncratic form of scientific racism also has significant merit.¹⁹⁹ Frankau harnesses anti-Semitic rhetoric on race science and pathology to justify the prevalent self-hatred in her novel. Galchinsky points out that Frankau’s criticisms of Jewish culture and materiality, outlined by Endelmen, are secondary to if not caused by their biological inferiority. For instance, Frankau writes, “Theirs is a society worth describing before, as it must be in the natural order of things, it decays and amalgamates.... there is a whole nation dwelling apart in an inviolable seclusion.” The use of the phrase, “the natural order of things” in this quote indicates that Frankau took stock in theories of biological determinism. Just as telling is Frankau’s emphasis on Jewish seclusion, which carries implications to inbreeding and degeneracy.

Frankau’s belief that it was Jewish hereditary at the heart of their cultural degeneracy can be seen in several other sections of her novel. For instance, Frankau describes her Jewish

¹⁹⁸ Frankau, *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyl*. 54.

¹⁹⁹ Galchinsky, “Permanently Blacked.” 171.

characters as having, “aquiline features and strongly marked brows.” The use of the word ‘aquiline’ in particular evokes Lombroso’s criminal man, implying that the biology of Frankau’s Jewish characters makes them inherently criminal.²⁰⁰ Similarly, Frankau attributed Jewish moral degeneracy to their “blackness.” In line with traditional anti-Semitic caricatures, Frankau’s Jewish characters described as having black eyes, brows, and whiskers, “the first thing the black eyes saw was the tall familiar figure of their Doctor, his stooping shoulders and the black beard, whiskers, and moustache that his all his features.”²⁰¹ Not only are Frankau’s characters physically black, but they are also accused of a concurrent blackness of self, “In that sudden flash of knowledge, [Phillips] saw the blackness of his past; and the blackness that surrounded him since his child’s death, he knew was the blackness of sin, and not of sorrow.”²⁰² To Frankau, Jewish blackness of appearance, culture, and soul were indistinguishable.

Both Endelman and Galchinsky’s arguments are thorough and convincing. However, they, too an extent, contradict. Indeed, Galchinsky positions his argument as mutually exclusive to Endelman’s writing,

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... [I believe] that Frankau's hatred of Jews is thorough (with a single significant exception), and that

²⁰⁰ For more on Lombroso and anti-Semitic stereotypes refer to Chapter One.

²⁰¹ Frankau. *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyl*. 12.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 277.

this hatred is motivated by her adoption of late Victorian racial discourses, which she then alters for her own idiosyncratic purposes.²⁰³

Galchinsky emphasizes that Endelmen defines Frankau's critique as cultural and not racial, highlights his argument that Frankau couldn't have been operating from a purely assimilationist perspective because the rhetoric of racial heredity which underlies her novel would have prevented such assimilation.

This is true to an extent and is best exemplified by Frankau's engagement with intermarriage and reproduction. Frankau's emphasis on reproductive problems among her Jewish characters cements the biologically determined inferiority of Jews. The titular character, Dr. Phillips and his immigrant Jewish wife are unable to conceive due to an ovarian tumor that is implicitly attributed to the wife's further progressed racial degeneracy as a foreign Jew.²⁰⁴ Even more, based on contemporaneous biological science, it implies that the union between Dr. Phillips and his immigrant wife is unproductive as they are not of the same species.²⁰⁵ However, the child which Dr. Phillips conceives with his Gentile mistress is likewise unhealthy,

Mrs. Cameron's only child was a very fragile little creature: a transparent skinned baby, with blue veins, and black eyes which seemed too large for the tiny features.... A very silent child was little Nita Cameron. She ate and drank slowly what was given to her. She was unchildlike and wistful looking, a plain baby for the daughter of so handsome a mother.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Galchinsky, "Permanently Blacked." 171.

²⁰⁴ For more on the idea that Jewish immigrants suffered further racial degeneration from their native counterparts see Chapter One.

²⁰⁵ Frankau's handling of the native versus foreign Jewish divide is rife with contradiction. While Frankau decisively separates native and foreign Jews, she also often portrays them as being closely related races.

²⁰⁶ Frankau. *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyl*. 29-30

Mrs. Phillips goes as far as to comment that the child was, “dreadfully delicate-looking. I don’t think she has very long to live.”²⁰⁷ The child’s poor constitution is later attributed to her Jewish father as she grows into a, “dark-skinned sickly child,” pointing to her Jewish father’s racial blackness.²⁰⁸ In the same vein, when Flora, a minor character wonders if a Gentile man would marry her the response was, “Good Heavens! do you think a white man would consent to go about with his face permanently blacked?”²⁰⁹ This quote not only posits that Jews are inherently black but argues that this “blackness” is a contagion which spread through intermarriage.

Frankau’s focus on the dangers of Jewish-Gentile intermarriage and reproduction draw on contemporaneous theories of miscegenation.²¹⁰ The institutional structures of late Victorian imperialism placed anxieties over interracial reproduction at the forefront of conversations about race and degeneracy. As anthropologist and historian Ann Laura Stoler argues in her book, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, miscegenation was considered to be a subversive force which served to contaminate and corrupt white populations.²¹¹ In other words, miscegenation served as a visual symbol of racial degeneration. In an imperial context, miscegenation created greater threats against preconceived notions of European identity and nationality. Stoler points out that the most significant threat which miscegenation posed was, “what the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte so aptly defined as the essence of the nation, its ‘interior frontiers.’”²¹² Generally, this referred to the

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 32

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 171

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 118

²¹⁰ Miscegenation refers to the interbreeding of individuals of different racial types.

²¹¹ Ann Laura Stoler, “Sexual Offenses and Racial Frontiers: Cultural Competence and the Dangers of Metissage.” *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.)

²¹² Ibid., 80.

idea that colonial frontiers, despite being the conquered other, became part of the conquering nation's internal identity.²¹³ As such, miscegenation in imperial territories become a dominant example of internal racial degeneration. Imperial territories existed in the space between tensions of outside versus inside. However, late Victorian Anglo-Jews had unquestionable 'infiltrated' the deepest inners of England, even holding positions in government. As a result, the threat of miscegenation was even more dire in a Jewish context.

Frankau also draws on Jewish rhetoric concerning miscegenation in her rhetoric. For instance, Joseph Jacobs argued that endogamous unions among Jews had higher birth rates than exogamous unions, leading to a Jewish racial purity.²¹⁴ According to Jacobs, this racial purity was responsible for a Jewish hereditary strength which makes the Jewish race a valuable contribution to England.²¹⁵ Frankau's implication that Dr. Phillips could not produce a fit child with either his immigrant wife or gentile mistress seems to support Jacobs's initial theory of inevitable Jewish endogamy. Despite this, Frankau's rhetoric inverts Jacobs's ideation concerning the impact of Jewish racial purity. Whereas Jacobs reads Jewish racial purity as responsible for the community's hereditary strength, Frankau argues that it led to propagation of undesirable characteristics and racial degeneration.

Frankau's assertion that Jewish racial character traits would dominate inter-racial marriages, blackening Gentiles rather than removing the taint from Jews, directly conflicts with the novel's emphasis, which Endelmen notes, on intermarriage as a way for Jews to escape their race. Galchinsky takes this contradiction as evidence that Endelmen's argument

²¹³ This is an overgeneralization of a very complicated set of discourses. For more see Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers."

²¹⁴ Endogamy refers to marriage within a race while exogamy refers to interracial marriage.

²¹⁵ Joseph Jacobs, *Studies in Jewish Statistics*. As cited in Lila Corwin Berman, "Sociology, Jews, and Intermarriage in Twentieth Century America." *Jewish Social Studies*, Winter, 2008, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Winter, 2008), pp. 32-60

is wrong. However, while this contradiction is irreconcilable, it does not defeat Endelmen's argument. On the contrary, it reveals the way in which popular Jewish discourse added new and unresolvable complexity to the issues of race and assimilation.

Both authors are operating on the assumption that Frankau's deep seated self-hatred was rational. It is true that Frankau's self-hatred likely had a rational trigger. While Jewish self-hatred was prevalent in the rest of Europe in the early nineteenth century, it was scarce in England.²¹⁶ However, the rising tide of anti-Semitism in England caused by the massive wave of Jewish immigration during the Pogroms correlates with the increased presence of Jewish self-hatred among late Victorian Anglo-Jewish authors, of which Frankau is viewed as being the first.²¹⁷ This makes sense as self-hatred is a well-documented psychological phenomenon which usually occurs in response to marginalization and persecution. However, this does not mean that the thought processes of those grappling with self-hatred are rational. On the contrary, such psychological struggles are often characterized by irrational thought patterns and logical contradictions. On the whole, Frankau's complex tangle of ideologies were not emerging discreet objects but part of a wider circulation.

As a result, it is probable that Frankau was both writing from an extreme assimilationist perspective and basing her arguments on Jewish racial immutability. As Endelmen points out in his article, Frankau harnesses anti-Semitic rhetoric as a tool to both reassure herself that she is not like them and demonstrate her difference from other Jews to the Gentile population. Subsequently, anti-Semitism became an avenue through which

²¹⁶ A good example of Jewish self-hatred is Marcel Proust's assertion that syphilis was the "ethnic eczema" of the Jews. For more on Jewish self-hatred in Europe see Sander Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.)

²¹⁷ Prior to Frankau's novel, the only example of Jewish self-hatred in Anglo-Literature was Samuel Phillips' 1841 novel *Caleb Stukeley*. For more see Endelmen, "The Frankaus of London."

Frankau could escape her Jewishness and assimilate. However, as I demonstrated in Chapter One, in a shift away from early forms of Jewish hatred, Victorian anti-Semitism was based in the Jewish race and body. This leads to a significant tension in Frankau's argument. Frankau necessarily relies on anti-Semitism, and subsequently racialized rhetoric, to escape her Judaism. Simultaneously, that same rhetoric precludes her from escaping her race.

Frankau briefly attempts to resolve this tension by adding a gendered element, carving out an exception for women in her criteria for Jewish racial immutability. According to Frankau, while men are dominant and would subsequently taint a mixed-race marriage, women are submissive and thus could become less Jewish by marrying a Gentile. This sentiment is best seen in the quote on page 54 where Frankau asserts that a Jewish woman could overcome centuries of bigotry via marrying a Christian. However, it is worth noting that Frankau is not consistent in this claim, as can be seen by the assertion later in the novel that Flora's marriage to a Gentile man would blacken her husband's face. Despite these frequent contradictions, on the whole Frankau's novel demonstrates the way in which both scientific discourse concerning Jewish race science and native Jewish assimilation culture mutated as they transitioned from scientific to popular platforms.

It would be remiss to analyze Frankau's novel without at least briefly addressing the novel's reception among both Jewish and Gentile spheres. Immediately upon its publication in 1887, Frankau's novel incited a sensational storm. This was partially fueled by rumors that the novel was based on the case of Ernest Abraham Hart, a well-respected Jewish physician whose first wife, a Jew, died of poisoning under suspicious circumstances. Similar to Dr. Phillips in the novel, Hart went on to marry a Gentile. Frankau's sister denied that Frankau had based the character of Dr. Phillips on a public figure. However, she admitted that her

sister often drew her inspiration from real people. Even more, Frankau's son, Gilbert, claimed that his mother based Dr. Phillips on Hart, going as far as to assert that the original title of the novel was Dr. Abrams, a play on Hart's middle name.²¹⁸ Allegedly Vizetelly, the publisher, insisted that the novel's title be changed due to its similarity to Ernst Abraham Hart.

Mired in sensationalism and controversy the novel received a harsh critical reception from many Gentiles. *Punch* magazine lambasted Frankau's work, arguing, "It should never have been written. Having been written, it should never have been published. Having been published, it should not be read."²¹⁹ Many Jewish readers likewise dismissed the novel. However, Jewish critiques of Frankau focused on her anti-Semitic portrayal of Jews as morally bankrupt, vulgar, and degenerate. These critics labeled Frankau as a traitor to the community, and worried that her novel would fuel the already rising tide of anti-Semitism in England. Sure enough, *Dr. Phillips* was cited by gentiles, such as the anti-Semitic journalist Arnold White, on multiple occasions as proof that modern Jews were isolationist.²²⁰ On the whole, however, the most important aspect of the controversy surrounding *Dr. Phillips* is that it helped the novel to become widely circulated, placing Frankau's views in a position of importance within both Gentile and Jewish popular debates surrounding Jewish heredity and race.

Julia Frankau was the first Victorian Anglo-Jewish author to record her self-hatred; however, she was by no means the last. In the years following the publication of *Dr. Phillips*,

²¹⁸ Endelman, "The Frankaus of London." 133.

²¹⁹ *Punch Magazine* as quoted in Gilbert Frankau, *Self-Portrait* (London: 1940). 23. Despite this, several gentile papers praised the work as "true representations of Jewish life." For more see, Eliza Aria, *My Sentimental Self* (London: 1922). 22.

²²⁰ Arnold White, *The Modern Jew* (New York: 1899) as cited in Endelman, "The Frankaus of London." 132.

several other prominent Anglo-Jewish authors began to publish works with a similar tone. Like Frankau, these authors used the medium of novels and creative fiction, in order to invert prior discourses concerning the Jewish race and express Jewish self-hatred. While authors writing on Jewish self-hatred were never more than a small minority among the Anglo-Jewish community they nonetheless were incredibly vocal in their viewpoints. These voices became in of themselves a topic of substantial debate in the Jewish press, and the attention paid to them allowed them to become a noteworthy and distinct touchpoint in broader Anglo-Jewish discourses on race science.

Blurring the Lines Between Culture and Race: The Case Study of Amy Levy

The most prominent among authors influenced by Frankau was Amy Levy, a Cambridge educated, middle-class, native Jew known for her critiques of the status of women within the Jewish community.²²¹ In 1889 Levy published two works of fiction which heavily drew upon contemporaneous dialogue on race science. The first was her novel, *Rueben Sachs: A Sketch*, which was published by Macmillan in January. The second, a short story titled, “Cohen of Trinity” was published in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in May. Framed by a series of tensions between self and other, man and woman, and Jew and Gentile, Levy’s work expresses an intense internalized conflict which manifests as self-hatred. In engaging with these tensions, Levy’s writing transformed dialogue concerning Jewish race pathology present in both Jewish and Gentile discourses, blurring the lines between culture and race.

“Cohen of Trinity” and Double Consciousness

²²¹ For Levy’s work on women see: Amy Levy, “Jewish Women and Women’s Rights.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. February 7, 1879 and Amy Levy, “Middle-Class Jewish Women of To-Day.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. September 17, 1886.

What sets Levy apart from other Anglo-Jewish authors of the late nineteenth century is the way in which she embodies a form of double-consciousness in her writing. Unlike Frankau's extreme rejection of her Judaism, Levy simultaneously identifies as Jewish and struggles with a hatred of the Jewish community. This is best seen in "Cohen of Trinity." The story, told from the point of view of an unnamed narrator, follows the narrator's thoughts and retrospective experiences after a Jewish acquaintance of his from Trinity College in Cambridge, Cohen, commits suicide. The character of Cohen was semi-autobiographical. Levy and Cohen shared similar backgrounds: they were both middle-class native Jews, they were both educated at Cambridge, they were both the first Jewish student in their respective Cambridge colleges, and they were both young authors experiencing their first major literary successes. Most importantly, however, they were both suicidal. Levy committed suicide only a few months after imagining Cohen's death at his own hand.

At the same time, the story is written from a first-person point of view, the author herself assuming the role of the narrator. In the story, the narrator, drawing on a curious mix of both philo-Semitic and traditional anti-Semitic rhetoric, regards Cohen as an object of exotic fascination writing:

I scraped an acquaintance with Cohen, who had interested me from the first. I cannot quite explain my interest on so slight a knowledge; his manners were a distressing mixture of the *bourgeois* and the *canaille*...there never indeed existed between us anything that could bear the name of friendship.²²²

²²² Levy, "Cohen of Trinity." as printed in Levy (ed. Bernstein), *Rueben Sachs*. (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2006.) 183. While much of Levy's rhetoric is explicitly anti-Semitic, she also draws on the dehumanizing nature of Philo-Semitic discourses, noting that, "Little Leuniger, who played the fiddle, a Jew, was the fashion at that time among them." 184.

Similarly, the narrator's cursory interest in untangling the cause Cohen's suicide is inherently voyeuristic. As the literary scholar Susan Bernstein points out in her introduction to Levy's work, this resembled the medical gaze of Victorian race scientist's intent on dissecting the "Jewish Type".²²³ The comparison of the two is further strengthened by Levy's stereotypical and anti-Semitic depictions of Cohen as, "a curious figure: slight, ungainly; shoulders in the ears; an awkward, rapid gait, half slouch, half hobble."²²⁴ Levy's description of Cohen's posture and gait in particular mirrors the trope of Jewish infirmity inherent in contemporaneous anti-Semitic literature such as Oscar Panizza's, "The Operated Jew."²²⁵

Levy additionally pathologized Cohen's suicidal ideation, "[Cohen] had often declared a taste for suicide to be among the characteristics of his versatile race."²²⁶ The conflation of mental illness and race was not uncommon during the nineteenth century, Jews in particular being associated with "madness."²²⁷ However, Levy's participation in this rhetoric takes on a new form of irony when considering the dialogue that emerged surrounding her own suicide. Clementina Black, one of Levy's Gentile Peers attributed Levy's suicide to, "her lack of physical robustness."²²⁸ Similarly, an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* alleged the Levy's suicide was, "constitutional, and had little relation to outward events, by a tendency to deafness, which is frequent among Jews, and by a degree of ill health that seldom enabled her to realize the joy of mere living."²²⁹ This quote demonstrates that Levy's own suicide, like that of Cohen, was viewed as inseparable from her own Jewishness.

²²³ Ibid., 16.

²²⁴ Ibid., 182.

²²⁵ For more see Chapter 1.

²²⁶ "Cohen of Trinity." 181.

²²⁷ For more see, Sander Gilman, "The Jew's Body."

²²⁸ *The Athenaeum* 3232. October 5, 1889 as cited in *Reuban Sachs*. Ed. Bernstein, 17.

²²⁹ "The Tragedy of Amy Levy," *Pall Mall Gazette*. (September 25, 1891.) 3.

Levy's double-consciousness in "Cohen of Trinity" highlights tensions both within the story and in Levy's own life. Just as Levy's use of point of view highlights her internal struggle between her Jewish identity and anti-Semitic beliefs, it likewise emphasizes Levy's struggles with her role as a woman. In a break from her usual literary themes, there are no identified women in "Cohen of Trinity." Cohen, despite representing Levy herself, is notably male. This takes on new meaning when placed in context of Levy's critiques of the role of women in modern Anglo-Jewry. In an article published for the *Jewish Chronicle* Levy wrote,

[the Jew is], in fact, more Oriental at heart than a casual observer might infer. For a long time, it may be said, the shadow of the harem rested on our womankind...What in fact is the ordinary life of a Jewish middle-class woman? Carefully excluded, with almost eastern jealousy...following out the old traditions, the parental authority is strained to the utmost verge....²³⁰

Two important points emerge from this quote. First, Levy's conflation of Oriental ancestry with misogyny racializes the treatment of women within the Jewish community. In a society fundamentally informed by Galtonian eugenics, this racialization also serves to make the problem of Jewish misogyny somewhat immutable. In other words, misogyny, which Levy paints almost as a disease which was Jewish society to rot, becomes a hereditary trait in Jewish men.

Secondly, the quote emphasizes that, at least to Levy, it was not the same thing to be Jewish as a woman as it was for a man. Later on, in the article, Levy describes the treatment of women in modern Anglo-Jewish society as a "yoke."²³¹ This indicates that Levy's unique

²³⁰ Amy Levy, "Middle-Class Jewish Women of To-Day."

²³¹ In *Rueben Sachs*, Levy takes her critique of Jewish misogyny to its most extreme level writing, "Cursed art Thou, O Lord my God. Who hast had the cruelty to make me a woman." (Levy, 129.) This sentence is an inversion on a stanza in *Birhot ha-Shahar*, or the morning benedictions, which traditionally reads, "Blessed are

brand of Jewish self-hatred is somewhat inextricable from the perceived systemic misogyny of the native Jewish community at the time.²³² This is not at all surprising, considering that self-hatred as a psychological phenomenon emerges from marginalization. However, it does offer a potential explanation as to why so many of the late Victorian writers engaging in rhetoric of Jewish self-hatred were well educated women. Not only were Jewish women marginalized by the Gentile “other,” but they arguably faced marginalization within their own communities on the basis of gender. Additionally, it provides insight into an additional appeal of rhetoric of race and pathology to native Jewish women. In the Victorian era, science was framed not only a means of discovery, but one of control. This is best exemplified by the use of race science to allegedly control and suppress non-Anglo-Saxons in British colonies.²³³ To women who like Levy felt oppressed, race science offered a mechanism for understanding and thus clinically controlling misogyny.

Levy’s double-consciousness of gender is further emphasized by her deliberate failure to identify the narrator’s gender in “Cohen of Trinity.”²³⁴ Based on social conventions at the time of the story’s publication, the Victorian reader could have reasonably assumed that the narrator was male. For instance, very few women had the opportunity to study at Cambridge

you Adonai our God, King of the Universe, who has not made me a woman.” (Text from *Tosefta Berakhot* 6:23). Levy’s inversion of the prayer takes her critique over the line of politics into outright blasphemy. It should be noted that this stanza has been removed in the reform and conservative Jewish movements.

²³² It is important to note that not all Jewish women felt oppressed by the idiosyncratic social systems that structured the Anglo-Jewish community. Despite going against contemporary ideals about the role of the “modern” women, there was a long tradition of women’s power in orthodox Judaism when contextualized historically. In orthodox communities’ power was separated into public and private spheres. The public sphere, which included the prayer book, was dominated by men. However, the private sphere and home were ruled absolutely by the women. Inspired by modern Gentile ideals about womanhood and social roles, Levy labeled this division of power as a form of oppression. The goal of this discussion of misogyny is not so much to pass Judgement of Victorian Judaism, but rather to understand the role of Levy’s own judgements on the issue in her writing.

²³³ For more see: George L. Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020.)

²³⁴ The use of ambiguous narrators was a common literary mechanism in the late nineteenth-century. Nonetheless, it represents a significant break from Levy’s previous style, and thus deserves particular attention.

like the narrator, nor would it have been considered proper for a female narrator to follow Cohen alone back to his rooms after a party. Despite this, the narrator being written from a first-person point of view essentially injects Levy into their characterization. Unlike Frankau, Levy did not publish her work under a male a pen name. The narrator could as easily have been a woman as a man. As a result, the narrator's ambiguous gender almost operates as a challenge to the reader to examine their own gendered biases.

Rueben Sachs: Traversing Race and Culture

Levy's meta engagement with contemporaneous race science continues in her novel, *Reuban Sachs*. The novel is a concert of choreographed gazes and perspectives, which draw on Levy's double-consciousness between man and women, Jew and Gentile. Despite the title bearing one of the characters' names, the novel follows the experiences of multiple characters. These figures, despite coming from different social positions, converge in a middle-class native Jewish home in Maida Vale. The three primary characters whose voices are represented in the text are: Rueben Sachs, a wealthy native Jew, recent graduate of Cambridge, and budding politician who assumes he will marry his friend Judith; Bertie, an affluent albeit eccentric Gentile man who decides to convert to Judaism; and Judith, a middle-class Jewish girl who feels trapped by her social status and harbors a long-time crush on Rueben.

Throughout the novel the relationship between characters is strained through a series of conflicts centered in issues of community and belonging. The novel ends with Reuben choosing ambition over Judith, who instead married Bertie. In the epilogue, Judith ruminates on how her marriage to Bertie ostracized her from the Jewish community, leaving her in a

liminal status of neither Jewish nor Gentile, resigned to her fate as an object of exotic fascination for her husband to display.²³⁵ Levy's writing style is fractured, focused more challenging a narrative of a uniform Jewish experience than the continuity of events and time.²³⁶ At the same time, *Rueben Sachs*, adds new dimensions to Anglo-Jewish popular discourse on race by blurring the lines between race and culture.

It is abundantly clear that questions concerning race rest at the heart of Levy's novel. Every character description is framed in terms of eugenicist discourse. For instance, when describing Solomon Sachs, a wealthy Jewish patriarch, Levy wrote, "you saw at a glance that he was blest with that fitness of which survival is the inevitable reward."²³⁷ This quote not only demonstrates Levy's appropriation of race science, but also racializes the novel's primary theme of competition between characters and experience. For instance, throughout the majority of the novel, Rueben and Bertie occupy the role of romantic rivals. Rueben, the Jew, is described as being, "of middle height and slender build...his figure was bad, and his movements awkward; unmistakably the figure and movements of a Jew," and having, "a dark pallor; the hair, small moustache and eyes dark with red lights in them; over these last the lids were drooping, and the whole face... curiously Eastern."²³⁸ All of these were considered degenerate character traits inherent in the Jewish race. He is also depicted, not coincidentally, as being hypersexual.²³⁹ In contrast, Bertie, described as being fair and beautiful, is of a

²³⁵ Levy uses a Hanucah lamp and spice box as a symbol for Judith's role as the wife of a Gentile convert, "among the articles of *bric a brac*, costly, interesting, or merely bizarre which adorned it, were an antique silver *Hanucah* lamp and a spice box, such as the Jews make use of in certain religious services." (152) Judith's separation from the Jewish community is granted a sense of permanence when she finds out about Reuben's death a few pages later.

²³⁶ Scholars such as Bernstein have theorized that this was in part a response to the generalized Philo-Semitic depiction of Anglo Jewry in *Daniel Deronda*.

²³⁷ *Reuban Sachs*, 72.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 40. For more on Jews and hypersexuality see Chapter One.

position to comment of the Jews' poor breeding. It is Bertie, with his greater hereditary fitness, that ultimately wins Judith's hand. This mirrors contemporaneous theories concerning hereditary strength and sexual selection among animals.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, Rueben, dies at the end of the novel, cementing the Darwinian nature of his conflict with Bertie. The Darwinian concept of natural selection proposes that only the evolutionarily advantaged survive to reproduce in intra and cross species conflicts. Rueben's death, therefore

At the same time, Levy's use of race science veers from traditional discourses concerning Jewish race pathology, strongly focusing on the intersection of race and culture. There was some level of conflation between race and culture in scholarly discourses, both Jewish and Gentile, such as the assertion that keeping kosher led to an inherent Jewish immunity to disease.²⁴¹ However, Levy brings this to a new extreme of racial determinism, suggesting that Jewish culture in its entirety was based in race. For instance, in describing the Anglo-Jewish community Levy wrote:

They were indeed, as Rueben had said, a remarkable survival. Born and bred in the very heart of nineteenth century London, belonging to an age and a city which has seen the throwing down of so many barriers, the leveling of so many distinctions of class, of caste, of race, of opinion, they had managed to retain the tribal characteristics, to live within the tribal pale...they had been educated at Jewish schools, fed on Jewish food, brought up on Jewish traditions and Jewish prejudice. Their friends, with few exceptions, were of their own race.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ For more on Victorian conversations on sexual selection see, Evelleen Richards, *Darwin and the Making of Sexual Selection*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

²⁴¹ For more on the overlap of the Jewish race and culture in Gentile scholarship see Chapter One.

²⁴² *Rueben Sachs.*, 94-95.

On the surface, this quote suggests that Victorian Anglo-Jews had managed to retain their “tribal characteristics” in face of a series of factors which would normally lead to the racial assimilation of the Jewish race. In particular, the use of the word “characteristics” invokes a racialized reading of the passage. However, the phrase “to live within the tribal pale” which proceeds Levy’s mention of racial character traits, equates race with culture. Not only does it suggest that the development of racial idiosyncrasies was informed by cultural practices, but also that cultural practices were defined by race. Subsequently the following list of Jewish cultural practices also serves as a list of hereditary Jewish traits.

This is further supported by Levy’s assertion that the culture of materialism among Victorian Anglo-Jews was a hereditary trait:

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... how is it possible that any one among us, by any effort of his own, can wipe off from his soul this hereditary stain?²⁴³

Aside from being patently anti-Semitic, the use of the phrase “hereditary stain” implies that the alleged native Anglo-Jewish culture of ambition and materialism, which Levy also strongly critiqued in her newspaper articles, was a racial trait unique to Jews.

However, Levy’s assertion that culture is racially determined is best evinced by the character of Bertie. Bertie is a unique character in that he is a convert from Anglicanism to Judaism, a practically unheard-of phenomenon. Bertie’s desire to be Jewish is characterized by a Philo-Semitic fascination with and fetishization of Jews, something which is

²⁴³ Ibid, 101.

emphasized by his loud proclamations of being sexually attracted only to beautiful Jewish women. He is in essence a “naïve cultural tourist.”²⁴⁴ Despite this, Bertie identifies as religiously Jewish and attempts to integrate himself in the community. However, the Jewish community almost universally rejects him as an outsider, with multiple characters casually referring to him as, “not one of us” and, “not a Jew.”²⁴⁵ It is only the promise of large quantities of money which sways Judith’s mother from refusing the engagement between Bertie and her daughter due to Bertie’s lack of Jewishness.

While Bertie is painted as an “alien” by the Jewish community, it is not his philo-Semitic beliefs which make him an “other.”²⁴⁶ Rather Bertie never would have been able to integrate into Jewish culture because he was not of the Jewish race. This ideology, which is implicit in *Rueben Sachs*, can be seen more explicitly seen in Levy’s writing on Jewish humor:

[Jewish humor is] a humor so fine, so peculiar, so distinct in flavour, that we believe it impossible to impart its perception to any one not born a Jew. The most hardened Agnostic deserter from the synagogue enjoys its pungency, where the zealous alien convert to Judaism tastes nothing but a little bitterness.²⁴⁷

The importance here is on being “born a Jew.” This indicates that Levy framed her argument on the exclusivity of Jewish culture in terms of nature versus nurture.

Unlike Frankau, Levy’s work was well regarded by Gentile readers. Oscar Wilde described *Rueben Sachs* as, “a novel that probably no other writer could have produced. Its directness, its uncompromising truth, its depth of feeling, and, above all, its absence of any

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 35.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 88, 140.

²⁴⁶ It should be noted that several of Levy’s characters find Bertie’s philo-Semitism to be repeatably insulting.

²⁴⁷ Amy Levy, “Jewish Humour.” *The Jewish Chronicle* (August 20, 1886.) 10.

single superfluous word, make it, in some sort, a classic.”²⁴⁸ However Levy received a critical reception within the Jewish community. An article from *The Jewish World*, a competitor of *The Jewish Chronicle* claimed that Levy:

Apparently delights in the task of persuading the general public that her own kith and kin are the most hideous type of vulgarity; she revels in misrepresentations of their customs and modes of thought and she is proud of being able to offer her testimony in support of the anti-Semitic theories of the clannishness of her people and tribalism of their religion.²⁴⁹

While exceptionally harsh, this critique does represent the way many Anglo-Jews would have read Levy’s text. Levy’s writing extended beyond a mere critique of Jewish culture to a racially based self-hatred. In the context of the rising tide of anti-Semitism in London, Levy’s work could have been easily perceived as a betrayal of and attack on the Jewish community. However, it should be noted that there was a sharp shift in the Jewish press’s opinion of Levy after her suicide. After her death, Levy was painted as a misunderstood genius who was tragically lost before her time. Her obituary was prominently featured in *The Jewish Chronicle*.²⁵⁰ It is impossible to know the exact rationale behind this shift in public opinion; nonetheless, it follows a broader movement towards the demoralizing of and compassion towards those who commit suicide in the late Victorian era.²⁵¹

Amy Levy and Julia Frankau’s racialized self-hatred represents the viewpoint of only a small minority of the Anglo-Jewish community in the late nineteenth century. Despite this,

²⁴⁸ *Modern British Poetry: A Critical Anthology*. Ed. Louis Untermeyer. (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930) pp. 270–71.

²⁴⁹ “The Deterioration of the Jewess.” *The Jewish World*. (February 22, 1889.) 5.

²⁵⁰ For more see, “Obituary: Miss Amy Levy.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. (September 13, 1889.) 6.

²⁵¹ For more on ideologies concerning suicide in the Victorian era see, Barbara Gates, *Victorian Suicide: Mad Crimes and Sad Histories*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.)

their writing provides a window into the intersection of the lived experience of women in the Jewish community and contemporaneous dialogues concerning race science. As dissenters to the viewpoints outlined in Anglo-Jewish scientific scholarship, their voices add complexity to understandings of Jewish race science in the late Victorian era. Just as importantly, their work demonstrates the way popular mediums such as novels allowed for the transformation of scientific discourse, and the way in which that discourse became embedded in culture.

Conclusion

The position of Jews in English Society and the construction of anti-Semitism underwent a major transformation in the early twentieth century. Victorian anti-Semitism in part stemmed from anxieties surrounding imperial and national competition as a form of natural selection. To Victorian anti-Semites, the Jews posed a threat to the hereditary strength and subsequently the survival of England in this conflict. However, during the First World War new anti-Semitic discourses emerged surrounding the national loyalties of immigrant Jews, many of whom were not naturalized and thus remained citizens of Germany, Russia, and other Eastern European countries.²⁵² While eugenicist conceptions of race and national strength persisted through the mid twentieth century, the magnitude of the war imposed a sense of urgency which superseded fears of eventual degeneration over generations. Of immediate concern were questions like: were German Jewish immigrants rigging the press to undermine the war effort; would Jewish soldiers betray their English counterparts out of loyalty for their homeland; and were native Jewish financiers, more loyal to their Jewish kin than to their nation, funneling money to England's enemies?²⁵³

This new form of political anti-Semitism was also informed by the Marconi scandal, a high-profile affair in which three high profile government officials, one of whom was Jewish, were accused of insider trading, bribery, and corruption. (Marconi was the name of the company at the center of the affair.) The scandal lasted from 1911 to 1914, and, while the subsequent investigation into the accusations failed to reveal criminal activity, the four-year interim witnessed an onslaught of anti-Semitic rhetoric in the media. Two prominent

²⁵² Holmes, 121.

²⁵³ Ibid.

journalists, Hilaire Belloc, who incidentally was a close acquaintance of Julia Frankau, and Cecil Chesterton spearheaded the anti-Semitic print campaign.²⁵⁴ While Belloc and Chesterton were both anti-Semites prior to the affair, the scandal opened up new opportunities for the dissemination of anti-Semitic rhetoric to a large receptive audience.

Unsurprisingly, Jewish discourse also shifted in response to this newly dominant brand of political anti-Semitism. In response to questions over national loyalty, *The Jewish Chronicle* launched a major patriotic campaign, printing “avowals to loyalty to king and country.”²⁵⁵ The paper also highlighted Jewish contributions to the national cause, urged greater Jewish enlistment, and urged Jews to refuse services to Germans.²⁵⁶ With their loyalties under scrutiny many native Anglo-Jews began to debate whether Zionism incited anti-Semitism and should therefore be abandoned.²⁵⁷ In contrast, many foreign Jews refused to abandon their ties to their former homelands, and tended towards arguing that the establishment of a Jewish state would resolve questions over Jewish national loyalty.²⁵⁸

In 1917 England issued the Balfour declaration, a letter addressed to Lord Rothschild declaring British intent to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration has largely been considered to be the apogee of Philo-Semitic ideologies in England.²⁵⁹ The reality was much more complicated. The declaration was allegedly made to encourage Jews to enter the war. However, the declaration was also driven by anti-Semitism as it cannot be separated from contemporaneous movements to prevent Jewish immigration to and move the

²⁵⁴ Bryan Cheyette, “Hilaire Belloc and the ‘Marconi Scandal’ 1900-1914: A Reassessment of the Interactionist Model of Racial Hatred.” *Immigrants and Minorities*. Volume 8. 1989. 130-132.

²⁵⁵ *The Jewish Chronicle*. 2 October 1914 as cited in Holmes.

²⁵⁶ Holmes, 127.

²⁵⁷ Israel Cohen, “Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and Russian Jewry.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. October 5, 1917.

²⁵⁸ Holmes, 119.

²⁵⁹ See Dore Gold, “The Historical Significance of the Balfour Declaration.” *Jewish Political Studies Review*. Vol. 28, No 1. (Spring, 2017.) 8-13.

Jews out of England. Indeed, Arthur Balfour, the man who drafted the statement, had a significant political history of supporting restrictions to Jewish immigration.²⁶⁰ Even more importantly, Balfour's framing of the Zionist movement was geared towards the removal of the Jews from England:

For as I read its meaning it is, among other things, a serious endeavour to mitigate the age-long miseries created for Western civilization by the presence in its midst of a Body which it too long regarded as alien and even hostile, but which it was equally unable to expel or to absorb.²⁶¹

While Balfour shows some sympathy for the Jewish project for a national homeland, his view of Zionism, and subsequently the Balfour declaration, is undergirded by anti-Semitic ideologies which blame Jews as a foreign body, or disease, responsible for “age-long miseries.”

Regardless to its motivations, the Balfour declaration represented a moment of significant change in English engagement with Jews, heralding a moment of intense national support for Zionism. This change was further cemented by the Mandate for Palestine. In the aftermath of the first world war, the League of Nations adopted a Mandate system which allocated territorial administration between powers. England, in particular, was granted the Mandate for Palestine, which had formally been controlled by the Ottoman Empire. The Mandate for Palestine fundamentally shifted Britain's interests and role in the Middle East. At the same time, it also sparked significant changes in the content of anti-Semitic rhetoric in England. After the Mandates, and the appointment of several Jews to offices in the League,

²⁶⁰ As prime minister, Balfour supported the Aliens Act of 1905 which was intended to control and restrict Eastern European Jewish immigration.

²⁶¹ Arthur Balfour, 'Introduction', in Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism 1600-1918*, vol. I (New York: Ktav, 1969), p. liv.

English anti-Semites began speculating that the League of Nations was a body which forwarded Jewish interests to the detriment of all other races. Conspiracy theories surrounding Jewish manipulation of the League were cemented as an anti-Semitic trope with the distribution of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an anti-Semitic treatise which outlined an alleged Jewish plan for world domination, to England and the United States in the 1920's.²⁶² This type of conspiratorial rhetoric became a new standard for anti-Semitism, one which remains into the present.

Despite this significant shift in English anti-Semitism, Victorian constructions of Jewish race pathology remained incredibly influential in a global context. Eugenicist rhetoric emerged in a specifically British context, but it rapidly spread across Europe and the United States.²⁶³ As a common “other” in most European countries, eugenicist constructions of the Jewish race likewise took root across the continent. The long-term influence of these discourses concerning the Jewish race is perhaps most keenly seen in *Mein Kampf*, where Hitler builds upon English eugenicist thought from the late nineteenth century. Similarly, the influence of Galtonian eugenics in the United States informed the sterilization programs which Hitler cited as an inspiration for his ‘Final Solution.’ Beyond the influence of pure eugenics, Hitler also built upon anti-Semitic tropes like that of the Jewish parasite which were popular in late Victorian England.²⁶⁴

It is clear that English Gentile discourse on the Jewish race in the latter part of the nineteenth century had a significant impact on an international level. The same holds true for

²⁶² Holmes, 145.

²⁶³ Marouf Arif Hasian, Jr. *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press.) 1996.

²⁶⁴ For more on this see, Amanda Caleb, “The Rhetorical Biopower of Eugenics: Understanding the Influence of British Eugenics on the Nazi Program.” *Conatus Journal of Philosophy*. Volume 4. No. 2. (2019) and Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Jewish discourse. The turn of the century represented a time of intense intellectual and cultural exchange between England and the United States. While this exchange manifested most clearly between Gentile scholars, there was an equally rich exchange between the Anglo-American Jewish communities. It seems that the same threads of Anglo-Jewish scholarship explored in this thesis went on to influence American Jewish identity, especially in light of the fact that both countries were experiencing massive waves of Jewish immigration. It was common practice for American Jewish Societies to invite English scholars to lecture in the United States, and many such scholars took permanent positions thereafter. For instance, after lecturing in Philadelphia, Joseph Jacobs relocated to the United States, where work was just as well-known and integral to the development of the Jewish community in the as it was in England.²⁶⁵ More research on the transnational exchange of Jewish discourses on race pathology will help reveal the full dynamism of Jewish communities and experience in the nineteenth century.

This thesis only touched on one part of a much larger story of Jewish experience in Britain alone, a story that is framed by changing definitions of Judaism. If Jews are a race, as Victorian Anglo-Jews and Gentiles alike believed, are religious converts Jewish? What about the Samaritans who share an ethnic heritage with Jews but do not practice Jewish religion? How should one classify Jews from imperial occupied territories such as the Bene Israel, a subsection of practicing Jews in India who were considered by European Jews to be converts, but who themselves claimed Jewish ethnicity? Answering these questions is far from easy and doing so is an existential inquiry which falls largely outside the scope of this paper. However, it is an important area of discussion which warrants future research.

²⁶⁵ Mayer Sulzberger, "Joseph Jacobs." *The American Jewish Yearbook*. Vol. 18. September 16, 1917. 149-169.

In a similar vein, British imperial territories encompassed dozens of Jewish communities with diverse and unique takes on questions of Jewish identity and race. While some scholarship has been produced on the Bene Israel in India and Jews in Palestine, what little scholarship exists barely scratches the surface of Jewish experience and the relationships between different Jewish communities in British occupied territories. Further research on this topic would enrich understandings of modern Jewish diasporic experience, challenge Eurocentric narratives on the Jewish diaspora, and help to uncover the relationship between race, nation, and religion in the increasingly globalized modern world.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Anderson, Robert. *The Lighter Side of my Official Life*. 1910

This autobiography covers the life of Sir Robert Anderson, the Deputy Chief assigned to the Jack-the-Ripper murders. In particular, I examine a passage from the memoir which discusses the thinking process and ‘evidence’ that led the investigators to conclude that Jack-the-Ripper was a foreign Jew. I use this passage as evidence of the conflation of venereal disease, Jews, and criminality in late Victorian England.

Aria, Eliza. *My Sentimental Self* (London: 1922).

This is the autobiography of Julia Frankau’s sister. I use this source for general background on the reception to Frankau’s novel *Dr. Phillips*. I also use this source as a reference for readers who wish to know more about Frankau.

Balfour, Arthur. “Introduction.” in Sokolow, Nahum. *History of Zionism 1600-1918*. Vol. I (New York: Ktav, 1969.) liv.

This is the introduction, written by the author of the Balfour Declaration, to a book on the history of Zionism. I use this introduction to demonstrate that Balfour framed Zionism as a potential mechanism to remove the undesirable Jewish presence from England. This supports my point that the Balfour Declaration was more complex than the philo-Semitic act it is painted as.

Bannister, Joseph. *England Under the Jews*. (London: J. Bannister, 1901).

This book is a virulently anti-Semitic treatise on the threat of Jews to England. The book relies heavily on rhetoric of race, disease, and degeneracy to make its point. At the same time, Bannister, distinguishes between native and foreign Jews, claiming that they pose different threats. Of particular importance in this book is the way in which Bannister racializes cleanliness and disease among Jewish immigrants. While the book itself was never incredibly popular it presents the type of racialized rhetoric surrounding the Jewish body common at the time. I use this book to explore the way in which rhetoric of race, disease, and disability were used as a new brand of Jewish hatred in late Victorian England.

Cohen, Israel. “Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and Russian Jewry.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. October 5, 1917.

This article is an opinion piece which examines whether Zionism should be abandoned because it causes increased anti-Semitism. I use the article as an example for the type of rhetoric that surrounded this debate in the early twentieth century.

Count, E.W. ed. *This is Race, An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man*. (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950).

This source is a comprehensive anthology of well-known primary sources on race science in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. While the anthology is old, the sources within are among the most influential of their time. I used this anthology to gain a general understanding on European discourse concerning Jewish pathology and the concept of race as a whole. Sources I borrow from include Immanuel Kant “On the Different Races of Man,” Johan Fredrich Blumenbach, “On the Natural Variety of Mankind,” Comte de Buffon, “A Natural History, General and Particular,” and Chevalier de Lamarck, “Zoology and Philosophy.”

Dickens, Charles. *Oliver Twist*. Online at Guttenberg, 1996.

This serial novel tells the story of a young orphan boy who ends up in a gang of pickpockets run by the criminal Jew, Fagin. Of particular importance for this thesis is Dicken’s anti-Semitic portrayal of Fagin, and the role of Fagin’s appearance as a reflection of the Jewish caricature and the idea of pathological criminality.

Du Maurier, George. “What’s in a Name.” *Punch Magazine*, 1883.

This editorial cartoon depicts a foreign Jew who is pretending to be a Gentile but is betrayed by his corrupt speech. I use this cartoon as an example of the conflation of Jewish immigrants, Yiddish, and conditions such as a lisp.

Eichholtz, Alfred. “Jewish Adaptability.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. November 22, 1901. 28.

This paper, written by a Jewish anthropologist, argues that Jews are not a distinct race, despite having uniform inherent characteristics, but are rather a subdivision of the white race. This is a distinct split from other contemporaneous gentile anthropologists who defined the Jews as belonging to the Asiatic, or yellow race. The author continues to argue that these defined Jewish features in combination with separate religious practices. The Jewish features which the author identifies does mark Jewish skin as brown rather than white, but does not equate skin color, but rather geography, with race. The author also adds that the degree of brownness (and occasionally blackness) varies from population to population. The author notes a discrepancy between the lack of a Jewish race, physical differences between Jewish populations, and the seeming ability for every nation to distinguish Jews ‘as if oil from water.’ The author argues that the Jews are able to adapt to the features of the dominant race where they live, and in doing so become indistinguishable. The author immediately rejects intermarriage as a possible explanation for this, instead attributing it to intra-communal marriage and adaption of foreign language which shapes facial muscles to resemble native speakers of the language. In terms of marriage the author argues that Jews are most likely to marry Jews that look English, in the Darwinian assertion that physical assimilation is a beneficial trait for the survival of Jews. As a result, through generations, the Jewish community comes to resemble the English community. The author then heavily implies that this inherent ability to adapt found in Jews endows them with better survival capabilities than other

populations as seen by Jewish survival of persecution. I use this article to argue that native Jews used race science in order to justify their project of assimilation.

Eliot, George. *Daniel Deronda*. (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1876.)

This novel is widely considered to be one of the best examples of philo-Semitic rhetoric in Victorian England. The novel traces the titular character's romance with a Jewess, dive into Jewish culture, and subsequent discovery that he himself was born a Jew. I use the novel as an example of philo-Semitic rhetoric and to contextualize Joseph Jacob's work in race science.

Frankau, Gilbert. *Self-Portrait* (London: 1940)

This source is the autobiography of Julia Frankau's son. I use this source for general information about Julia Frankau and for critical responses to *Dr. Phillips*.

Frankau, Julia. *Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyl*. (London: Vizetelly, 1887.)

This novel, written under the pen name Frank Danby, follows the story of Dr. Phillips, a middle-class native Jewish physician who murders his wife to abscond with his Gentile mistress. The novel was loosely based off of contemporary accusations that Dr. Ernest Abraham Hart had poisoned his own Jewish wife before marrying a Gentile. Frankau's novel is steeped in Jewish self-hatred and strongly relies on rhetoric concerning the Jewish racial type and related questions of miscegenation and hereditary contagion. I use this novel to explore the ways in which rhetoric of Jewish race pathology transformed through popular platforms, adding new layers of complexity to the debate over Jewish identity within the Anglo-Jewish community.

Freud, Sigmund. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. (Vienna: Franz Dueticke, 1900.)

Freud's opus which explores the application of analytical psychology to dreams. I use this work to demonstrate the way in which phalluses and noses were conflated in the Victorian era.

Galton, Francis. "Photographic Composites," *Photographic News* 29, no.1398 (April, 1885)

This article is composed on Galton's reflections and analyses concerning the series of composite images he took in partnership with Joseph Jacobs. Galton makes no reference to the Jewish type but does not that the photographs were of an exceedingly high quality. I use this source to frame how to compare Jacobs's response to the photographs as a Jew to Galton's as a Gentile.

Girdwood, G. F. "On the Theory of Menstruation," *The Lancet*, Vol. 2, Is. 1111, 44, no. 1111 (December 14, 1844): 333-3

This article discusses the role of sex during menstruation as a source of blood born hereditary disease. The article suggests that the Jews have known this is the case since antiquity, and that observant Jews avoid this pollution through following the Mosaic Codes. This has the implication of suggesting that ‘unobservant’ foreign Jews likely contracted the blood pollution and spread it to the rest of the community. I use this article to demonstrate the divide and relationship between ancient/modern and native/foreign in Victorian medical scholarship.

Haeckel, Ernst. *The History of Creation, or the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes*, (London: King and Sons), 1867, vol. 2, pp. 334-369.

This treatise focuses on organic morphology through a Darwinist lens. I use it to reference nineteenth century scholarly conversations concerning the definition of race and human lineage.

Jacobs, Joseph. *English Fairytales*. 1890. Online at Project Gutenberg.

This is a series of fairytales translated by Joseph Jacobs. These translations are credited as becoming the most popular version of English fairytales. I use this as a resource for readers who wish to explore Jacobs’s work outside of race science.

Jacobs, Joseph. *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896.)

This source is an anthology of essays written by Joseph Jacobs. The most important essay for the purposes of this thesis was a retrospective look at his critique of *Daniel Deronda*, in which Jacobs discusses how *Deronda* inspired him to pursue his work in race science. Additionally, Jacobs notes in this essay that he does not believe anti-Semitism exists in England, disproving the dominant narrative that Jacobs was a hero who used race science to combat anti-Semitism. I use this source to contextualize Jacobs’s interest and goals pertaining to race science.

Jacobs, Joseph. “Mordecai: A Protest Against the Critics by a Jew.” *Macmillan’s Magazine*. June 06, 1877.

This article was an analysis and critique of George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda*. Jacobs argues that Eliot managed an accurate portrayal of the Anglo-Jewish community with the singular exception of her portrayal of Jewish girlhood. I use this source to contextualize Jacobs’s engagement with *Daniel Deronda*.

Jacobs, Joseph. “The Russian Refugees.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. August 4, 1882.

This article, written by Joseph Jacobs, talks about the situation at the Mansion Fund, an organization which was intended to help Jewish immigrants fleeing the Pogroms to the United States. I use this article to contextualize Jacobs’s engagement with the immigration issue within the native Jewish community.

Jacobs, Joseph. *Studies in Jewish Statistics: Social, Vital, and Anthropometric*. (London: D. Nutt, 1891.)

This source is a scientific treatise on and analysis of Jewish demographics and statistics in late Victorian England. In this text Jacobs uses statistics to compare Jewish bodies to gentile bodies with the intention of analyzing how far Jews as a race have either progressed or retrograded. The book also contains appendices on Jewish racial characteristics and ability distribution. This appendix is particularly valuable because it addresses not only the Sephardic/Ashkenazi Jews of Europe, but also the Bene-Israel of India and several other international Jewish groups. Among other topics this appendix addresses onset of puberty, birth/death rate, Jewish immunity or vulnerability to disease, the racial propensity for ‘insanity’ and disability, infertility in mixed race marriages, and ‘nostrality’. The text also separates the issue of immunity from disease from dietary laws, an important commentary on contemporaneous gentile dialogue. The book also addresses Jacob’s collaboration with Galton on creating composite images of the Jewish type. However, the appendix concludes that there is a physical Jewish type, Jacob argues that most of the other characteristics (such as immunity and birth/death rates) can be attributed to social rather than racial causes. This text is the most comprehensive of its time, and the only treatise on Jewish statistics in London written by a Jew. I use this text as evidence for native Anglo-Jewish scientific engagement with Jewish race pathology.

Levy, Amy. “Cohen of Trinity.” as printed in Levy (ed. Bernstein), *Rueben Sachs*. (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2006.)

This story was clearly, semi-autobiographical, and not long after publishing it (September 10, 1889), the author like the main character committed suicide. There are several important themes in this first story. First is the author and narrator’s belief that Jews have an inherent tendency towards suicide heralded by the psychological degeneration of the race. Additionally, the novel criticizes the Jewish body as ungainly and rough, noting that the main character, Cohen of Trinity, walked with a hobble and had dark features and a beaked nose. Cohen’s family is described as being unkempt, poorly behaved. The mother is described as a ‘sallow shrew’ the father as being depressed and obsessed with money. The main character and the author are both explicitly self-deprecating. There is also a belief that ‘nothing can alter the relation of things.’ While this is clearly an explicit reference to Jewish status in society, due to the contemporaneous restructuring of social status in terms of fitness, it can also be generalized to refer to the Jewish body in comparison to gentile bodies. I use this source to examine how Levy’s double consciousness emerges as a form of racialized self-hatred.

Levy, Amy. “Jewish Humour.” *The Jewish Chronicle* (August 20, 1886.) 10.

This article is a treatise on the unique character of Jewish humor. Importantly, Levy identifies Jewish humor as something only accessible to members of the Jewish race. I use this source as an example of the way in which Levy blends race and culture.

Levy, Amy. "Jewish Women and Women's Rights." *The Jewish Chronicle*. February 7, 1879.

This source is a treatise written by Amy Levy on the ideals of the Women's Rights Movement, responding to a paper published in *The Jewish Chronicle* which alleged that the Women's Rights Movement was solely concerned with avoiding marriage. I use this as a reference for readers who want to know more about Levy's work on women's rights.

Levy, Amy. "Middle-Class Jewish Women of To-Day." *The Jewish Chronicle*. September 17, 1886.

This article describes the oppressive treatment of women in Anglo-Jewish society. The value of this article is less in the veracity of its extreme claims, but rather in understanding the way Levy viewed her own gender. I use this source to support the assertion that Levy's self-hatred and anti-Semitic rhetoric stemmed, at least in part, from her unique experiences as an educated Jewish woman.

Levy, Amy. *Rueben Sachs*. ed. Bernstein. (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2006.)

This novel, with an analytical preface by Susan David Bernstein, follows the stories of three characters after they converge in a Jewish home in Maida Vale. The titular character, Rueben, and Jewish convert Bernie find themselves in a Darwinian battle for survival over the hand of the lovely Judith. Bernie occupies a particularly important function as a convert to Judaism. The Jewish characters in the book never accept Bernie as one of them, and Bernie is unable to acclimate due to his racial difference. This implies that culture is racially determined. In the end of the book, Bernie marries Judith and Rueben dies, cementing the Darwinian nature of their rivalry, and condemning Judith to a life as an object of exotic fascination. The preface also includes valuable analysis of Levy's engagement with scientific discourse and double consciousness in her writing. Additionally, the book contains an appendix of Levy's other work, including several contemporary critiques of *Rueben Sachs* and her other works. I use this source to examine the merging of race and culture in popular platforms, as well as to analyze Levy's use of race science and position as a woman in her unique brand of Jewish self-hatred.

Lombroso, Caesar. *The Criminal Man*. (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.)

Lombroso's seminal treatise, this book argues that criminality is an inherent, and atavistic, characteristic which can be identified by specific (similarly atavistic) physical and moral traits. While Lombroso never explicitly speaks about the Jewish race, his description of the criminal type is a blow for blow match for traditional

Jewish caricatures. Additionally, Lombroso's focus on hypersexuality and the drinking of blood connect to pre-existing anti-Semitic stereotypes. I use this to frame my argument concerning the conflation of criminality and Jewish pathology.

Marr, Wilhelm. *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanthums über das Judenthum* (Bern: Rudolph Constenoble, 1879.)

This pamphlet outlines an alleged Jewish plan to dominate and eventually eradicate Germany. It is particularly famous for coining the term 'anti-Semitism.' I use this source as a reference for the origin and meaning of anti-Semitism in nineteenth century Europe.

Panizza, Oskar, and Zipes, Jack. "The Operated Jew." *New German Critique*, no. 21 (1980): 63-79.

Originally published in 1893, this novella tells the story of a German Jew who volunteers himself to undergo significant surgical procedures in order to erase his Jewishness. These procedures included things such as breaking and realigning all the bones in his body so that he would walk properly, the recreation of a foreskin, and rhinoplasty. However, at the end of the story the Jew's true nature reveals itself and he reverts back to his Jewish state, suggesting that Jewishness cannot be overcome (and therefore Jews should not be emancipated). An important element of this story for this thesis is that the Jew's speech impediment is the first characteristic to reemerge- strengthening the connection between Jews, corrupt speech, and deviancy.

Proust, Marcel. *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terrence Kilmartin (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1986).

Volume II of Proust's most famous work, this novel primarily revolves around themes of involuntary memory. The narrator in the story is Jewish, and Proust's Jewish self-hatred (Proust himself being an ethnic Jew) shines clearly through in his description of the narrator's Jewishness. One of the most important elements of the novel for this paper is Proust's assertion that Syphilis is the "ethnic eczema" of the Jews and that Judaism itself is an "incurable disease." Both of these statements strengthen the argument that there was a conflation between Jews and disease. I use this text as an example of Jewish self-hatred in Europe and to strengthen my argument concerning the racialization of disease and conflation of Jews and Syphilis.

Roberts, Charles "Colour-Blindness as a Racial Character.," *The Lancet*, originally published as Vol. 1, Issue 3047, 119, no. 3047 (January 21, 1882): 124.

This article, as the title suggests, examines colour blindness as a degenerate racial characteristic. The important element for this paper is that the article suggests that colour blindness and red headedness are connected. The article also asserts that the

Jews are the most-red headed race. Therefore, the Jews have the highest rates of colour blindness. I use this article as an example of late Victorian medical scholarship which racializes Jewish pathology.

Spencer, Herbert. "Physical Education." *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860.) 232.

This treatise attempts to outline the application of natural history to physical education in order to reach the ideal development of the human body. In particular Spencer links national success to individual adherence to natural law. I use this source in order to establish the existence of a Victorian English body politic.

Stokes, H.P.; Israel Zangwill, Israel; Wolf, Lucien; and Abrahams, I. "Dr. Joseph Jacobs. Memorial Meeting. *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)*. Vol. 8. 1915-1917. 129-152.

This source is a transcript of several speeches given at a memorial meeting for Joseph Jacobs. Among the speakers were the most prolific Anglo-Jewish scholars and writers of the time. I use this source to demonstrate the deep impact Joseph Jacobs had on the Anglo-Jewish community.

Sulzberger, Mayer. "Joseph Jacobs." *The American Jewish Yearbook*. Vol. 18. September 16, 1917. 149-169.

This is an encyclopedia article and obituary which was published on Joseph Jacobs, and comments on his life and influence in both England and the United States. I use this source to demonstrate the impact of Jacobs on the late Victorian Anglo-American Jewish communities.

Unknown. "An Australian Jew on Naval Service in China," *The Jewish Chronicle*. September 28. 1900.

This article recounts the adventures of a Jewish soldier who served in the British Navy in China. I use this article as an example of the way the Jewish press glorified and encouraged Jewish enlistment into the British Army.

Unknown. "A Distinguished Jewish Veteran." *The Jewish Chronicle*. November 9, 1900.

This article recounts the achievements of an Anglo-Jewish soldier who was returning home from deployment. I use this article as an example of the way the Jewish press glorified and encouraged Jewish enlistment into the British Army.

Unknown. "A Riot Against the Jews." *East London Observer*. October 15, 1888.

This newspaper article describes anti-Jewish riots in the East End of London which resulted from the belief that Jack-the-Ripper was a Jew. I use this article to

demonstrate the severity of the wave of anti-Semitism which resulted from the Jack-the-Ripper murders. I also use this article to challenge the hegemonic narrative that anti-Semitism did not exist in modern England.

Unknown. "Alien Immigration," *Lancet*. Vol. 142, no. 3659 (October 14, 1893): 950–51.

This article examines the physical and moral condition of immigrants, and especially Jewish immigrants who are separated out from other types of immigrant, arriving in England. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about scholarship specifically pertaining to Jewish immigrants.

Unknown. "Cancer Mortality Among the Jews," *The Lancet*. Vol. 2, Is. 3506, 136, no. 3506 (November 8, 1890): 986.

This article discusses the alleged immunity of Jews from cancer, theorizing that it could be attributed to Jewish sanitary law. I use it as an example of late Victorian scholarship which engages with questions concerning the relationship between Jewish immunity to disease and Jewish dietary laws.

Unknown. "Circumcision" *The Jewish Chronicle*. July 13, 1900. 6.

This letter to the editor discusses some of the finer details concerning circumcision, theology, and modern medicine. The letter sparked a series of back-and-forth responses on the subject. I use this letter as an example of the importance of circumcision in Anglo-Jewish culture.

Unknown. "Dr. Richardson's Lecture in the Chapter House of St. Paul's on the Jewish Sanitary Code." *The Lancet*. Vol 117. February 5, 1881.

This article talks about how the Mosaic laws have led to high levels of sobriety among the Jewish community. I use this as an example of rhetoric which conflates the Jewish race and social disease, or lack thereof.

Unknown. "Eugenics and the Jew: Interview for the Jewish Chronicle with Sir Francis Galton." *The Jewish Chronicle*. July 29, 1910. 16.

This article, an interview between a reporter and Francis Galton, demonstrates Jewish engagement with the field of Eugenics, displaying an enthusiasm for the subject within the Jewish community. The reporter frames Galton's words in order to argue that Jews have not only been practicing Eugenics for centuries, but that doing so has made them racially equal if not superior to Anglo-Saxons. I use this article to demonstrate the way native Jews appropriated rhetoric surrounding Eugenics in order to support the native Jewish project to gain social capital.

Unknown. "Gambling in Germany," *The Times*. August 24, 1871. 6.

This article examines the ‘epidemic’ of gambling in Germany. I use this article as an example of rhetoric which refers to gambling and other social phenomena as diseases.

Unknown. “Jargon Lecture.” *The Jewish Standard* (London). February 8, 1889.

This article is an opinion piece lamenting the ‘criminalization’ of the Yiddish language, and the subsequent loss of culture within the Anglo-Jewish community. While the author of the article is unknown, they can reasonably be assumed to be a Jewish immigrant as the author is fluent in Yiddish and the article was published in the immigrant newspaper. I use the article to demonstrate broader attitudes towards Yiddish in the late nineteenth century.

Unknown. “Jewish Longevity,” *The Lancet*. Vol 90. July 13, 1867.

This article, which examines Jewish lifespans, provides an example of discourse on Jewish immunity from disease, with a particular emphasis on Jewish sobriety. I use this as an example of rhetoric which conflates the Jewish race and social disease, or lack thereof.

Unknown. “Jewish Vitality.” *The Jewish Standard*. February 14, 1890.

This was a very brief advert announcing the publication of a scientific article on the Jewish race. I use this source to demonstrate the type of brief and surface level engagement with race science that was more common in the *Jewish Standard* than longer scientific articles were.

Unknown. “Judaism in the United States.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. February 29, 1884.

This article is a critique of American reform Judaism which in part focuses on the American dismissal of the circumcision ritual. I use this article as an example of the importance of circumcision in Anglo-Jewry.

Unknown. “Mr. Leroy Beaulieu on Anti-Semitism.” *The Jewish Standard*. April 3, 1891. 11.

This article is a summary of a scientific lecture given on anti-Semitism. The Lecturer uses popular rhetoric surrounding race science in order to invert anti-Semitic Gentile perceptions of the Jewish race and body. Most importantly, the article identifies anti-Semitism itself as a disease and atavistic racial trait among Gentile races. I use this article as an example of the type of rhetoric surrounding race science that appeared in the Jewish immigrant press. Additionally, I use this source to demonstrate the conflation of race, disease, and culture in foreign Jewish discourse on race science.

Unknown. “Notes of the Week.” *The Jewish Chronicle*. October 5, 1888.

This Article discusses another article from the *London Times* which drew parallels between the Ritter Murder Trial and Jack-the-Ripper. The article is important because

it suggested that while Ritter was innocent, it was still possible that Jews practiced Blood Libel, and thus Jack-the-Ripper could be Jewish. I use this article to demonstrate the racialization of blood-libel and criminality.

Unknown. "Notes of the Week." *The Jewish Chronicle*. October 5th, 1894.

This article is a marriage notice for Alfred Eichholtz and Ruth Adler. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to know more about their marriage.

Unknown. "Obituary: Miss Amy Levy." *The Jewish Chronicle*. (September 13, 1889.) 6.

This source is the obituary for Amy Levy after her suicide. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to know more about the Jewish community's response to Levy after her death.

Unknown. "On The Occurrence Of Relapsing Fever Among The Polish Jews Admitted Into The German Hospital In London.," *Lancet*. Vol. 93, no. 1869 (February 13, 1869): 221–22.

This article discussed a singular case of relapsing fever in a Polish Jew. However, the article is important because despite the case being singular, the author through the title makes the claim that all of the Polish Jews at the hospital had the relapsing fever. This article also provides an example of rhetoric suggesting that foreign Jews are inherently diseased or more susceptible to disease (and thus spreading it.) I use this article to demonstrate the way disease was constructed as a racial character trait among Jews.

Unknown. "Report of The Lancet Special Sanitary Commission on the Polish Colony of Jew Tailors," *The Lancet*, Vol. 1, Is. 3166, 123, no. 3166 (May 3, 1884): 817–18.

This article details the living conditions of immigrant Jews in the East end, ultimately concluding that while many of the foreign Jew's unsanitary habits are due to their living conditions some of their uncleanliness is a result of their kosher diet. I use this article as an example of medical scholarship which speaks negatively about the health impact of the Mosaic Codes.

Unknown. "Royal Naval and Military Bazaar." *The Jewish Chronicle*. June 22, 1900. 19.

This article recounts a celebration of Royal Naval and Military officers, highlighting Jewish contributions and participation. I use this article as an example of the way the Jewish press glorified and encouraged Jewish enlistment into the British Army.

Unknown. "Sanitation and the Mosaic Law," *The Lancet*, Vol. 2, Is. 3665, 142, no. 3665 (November 25, 1893.)

This article, which summarizes a lecture given by Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler on how the mosaic codes prevent disease. It is important for two reasons. Firstly, it represents the extent of the philo-Semitic fascination with ancient Hebraism. The fact that a medical journal would nearly verbatim (and the amount of a speech quoted versus summarized in an article is directly tied to the importance of the speech and speaker) quote a Jew as an authority on health demonstrates the esteem in which the ancient mosaic codes were held. Secondly, it shows that the Jews themselves were actors within the discourse on health and Jewish pathology in Victorian England.

Unknown. "Surgeon Mohel" *The Jewish Chronicle*. December 3, 1886. 1.

This was an advertisement on the third page of the Jewish chronicle for a Mohel, a Rabbi who performs circumcisions. I use this source as an example of the importance of circumcision in Anglo-Jewry.

Unknown. *The Bagino Miscellany Containing the Adventures of Ms. Lais Lovecock Written by Herself and what Happened at Miss Twigs Academy and Afterwards. Dialogues Between a Jew and a Christian, a Whimsical Entertainment Lately Performed at the Dukes Place*. London, 1830.

This erotic dialogue between two Jews and a Christian demonstrates several important things: the fetishization of race and Judaism, the conflation between Judaism and sexual deformity/deviancy (the Jewish maid's phallic clitoris), the stereotype of the Jewish seducer, and the stereotype of the Jew's corrupt language. I use this as an example of rhetoric which places profanity as a Jewish racial embodiment.

Unknown, "The British Medical Temperance Society," *The Lancet*. Vol. 130. November 22, 1887.

This article talks about the high rates of drunkenness among Jewish immigrants. I use this article as an example on the conflation of Judaism and drunkenness as a social disease.

Unknown. "The Chanucah Military Service," *The Jewish Chronicle*. December 21, 1900. 11-12.

This article recounts a Chanucah service which was dedicated to honoring members of the Anglo-Jewish community who were either serving in the British military, or who were veterans. The article includes direct quotes from the Chief Rabbi's sermon which explicitly refer to the importance of Jewish enlistment in order to prove Jewish fitness and racial equality. As the Chief Rabbi, his words would have been extremely influential, and his opinion would have been the official opinion of the community. I use this source to show the way rhetoric surrounding enlistment demonstrated the use of race science in the native Jewish project to accrue social capital.

Unknown. "The Deterioration of the Jewess." *The Jewish World*. (February 22, 1889.) 5.

This article was a scathing critique of Amy Levy's novel, *Rueben Sachs*, which argued that Levy's writing was explicitly anti-Semitic and a betrayal of the Anglo-Jewish community. I use this source to examine Anglo-Jewish responses to Levy's work.

Unknown. "The Handwriting on the Wall." *The Pall Mall Gazette*. October 12, 1888.

This article is a scathing response to Charles Warren erasing the Goulston Street Graffito. Of particular importance is the article's emphasis that the graffito was likely decisive evidence that a Jew was responsible for the Jack-the-Ripper Murders. I use this article as a foil to Charles Warren's report in order to demonstrate the intensity of the wave of anti-Semitism which emerged as a result of the Jack-the-Ripper murders.

Unknown. "The Health of Jews.," *The Lancet*, Vol. 1, Is. 2692, 105, no. 2692 (April 3, 1875).

This article provides an example of rhetoric describing Jewish health as superior to gentile health, specifically referring to native Jews. I use it as an example of rhetoric supporting Jewish immunity to disease.

Unknown. "The Jews and Their Neighbors," *The Jewish Standard*. March 14, 1890. 5.

This article is a summary of a scientific lecture which discussed the racial trait of Jewish adaptability to the physical constitution of the indigenous races where they dwell. The speaker then explicitly connected this power of adaptability to the Zionist movement and benefit of establishing a Jewish state. I use this article to demonstrate the conflation between Zionism and race science in Jewish immigrant discourse.

Unknown. "The Tragedy of Amy Levy," *Pall Mall Gazette*. (September 25, 1891.) 3.

This obituary of Amy Levy places the blame for her suicide on her Jewish heritage. I use this source as an example of the conflation of the Jewish race and suicide, a conflation which Levy herself ironically drew upon.

Unknown. "The Work to be Done" *The Jewish Chronicle*. August 12, 1881.

This article outlines the problem of immigration for the native Jewish community in late Victorian England. Additionally, it proposes a project to assimilate Jewish immigrants living in England in order to offset potential anti-Semitism. I use this source to define and demonstrate the native Jewish project of assimilation.

Warren, Charles. *Report to the Home Secretary*. November 6, 1888.

This report was made in response to an inquest regarding Charles Warren's alleged destruction of the Goulston Street Graffito. In the report, Warren claims that he erased the graffito in order to avoid an anti-Jewish riot occurring in the streets. I use this report to demonstrate the intensity of anti-Jewish sentiment in London during the Jack-the-Ripper murders.

Wilde, Oscar. *Modern British Poetry: A Critical Anthology*. Ed. Louis Untermeyer. (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930) pp. 270–71.

This anthology includes Oscar Wilde's comments on Amy Levy's novel, *Rueben Sachs*, which Wilde declares a classic. I use this source to demonstrate the impact and success of Levy's novel.

Wilson, Erasmus. "On the Nature and Treatment of Leprosy, Ancient and Modern; Including the Jewish Leprosy, Leprosy of the Middle Ages, Leprosy of the Crusades, Leprosy of the Arabians, And Elephantiasis of the Greeks: With a Description of the Forms Under Which Leprosy Exists in Britain at the Present Day." *The Lancet*, Vol. 1, Is. 1699, 67, no. 1699 (March 22, 1856): 309–10.

As it's descriptive title suggests this article explores the history and treatment of various forms of leprosy. It is important because, while associating leprosy with Jews, it distinguishes between ancient and modern Jews. I use it as a reference for readers who wish for more examples of late Victorian medical scholarship that racializes Jewish pathology and engages in the ancient versus modern distinction.

Wyman, Walter and Zavitziano, Spiridion. "Foreign," *Abstract of Sanitary Reports* 6, no. 45 (November 6, 1891): 519–23.

This article provides an example of rhetoric concerning the inferior health of Jews as immigrants, mentioning several international locations where the Jewish populations were ravaged by or susceptible to disease. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about scholarship specifically pertaining to Jewish immigrants.

Zangwill, Israel. "Mourer and Charouseth." *The Jewish Standard*. August 29, 1890. 10.

This entry in a weekly satire column jokes about Dalton, a man who claimed to be the first person to swim across the English channel. While the French Press readily accepted Dalton's claim the English press was more skeptical. The author jokes that either way the situation works in favor of the Jews because Dalton is half Jewish. Thus, his success could be attributed to his Jewish heritage, and his lies to his Aryan ancestor. I use this source to demonstrate the incorporation of race science into popular mediums such as humor, and the transformation of these discourses through these platforms.

Secondary Sources

Adas, Michael. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989.)

This monograph explores the way western perceptions of technology influences their understandings of and interactions with colonial subjects. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to further explore the Victorian perception of the Middle East as an exemplar of civilizational decay.

Alter, Robert. *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*. Vol 1. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company), 2019.

This source is a translation and commentary of the Hebrew Bible. Of particular importance to this paper is the way which Alter traces the linguistic connection between red, Esau, and savagery in the Hebrew bible. I use this source to provide a biblical basis for the conflation of red hair and degeneration.

Amato, Sarah. *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.)

This book explores material culture surrounding exotic animals among the Victorian English Elite. I use this source to contextualize Rothschild's collection of exotic animals in broader material culture surrounding exotic animals in late Victorian England, and as a foil to demonstrate Rothschild's "otherness."

Belford, Barbara. *Bram Stoker*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996.)

This book is a biography of Bram Stoker, including significant commentary on the history of *Dracula*. Belford argues that *Dracula* was not based off of Vlad Tepes as is commonly believed, but rather the novel *Trilby* which is about a Jewish man seducing innocent girls. I use this source to strengthen my argument that *Dracula* is an anti-Semitic allegory.

Brucoli-Clark, Mary et al. *British Children's Writers, 1890-1914*. Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol. 141. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994.)

This text provides a broad biographical overview of Joseph Jacobs. I use this source as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about Jacobs outside of his work in race science.

Buzwell, Greg. "Dracula: Vampires, Perversity, and Victorian Anxieties." *The British Library*. May 15, 2014.

This source is a public history exhibit on Dracula at the British Library. In particular it emphasizes the role of Dracula as a seducer, and the way which Dracula embodies the character traits of Jewish immigrants, representing Victorian fears of the

foreigner. I use this source to strengthen my argument that *Dracula* is an anti-Semitic allegory.

Caleb, Amanda. "The Rhetorical Biopower of Eugenics: Understanding the Influence of British Eugenics on the Nazi Program." *Conatus Journal of Philosophy*. Volume 4. No. 2. (2019)

This article explores the impact of English eugenics on Nazism. I use it to point readers to a source which explores the impact of late Victorian rhetoric on Jewish race pathology on mid twentieth century eugenicist thought.

Canadine, David. "Cousinhood." *The London Review of Books*. (July 27, 1989.) 10-12

This book review by British historian David Canadine critiques the following three books: Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo Jewry 1880-1920*; Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in British Society During the Second World War*; and Stephen Brook, *The Club: The Jews of Modern Britain*. This source is important, not in the critique of these texts, but in Canadine's declamation of the study of Anglo-Jewish history in its entirety. I use this source to position my paper in the larger academic landscape concerning the history of Anglo-Judaism.

Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

This book explores the relationship between race, class, and colonialism in the British empire. I use this as a reference for readers who wish to know more about the preferred treatment of Indian nobles in a colonial setting.

Cesarani, David. *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo Jewry 1841-1991*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

This book is a comprehensive history of the Jewish press in England from the mid nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. This book is especially valuable for this paper as it provides context for the only well circulated platform for Jewish scientific scholarship in the Victorian era. The book also delves into the politics and influence of the various Jewish newspapers of the time, noting general trends in the articles published over multiple editorships. I use this source to provide background on and context for my use of the Jewish press as my central corpus of primary sources.

Cheyette, Bryan. "Hilaire Belloc and the 'Marconi Scandal' 1900-1914: A Reassessment of the Interactionist Model of Racial Hatred." *Immigrants and Minorities*. Volume 8. (1989). 130-132.

This article explores the role of Hilaire Belloc in the Marconi Scandal. I use this article to provide historical context for the Marconi Scandal.

Claeys, Gregory. "‘The Survival of the Fittest’ and the Origins of Social Darwinism." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Vol. 16. No. 2. (April, 2000). 223-240.

This article examines the history and meaning of the term ‘Social Darwinism’, challenging popular misconceptions and understandings about the term. I use this article as a reference for readers who want to know more about the origins and history of Social Darwinism.

Cohen, Deborah. "Who Was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century Britain." *Journal of British Studies*. Vol 41. No. 4. (October, 2002.) 460-483.

This article explores the construction of the Jewish race in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. I use this source to point readers to a scholarly work which emphasizes the novel role of heredity in Jewish pathology during the late nineteenth century.

Cohn, Samuel K. Jr, "The Black Death and the Burning of the Jews." *Past and Present*. No. 196 (August 2007) pp. 3-36.

This article is a broad overview of the anti-Jewish hatred and actions which emerged as a result of the belief that the Jews caused the bubonic plague in Medieval Europe. I use this source to demonstrate that there is a long history of association between Jews and disease.

Corbin, Alain. "Commercial Sexuality in nineteenth Century France: A System of Images and Regulations." *Representations* Vol. 14, 1986. 209-219.

This source argues that there was a fundamental connection between sex and money in nineteenth century France. I use this source to demonstrate the Victorian metaphor of "spending semen" in order to connect the ideas of Jews, money, and sexual deviancy.

Corwin Berman, Lila. "Sociology, Jews, and Intermarriage in Twentieth Century America." *Jewish Social Studies*, Winter, 2008, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Winter, 2008), pp. 32-60

This source explores discussions concerning miscegenation within the Anglo-American Jewish communities. I use this source to compare Joseph Jacobs's engagement with miscegenation in his work and Julia Frankau's in hers.

Curtis, Perry L. *Jack-the-Ripper and the London Press*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.)

This book examines the treatment and sensationalism of the Jack-the-Ripper murders in the London press. Of particular importance to this thesis is coverage concerning anti-Jewish riots in the East End of London which resulted from the murders. Additionally, the text explores the transformation of blood-libel to include sexual organs in the late nineteenth century focusing on soporific candles. I use this to provide context for the wave of anti-Semitism that emerged after the Jack-the-Ripper murders.

Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. (New York: Basic Books, 1984.)

This monograph is a classic in French cultural history and Annalist scholarship. I use the introduction of this text in order to demonstrate the value of humor as a historical tool of analysis in order to understand the *Mentalité* or world view of a historical actor.

Davin, Anna. "Imperialism and Motherhood." *History Workshop*. (Spring, 1978.), pp. 9-65.

This article explores the relationship between motherhood, race, reproduction, and imperialism in the British empire. The article also analyzes the Victorian elite project of charity towards the Urban poor. I use this source in order to differentiate the native Jewish project of care for their immigrants from its Gentile counterpart.

Derman, Ushi. "The Myth of the Vampire Jew and Blood Libel." *Museum of the Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot*, September 27, 2017.

This article explores the history of the connection between blood-libel and vampires. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to know more about this topic.

Deshen, Shlomo "The Kol Nidre Enigma: An Anthropological View of Atonement Liturgy." *Ethnology*. Vol. 18. No. 2 (April, 1979), pp. 121-133.

This article explores the history and function of Kol Nidre from an anthropological perspective. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about Kol Nidre.

Drazin, Israel. "Was Dracula Jewish as Some People Seem to Claim?" *The Times of Israel*. October 15, 2017

This article examines the scholarly conversation surrounding whether Dracula was Jewish. I use it as an example of the similarities between Dracula and Jews commonly drawn by scholars on the subject.

Earle, Rebecca *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*.

This book explores the intersection of medicine and colonial experience in Spanish America. I use this book as a reference for readers who wish to further explore the concept of climatic humoralism.

Efron, John M. *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.)

This book explores how Jews engaged in scholarship relating to race science in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Importantly for this thesis, this book paints these scholars, including Joseph Jacobs, as heroes who used race science to combat anti-Semitism. I use this source as an example of scholarship engaging in the anachronistic portrayal of Joseph Jacobs as a hero who intended to combat anti-Semitism through race science.

Endelmen, Todd. "Communal Solidarity Among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London." *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 3. (Spring, 1985.)

This article explores the role of native Anglo-Jewish religious practice in community building in late Victorian England. I use this source as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about native Anglo-Jewish religious practice.

Endelmen, Todd. "The Frankaus of London: A Study in Radical Assimilation, 1837-1967." *Jewish History*. Vol 8. No. 1, 1994.

This article explores the development and evolution of radical assimilationism among the Anglo-Jewish community in London through the analysis of the Frankau family. Of importance to this thesis is Endelmen's assertion that Julia Frankau's radical assimilationism was based in a rejection and critique of Jewish culture and was targeted at a specific sub-set of the Jewish population. I use this source to provide background information on Julia Frankau and to support my argument that popular mediums allowed for a greater conflation of culture and race than scientific scholarship.

Endelmen, Todd. *The Jews of Britain: 1656 to 2000*. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002.)

This text is a more recent survey of Anglo Jewish history. This text focuses on the Jewish perspective of Anglo-Jewish history and focuses on the demographics and daily living experiences of the Jews. The book does particularly well with considering the role of Jews outside of London. There are two chapters in the book directly relevant to the Victorian era, although there are an additional two chapters which provide valuable context concerning Jewish expulsion and reintegration in England. One of the two directly relevant chapters, "Native and Foreign Jews," provides an in-depth insight into the role of Jewish immigration on labour politics and the emergence of a Jewish working class, as well as a general overview of xenophobic antisemitism emerging in the 1870s but fails to address in depth the subsequent

intracommunal strife between native and foreign Jews. Additionally, Endelman also posits that philo-Semitism was a sort of countermeasure to antisemitism, rather than a new way of systemically othering the Jew. The text focuses on Jewish success in assimilation, and while it does recognize a surge of antisemitism in Victorian Britain, it fails to attach it to any long-term importance. As a whole, this book refutes the classical narrative of Anglo Judaism but still fails to engage with antisemitism in England as an entity of impact and importance, rather choosing to place it in comparison with the extreme levels of prolonged antisemitism in Germany and Russia. I use this book for general context surrounding Victorian Anglo-Jewry.

Falk Raphael. *Zionism and the Biology of the Jews*. Vol. 19. (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017.)

This book focuses on the role of Jewish participation in eugenicist rhetoric, ultimately arguing that the Zionist movement was characterized by a eugenicist agenda. This is important because Falk is one of two scholars significantly engaging with this topic (he is also the author of the chapter “Eugenics and the Jews” in the *Oxford Handbook for the History of Eugenics*). However, Falk’s main area of concern is the Zionist movement post 1917. Falk does briefly discuss the role of Jews in Victorian eugenics but does not go in depth on the issue of body and race politics and the tension between the portrayal of the Jews as a supreme and inferior race both externally and internally to the Anglo Jewish community. Nor does Falk address the relationship between eugenicist rhetoric and concurrent xenophobic antisemitism in England. I use this source to demonstrate the connection between race and nation in nineteenth century Zionist thought.

Feldman, David. “Conceiving Difference: Religion, Race, and the Jews in Britain, c. 1750-1900.” *History Workshop Journal* (Autumn, 2013.)

This article provides a comprehensive look at early eugenicist conceptions and portrayals (through composite photography) of the Jewish body in England. The article highlights the tensions between two prominent narratives concerning Jewish identity and type in England, that Jews were a distinct racial type, and that Jews were a malleable religious group that could be assimilated, which intersected when Francis Galton and the Jewish writer Joseph Jacobs collaborated on a project to create composite images of the Jewish type. This article does well to highlight not only the influence of early eugenicist thinking on the Jewish type, but also the influence of other sciences such as anthropology, craniology, and photography. It also highlights the similar segregating nature of both philo and antisemitism and how Jews and gentiles participated in discourse on Jewish identity in different spheres. Most importantly the article addresses and inverts the classical interpretation that antisemitism was generated by the mere presence of a unique Jewish group. Rather the article argues that antisemitism as a phenomenon was not caused by the existence of the Jews, but by what the ‘symbol’ of the Jews signifies to non-Jews. This theoretical framework provides new room for the discourse on the portrayal of Jews as disabled. I additionally use this article to reference the ways scholarship on Anglo-Jewish history separate Jewish and Gentile discourse.

Feldman, David. "Toward a History of the Term "Anti-Semitism." *The American Historical Review*. Vol. 123, No. 4, (October, 2018.) 1139-1150.

This article traces the development and evolution of the term 'anti-Semitism' from late nineteenth century Germany to the present day. I use this article to contextualize my engagement with the term 'anti-Semitism' and to add complexity to my engagement with how anti-Semitism is understood and defined in scholarship and popular discourses.

Fine, Gary Alan. "Joseph Jacobs: A Sociological Folklorist." *Folklore*. Vol. 98, No. 2 (1987). 183-193

This article surveys the connection between Joseph Jacobs's fairytales and his work on race science. I use this article as a reference for readers interested in learning more about Jacobs's work outside of race science.

Fineman, Mia. *Faking It: Manipulated Photography Before Photoshop*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012.) no. 92, pp. 109, 232.

This book explores the history of altered photography. Of particular relevance to this thesis is the chapter pertaining to race and composite photography. The book delves into the history of Francis Galton's work with composite photography, taking particular note of his work with Jacobs. I use this text to provide general background on composite photography as a tool for the social sciences.

Fraser, Derek. "Zionism in Leeds 1892-1939." *Leeds and its Jewish Community: A History*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019.)

This chapter discusses the development of Zionism in England, with particular attention to Jewish workers in Leeds. It is part of a larger monograph which explores the development of a working-class Jewish community in Leeds, the largest Jewish community in England outside of London. I use this chapter to provide background information on Zionism in England.

Galchinsky, Michael. "'Permanently Blacked': Julia Frankau's Jewish Race." *Victorian Literature and Culture*. Vol 27. No. 1. 1999. 171.

This article directly responds to Endelmen's article, "The Frankaus of London." Galchinsky argues that Julia Frankau's self-hatred was based in race and was more thoroughgoing than Endelmen's article suggests. Galchinsky provides a compelling analysis of *Dr. Phillips* in support of his argument. However, Galchinsky positions himself as being in a false dichotomy by claiming his position is mutually exclusive to Endelmen's. I use this source to support my argument that novels such as *Dr. Phillips* provided a unique platform for discourse on race science, allowing scientific

concepts to mutate into extreme forms of racialized self-hatred. I also use Galchinsky to complicate Endelmen's claims about Frankau with regard to race.

Gates, Barbara. *Victorian Suicide: Mad Crimes and Sad Histories*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.)

This monograph examines Victorian understandings and conversations surrounding suicide. I use this as a reference for readers who want to know more about discourses on suicide at the time of Amy Levy's death.

Gelber, Mark. "Teaching 'Literary Anti-Semitism': Dickens' 'Oliver Twist' and Freytag's 'Soil Und Haben.'" *Comparative Literature Studies*. Vol. 16. No. 1. (March 1979.), pp. 1-11.

This essay examines anti-Semitism in two late nineteenth century novels. I use it as a reference for readers interested in further examining the relationship between Fagin, physical infirmity, and embodied Jewish criminality.

Geller, Jay. "'A Glance at the Nose': Freud's Inscription of Jewish Difference." *American Imago*, Vol. 49, No. 4, The Body, (Winter 1992) pp. 427-444

This source provides historical background that the nose was often interchanged with the penis; and subsequently that Jewish noses served as a euphemism for circumcised or 'mutilated' genitals. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to further explore the relationship between the Jewish nose and sexual difference.

Gilman, Sander L. "I'm Down on Whores." Ed. David Theo Goldberg, *The Anatomy of Racism*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990)

In this article, Gilman argues that there was a conflation between sexual deviancy, criminality, and Judaism in the Victorian England as expressed through the Jack-the-Ripper murders. Gilman also argues that the Victorian conflation of Jews, syphilis, and prostitution served to mark the Jew as 'black.' Other important things that Gilman notes include the connection between syphilis and vampirism, the role of seduction as a contagion, and the role of the Jew's corrupted speech as a marker of sexual deviancy and criminality. However, Gilman fails to contextualize his argument in terms of a broader English or Jewish history, instead relying on an unjustified mix of evidence from different countries and time periods. I use this source to frame and support my argument that discourse on disease, in this case venereal disease and social diseases like sexual deviancy or criminality, was used to form the basis of a brand of Jewish hatred aimed at the body of the foreign Jew.

Gilman, Sander. *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986.)

This work is a significant study on the history of Jewish self-hatred, with a particular focus on the role of language. It is widely considered the foremost work on Jewish self-hatred. Despite being limited in its examples, the concepts which Gilman propose are widely applicable. I use this source to explore the role of Yiddish as an undesirable language and as a reference for defining Jewish self-hatred as a phenomenon.

Gilman, Sander. *The Jew's Body*. (New York: Routledge, 2016).

This book is an in-depth study in the representation of the Jew's body as inferior or disabled as a form of anti-Semitism. The book covers a broad range of bodily stereotypes from Jews being afflicted with venereal disease, to having lips, to being flatfooted. Gilman's book, although by no means a comprehensive list of all Jewish body stereotypes, does a good job contextualizing these stereotypes in their historical contexts. However, only one of the chapters, that on venereal disease, directly addresses body stereotypes in England. Despite this, the book provides a good basis for understanding the differences and similarities between stereotypes in England and continental Europe. I use this book to provide context for the concept of racialized "Jewish infirmity" and to prove example of anti-Semitic tropes located in the Jewish body such as madness and flat footedness.

Gissis, Snait B. "Visualizing 'Race' in the Eighteenth Century," *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 41-103.

This article explores the way early scientific images surrounding race emerged from contemporaneous methodologies in the natural sciences. I use this article as a reference for readers interested in learning more about the relationship between botany and race science in the eighteenth century.

Gold, Dore. "The Historical Significance of the Balfour Declaration." *Jewish Political Studies Review*. Vol. 28, No 1. (Spring, 2017.) 8-13.

This article was written in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration and explores the historical impact of the declaration over the century. I use this article as an example of scholarship supporting the dominant viewpoint that the Balfour declaration was a Philo-Semitic act that demonstrated English commitment to the Jewish people and cause.

Goldhill, Simon. *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.)

This monograph examines England's complex relationship with antiquity and empire in the Victorian era. The book argues that elite Englishmen and scholars often believed ancient culture to be superior to modern culture, but that this sense of superiority was tempered by Britain's role as a 'New Rome' and their determination

to not meet the same end as the Roman Empire. I use it to contextualize philo-Semitism as a fascination with ancient Hebrew culture.

Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1981.)

This book examines the role of statistics and science in the categorization of humanity, including a section on the contents and influence of Lombroso's *Criminal Man*. This book draws a strong connection between *Dracula* and Lombroso's work; however, it does not connect the two to Jewish stereotypes. I use this source to provide background on Lombroso and draw a comparison between *Dracula* and *The Criminal Man*.

Hasian, Marouf Arif Jr. *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press.) 1996.

This book explores the development of eugenicist rhetoric in American and English culture from the late nineteenth to late twentieth centuries. I use this to point readers to a source which expands upon the ways eugenicist dialogue spread from England to the United States.

Holmes, Colin. *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939*. (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979.)

This book is considered the seminal work in Anglo-Jewish history. Holmes argues that anti-Semitism was rife in modern England and provides comprehensive data on the population and quality of life of modern Jewish immigrants in England. However, while Holmes' book fundamentally changed the field, it does not include many Jewish voices and does not address the issue of philo-Semitism. I use this book for historical background, to support my argument that foreign Jews were often associated with disease and contagion, and for context on how anti-Semitism changed during the first world war.

Horn, David. G. *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance* (New York: Routledge), 2003, pp. 1-59.

This book is an in-depth summary and analysis of Caesar Lombroso's *The Criminal Man*. I use this book to provide general details surrounding Lombroso's work and as a reference for readers who wish to know more about Lombroso.

Klein, Jürgen and Giglioni, Guido. "Francis Bacon." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall, 2020.)

This article is a general overview of Francis Bacon's philosophy. I use this article as a reference for readers who want to know more about Francis Bacon's scientific method and philosophy of science.

Langham, Raphael. "William of Norwich." *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996)

This chapter dives deep into the William of Norwich blood-libel case, the first recorded incident of blood-libel in history. I use this source as a reference for readers who wish to know more about the Norwich case.

Levene, Mark. "Wolf, Lucien (1857-1930)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.)

This source is a general biography of Lucien Wolf. I am using this source as a resource for readers who wish to know more about Lucien Wolf.

Levine et al. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.)

This book provides a broad-based overview on the history of eugenics. The first part of the book considers how the transnational themes and intentions of eugenics has changed over time. Topics relevant to this project include the formation of eugenics and its relationship with Darwinism in England, the relationship between early eugenics and the fields of anthropology and criminology, and eugenics in a colonial context. The second part of the book focuses on the national and colonial formations of eugenics. The two most pertinent chapters in this section focus on eugenics in Britain and eugenics and the Jews. It is important to note that the chapter on eugenics and the Jews focuses on Jewish participation in early eugenicist dialogue, with a particular emphasis on the relationship between eugenics and Zionism and nineteenth century rhetoric both in the Jewish and gentile communities concerning whether "Jewishness" is hereditary or a product of a Jewish environment. I use this book as a reference for readers who are interested in knowing more about the broader relationship between eugenics and the Jewish race.

Lewis, Bernard. *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry Into Conflict and Prejudice*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999.)

This book explores the role of anti-Semitism in the Israel-Palestine conflict. It is important because it is considered one of the classic pieces of scholarship defining anti-Semitism. I use it as a reference for readers interested in exploring the relationship between anti-Semitism and non-Jewish Semitic races.

Lotzof, Kerry. "Walter Rothschild: A Curious Life" *The Natural History Museum at Tring*. Accessed May 2020.

This is part of a public history exhibit on Walter Rothschild at the Natural History Museum at Tring. I use this source to provide basic autobiographical background on Walter Rothschild and for its analysis of a photograph of Rothschild riding his zebra drawn carriage.

Mosse, George L. *Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020.)

This book is an intellectual history of European racism focusing on race science and eugenics. I use this source as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about the use of race science as a form of imperial control.

Novak, Daniel. "A Model Jew: 'Literary Photographs' and the Jewish Body in *Daniel Deronda*." *Representations*. Vol 1. No. 85 (Winter, 2004).

This article analyzes the relationship between Jacobs's and Galton's composite photographs of the Jewish type, and the portrayal of the Jewish body in *Daniel Deronda*. I use this article to provide background on Galton and Jacobs's partnership and the way in which *Daniel Deronda* influenced Jacobs.

Ostrer, Harry. *Legacy: A Genetic History of the Jewish People*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.)

This monograph is focused on the history of Jewish identity through the lens of heredity and genetics. Most importantly for this thesis, this book paints Joseph Jacobs as a hero who tried to use race science to combat anti-Semitism. I use this source as an example of scholarship which anachronistically paints Jacobs as using eugenics to combat anti-Semitism.

Pugh, Martin. *Britain since 1789: A Concise History*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.)

This monograph is a survey of English political history from the late eighteenth century to the late twentieth century. I use this source as a reference for readers who wish to know more about the Reform Acts and voting laws in England.

Rader, Marcus Jacob and Saperstien, Mark. "The Black Death and the Jews 1348-1349." *The Jews in Christian Europe*. (New York: Hebrew Union College Press, 2015.)

This article explores the persecution of the Jews that resulted from the black death and the response among various European Jewish communities to said persecution. I use this source as a reference for readers who want to know more about the relationship between martyrdom and community formation in Jewish history.

Reitter, Paul. *On the Origins of Jewish Self-Hatred*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.)

This book provides a history and alternate definition of Jewish self-hatred. I use it for general background knowledge on the history of the term and as a reference for readers who wish to know more about Jewish self-hatred.

Richards, Evelleen. *Darwin and the Making of Sexual Selection*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

This book examines the construction and social application of sexual selection in the nineteenth century. I use this text as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about Victorian conversations surrounding sexual selection.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. (New York: Random House, 1978.)

This book is one of the foremost theoretical texts concerning the European fetishization of and exotic fascination with the East. I use this book as a reference for readers who want to learn more on these topics.

Schneiderman, Harry. "Israel Zangwill: A Biographical Sketch." *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 1927.

This is a brief autobiography of Israel Zangwill. I use this as a reference for readers who wish to know more about Zangwill.

Stoler, Ann Laura "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: Cultural Competence and the Dangers of Metissage." *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.)

This book chapter explores the construction of miscegenation and exogamy in imperial territories within the British empire. In particular, by exploring the tensions between imperial territories as both internal and external, the chapter outlines the 'threat' which miscegenation posed to English identity in an increasingly globalized world. I use this chapter to provide context on broader conversations concerning miscegenation which Frankau was drawing from in *Dr. Phillips*.

Teter, Magda. "Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews Respond to Blood Libels." *Blood Libel: On the Trail of an Anti-Semitic Myth*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020.)

This book examines the responses among various Jewish communities to blood libel accusations in medieval and early modern Europe. I use this source as a reference for readers who want to know more about the relationship between martyrdom and community formation in Jewish history.

Tromp, Marlene et. al., *Fear, Loathing, and Victorian Xenophobia*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013.)

This anthology is comprised of essays concerning xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiment in Victorian England, focusing particularly on how these ideologies emerged in popular literature. Of particular importance to this paper is the text's engagement with the relationship between Xenophobia, disease, and Jewish immigrants. While this source provides a lot of valuable insight, it is limited in the

sources it considers. I use this text to draw connections and highlight differences between the racialized hatred of Jewish immigrants and broader xenophobia in the late nineteenth century.

Unknown. "History of the Chief Rabbinate," *Office of the Chief Rabbinate*. Accessed March, 2021.

This webpage contains autobiographical information about every Chief Rabbi in English history. I use it as a reference for readers who wish to learn more about Chief Rabbi Herman Adler.

Walkowitz, Judith. "Jack-the-Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 8. No. 3. (Autumn, 1982.) pp. 542-547.

This article provides a feminist analysis of the Whitechapel murders. Walkowitz argues that press coverage of the Jack-the-Ripper murders contributed to and romanticized the cultural role of men as violent perpetrators against women. I use it to provide context of the role of Jews in the investigation, and subsequent anti-Semitic riots which Walkowitz describes as "pogroms."

Weikart, Richard. *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

This book explores the evolution of eugenics from the nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries, including the influence of English eugenicist thought on Nazism. I use this source to point readers to scholarship which explores the impact of late Victorian rhetoric on Jewish race pathology on mid twentieth century eugenicist thought.

Weiss, Bari. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*. (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2019)

I use this book for a quote by Deborah Lipstadt in order to illustrate the similarities between philo-Semitism and anti-Semitism.

Willett, Jeffery and Deegan, Mary Jo. "Liminality and Disability: Rites of Passage and Community in Hypermodern Society." *Disability Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 21. No. 3 (Summer 2001.) pp. 137-152.

This article argues that people in a state of liminality are ambiguous beings seen by those around them to threaten the prevailing definitions of the social order. This then leads to the process of marginalization. I use this to support the idea that anti-Semitism is intensified by the Jew's liminal statuses of diasporic identity, being an immigrant, and 'diseased.'

Yuval, Israel. *Two Nations in the Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006).

This book explores the construction of and relationship between Jews and Christians in medieval Europe. Of particular importance for this thesis is its analysis of blood-libel. I use this source as a reference for readers who wish to know more about the origins and history of blood-libel.

Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Ina. *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain 1880-1939*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.)

This monograph examines the construction of male and female bodies in the context of nineteenth century conversations about race, gender, and fitness in England. The monograph then goes on to explore how the body was policed by the self and government in the nineteenth century. This source goes into detail on the emergence and transformation of an English body-politic based in national and imperial competition. I use this source to contextualize the use of race science in the native Jewish project to gain social capital.