HOME AND ABROAD: RACIAL STEREOTYPING OF THE MUSLIM ORIENT IN SELECTED OF VICTORIAN FICTION

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Abstract

As the aim of the study is to trace the stereotypes of the Muslim and Jewish communities in selected orientalist Victorian texts, it reveals different aspects of Victorian preoccupations and anxieties about the role of England in asserting and spreading civilization at "home" and "abroad". In light of the historical and political events in both the Middle East and Victorian England, the study distinguishes the era for its complexity and inevitable contribution to the political order of the day in the way it confirms or challenges set stereotypes. Using Homi Bhabha's theoretical framework, the recirculation of negative stereotypes stabilized certain impressions of the Muslim orient while also challenging old stereotypes of the Jewish orient. The significance of the study lies in its attempt to bridge the gap between previous scholarship on the portrayal of the Muslim Orient and studies that focus on Victorian concerns and ideals. It is also significant in highlighting the way Victorian racial stereotypes contributed to the escalating racism in the political order of the world of today, which culminated in the contemporary crises of the Arab Spring.

This study consists of an introductory chapter, three body chapters and a concluding chapter. Chapter One on Victorian women writers and Victorian aesthetics, examines the anxieties present in the captivity narratives of Emma Roberts' "The Florentines" and selected tales of Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem,* which were used as a vehicle for the emancipation of Victorian women in Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* before the New Woman movement. Using Sir Walter Scott's historical romances as the background for challenging the stereotypes of Muslims and Jews in *The Talisman* and *Ivanhoe,* Chapter Two examines the extent to which Benjamin Disraeli's *Alroy*, Edward B. Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* and Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* challenge Scott's stereotypes, with the aim of highlighting how the historical events in these works reflect on the domestic tensions in England pertaining to the Jewish Question. Chapter

Three focuses on the Victorian political novel in which the cause of Jewish emancipation is dramatized in Disraeli's *Tancred*, Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* both at "home" in England and "abroad" in Palestine.

The development in the representation of the Muslim and Jewish communities in the three body chapters reflect a "fixed" portrayal of the Muslim Orient in contrast to the more "fluid" Jewish orient, the aim of the authors' being to establish the superiority of the latter as a race and a nation in a country of their own, as representatives of the English "abroad". Applauded by the British Empire then and the United States of America today, the impact and influence of such stereotyping of these two communities in the literature of the Victorian era is seen in the way they persist and flourish in the popular culture of today.

Abstrak

Aspek-aspek yang berbezaberkena ankebimbangan dan kerisauan Victoria tentangperanan England dalam penyebaran tamadunsamada ‘setempat’ atau ‘luaran’ dikajidengantujuanuntukmenyelusuristereotaipmasyarakat Muslim dan Yahudi dalam teks-teksterpilih Victoria Orientalis. Selaras dengan peristiwasejarah dan politik di kedua-dua Timur Tengah dan England Victoria, kajianinimem bezakan kompleksiti zaman tersebut sertasumbang annya kepada scenario politik hariini dengan caraiam engesahk anataumen cabarset-set stereotaip. Dengan menggunakan kerangka HomiBhabha, peredaran semula stereotaip negative dapat menstabil kanke santerten tudarimas yarakat Islam Timurdi sampingmen cabar stereotaip lama masyarakat Yahudi Timur. Kepentingan kajian initerletakpa dausahauntukmerapat kanjurang penyelidikan yang terdahulu terhadap gambaran Muslim Timur dan memberitumpuan kepa datema yang lebi humumber kenaanpenekanan dan cita-cita Victoria. Iajuga penting untuk menonjolkan cara stereotaip kaumyang menyumbang kepada pening katan perkauman dalam suasana politik global hariini, yang berakhir dengan krisis kontemporari *Arab Spring.*

Kajian ini terbahagik epadatigabab; yang pertama adalah berkenaan penuliswanita Victoria danestetika Victoria. Keri sauna berkenaan stereotaip bangsa dan kaumda lamkisah penawanan Emma Roberts '"The Florentines" dari *Oriental Scenes, Sketches and Tales* dankisah- kisah terpilih Julia Pardoe “The Romance of Harem” juga digunakan sebagai medium kepa daun tukpem bebasan emansipasi wanita Victoria dalam hasil kerja Charlotte Bronte -*Jane Eyre* sebelum pergerakan "wanitabaru". Bab kedua menggunakanpenulisan roman atau kisah cinta oleh Sir Walter Scott sebagai latar belakang untuk mencabar stereotaip kaum dikalangan orang Islam dan Yahudi dalam *The Talisman* dan *Ivanhoe*. Selain itu, hasil kerja Benjamin Disraeli seperti *Alroy*, *Leila* atau *The Siege of Granada* oleh Edward B. Lytton dan *The Scapegoat* oleh Hall Caine adalah

roman sejarah yang dipilih dengan watak yang mencabar stereotaip dalam penulisan Scott sebelumini. Peristiwa-peristiwasejarah dalam penulisan-penulisan ini mengimbas kembalik etegangan domestik di England yang berkaitan dengan SoalanYahudi. Bab terakhir berfokus pada novel politik Victoria di manapembebasan Yahudi didramakanoleh Disraeli dalam*Tancred*, manakala *The Prime Minister* oleh Anthony Trollope dan *Daniel Deronda* oleh George Eliot masing-masing menjadikan England sebagai 'latarbelakangtempatan' dan 'Palestin' sebagai luarnegeri.

Hasil kajianmen unjuk kanbahawaper kembangan dalam representasi komuniti Islam dan Yahudi dalam tiga babmencer minkancontoh gambaran yang static dan tetapterhadap Muslim Timur berbeza dengan representasi Yahudi Timur yang lebih "dinamik", yang terdiri daripa damasyarakat yang bermatlamat untuk menubuhkan keunggulann yasebagaibangsa dan kaum di negaramereka sendiri. Disokong oleh Empayar British ketikaitu dan Amerika Syarikat hariini, kesandan pengaruh stereotaip sepertikedua-dua komuniti tersebut dalam kesusasteraan era Victoria dapat dilihat bagaimana stereotaip perkaum anterusbertahan dan berkembang dalam budaya popular hariini .

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> The Nineteenth century is a turning point in history simply on account of the work of two men, Darwin and Renan, the one the critic of the Book of Nature, the other the critic of the Book of God.
>
> Wilde, *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* (1966)

1.1 Social and Historical Background of the Study

The Victorian Era (1837-1901) forms a link between the Romantic period and twentieth century literature. The Industrial Revolution had a great impact on the literature of the period and with the affluence of the Victorian society, readership became more accessible and desirable to the middle and low classes, which required a change in methods and authors to cater for varied tastes of the time (Abrams 891-5).Amongst those flourishing genres then were travelers' reports, such as that of E. Kinglake, Richard Burton and Florence Nightingale. Yet, in spite of their accuracy and details in the eighteenth century, the view that Muslims were followers of an impostor prophet persisted. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, orientalist writing became well established with the determination of the unstoppable expansion of Europe, in search of markets, resources, and colonies. According to Edward Said, this was consolidated by politicians like Napoleon, Balfour and Cromer. Considering the legacy of d'Herbelot and Dante, although one cannot ontologically eliminate the orient, one can still have the means to capture it, describe it, and radically alter it through educational institutions by teaching Arabic poetry, Sanskrit and grammar.[1] In other words, Orientalism -- which was put into practice from the second half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century by increased travels to the East[2] -- overrode the orient, and a tenth-century observation about an Arab was generalized to all Arabs all over Arabia (Said, *Orientalism* 95-96). This is mainly due to the wide

publication of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, where a tenth century orient continued to be rewritten, adapted with time from the Galland's eighteenth century first version and all the way until the end of the nineteenth century by Edward W. Lane, Richard Burton and John Payne. These popular adaptations were read by the vast English masses to whom they were considered to represent and embody a true image of the Muslim orient and the Muslim East[3].

Post-eighteenth century Orientalism did little to revise itself, making politicians like James Balfour (the British Foreign secretary who granted Palestine to the Zionist Jewish people) and Lord Cromer (the British agent and consul-general in Egypt from 1883 to 1907)[4], their observers and administrators. Lord Cromer contributed significantly to the expansion of the empire based on racial theory and political and economic interests in the East. In other words, the British and French powers that colonized the East meant to safeguard their newly created interests in the lands of the orient. Moreover, these powers protected a number of societies and missionary organizations that had demystified the oriental only to find him odd and unacceptable. Eventually, the theme of nostalgia appeared in Romantic travelers' accounts who lamented altered images in the oriental scholarly production, for instance Gerard de Nerval in his *Voyage en Orien* (Said's *Orientalism* 96,100).

To demonstrate how racial and cultural stereotyping contributed to nineteenth-century Orientalism and the British imperial civilizing mission through Victorian authors' use of such stereotypes in their fictional depictions of the Muslim Orient, whether at "home" in England or "abroad" in the geographical Middle East, the meaning of stereotyping, as defined by colonial and post-colonial theorists, first needs to be considered. In *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (1985), Sander Gilman states that stereotyping entails the reduction of images to a simple and manageable form rather than simple ignorance or lack of "real"

knowledge in order to process information. Stereotypes function to perpetuate an artificial sense of difference between "self" and "other" (18). Moreover, in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1987), Hayden White notes that the specific eating habits, religious beliefs, clothing and social organization portrayed in travel collections of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries mark the beginning of anthropological studies. Some of these unrealistic images which were reported as facts in the travel works were later incorporated in literary texts to represent non-Europeans as "monstrous" (165).

Likewise, according to Mary L. Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), European ventures in Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the travel writings that resulted from them pronounced the East and West in constant opposition, as Europe differentiated itself in relation to "the rest of the world" (5). Hence came the definition of “civilization” and “barbarism”. The images of a violent, nude, hairy and sensual man living in the forests, on the outer edges of civilization, came to include Africans, Muslims and Indians. As these images were circulated long before colonialism, Ania Loomba states in *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism* (2000) that they were treated as "the static product of timeless opposition[5] between 'western' and 'non-western' peoples and ideas" in colonial discourse (58). Robert Miles in *Racism* (1989) discusses how the colonial experience influenced every single branch of knowledge, thereby contributing to new ideologies because of its misrepresentation of reality. In this way, colonialism served to affirm and reconstruct these images, as it necessitated the continuity and reshaping of these images as means to justify European settlements, trading practices, missionary work and military activities. Ultimately two images were prominent stereotypes of the East, one of the rebellious barbarian to be controlled and subdued, and the other of the cooperative submissive other who deserves

to be assimilated into European society (25). Depictions of these two types will be illustrated in the coming chapters of this thesis.

Even though it is assumed that with scientific advancement, misrepresentations in fact and fiction decrease, far from being objective, western science was deeply involved in constructing racism, as Nancy Stephen and Stephan Jay Gould observe in *The Idea of Race in Science, Great Britain 1800-1960* (1982) and *The Mismeasure of Man* (1996). Furthermore, Pratt argues that "science came to articulate Europe's contact with the imperial frontier and to be articulated by them," from the mid eighteenth century onwards (31). As a result of colonial expansion, natural history as a structure of knowledge within a "new planetary consciousness" came to exist. In *Green Imperialism* (1995), Richard H. Grove highlights Europe's will to power through science, as western science developed an impulse to master the globe not only by incorporating and learning but also by aggressively displacing other knowledge systems. Western powers used the “objectivity” of observation and science to penetrate the lands of others. Hence, natural history is a form of writing and representation of a discovery that already exists in the natural world (90). As the discourse of “race” was a product of western science in the eighteenth century, for centuries, Europe debated over the nature of and reasons for differences in skin color so that races were seen as the expression of a biological hierarchy, and skin color explained people's civilization and cultural attributes. The epitome of such scientific advancement was Darwin's theory of the evolution of the species as it emphasized ideas of racial supremacy. He explains in *Descent of Man* (1871) that extinctions result from the competition of tribe with tribe, and race with race, so that "when civilized nations come into contact with barbarians, the struggle is short" (287). Thus, races and nations were concepts that developed concurrently and in connection with each other (Loomba 63). Consequently, it was European scientists’ own racial and political identities that prevented them from

radically questioning scientific theories of racial difference; as people who were constructed as inferior had little access to scientific training, and their objections were dismissed as unscientific (Loomba 69). As Hilary Fraser and Daniel Brown assert in *English Prose of the Nineteenth Century* (1996), Darwin's theory particularly influenced the changing world of Victorian society. Coupled with factors such as modernity and travel, the racial experience inside and outside England was reflected in the literature of the age, making it a prose of self-discovery (114).

Pratt explains how natural history was well utilized in material practices and numerous other professions which require means to preserve, transport, display and document specimens so that

> jobs came into being for scientists on commercial expeditions and colonial outposts; patronage networks funded scientific travels and subsequent writing; amateur and professional societies of all kinds sprung up locally, nationally and internationally; natural history collections acquired commercial as well as prestige value. (29)

This contributes to Edward Said's argument in *Orientalism* (1979) as he discusses how "knowledge about the orient", as it was produced and circulated in Europe, was an ideological accompaniment of colonial power. The western representation of other cultures is well documented in Said's *Orientalism*, in which he argues how this discipline was created alongside the European penetration of the "Near East". He also discusses how it was well-supported by other disciplines such as philology, history, anthropology, philosophy and archaeology. Orientalism examines how the formal study of the orient together with key literary and cultural texts consolidated a certain way of perceiving the orient, thereby contributing to the functioning of colonial power (94). Said highlights the individual writers, political thinkers, statesmen, philologists and philosophers such as Flaubert, Lamertine, Kinglake, Nerval, Disraeli, Byron, George Eliot and many others who were involved in contributing to Orientalism. In this manner, these writers provided a lens through which

the orient could be viewed and controlled, and paradoxically, enabled the control of the knowledge, study, beliefs and writings on the orient. Hence, as Orientalism maintained power over the orient, and as the status of "knowledge" is demystified, the line between the ideological and the objective became blurred (99).

Prior to Said, Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) concluded that Europe was in fact the creation of the Third World because its wealth and labour came from its colonies. He states that it was the sweat and the blood of the Negros, Arabs, Indians and the yellow races, that have fueled the affluence of Europe (76-81). Similarly, Said in *Orientalism* (1978) asserts that knowledge of the East could never be objective or innocent as the orient was a political vision of reality whose structure promoted a binary opposition between Europe and the East. This conception is crucial to Europe's self perception. If the colonized was irrational, barbaric, sensual and lazy, the colonizers were rational, civilized, ethical and hardworking (Loomba 47-48). Hence, other social and human sciences like anthropology, philology, art, history, economic and cultural studies were inadequate for analyzing the colonial construction of knowledge and culture, emphasizing in turn the significance and role of Orientalism (Loomba 43).

Complementary to Said's thesis of Orientalism is Homi Bhabha's theoretical framework on stereotypes and ambivalence. In his discussion of "The Other Question: Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism" in *The Location of Culture* (1994), Bhabha believes the stereotype to be a "complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation, as anxious as it is assertive" (70). Moreover, it is a "form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place,' already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated" (66). This repetition ensures the others' perception in a certain way, it also questions the very fixity it sets out to guarantee. This is because it implies that that stereotypical construction cannot be

proven once and for all, and that it must be repeated over and over again (66). In semiotic terms, the stereotype as a sign, the signifier, for instance "Black" and the signified "wild, savage, brutish" depends on its own repetition. If the sign is not repeated, the connection between the signifier and signified becomes unstable, and it is this instability that endangers the efficaciousness of colonial discourse in encouraging "black" as "wild and savage"(82) . He also highlights "productive" ambivalence as one that highlights the other through the discursive production of differences. Colonial discourse, from this perspective, is not ambivalent as it establishes cultural and racial hierarchy (67).

Another dimension Bhabha adds to the discourse of ambivalence and racial stereotyping is derision and desire or to use a different set of psychoanalytical terms, phobia and fetish (71-2). As he explores Freud's definition and discussion of the fetish, he uses the example of skin colour and being fetishized, of what makes it loved and despised at the same time. Consequently, constructing "the other" in a stereotypical way has the function of creating the fantasy of a coherent identity of the colonizer's self, an identity that is seemingly always in control. The most interesting issue is the contrast within the other's identity, in that it is always dramatized (73-7). In the course of discussing characters and themes of the selected texts, ambivalent characterization which depicts the other as desirable and dreaded at the same time will be discussed. As for themes, it is these absent ideologies in the occident that are mostly fantasized in the novels.

The imperial implications of the English novel which were not discussed in *Orientalism*are well covered in Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1994). To Said, the immense significance of the Victorian period lies in its perpetuation of Orientalism and the establishment of western empires through cultural forms like the novel. The novel here can be seen as an aesthetic object that contributed immeasurably to the formation

of imperial attitudes, references and experience. Embedded in the novel is the culture and identity of the author. Even though the main battle in imperialism is over land, when it comes to who has the right to own it, settle in it and work on it, who keeps it going and who plans its future, all these issues are contested and reflected and even for sometime decided in narrative. Accordingly, the English novel, which had gained eminence by the 1840s became the aesthetic form and the major intellectual voice in English society. Not only did it participate in debates on "the condition of England", but it also played a key role in the British overseas empire so that what Raymond Williams calls "the knowable community" of English men and women shaped the idea of English identity and presence at "home" and "abroad" (Said, *Culture* 85). As "abroad" was distant and vague, it was a place that was deemed so exotic and strange that it was 'ours' to control, trade in 'freely' or suppress its natives whenever they resist us. This unique contribution of the English novel was continuously reinforced by the British power (Said, *Culture* 88-9). Therefore, the selected literary works discussed in the following chapters would reflect the concerns of English identity at "home" in England and "abroad" which in this context is restricted to the geographical area of the Middle-East – covering Turkey, Persia, the Arabic peninsular and North African countries stretching to Andalusia or present day Spain. It is in its depiction of English and Eastern characters that the English novel has participated in the making of the British Empire and the way it deals with its internal conflicts and marginal groups namely women and Jews at "home" and Muslim subjects "abroad".

The Jews played a crucial role in the formation of Muslim identity by serving as foils to Muslim characters in Victorian orientalist fiction. The shift in perspectives between Muslim and Jewish characters is made possible through the various authors' use of the "othering mechanism"[6]. In brief, the concept of "othering" builds on a Hegelian heritage; inspired by both feminist and postcolonial theory, it is a concept that

does not focus on the “fascination” with the other but regardsthe other as inferior. The concept of othering is basically binary, based on the dichotomy between “the subject” and “the other”. In the words of Gingrich, Spivak “claims that such fundamentally contradictory and different opponents as colonisers and colonised are seen as mutually defining each other’s basic identities” (11). Accordingly, it is this “othering mechanism” used by authors of the selected texts in this thesis that enables them to distinguish the English race from "other" marginal groups (women, Muslims and Jews). Not only has this mechanism maintained the difference between the English and their radicalized “others” but it also facilitated in the achievement of the objectives of the British Empire, most notably through the consolidation of the white man’s superior qualities against his inferior others-- a form of strategic contrast and control which would thrive until our present day. Through this strategic contrast, Muslim characters in these literary texts, as racialised "others", begin to take on the negative traits formerly associated with Jews, a trend which then gradually led to a fixed or established trope of stereotyping Muslims as "backward", "evil" or "corrupt", and hence in need of guidance, correction and control.

The use of racial stereotypes in literary texts as part of the educational institution played a significant role in constructing a cultural authority for the colonizers, both in the metropolis and the colonies. They informed the colonial society of the other culture by creating new genres, ideas and identities that either affirmed or challenged the dominant representations and stereotypes. Plays such as *Othello* and *The Tempest* evoked contemporary ideas about the incivility of the 'other' (Loomba, *Colonialism* 70-74). Hence, such works contributed to the civilizing mission as they confirmed the racial stereotypes of the other, thereby stressing the need to colonize these peoples in order to enlighten them and develop their social and economic conditions. Moreover, literature was used as part of the educational system to serve colonial ideologies and

interests by devaluing native literatures and by insisting on certain texts that affirm the superiority of European culture. In fact, English literary studies as a discipline was created to fulfill the needs of colonial administrators. It was used to educate the native in English tastes, as that would protect British interests, hence, promoting the stability of legitimized colonial rule. As Gauri Viswanathan suggests in *Masks of Conquest* (1990), English literary studies became a mask for the colonizer's economic and material exploitation and was thus an effective form of political control (cited in Loomba, *Colonialism* 85).

The civilizing mission has been defined as “extending civilization to peoples considered incapable of governing themselves” (Zwick xviii) or “a special breed of heroic persons bringing Christ to foreign lands” (Wiest 656). Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden," was written to inspire imperialists across the Atlantic to impart their noble values and enlighten the ‘other’. However, many believed that the British were best at the governing of an Empire due to their national, racial, and cultural superiority. In his lecture on "Imperial Duty," John Ruskin asserts the English qualities as "a race mingled of the best northern blood" and enriched by "a thousand years of noble history" (Ruskin 35). Having these advantages in mind, England has the right and the mandate to expand: "she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able"(Ruskin 37). Joseph Chamberlain's lecture "The True Conception of Empire" describes the English as a "great governing race" whose “sense of obligation” is best manifested in its benevolence to the savage populations under its rule (Chamberlain 241-6). Chamberlain believes the white colonies like Australia and Canada could rule themselves and identified them as more or less equal partners within the Empire, the “tropical” colonies could not rule themselves ever as they were backward, ignorant and spiritually bankrupt and thus, in desperate need of the white man’s guidance and benevolence (87, 161). As Kipling’s poem points out, while the expansion of the

Empire may involve the ruthless exploitation of subject people, it is justified for its good purpose of spreading "honest trade and the word of God to 'heathen peoples" as the famous explorer and missionary David Livingstone asserts (Islam 51).[7]

As the discourse of the civilizing mission was self-serving, late Victorians were convinced that their superiority justified their global hegemony as they witnessed the gap between western material development and that of the rest of the world. For them, the more these colonized nations were seen to exhibit traits of fatalism and excessive emotionalism, the further down they were placed in evolutionary development, and thus the greater the challenge of civilizing them. Moreover, those who believed in the social evolutionist dogma were influenced by Darwin's writings and hence convinced that savage races were doomed to extinction (Duara 79-80). To contribute to the spread of civilization, thinkers and colonial administrators stressed the significance of extending their internal pacification and political order to the indigenous 'barbaric' and 'savage' peoples suffering from political unrest and despotic rule. The key to uplift these ignorant and backward peoples was with religious conversion and education through the persistent efforts of missionary reformers. Consequently, the theme of the civilizing mission became a convenient way to establish European superiority by political administrators, through their policy statement. Literary figures also contributed through fictional works, many of whom sought to identify reasons for European advancement relative to Asian and African backwardness and stagnation (78).

In England, the ideology of racial superiority was translated into class terms, and certain sections of people were racially identified as the "natural" working class. According to Robert Miles in *Racism* (1989), the superiority of the white races implied that black men must forever be slaves. In order to ensure the material objective of production, Africans were driven to live on European land through a labour system in return for a certain amount of labour power, and to sell their labour for wage to pay the

cash taxes imposed on them. Thus, the imperial mission utilized racism to serve the economic needs of the colonizers (105- 111). This act negates the civilizing mission. Furthermore, the same treatment of the natives in other lands was also used in England, with the weaker lower and middle classes in the society being exploited for the advantage of the higher ranks of British society. In short, ideologies of race and social class facilitated capitalist production. With time, racial hierarchies were the "magic formula" which allowed capitalism to expand with less wages paid and fewer freedoms given to the working class (Loomba, *Colonialism* 127-8). In other words, this magic formula was a more powerful drive than the acclaimed civilizing mission. Hence, both literature and science were well utilized by the colonial power as they contributed heavily to many fields in the humanities, including Orientalism. Just as Orientalism was used to maintain colonialism in the past, the orientalist classification of racial hierarchies continues to maintain the contemporary world order even when it results in actions that defeat the purpose of the civilizing mission.

It is of immense significance to highlight the role of the evangelical movement as a nineteenth century religious revival launched by John Wesley and George Whitefield in the late eighteenth century within the Church of England, which gave birth to the formation of the Methodist church. Felicia Gordon establishes in *A Preface to the Brontës* that the aim of the movement was to raise the moral enthusiasm and ethical standards among Church of England clergy as it called for personal regeneration through faith (73). In turn, it emphasized the importance of religious education provided by the Bible society and William Wilberforce's campaign against the slave trade as well as improving the living conditions of the poor. In the late nineteenth century, the Evangelical movement was responsible for the conversion of the laboring poor and for some missionary movements in India and the Middle East. St John Rivers in Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre* who departed to teach Christianity in India was characteristic of this

Evangelical strain. His speech to Jane, announcing his intention to travel to the East reflects his evangelical enthusiasm:

> 'Humility, Jane,' said he, 'is the groundwork of Christian virtues: you say, right that you are not fit for the work. Who is fit for it? Or who, that ever was truly called, believed himself worthy of the summons? I, for instance, am but dust and ashes. With St Paul, I acknowledge myself the chiefest of sinners; but I do not suffer this sense of my personal vileness to daunt me. I know my leader: that He is just as well as mighty; and while He has chosen a feeble instrument to perform a great task, He will, from the boundless stores of His providence, supply the inadequacy of the means to the end. Think like me, Jane--trust like me. It is the Rock of Ages I ask you to lean on: do not doubt but it will bear the weight of your human weakness.' (chap 34, 501-2)

In other words, this movement was part of the civilizing mission and anti-colonial subjugation of the other to a certain extent. Paradoxically, though politically conservative, by educating the poor and reviving their religion, the Evangelical movement paved the way for working class reform in England (77).

It is significant that women travelers were mainly involved in the voluntary, non-specialists societies [8] with interests in the Middle East and the Evangelical proselytizing organizations with emotional allegiance to religion (8-9). Billie Melman highlights that travel to the Middle East characterized the period after Napoleon's defeat, so that the journey to the Middle East became part of the education of the *Bildung* of the *Bourgeoisie* (11). She provides a full account of the ways and means of travel during the Victorian period and focuses on women travelers, even though women were not that much encouraged to journey to the East alone. Her study argues that the "women traveler's experience of the Orient was private rather than public, individual rather than institutionalized and finally it was a-political" (12). However, she does highlight that it became increasingly religious from 1886 to 1914, as the evangelical gender ideology stressed "the moral superiority of women" thereby paving the road for female missionaries work in the Middle East, except in Turkey (16). She does not deny

that these women travelers believed in western superiority and values of progress but that along with the traditional, patriarchal *topoi* and images, there were gender-specific representations of the other (17). In other words, she believes in the heterogeneity of the human experience, with respect to differences in time and place.

The most coherent and easily identifiable category of travelers is the evangelical proselytizers, as the secularization and feminization of religion, especially evangelicalism, had its impact on representations of the domestic and civic or political world; of the harem and non-domestic historical landscapes of the orient. In the third part of her book, she focuses on how the expansion of the religious discourse on the Middle East, and how modernization and secularization were themselves the results of evangelical revivalism of the old model of the pilgrimage (Melman 20).

During the nineteenth century, traveling as missionary work and philanthropy were regarded as attractive and respectable occupations. Women in particular took the evangelist occupation such as proselytizing among women. These women encouraged other women to go out of the home and into the world as apostles of Christian humanity and bearers of moral and social reform. Hence, women travelers such as Mary Eliza Rogers, Elizabeth Ann Finns and many others were involved in philanthropic activities aiding indigenous women and children (Melman 42-3). Indeed, the female missionary career is clearly distinguished from the male's[9] as she not only transferred her domestic role abroad but also contributed to the missionary campaigns at different schools there. Eventually, the metropolitan missionary establishment acknowledged women's instrumental role as an asset that could penetrate the segregated harem and collect information on oriental women and children (46-47). Thus, evangelical gender-ideology shaped the travel and work of women travelers so that the nineteenth century religious experience of the Middle East was more complex and varied than the medieval one, as

the latter had the benefit of the new scientific investigation with biblical and religious associations (55-56).

In establishing the relationship between Orientalism and the civilizing mission as defined in the previous section, Imperialism cannot be overlooked. Orientalism prepared for both the civilizing mission as well as the imperial colonial mission in others' lands, both of which depended on the racial stereotyping theories initiated in the eighteenth century. These theories became well established, as they were implemented and experimented with in the nineteenth century, particularly during the Victorian period.[10] Loomba defines colonialism as "the conquest and control of other people's lands and goods" (2). It is a process of 'forming a community' in the new land which involved "*unforming* or re-forming the communities that existed there already" (2), which in turn influenced a wide range of practices such as trade, plunder, warfare, and enslavement. Such practices would also be produced in writing public and private records and letters, government papers and scientific literature (2).

What makes the western colonization of the East (Asian and African continents) different from the numerous previous colonial conquests is that earlier colonialisms were pre-capitalist, while modern colonialism was established in line with capitalism in Western Europe, as Bottomore asserts in *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (81-85). This modern colonialism did not only extract goods and tributes from their colonies but also reconstructed their economies thereby involving them in a complex relationship with their colonizers. Labor in the form of slaves and raw materials were transported to produce goods in the metropolis while these colonies served as captive markets consuming European goods. Hence, both the colonizer and colonized moved, but while the colonized moved as enslaved subjects, the colonizers moved as administrators, soldiers, merchants, settlers, travelers, writers, missionaries or scientists contributing to the orientalist establishment. Although colonialism involved various techniques and

patterns of domination, all of them caused economic imbalance that contributed immensely to the growth of European capitalism. In other words, without colonialism, the transmission to capitalism could not have taken place (Loomba, *Colonialism* 3-4).

Even though the OED defines imperialism as the "rule of an emperor, especially when despotic or arbitrary, the principal or spirit of empire; advocacy of what are held to be imperial interests", imperialism was made distinct as a capitalist form of colonialism. Historically, imperialism stretches back to a pre-capitalist past, such as pre-capitalist Imperial Russia, yet Lenin and Kautsky in their *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1947) (among other writers) related it to a particular stage of capitalist development. Direct colonial rule is not necessary for imperialism as long as there existed such economic and ultimately social relations of dependency and control that ensure captive labor and markets for European goods and industry. In this sense, as the growth of European industry was achieved through colonial domination, imperialism truly marks the highest stage of colonialism as it contributes to a global system. Imperialism could be a political system, but it is mainly an economic one as in the case of "American Imperialism' because it is a system of penetration and control of markets which is not necessarily affected by political changes. Thus, imperialism can function without formal colonies (as is the case with the USA today) but colonialism cannot (Loomba, *Colonialism* 4-7). Lastly, while colonialism was set in the spirit of civilizing the "other", the nineteenth century's racial theories justified imperialism.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The colonizers' movement in different colonies as soldiers, scribes or missionaries produced a huge body of Oriental literature in the metropolis. The popularity and impact of these works stimulated further output by Orientalists who never parted with England, to discuss and reflect upon contemporary social, economic,

religious and political issues. It is these fictional works composed by male and female authors of the Victorian era depictingthe Muslim orient that this dissertation aims to examine first. Moreover, the significance of such worksin relation to literary productions of the Romantic era and the twentieth century will also be elaborated.

The English novel, which had gained eminence by the 1840s, contributed to "the condition of England" and shaped the idea of English identity and presence at “home” in England and “abroad” in the distant colonies (Said, *Culture* 85). This unique role was continuously reinforced by the British power (Said, *Culture* 88-9). Accordingly, my discussion of the selected works of the aesthetic chapter(Chapter two) would reflect the portrayal of the English identity at “home” and “abroad”, a portrayal which recurs in the historic and political chapters as well, and which participated in the making of the Empire and the way it deals with its internal conflicts at “home” and foreign subjects “abroad”.

As the title of this dissertation focuses on the Muslim orient for its scope, it is important to assert that the main geographical area of concern, “abroad”, would be the Middle East ranging from present day Iran, to Turkey, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon as well as North African Muslim lands such as Morocco and Spain where the Jewish community lived as part of the larger population with the Arab Muslims. “Home” on the other hand, would refer to England where the Jewish minority lived within the larger English Christian population. In Emma Roberts’ “The Florentines”, Italy is compared to England as “home”. The absence of England as a “home” in some texts, such as Julia Pardoe’s *The Romance of the Harem*, Benjamin Disraeli’s *Alroy* and Edward Lytton’s *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* is replaced by its figurative presence in these works, being a projection of social and political anxieties at home. Furthermore, the criterion for the selection of texts for each of the chapters of this thesis depends on the depictions of Muslims and Jews in those texts. Accordingly, in this dissertation, the aesthetic value

as well as the historical and political role of the literary representations of these two communities will be investigated in relation to the English national identity and other Victorian preoccupations.

The objectives of this thesis are as follows:

1. To analyze the fictional works of Victorian Orientalists in relation to Orientalist literary productions of the Romantic era and the twentieth century.

2. To examine the depiction of racial stereotypes as they appear in three different sub-genres of Victorian Orientalist fiction: the captivity narrative, the historical romance, and the political novel.

2. To demonstrate how racial and cultural stereotyping contributed to nineteenth-century Orientalism and the British imperial civilizing mission through these Victorian authors' use of such stereotypes in their depictions of the Muslim Orient at "home" and "abroad".

This thesis attempts to analyze the racial stereotypes of Muslim communities and their Jewish counterparts at "home" and "abroad" in several examples of Victorian fiction. This is due to the interrelationship in the representation of these two groups, so that one could not be fully comprehended without the other. Moreover, it is this holistic image that truly contributed to the Victorian English identity, and made the concerns of the day. Furthermore, contrapuntal readings of these rich and complex literary texts not only testify to the "othering mechanism" of marginal races but also reflect the way the Jewish community contributed to influential ideas about Muslims as a people. Such a strategic contrast explains how stereotypical ideas about Muslims in the era were in fact dependent on highlighting their opposition to the Jews.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study examines the novels chronologically to trace the development of the use of racial stereotyping in these literary texts, and expands the coverage of the discussion to include geographical areas beyond Britain.The selection of literary texts for analysis combines canonical novels with less well-known, even formerly neglected, marginal works such as the captivity narratives of Emma Roberts' "The Florentines", from *Oriental Scenes, Sketches and Tales* (1832), Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* (1839) and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) in chapter two. In the third chapter, I discuss the historical romances of Benjamin Disraeli's *Alroy* (1833), Edward Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* (1838) and Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* (1890) while the fourth chapter examines the political novels of Disraeli's *Tancred* (1840), Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* (1876) and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876).

This study is unique due to the theoretical framework it adopts and the area it focuses on. Although Homi Bhabha's theory on hybridity and ambivalence in the portrayal of racial stereotyping in fiction has been widely and thoroughly discussed, in this thesis it is implemented on theanalysis of the selected orientalist Victorian fiction in a way that unravels new ideas and insights on Victorian aesthetics, historical and political fiction. In tracing the progress of the stereotypical depiction of the Muslim and Jewish orient in the selected texts, different aspects of Victorian preoccupations and anxieties about the role of England in asserting and spreading civilization at "home" and "abroad" are revealed.

This study thus bridges the gap in scholarship between literary studies such as those by Asfour, Sharafuddin, Kabbani and Lewis which deal with the portrayal of the Muslim Orient on one hand, and those by Dellamora, Dawson and Colon [11] that highlight issues and themes in Victorian Orientalist fiction on the other by revealing how depictions of the two communities are manipulated in the course of expanding the

British empire. Previous scholarship focused on different works in addressing the woman question in Victorian England, and did not elaborate much on the progress of racial stereotypes of Muslims and Jews in Victorian fiction in relation to each other and the 'condition of England', which is crucial for understanding contemporary politics.

The historical and political events in both the Middle-East and Victorian England distinguish the era for its complexity and enhance our understanding of the political order of the day in the way it confirms or challenges set stereotypes about the Muslim Orient. An example can be seen in the way these literary representations have continued to influence the public's perception of middle-Eastern Muslims and Jews in contemporary society.

Although the study aims to investigate the development of the image of the Muslim orient in Victorian fiction, in light of the historical and political issues in Victorian England, more prominently it finds the image of their foil,the Jewish orient, at center stage, with the Jew being emancipated and provoking controversy over his new status. Being an oriental Semite had him inherit the positive oriental qualities from the Muslim Semite at times and negative traits at other times. In contrast, the Muslim orient in these works appears as a fixed historical entity, restricted to a geographical area, of no political value or effect neither at "home" nor "abroad".

Negative oriental stereotypes were at times confirmed of the Jewish orient and at others challenged by different writers who perceived them differently in light of their growing prestige in England. Accordingly, admired or despised, they were found to be the right vehicle for the European civilizing mission. As for the Muslim communities, various characters conforming to such racial stereotypes continued to be a convenient backdrop for Orientalists to project their fantasies and anxieties upon. This thesis, therefore, highlights the instrumental role of readership in the construction and perpetuation of racial stereotypes, in showing how, for example the anxieties of English

women are projected in the female captivity narrative so as to assert their superiority and diligence in contrast to Eastern women. It also highlights the powerful role of readership in the way racial and cultural stereotypes were repeated and confirmed on one hand, and challenged and developed on the other, in the selected historical and political novels to contribute to a mainstream public opinion that approved of advancing the imperialist and colonialist cause of the British Empire.

1.4 Literature Review

Before highlighting previous research on Orientalist Victorian fiction, the impact of Eastern sciences and literature on Europe is an essential site to begin with. The French revolution and the Industrial revolution were a result of the collapse and loss of Muslim Spain whose scientific and literary manuscripts were transmitted through Italy to the rest of Europe. Accordingly, the European Renaissance launched at the sixteenth century in both the arts and the sciences is thoroughly illustrated in Salim Al-Hassani T.'s *1001 Inventions: Muslim Heritage in our World* (2006), which dwells on the countless inventions of Arabs and Muslims transported to Europe through travelers and Andalusian scholars[12]. As for the literary impact of Spain on English poetry, Abdul Wahid Lu'lu'a's *The Contributions of Spanish Muslims to the European Poetry* (2001) reveals in great detail how the form and content of Arabic love poetry was transferred and incorporated into English poetry through Spanish troubadours and translators who moved around and worked in Europe after the fall of the Islamic state in al-Andalus and the establishment of the Christian Spanish state. Although these contributions were hardly acknowledged, T*he Arabian Nights* was greatly acknowledged and admired due to Galland's[13] efforts in orientalising the East and Muslims in his first ever French translation.

In the Arab world, the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* were not considered amongst the influential works in the Arab world representative of Arab Muslim cultural heritage due to the plot of its frame tale, and its vulgar language at certain instances. Consequently, these tales remained a manuscript and the first Arabic version did not appear until 1984, properly edited by Muhsin Mahdi with vulgar language and stories omitted in comparison to Galland's more provocative 1701 French edition (Irwin, *The Arabian Nights* 7)[14].

On the contrary, the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* translated for the first time to French by Antoine Galland in 1701 in four volumes were the most influential work on the European mind. Galland, although an expert in Arabic, did not translate the work accurately as he infused references to French culture in order to make it more appealing to the public. It is considered his contribution to Orientalism, as his version of the *Arabian Nights* was read by the scholars and literate classes in England (Zipes 50). Muhsin Mahdi dwells on Galland's journeys in the East during which he acquired the manuscript. During his second journey to Constantinople in 1680 for more than five years, he was advised to search for manuscripts of Arabic translated from Greek, of works which no longer existed in Greek, and scientific subjects such as astronomy and mathematics (15). He was advised not to trouble himself with works of poetry and fiction. Thus, it was against his original purpose in the East that he stumbled over *The Thousand and One Nights*. It was after he spent tremendous effort that he managed to produce a "favorable" version of it for his French readers. Even though Galland did not find an Eastern scientific treasure, the *Nights* turned out to be an artistic treasure he delivered to Europe[15].

In spite of the tales going through various translations and redactions, they inspired their translators and the literary icons of the time, bringing forth new trends of narration in literature in Europe. The *Nights* opened wide infinite horizons before the

European imagination to explore, enjoy, learn from, imitate and ultimately innovate (Mahdi 11). Galland's success led other writers to follow his lead, by obfuscating what they were translating without authenticating their sources as each claimed that his translation is the complete one, and hence, the myth of the complete version prompted other translators to forge expanded versions of the tales (Mahdi 12).

In *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1908), Martha Pike Conant discusses the nature of Scheherazade's contribution to the early evolution of the modern novel. She hypothesizes that the novels would not have met with such sweeping success had they not fulfilled certain literary and popular needs. By their episodic plots of adventurous spirit and romantic machinery, they supplied the necessary elements for the development of the English novel so that it evolved beyond the practice of character sketching in periodicals (238-48). The main virtue of the *Nights* which was somehow eclipsed by other virtues of the work is the "communication of moral and political lessons through playful narratives appearing as though meant merely to be amusing and entertaining" (Mahdi 21). Other virtues of the tales revolve around their exemplary tales against their non-exemplary ones on one hand and embedded stories, the "inserted" stories and the "framed" ones on the other[16]. Moreover, the *Nights* are distinguished for their three exemplary tales which contribute to their unique virtue and explores their merit[17].

Aside from the magical world of Romantic machinery and moral lessons in the *Arabian Nights,* their significance is associated with all the historical, religious and cultural value found in those tales which their authors assert, reflect a "true" image of the East. Despite being entertainments, these three redactions claimed to bear true representations of the Muslim East in their character and thematic depictions as well as their footnotes and appendixes.[18] Thus, the three English redactions that appeared in Victorian England (Edward W. Lane's 1839, Richard Burton's 1885 and John Payne's

1882 editions) served the purpose of their authors with respect to their contemporary streams of thought in their representations of the Muslim orient.

In *Scheherazade in England: A Study of Nineteenth- Century English Criticism of the Arabian Nights*, Musin Jassim Ali highlights the difference between Lane's translation and Burton's, evaluating both in light of the progressing conflict between Victorianism with its emphasis on propriety and decorum and the new realist trend with unadulterated truth, in disregard of the strict moralism of the time. In order to better understand such conflict, the different perspectives of the two authors not only contributed to their redactions but also subsequent criticisms and responses (120-121).

While Lane translated the Bulaq manuscript in Cairo, his translation was designed for family reading by expurgating and rewriting sections he thought were not suitable for childish ears. In spite of his heavy editing, it was enthusiastically received by the critics of the time such as Leigh Hunt and Andrew Lang (Irwin, *The Arabian Nights* 25). Lane's redaction focused on eliminating and minimizing the bizarre highlights in the socio-religious substratum of the *Nights* especially pertaining to ideas and beliefs that inform a large body of Victorian social criticism. Lane's edition highly influenced cultivated circles. This was manifested in the appearance of a number of tolerant and appreciative studies of Islam and Arabic literature, which in turn, contributed to the development of scholarly research in oriental mythology and folklore. Moreover, it provided mid-Victorian critics with sociological insights into the social contents of the *Nights* (Ali 128-9).

Although Ali believes that Lane's edition highlighted the numerous moral and religious themes in the *Nights*, and inspired Victorian critics to consider such themes[19], Kabbani finds Lane's depiction confirms a decadent view of the East even though his version presents the tales under the subtle guise of scholarship in the way he introduced, footnoted and expanded the text to make it reflective of Eastern culture. His translation

and footnotes reflect his negative impression of the East as no arbitrary detail is left hermetic. Hence, he uses the text as a pre-text, and the translation is his tool to express his motive. His intentions are to deliver Egypt and Egyptians without depth, thus sacrificing their humanity in favor of scientific validity. Even though Lane's narrative is highly genteel, conforming to the middle-class morality as he intended to produce a family book bearing the imprints of his learning, his prudery contrasts with Burton's prurience and preoccupations. Thus, both texts can be seen to represent the contradictory penchant of the Victorian age for representations of the Muslim orient in the literature of the era (43-5).

The publications of Burton's and Payne's unexpurgated editions were not coincidental. They were the inevitable reactions to the growing concern for scientific exactitude and against the conventional restrictions of plain references to pathological and physiological facts. Critics in favor of Lane represent the conservative opposition to the growing taste for scientific objectivity and exactitude which Burton and his admirers claim to cultivate. Writers like Alfred Auston, John Addington Symonds, Bernard Shaw and Yeats combated the conventions and hypocrisy of their time; others like Burton were interested in shocking moralist England of the time with their rebelliousness (Ali 123-4). According to Yeats and Shaw, Scheherazade's descriptions of love are educative as she treats it like any other passion and thus, the *Nights* are more instructive and enjoyable compared to other romances. Moreover, Shaw finds the tales as "relieved of all such restrictions" in a positive fashion (Ali 124). Hence, Burton's and Payne's projects in the 1880s were part of this revolt. Auston and Symonds vindicated Burton by revealing that it is not unacceptable to narrate stories from an ancient script, with a language like that of the Bible and Shakespeare. Such perspectives provide an insight on the moral confusion of late Victorian England so that Burton sets his Romantic vision of the East as a free land from the prejudice and cant of Victorian England. While

creating stereotypes, this insight also criticizes England for her social and moral biases without providing a truthful picture of the East. Hence, Burton used the *Nights* to highlight the miserable hypocrisy of an age which is anything but purer than its predecessors (Ali 125)[20].

In spite of the truthfulness of Ali's perception of Burton's translation of the *Arabian Nights*, Kabbani asserts that Burton contributed to the sexualization and racial stereotyping of the Muslim orient by capitalizing on "the myth of the erotic and exploitable East" in claiming that the *Nights* gave an unrivalled insight on Muslims' customs and institutions (45)[21]. P Aside from Lane's partisanattack on Burton's and Payne's translations[22], Payne himself thought Burton's focus on obscene passages to be excessive. Henry Reeve's classification of the different translations of the *Nights* in the *Edinburgh Review* was that "Galland is for the nursery, Lane is for the Library, Payne for the study and Burton for the sewers"[23] (cited in Irwin 35-6). In this sense, the nineteenth century is distinguished as an age of criticism and analysis. Not only were the aforementioned editions of the *Nights* an expression of that but also the other orientalist Victorian fiction such as the works selected in this thesis.

The three translations or versions of the *Nights* were thus crucial in establishing racial stereotypes of Muslim people and their culture in the Middle-East. Burton's translation of the *Nights* motivated the civilizing mission through anthropology. This field, developed in the nineteenth century to become a system of hierarchical classification of race, was highly related to the functioning of the empire. Although discrimination of strangers was an ancient phenomenon in the west, the medieval concept of 'The Great Chain of Being' was adopted as a framework for race classification in which races were stratified in manners that disqualified all egalitarian advancement. Therefore, the Anglo-Saxon race, from a Victorian perspective, stood at the pinnacle of human hierarchy so that it was the master of the human race (Kabbani

62). Some of the most influential books in the field of anthropology are such as James Cowles Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* (1813), which discussed racial theory in scientific guise, and his *Natural History of Man* (1843) which utilized travelers' accounts in the ethnological discussion of human races(Kabbani 63).

Ali is not the only critic to shed light on the idea of projection of the empire's frustrations and self criticism on to the Eastern 'other' as one of the literary concerns of the nineteenth century. Hilary Fraser and Daniel Brown in *English Prose of the Nineteenth Century* (1996) also discuss how traveling to the East gave the British the opportunity to view their country and its customs afresh in light of their exposure to other cultures (56). These were compared to British urban experiences with the poorer classes of East London. The analogy between the orient found in distant lands and the poor British in London reflects much similarity between the two. Another example is the analogy between the sexual exploitation of women and the racial exploitation of Black Africans which was frequently implied in Anna Maria Falconbridge's travel book *Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (1788) and her letters to her friends (Pratt 103). Moreover, they explain the similarities between the urban proletariat of the 'outcast' London poor and the savage tribes that travelers encountered in their journeys during their civilizing imperial civilizing missions (Fraser 96).

With the rise and development of media in the twentieth century, fewer translations of the *Nights* appeared in comparison to numerous films produced on them such as Disney's *Aladdin* and*Around the World in Eighty Days* (2004).[24] These movies reflect the conception of the *Nights* of that era with respect to the historical, political and social development of the Middle East in the twentieth century. This conception was highly influenced by the negative elements of Victorian translations of the *Nights*. The negative stereotypical portrayal of characters in the *Nights* contributed to such themes emphatic of the decay of civilization and culture in the East, making it in need of

western guidance and tutelage. The impact of such characterizations in written works and film productions is prevalent in the twenty-first century in articles handling political treatment of Middle Eastern issues. Bronski explains the role of the sexualization of Islam in the Victorian *Arabian Nights* as parallel to the way many Americans continue to perceive the Muslim Orient today. They believe in that image of sexualized Islam which allows polygamy in this world and rewards its pious believers with beautiful houris in the hereafter. Such representations can be attributed to the Victorians' projection of such desirable imaginings by attaching them to the orient (Bronski, "Arabian night sweats").

Therefore, it is vital to assert the contribution of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* to the unique and eminent English novel which propagated not only English culture but also its political agendas later on in the twentieth century. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said asserts that the English novel sustained society's consent in overseas expansion. Imperialism, which occurred by the continuous consolidation within education, literature and visual and musical arts, was manifest at the level of national culture. According to William Blake, "The foundation of Empire is art and science, Remove them or Degrade them and the Empire is no more. Empire follows art and not vice versa as Englishmen suppose" (12-13)[25].

Hence, imperial aims and general national culture can be seen in cooperation, especially in literary works like Dickens' *Great Expectations*, in which the national and international context of its Victorian businessmen gives the work a greater historical value besides the literary one (Said, *Culture* 13).There are a number of works reflective of the imperial enterprises in distant colonies, which Said cites, such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, as it beautifully captures the imperial attitude in the complicated and rich narrative. Another example he cites is Kipling's *Kim*, as it reflects the conflicts between the empire and its colonies in late Victorian society (Said, *Culture* 24- 26).

Moreover, Said argues that literature has made constant references to itself as a participant in the overseas expansion of Europe. He refers to Raymond Williams' seminal phrase "structure of feelings" (*Culture* 61) and to what he calls "structures of attitude and references" which he found to mean "a virtual unanimity that subject races should be ruled, that they *are* subject races, that one race deserves and has constantly earned the right to be considered the race whose main mission is to expand beyond its own domain" (62). Said elaborates how these structures of attitude support, elaborate and consolidate the practice of the Empire in some nineteenth-century works such as Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (73).

Said points out that it was not the English novel that caused imperialism; both the novel as a cultural artifact of bourgeois society and imperialism are unthinkable without each other. It is the most literary form with the most normative pattern of the most structured social authority. "Imperialism and the novel fortified each other to such a degree that it is impossible […] to read one without in some way dealing with the other" (Said, *Culture* 84)[26]. Accordingly, in discussing how racial stereotyping functions as a trope in the selected texts of this thesis, the relevant features of the Victorian novel as contributing factors will be highlighted.

As mentioned earlier, the prominence of the English novel as the aesthetic and intellectual voice in English society enabled it to participate in the debates on "the condition of England" as well as shape the idea of English identity and presence at "home" and "abroad". Moreover, the assumed superiority of the white man over colored men is not only emphasized in western culture but also the educational system of the British empire, to impart and educate to others that all branches of knowledge (anthropology, Darwinism, Christianity, utilitarianism, idealism, racial theory, linguistics, and travel writings) ally together to affirm white English civilization. Thus,

the narrative institution came to emphasize European superiority through their representations of the heroism of the white man who is destined to civilize the other who is inferior and has to be ruled (Said, *Culture* 121-7). Such aspects of European racial superiority versus the Eastern racial inferiority are evident in the selected texts as part of the anthropological heritage of the British. Thus, ambivalent stereotypical depictions and projections mark these novels as preoccupied with the self and the condition of England.

The portrayal of the Eastern Orient in Victorian fiction has been discussed by a number of scholars. In *The Crescent and the Cross* (1976), Mohammad H. Asfour attributes the stereotypical portraits of the Muslim orient during the Middle Ages in the works of travelers, pilgrims, religious and polemic works to their fear of the spread of Islam (6-25). It was due to this so-called "lasting trauma" that they emphasized the typical images of the East as a barbaric land of mystical beings, wondrous happenings, magic and superstition (Said, *Orientalism* 59).[27]Asfour asserts that with the rise and expansion of Islam, the west was highly threatened by Islam and Muslims:

> It was, therefore, in a spirit of hostility, defensive and offensive, that Christians tended to view Islam as largely a creation of the church polemicists, but it was not long before the image of the polemic literature of the Middle Ages filtered into popular literature of the time and continued to appear in it up to the nineteenth century (207).

With the defeat of the Ottomans and the reduction of the threat of Islam, the East became better perceived with more tolerance and understanding, though with still little acceptance of the religion and the people as the eastern character, prophet and people continued to be distorted and obliterated by orientalists for imperial ends. All these were mirrored in the English literary production of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certainly there was a development in the orient's image, yet its core negative essence persisted (208-9).

This shiftin attitude was also alluded to in Byron Porter Smith's *Islam in English Literature* (1939, republished in 1977), a text that serves as the general background of all studies dealing with the Orientalist treatment of Islam, Prophet Mohammad and Muslims in English Literature. According to Smith, even though the image of Islam and Muslims in English Literature progressed with time and remain so until the present day, the image is still shockingly distorted in many ways (Smith 144).

Before and during the seventeenth century, the records of the pilgrims' and crusaders' of the East had religious ideas mixed with myth and historical events, hence preserving a distorted image of the Muslim as a Saracen and a "Turk" with all the negative traits (barbaric, sexual, lustful and polygamous) associated with the word. Naji B. Oueijan in *The Progress of an Image: The East in English Literature* (1996) divided travelers to the orient into two categories. The first went to the orient, observed the people and lived amongst them but composed about it from their own biased and prejudiced point of view such as Robert Burton, Thomas Dekker and Francis Bacon. The second category includes travelers such as Fynes Moryson, Thomas Coryat, George Sandys, and the famous Sherley Brothers among others. He cites Samuel Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose* (1937: 22-3) to prove that while writers who stayed at home

> expressed opinions filled with prejudice, those who actually visited the orient expressed views ranging from extreme prejudice against the peoples of the orient, especially the Turks (the case of preachers) to accurate observations of oriental settings and customs (the case of independent travelers). Those who expressed sympathetic views of Islam were frequently considered disloyal as was the case of the Sherley Brothers who were driven to beggary (Oueijan 14).

The eighteenth century witnessed a more objective view of Islam and Muslims, with the publication of the first English translation of the Holy Quran by George Sale in 1734. Although intended to be a tool to preach Christianity, it had a lasting impact on Sale and his readers. Factors like the diminishing danger of the Ottoman empire, the growing supremacy of the British empire, the rise of scholarship and increased contact

between East and West in trade led to the production of an oriental literature, of translated material from oriental languages (such as Antoine Galland's *Arabian Nights*) as well as travel works based on or inspired by the orient. These elements and others contributed to a new image conditioned by aesthetics, unlike that from the middle-ages which was conditioned by religious motives (Asfour 25-7).

Rana Kabbani's study *Europe's Myths of Orient* (1986) is a powerful critique in line with Said's hypothesis. Her work is the first to link racial hierarchies, travel, colonization and imperial expansion to western literary representations of the East, its religion and peoples. She confirms Smith's and Asfour's opinion of the western prejudices in portraying the East. She asserts that while the seventeenth and eighteenth-century travel accounts were mere observations and reports of the East, the nineteenth century differed as traveling and writing on the orient became more organized. It was during the Age of Empire that the westerners came into direct contact with the East, inspired by their hatred for Islam and Muslims, by the crusades, as well as their deeply felt interest in Eastern lands and exoticism. Travelers observed and viewed particularly selected subjects and reported particular events (6-7). Like Said, Kabbani establishes that the Victorian period accompanied the birth of the discipline of anthropology; hence the European race was the culmination of excellence in the human species in light of the inferiority of other races. H. Ridder Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and Edger Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan* are examples of texts that reinforce racial otherness.[28] Consequently "the European culture came to be framed by warped representations of the East-- since in the end the dominant taste and mythologizing instinct triumphed". As the orient became "a pretext for the self dramatization and differentness", it afforded "endless material for the imagination and endless potential for the Occidental self" (Kabbani 10-11). Eventually, the scientific discoveries of the Victorian period such as that of Darwin were asserted by the English travelers of the Victorian period (3).

Said's *Orientalism* stirred much controversy and contributed significantly to numerous other studies in the attempts to prove it or otherwise. In line with his study are all the works on racial hierarchies and colonization discussed in the previous section. There is a difference between Said's conception of Orientalism discussed earlier by Asfour and Smith and approved of by Kabbani, Muhsin J. Ali, Loomba and others on one hand and the view established by Lisa Lowe, and agreed upon by Billie Melman, Reina Lewis, Mohammed Sharafuddin, Naji Oueijan, Emily Haddad and others on the other. While Said's *Orientalism* criticizes the West's historical, cultural and political perceptions of the East and sets the orient in opposition to the occident, Lowe's view in *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (1991) disapproves of the occidental conception of the oriental other as an unchanging topos, and states that

> the misapprehension of uniformity prohibits a consideration of the plural and inconsistent referents of both terms, Occident and Orient. The binary opposition of Occident and Orient is thus a misleading perception which serves to suppress the specific heterogeneities, inconsistencies and slippages of each individual notion. This heterogeneity is borne out most simply in the different meanings of the "Orient" over time (Lowe 7).

She also points out that the British and French cultural contexts for producing literature at that time are distinct. She argues that Orientalism can be heterogeneous and contradictory and hence, there is an uneven matrix of Orientalist situations across different cultures and historical sites, each of which is complex and unstable. In other words, heterogeneous sites may prove that Orientalism is vulnerable to challenge (5). Her ultimate aim is "to challenge and resist the binary logic of otherness by historicizing the critical strategy of identifying otherness as a discursive mode of production itself" (29).

The treatment of Eastern women is crucial to the understanding of racial and cultural stereotypes of the Muslim orient, in the way the orient was portrayed and the orientalists perceived themselves through such projections. The representation of

Eastern women, first mentioned in Asfour's discussion of medieval literary texts, is also well developed by Kabbani to show how such women were depicted as either poor, innocent passive victims of their patriarchal society or intelligent like Scheherazade (Kabbani 15).

Billie Melman's *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918* (1992) further discusses racial stereotypes of Muslim societies, especially women as brought forth by English women travelers. She finds that these materials reflect a plurality of discourse, as these travels "resulted in an analogy between the polygamous Orient and the traveling women's own monogamous society". Such an analogy resulted in self-criticism which sometimes made these women identify with the other in a manner that cuts across barriers of culture, religion and ethnicity. Hence, their writings substitute a sense of solidarity of gender for sexual and racial superiority as English women in England also suffered from gender discrimination and her marginalization was doubled if she were from the lower classes.[29] Outside the harem and in its sexual representations, these women's experiences of the Middle East were quite original (7-8).

Another study on representations of Muslim women is Mohja Kahf's *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman: From Termagant to Odalisque* (1999), which is concerned with the image of Muslim women from the middle ages until the mid-nineteenth century. The study further expands ideas of Said, Asfour and Kabbani by preparing a well elaborated and focused discourse on the representation of Muslim women through time. Her work is based on the literary portrayal of the Eastern woman and establishes that stereotypes change with time, however, this change does not make Eastern women more than “an abject harem slave” (pg). Hence, this racial stereotype has remained a dominant projection in the Western understanding of oriental femininity

In *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (1992), Nigel Leask perceives the historical context of Orientalism in Romantic writings as coinciding with the progress from "mercantilist trade relations" to a "more programmatic intervention in the affairs of African or Asian nations" (17), to "participation in the civilizing mission of nineteenth century European culture or the expansionist dependence on colonial markets" (22). In other Romantic works, this new approach is known as early nineteenth-century "liberal imperialism" as it employed enlightenment attacks on the tyranny of the ancient regime to justify the conquest of non-European societies and cultures. Romantic writers such as Byron had little sympathy for the projects of imperialism evident in many of his *Eastern Tales* and his preference for the 'Hellenistic' heritage underscores by contrast the 'Asiatic' values of violence, eroticism, fatalism and intoxication (Bhattacharya 1453).De Quincey further contributed to the racist paranoia of the Victorian mind, inusing opium to justify his "anxieties" as only exaggerated versions of those expressed by Byron and Shelley (Brantlinger 531).

Mohammed Sharafuddin's *Islam and Romantic Orientalism* (1993) and Naji Oueijan's *The Progress of an image: The East in English Literature* (1996) focus on the ambivalence of such authors as Robert Southey, Lord Byron and Thomas Moore in their portrayal of the Muslim Orient. These authors treated such peoples more humanely yet persisted in conforming to well-established racial stereotypes in their writings. Their works dealt with Islam and Muslims with more sympathy and understanding. Yet as members of western society, their works reflect a detachment from Islam, their fear of being contaminated by its core, as that would make them social misfits. However, Sharafuddin establishes that these authors were able to perceive some of the good values and morals of Islam and show how these could be used to revive European civilization, especially after the failure of Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1798-1801), which had a lasting impact on them (Sharafuddin 105-6).

In correspondence to *Orientalism*, in *Culture and Imperialism* (1994) Said acknowledges the heterogeneity of oriental discourse against his earlier thesis in Orientalism, and points out Lowe's *Critical Terrains* (1991) as proof of it. He also states that the old authority of binary oppositions dear to the nationalist and imperialist enterprise have gone and are now replaced by new alignments made across borders, types, nations and essences. These alignments "now provoke and challenge the fundamental static notion of *identity* that has been the core of cultural thought during the era of imperialism" (xxviii). This kind of "identity" thought then became by the nineteenth century the hallmark of imperialist culture and those of others' trying to resist the European expansion. Hence, it was through the imperial expansion that all the cultures became involved in one another so that none was single or pure. Rather all became hybrid, heterogeneous and extraordinarily differentiated (xxviii). By doing this, Said highlights the role of colonialism in preparing for today's order of globalization and multiculturalism in many parts ofthe world.

Likewise, in *Gendering Orientalism* (1996), Reina Lewis emphasizesthe interdependence of ideologies of race and gender in the colonial discourse of the period. In her discussion of the George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, she discusses racial stereotypes of the English Jew was controversial to the mainstream conservative views of them in English literature. Significantly, Lewis points out how Eliot establishes Daniel as an admirable potential contributor to the advancement of the British empire.

In contrast to the previous studies, Lewis's *Rethinking Orientalism* (2004) examines Eastern women's literary production on Eastern women and their lifestyle for a western audience. In this work, she highlights Eastern women's perspectives of the West and their perspectives of Orientalists' gaze on the orient. She also shows how Eastern women searched for their emancipation and struggled for their rights. Hence, her study is unique as it does not only explore a different perspective of Orientalism by

not only focusing on a selection of Eastern women writers but also permitting the orient to speak for itself by addressing Europe.

The focus on Eastern and oriental characters is expanded in*Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785* by Ros Ballaster (2005) who utilizes recent historiographical and literary reassessments of western constructions of the East to develop an original argument about the use of narrative as a form of sympathetic and imaginative engagement with otherness, castingit as a search for the self rather than a confident expression of colonial ambitions. Likewise, the collection of essays in *Interrogating Orientalism: Contextual Approaches and Pedagogical Practices* edited by Diane Long Hoeveler and Jeffrey Cass (2006) reflect on the plurality of oriental discourse, as the aim of the British empire was to maintain the profits of the East while keeping a distance from its cultures and peoples. The authors in this volume approve of Homi Bhabha's theory and deduce that British citizens were not just seeking the other to "appropriate or control", rather they opted for a more complex interaction that was "hybridizing and modernizing" (2). The selected texts discussed in the book testify to the presence of both impulses in nineteenth-century British Orientalist writings.

Although all these previous studies accept Said's thesis in *Orientalism* as a foundation, they also argue against a totalizing interpretation of it, thereby emphasizing the heterogeneity of Orientalisms as a discourse. While Leask, Sharafuddin, and Oueijan focus on nineteenth century poetry, Kabbani, Lowe, Lewis, and Melman focus on nineteenth-century prose texts, all of which seem significantly motivated by Said’s thesis on Orientalism, be it pro or anti imperialist.

Richard Dellamora’s *Friendship’s Bonds: Democracy and the Novel in Victorian England* (2004) highlights the role of male friendships in contributing to the social, literary and political conditions and developments in Victorian England. The

author considers the historical story of Prophet Lot and Sodom and its influence on the development of friendships in Britain since then and until the Victorian era. In the friendships of Benjamin Disraeli and his colleagues in Eton and William Beckford on one hand, and William Gladstone's and Anthony Trollope's on the other, the impact of these friendships in literary works such as *Alroy*, *Tancred*, *The Prime Minister* and other works bears fruit. Other studies are *The Effective Protagonist in the Nineteenth Century British Novel: Scott, Brontë, Eliot, Wilde* by Terence Dawson (2004) focusing on instrumental characters in the selected works and their impact on the nineteenth-century English novel using post-Jungian methodology of anima and animus. In the course of discussing these characters, the role of the Jews is highlighted. *The Professional Ideal in the Victorian Novel: The Works of Disraeli, Trollope, Gaskell and Eliot* by Susan E. Colon (2007) highlights the tensions with regard to the most ideal profession as perceived by the different authors in a progressing materialistic Victorian society. These differences are reflected in each of these authors' depictions and themes. All these work highlight in their discussion the role of the English Jew in British society.

My study utilizes the theoretical approaches of Said, Bhabha and Spivak in tracing the development of the racial stereotypes of the Muslim orient in selected works of the Victorian era. It combines canonical literary texts with less well known or even formerly neglected, marginal works in a way unlike any of the previous studies on the Muslim orient. This study begins by exploring the issue of the identity of English women, through the examination of selected captivity narratives. In doing so, it establishes racial stereotypes of Eastern Muslim women in opposition to "enlightened" Victorian English women.My discussion also focuses on the central role of the Jew in the creation of Muslim identity by considering established racial stereotypes against dynamic new ones in the historical and political Victorian novel. This is done by examining the evolution of these racial stereotypes in the selected works. Accordingly,

it bridges the gap in scholarship between earlier critical studies such as those by Asfour, Sharafuddin, Kabbani and Lewis which deal with the portrayal of the Muslim Orient on one hand, and those by Dellamora, Dawson and Colon that highlight issues and themes in Victorian Orientalist fiction in which the role of the English Jew is instrumental. The study reveals how depictions of the two communities are manipulated in favor of the civilizing mission and in the course of expanding the British empire.In doing so, this study aims to reveal the contribution and influence of the Muslim Orient on Victorian literature, society and politics, through the depictions of racial stereotypes of the Muslim and Jewish communities in the selected works.

1.5 Outline of Chapters

The first chapter of this thesis will consider Victorian women writers and Orientalists aesthetics, their use of captivity narratives in asserting their distinctly oppositional identity while depicting the Muslim orient in Emma Roberts' *Oriental Scenes, Sketches and Tales* (1832), specifically in "The Florentines" specifically, selected tales of Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* (1839) and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847). The impact of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* is clearest in these works, although it is evident in other works of the following chapters as well. In all of the selected works, negative stereotypes of the Muslim men and women and their culture are repeated and are thus meant to fix them and maintain them in that negative way despite the ambivalent tone of the different authors. The stereotypical portrayal of the Muslim orient in Roberts' and Pardoe's works defines the evolving English female protagonist as depicted in works such as Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre.* In these works, the fear of being held captive in a Muslim harem serves as a reminder for English women of their limited rights in England. Although not confined to a harem physically, they realize they are restricted by a patriarchal society with much less rights than their Eastern sisters. Critical of their own reflection in the mirror, they assert their

enlightenment, confidence and dependence by projecting such images in fiction until they secured their equality and gained their rights. Eventually, their economic and social circumstances paved the way for the construction of the new woman in England by the end of the century. The Jewish communities, with all the negative stereotypes associated with them, are depicted in Pardoe's tales, in a sympathetic light for being the prosecuted minority in Muslim lands suffering from Muslim tyranny. Her sympathetic representation makes their image unstable, thus inviting new positive depictions. "Home" in Roberts and Pardoe is projected onto "abroad" in the depiction of Italy, Turkey, Persia and Iraq. Likewise, stereotypes of the Oriental 'Pasha' and 'harem' from "abroad" are reflected upon at "home" in Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

My discussion reveals the contrast in the representation of the Muslim and Jewish communities which creates a platform for the development of their stereotypes in the following two chapters. The sympathetic representation of the Jewish community in Pardoe's tales makes their portrayal unstable and invites new stereotypes and hence new positive traits surface while their prosecution is further dramatized in the next chapters. In their struggle to gain eminence and political rights in England, Pardoe's depiction of them as a non-threatening prosecuted minority contributes positively to their cause of emancipation. On the other hand, the decline of the Muslim Empire, and the absence of Muslims in England invites maintaining negative stereotypes.

Chapter Three considers the historical focus of the Victorian period through the genre of the historical romance. It begins by discussing the development of the historical novel with respect to Sir Walter Scott's contributions, specifically *The Talisman* and *Ivanhoe,* as well as those of Benjamin Disraeli in *Alroy*. Just as Scott's works use history to discuss contemporary issues, and shed new light upon the East to criticize English social ills and prejudices against the Jews, Disraeli attempts to do the same in *Alroy* (1833). Accordingly, aside from being a Jewish novel on Jewish

preoccupations and their plight in the East, *Alroy*is a means to promote the national Church in spite of its disenfranchisement of the Jews. He does this by superimposing archetypal structures of the Christians and the Jews on each other. This novel was Disraeli's means to discuss a highly sensitive issue, that is, the relationship between religion and state. The character and thematic representation of the Jews in this novel challenged established stereotypes to some extent, thereby promoting an alteration in their perception and treatment in England. As for the Muslim orient in this novel, their portrayal is associated with their historical might, and is thus marked by despotic tyranny. Their depiction is in line with the established racial and cultural stereotypes motivating the Empire's civilizing mission.

Edward Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* (1838) is the second historical novel in the chapter that affirms Scott's stereotypes of Eastern Moorish men and women on one hand while, at the same time, challenges Scott's inference that the East is more tolerant of the Jews than the West. Despite the magnanimity of King Boabdil and Prince Muza, they could be manipulated by an intelligent Jew. While Moorish Muslims in general mistreat their Jewish inhabitants badly, Spanish Christians prosecute them severely. Eventually, Jews are caught by both parties as both contribute to their great suffering. In spite of their being typically stereotyped Jewish characters, there is also those radically positive ones such as Almamen and his daughter, whose death is the ultimate predicament all Jews have to face under Muslim and Christian rule. Such representation destabilized the perception of the Jewish community among English readers. This dramatic novel reveals the racial hierarchy Lytton seems to believe in, in which the Christians are on the top, followed by the Jews and the Muslims at the bottom. Any positive Muslim trait is locked within that historical moment.

Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* (1890) also reflects on the historical suffering of the Jewish inhabitants of Morocco which cannot be compared to their better of conditions

in England. Caine's portrayal of the historical characters of Israel Ben Oleil and the Mahdi resembles that of Scott's but his sympathy with the orient in general is apparent in his depiction of the suffering of the Jewish masses under their despotic Muslim rulers. The chapter thus affirms negative stereotypes of oriental peoples as overpowered pathetic masses in real need of western rule. The civilizing mission is their only resort as the novel ends with the Spanish occupation of Morocco. This narrative sets the oriental Jew as a potential player in Victorian England and the East, in contrast to the fixed entity of the passive Muslim orient. The repetition of the sympathetic portrayal of the Jewish orient in these novels set against their new heroic traits in *Alroy* destabilizes their image. Unlike Oriental Muslims, they have no land of their own and by the virtue of their wit, they need not be ruled. All they need is emancipation and the freedom to rule a land of their own. England, in contrast to Scott, is a better place for them than the Muslim East. In this chapter, 'home' is where the Jews want to live as a nation, 'abroad' is England and the Muslim orient. The Muslim orient is a projection of England where the Jews are struggling to have the full right of English citizenship.

In short, Chapter Three reveals to a great extent the impact of such historical events as the emancipation of English Jews marked by the appointment of Benjamin Disraeli as a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on the racial and cultural stereotyping of both the Muslim and Jew in Victorian Britain. The three authors discussed do not eliminate negative Jewish stereotypes; they instead challenge them with new ground breaking positive ones during Disraeli's term as Prime Minister. The Muslim governments and communities on the other hand are mere historical agents assisting and justifying the Jewish right to lead a better life wherever they live.

Chapter Four, with its focus on the Victorian political novel, highlights the fixed image of the Muslim oriental as one who is hardly visible. In this chapter, I discuss Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847), George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876) and

Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* (1876), all of which reflect the rising eminence of the English Jew. Bearing in mind the established negative stereotype of European Jews, there was much controversy due to anxieties caused by the possible threat of the English Jew. The Muslim orient only appears in Disraeli's *Tancred* as one of the many religious ethnic groups in Palestine and Lebanon. The friendly and passive portrayal of some Muslim characters in *Tancred* fixes them as stable historical entities and passive political players. Their fixity, division and passivity invite the colonial administrators in. In the other two works, his absence is due to their setting in England on one hand. On the other, his absence reflects his being an inactive historical agent, a part of the aesthetic culture, to be conquered, manipulated and ruled. Each of the three novels reflects their author's notions on the orient. Disraeli was in favor of establishing a positive image of the Jewish Semite in general. His portrayal of the East as a land populated by Arab Jews together with the controversial emancipation of the English Jew facilitated the British mandate in Palestine in the twentieth century. Eventually, they became the British representatives and agents in the Middle East through the Balfour Agreement. Meanwhile, Anthony Trollope's novels represented the other stream in the English society, one which abhorred the English Jews and did not want to acknowledge their right of participation in English politics. In *The Prime Minister*, he portrays English Jews as a serious threat to English society. They may behave and be perceived enthusiastically, but their being a lower race has them serve a specific personal agenda. They could threaten by competing with English men in politics and may have the chance to captivate English women who may be deceived into marrying them. His depiction of them reflects the Victorian conflict in dealing with this newly emancipated English Jew. His warning against these new members asserts the extent of their involvement in Victorian English society. While his work does not explicitly indicate being in favor of their staying in England or their relocation to Palestine, it does

not mind their relocation anywhere outside Europe in order to maintain the racial purity of the English

In contrast, George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* has an amiable English man who turns out to be of Jewish decent as its titular hero. In depicting Daniel and other Jewish characters as distinguished and respectable,Eliot asserts the value of the British Empire's civilizing mission on one hand and the positive role of the English Jews as their representatives in Palestine on the other. Although the narrative reflects the Victorians' perception of English Jews as members of a lower class within their society, it also emphasizes Jewish wit and intellect as well as their political will as a peopleto have their own independent state in Palestine. In other words, although the English may want to have the English Jew assimilated into their society, it is the Jews who aspire for more than having their freedom at "home" by venturing "abroad". In establishing their own independent state, they would thus serve as British ambassadors there. In *Daniel Deronda*, Eliot suggests that "home" is where the Jews, despite having acquired equal rights as citizens, are still regarded as undesirable Asiatics within Victorian society. However, having attained their political emancipation at "home" in England, they are thus able to harness this independence in order to represent not only their own but also English interests"abroad" in Palestine, the heart of the Muslim orient.

In conclusion, through the repetitions of racial stereotypes, numerous texts in Victorian Orientalist fiction stabilize formerly ambiguous representations of the Muslim orient. The fluid,evolving stereotypes of the Jewish communities in the Muslim Orient and England destabilized older negative ones, thereby creating much controversy in Victorian England, as the last chapter reveals. Thus, the concept of "home" and "abroad" vary with respect to the focus of the chapters, and functions as a powerful interpretive strategy which provides significant insights on the role of Muslim and Jewish communities in the British Empire. The ambivalence in the Victorian

representation of the Jewish communities stands in contrast to the waves of Jewish migrations to Palestine in the 1880s and 1890s, a manifestation of the implicit British endorsement of their political agenda. Until today, the legacy of Victorian Orientalist representations of the Muslim and Jewish communities marks global society and politics, justifying Western intervention in Muslim lands.

CHAPTER 2

VICTORIAN WOMEN WRITERS AND ORIENTALIST AESTHETICS: CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES AND FEMALE IDENTITY

I never dream'd I could forget
  That blissful home; but ah !the heart
When its warm flow with love is met
  Can make its own bright world apart;
T'is only when unloved- alone-
  And blighted- that I sigh to be
In the dear isle where once I dwelt
  Amid the bright Egean sea!

(Pardoe, *The Romance of the Harem*, vol.2: 35)

This chapter discusses the aesthetics of Victorian literary culture and highlights the impact of this literary culture on orientalist entertainment in twentieth century mass media to which the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* were much more than a precursor. It examines the immense contribution of these tales to Western aesthetics and literary development, being a kind of historical record of the East as well as a political tool in handling the East, particularly in the popular genre of female captivity narratives. The chapter also reviews the history of the captivity narrative starting from the eighteenth century and all the way throughout the nineteenth century, and argues that female authors, inspired by captivity tales in the *Nights,* used this genre as a means to critique the treatment of women in Victorian patriarchal society. This chapter analyses Emma Roberts' "The Florentines" from *Oriental Scenes, Sketches and Tales* (1832), selected tales of Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* (1839) as well as Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) in order to illustrate how these texts served as examples of captivity narratives that were used for the cause of emancipating English women in Victorian England.

Aestheticism are “things perceptible by the senses”; in Greek it denotes “onewho perceives” according to *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. This word was applied in German by A.T. Baumgarten in 1750(Æsthetica) to “criticism of taste” and considered a philosophical theory. Progressively, the term *aesthetic*became one that signifies “the criticism of the beautiful or to the theory of taste”. In the nineteenth century, the term entailed a perspective that “art is self-sufficient and need serve no other purpose than its own ends” (Cuddon 11)[1].

Aestheticsas theorized and conceptualised by Romantic period writersand philosophers, notably Kant, Schelling, Goethe and Schiller, agreed that art must be autonomous and an artist should not be restricted to and by anyone. Consequently, later in the nineteenth century, the artist developedthe image of being a Bohemian and a non-conformist, with respect to the cult of the individualego and sensibility. These ideas were diffused in Britain by Coleridge and Carlyle and in America by Edgar Allan Poe and Ralph Waldo Emerson, resulting in the doctrine of ‘art for art’s sake’.

The major inference of the new aesthetic standpoint was that art had no reference to life, and therefore had nothing to do with morality so that in the later Victorian Period, we find Swinburne proclaiming the art for art’s sake theory. Moreover, Walter Pater advocated the view thatlife itself should be treated in the spirit of art. His collection of essays *TheRenaissance* (1873) had a deep influence on the poets of the 1890s, especiallyWilde, Dowson, Lionel Johnson and Symons, with its main themes of Art, not Life; Art instead of life, or as an alternative to life; Life as art, oras a work of art. Although partly, aestheticism seems to have been a kind of reaction against thematerialism and capitalism of the later Victorian period; it embodied what has been described in the ‘bourgeoisethos’ [2] . Certainly one can detect a widespread disenchantment in the literatureof the ‘aesthetes’, and especially in their poetry. By contrast it is noticeablethat many novelists of the period (e.g. Dickens, Zola, Gissing

and Samuel Butler) *were* dealing with reality in a forthright fashion. Amongst the exponents of aesthetics are D. G. Rossetti and Oscar Wilde (Cuddon 12-3).

With particular reference to travel writing, curiosity and aesthetics were the primary focus for earlier travelogues, especially in Romantic works. Nigel Leask highlights the progress of travel narratives from the Romantics to the Victorians in *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840*, arguing that travels were motivated by the ethnological curiosity to find out aesthetic materials of distant lands. He asserts the Romantic interest in the subjective and unseen aesthetic experience versus the Victorians' vogue for the scientific and objective physical world (4-6). Even though Coleridge championed subjective travel accounts over the objective style of travel narratives, a balance between the two extremes was hard to achieve (9). The high sales and borrowing figures from the Bristol library testifies to the high demand for travel works as well as those of history, geography and antiquities (12-3).Accordingly, studying the other through travel and literature was part of the aesthetic experience of the Romantics and Victorians. The female captivity narrative was pivotal to such studies as itis related to aesthetics as well as reality and travel.

In reviewing the overall production of the Victorian period, media and graphic art (part of which were illustrations and representations of female captivity narratives) as the new forms of expression flourished as a result of the emphasis on aesthetic merit peculiar to the era. European oriental painters came up with illustrations, sketches and paintings not only highlighting oriental daily life and culture, but also reflecting the artists' critical perspectives and reception of these Eastern nations, lands and culture. These works of art were not only meant to inform but also to entertain and emphasize their painters' merits and skill in depicting Eastern images, to be enjoyed and appreciated on one hand, and inspected and scrutinized on the other. In "The Muslim World in British Fictions of the Nineteenth Century", Irwin elaborates that the heyday

of British Orientalism in its themes of revolt, passion, abduction, and arbitrary power was achieved in the first three decades of the nineteenth century after which it was portrayed in Orientalist paintings and music. Orientalist painting started with David Wilkie, David Roberts and John Fredrick Lewis from the 1830s onwards, when traveling to the Mediterranean became much easier with steamship travel. Musical Orientalism flourished in the late nineteenth century with Borodin, Rimsky Korsakov, Ravel, Satie, Bantock and others. British academic Orientalism was launched once again towards the end of the century with William Wright and Robertson Smith. Thus, Victorian Orientalist discourse found newer more diverse channels to express itself in comparison to that of the Romantic period (Irwin 10).

As part of the representation of the East in Orientalist literary work, Edward Ziter [3] traces Orientalist entertainments back to the eighteenth century, with the increasing numbers of travelers who made up elite and popular entertainments full of detailed representations of peoples and institutions of the Eastern Mediterranean. These Orientalist contributions played their role in formulating and disseminating consistent and coherent images of the East. He illustrates the role of such entertainment in serving the empire through the example of the death of Major General Charles Gordon at the hands of the Sudanese Rebels in 1885. Songs celebrated British bravery in defiance of their enemies defeat. Such entertainments translated war events into memorable dramas in which virtue inevitably defeats villainy. Generally, this melodramatic convention justified British intervention in the Middle-East. The entertainment industry perpetuated the belief that victory in some of these countries had been delayed, prompting both the press and the government to demonstrate their invasion as the long awaited solution. Another popularized cause for these interventions was the British attempt to end the Eastern slave trade and the prosecution of Arab women by Arab men. In reality, war increased the miseries and made widows of thousands of women. This coincided with

the struggle of British women to get some of their rights, as they only received the right to vote in 1918. Paradoxically, the British occupation of Egypt had women confined in their homes for security purposes and hence, created obstacles for female education. Having these contradictions in mind, the trope of rescuing Arab women from Arab men would quickly recede once the fighting was over(Hoeveler and Cass 226-7).

Another frequent trope of Orientalist entertainment portrayed secluded women in *harems* awaiting heroic rescue through the openings of caves or guarded gates. Such scenes reinforce the idea of the East as a harem inviting western intervention. In such depictions of abductions from the seraglio in eighteenth and nineteenth century literature, Europe was rehearsing the role it would claim in the Arab world in the following decades (Hoeveler and Cass 228). Hollywood films in the twentieth and twenty first century such as *Swordfish* and *True Lies* continue to do the same, by dramatizing politically stimulated disasters around the world and justifying them to set the public's mind to expect such events and accept the designated roles the government actually wants of them. This form of intellectual support for the British Empire was gradually and implicitly portrayed in dramatic exhibitions[4] as well as Victorian novels such as those selected in this chapter. The selected literary texts in this study anticipate the aforementioned dramatic portrayals of "enslaved" Eastern women in order to justify the British Empire's invasion of and colonial rule over their lands. Utilizing such texts--preceded by calls of liberation and equality of the aesthetic movement and the decadent movement at the *fin de siècle*[5] which held up feminist ideals--the influence of British colonialism would export domestic, aesthetically undesirable women's liberation campaigns "abroad".With the aim of tarnishing and undermining Eastern societies, these campaigns divided Eastern societies for some time and hence women's rights issues were successful in facilitating colonialism in Muslim countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (El Gundi 178-9).

Even though exotic people were displayed in London since the sixteenth century in dramatic performances, the significance of Victorian displays was radically altered with new midcentury words and expressions. Unlike the Romantic performances which focused on oddities, Victorian objectives and strategies of display "were rearranged in accordance with the principle of representativeness rather than that of rarity" as Tony Bennett noted. They wanted to illuminate the rule, not the exception (Hoeveler and Cass 229). For example, The Great Exhibition of 1851 offered a real display of oriental characters in England at the Crystal Palace. It hosted several oriental families from Syria and Algeria in their customary household setting. In spite of all the attention paid to ethnological details, the Crystal Palace shows preserved "a fanciful exoticism and sensuality that had long characterized the East and West-end entertainments" (Hoeveler and Cass 237)[6]. These displays evoked connotations of Eastern pleasures and excesses and the fantastic *Arabian Nights* atmosphere such as the coffee house scene acted by the Syrian dwarf telling a tale from the *Arabian Nights*. Such displays were praised in the *Athenaeum* in contradictory terms as the story teller is described as grotesque and admirable at the same time. Therefore, in spite of the development which proclaimed a more progressive view of the East,nineteenth century Orientalist displays brought together the imaginary and the realistic from travel accounts, thereby illustrating a world made familiar to the English public through their reading of travel narrativesand adventurous tales (Hoeveler and Cass 239).

Commentaries on the exhibition reveal a dialectical relationship between East and West, as visitors to the Palace frequently contrasted the continuous progress of western civilization to the perceived stagnation of its eastern counterpart. Commentators praised the virtues of industrialization in comparison to Eastern countries whose role was restricted to being a mere source of raw materials abundant in those colonized lands. Anthropology and ethnologic thought explained the role the environment of

Eastern nations play in their stagnation and "moral, social and intellectual"paralysis (Hoeveler and Cass 240). Pertaining to the enslaved conditions of Eastern women, some of the scenes prophesized and foretold what would happen right after the occupation of Egypt in 1882. As Drury Lane says "These girls ere slaves, they are free! England has decreed it, and in England's name I speak" and a horde of slave girls get liberated out of a slave trader's boat. In other scenes, villains stimulate a nationalistic rebellion just to abduct a British girl to imprison her in their harem (Hoeveler and Cass 242). Therefore, with respect to the conditions faced by women, the Victorian aesthetic focus is a highly complex one, far from being innocent in terms of its relation to the politics of the empire and its civilizing mission. The most significant themes and tropes of Victorian aesthetics have as their core "the woman question" in an industrial age of an expanding empire thirsty for new adventures and experiences. The question of female identity, especially the need for a woman's material, moral and spiritual development and the way it was perceived by the England then, was enacted by the captivity narratives as well as other Orientalists aesthetic narratives involving women's seclusion in a harem.

The *Arabian Nights,* a significant site to begin with, has been the contact zone through which the Eastern and Western aesthetic, historical, and political terms and relations engage with each other. The gap between Galland's edition and the ones that followed in the late eighteenth century and Burton's edition a century later reflect the shifting nature of the political and cultural relationship between Europe and the Arab world. On one hand, these tales offered a special insight into Asiatic culture, the exotic, fantastic, erotic and supernatural and everything a European was keen to disavow as part of their own cultural heritage, offering a room for projection on one hand and a justification for European conquest in Eastern lands on the other (Makdisi and Nussbaum 3-4). One the other, *The Arabian Nights* established the East in opposition to the West,[7]so that he west came to define its essential features through its 'other' who is

constant and timeless, defined by traits such as femininity, idleness, capriciousness, inefficiency, disorganization, dishonesty and thus, an inferior against the opposite west of masculine tendencies, hard work, straightforwardness, efficiency, honesty and so on (11)[8]. This radical difference between the West and East is still alive, defining the United States' foreign and military policy after the 11th of September 2001, as the American troops were educated with particular texts such as Rafael Patai's *The Arab Mind*, depicting Arabs in a cruder form to that of classic Orientalism (6-7)[9].Accordingly, these tales have had and still create a powerful impact that is being reinforced throughother works starting from Beckford's *Vathek*, Byron's *Oriental Tales*, and on to the Victorians such as Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* and George Meredith's *The Shaving of Shagpat* to name a few, harking back in a nostalgic mode to the past splendors and enchanting settings of the *Arabian Nights*. From a political perspective, the tales were a double edged weapon, criticizing the Empire's policies at home and abroad. They are a critique of English domestic affairs (symbolized by the despot) through Scheherazade's voice in the *Nights* which was triggered by Galland's first translation (the French Dinarzade). This perspective is discussed by Ros Ballaster in "Playing the Second String: The Role of Dinarzade in Eighteenth Century English Fiction" as she highlights the success of Scheherazade and her tales in saving her people to the two sisters' conspiracy to defy death through the narrative mechanism (Makdisi and Nussbaum 86, 89-90). Likewise, the Orientalist institution is the third cord, the Dinarzade through which the East is described in a particularly stereotypical fashion to justify Western despotism in the Eastern Muslim lands (Makdisi and Nussbaum 102). In short, the *Nights* informed the colonial masters on the best means to colonize Easterners' minds, before invading their lands back in the nineteenth century.

Significantly the *Arabian Nights* had a great impact on numerous English writers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Maria Edgeworth, Sir Walter Scott,

Alexander Kinglake, Robert Louis Stevenson, Benjamin Disraeli, Alfred Tennyson, and Richard Burton (Makdisi and Nussbaum 12-13). Thus, in the course of discussing the female captivity narrative and its contribution to the formation of Victorian women'sidentities, this chapter willconsider the impact of *The Arabian Nights* on depictions of the seraglio amongst others in the selected works in the thesis.

2.1 The Female Captivity Narrative

One of the most distinctive elements of Orientalists Aesthetics in nineteenth century travelnarrativesrevolves around a scenario in which a Western man or woman is taken into captivity by Easterners and brought to Eastern lands. This trend had been long established since the sixteenth century to demonstrate to the public the intelligence, skill and diligence of its internal other[10] in outwitting the orient and escaping the filth and risks of defilement and contamination. This trend survived throughout the centuries even after seraglios or *haremliks* no longer existed anywhere in the East after the collapse of Ottoman rule and despite the changes oriental literatures underwent in these centuries.[11] Historically, Western men and women were taken as captives by the Ottoman Empire, during the European medieval times mostly, also the Ottoman Empire's greatest century. Once the Ottoman Empire was weakened and preoccupied with its internal dilemmas, such instances became quite rare, so that during the Victorian period, captivity narratives existed mostly in novels while reports of women's confinement in Turkish harems came mostly from traveler's accounts such as *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848) by Harriet Martineau, *Thirty Years in the Harem;* and *Six years in Europe: Sequel to Thirty Years in the Harem* by Melek-Hanoum (1873), *Alone Through Syria* (1891) by Ellen Miller and others.[12]

One of the main causes for the popularity of this trend is the explicit details it provides of oriental landscapes, cultures and languages, at a time when distortion was

the foundation of many works on the orient. As the image of the orient was tackled with less fear and more control in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the power of this trend persisted, as it catered to the new trends in literature and was easily adapted to suit the tastes of the reading public.

In "The Oriental Captivity Narrative and Early English Fiction," Joe Snader explores how the colonial and post-colonial strategies of discursive domination are concretely and extensively connected to the early novel. This oriental scope of narrative deepened the sense of distance between East and West because "the debased Oriental setting and plot of subjugation and escape enforced an expansionist ideology by suggesting that the autonomous and self-reliant western captives possess a natural right and ability to resist and control alien cultures that have enslaved them" (268). Snader examines male and female captivity narratives in several texts, the most prominent of them William Rufus Chetwood's *Adventures of Robert Boyle* (1726), Penelope Aubin's *The Nobel Slaves* (1722) and Royall Tyler's *Algerine Captive* (1797). In these narratives the captive protagonists, male or female, "personify Western freedom, self-assertion and ingenuity" and "recount in detail the tensions of their inner lives, their efforts to maintain an insular integrity, an adherence to Christianity, and a secret agenda of escape despite threats of discovery". Consequently once these captives master their alien circumstances, they develop self-control, self-preservation and self-reliance, and eventually their narratives confirm an expression of progressive ideology through detailed comments supporting economic and political individualism, echoing the superiority of the white man over other races (270).

Mary Louise Pratt suggests that the epistemological and psychological position of the captive resembles that of the ethnographer and accordingly, the captivity narrative asserts the captive's potential mastery over their captive-taking cultures (275-6). These narratives highlight western stereotypes of oriental sexual depravity when it

claims that the seraglio led Algerian women to a "wandering" sexuality that takes "pleasure in variety" and renders them "furiously debauch'd" (277). Finally, the escape plan asserts the gullible superstitious inferior captors against the superiority, complexity and intelligence of the masterful western captive (286). As for Western female captives such as those in Aubin's works, they are defined against images of fallen women in the seraglio. Such jealous and beautiful Oriental women are deserted and abandoned by powerful Oriental men for Western slaves (290). Whilst subsequent English novels diminish the transgressive self-fashioning and active self-preservation of the female captive, they dramatize her condition, resistance to despotism and easy adaptation to an alien environment. Therefore, early British works of the captivity narrative "apply strategies of Orientalist knowledge formation to ideologies of British identity formation" (297-8).

Diane Long Hoeveler in "The Female Captivity Narrative: Blood, Water, and Orientalism" reviews the history of Islam and Christianity in Spain and asserts how Christians were distinguished from Muslims and Jews with "tainted blood". Moreover, the demonization of Islam gives way to the rhetoric of suppression and displacement, illustrating how captivity narratives or narratives involving Western women living in Islamic harems were means for refusing to address sexual, racial and social discriminations which were endemic in Europe (50). Hoeveler focuses on two factual accounts, *The Female Captive* (1769) by Elizabeth Marsh and *The Fair Syrian* (1787) by Robert Bage, whose work was an attempt to counter Lady Mary Montagu's overconfident evaluation of the "free and independent situation of women in Eastern harems" (59) in 1763. Montagu's letters were a frank expression of the contrast between the conditions of women in England and that in Muslim Turkey, a contrast to the advantage of the latter, as she not only compares their liberties within and outside their household, but also in her claim that the Eastern slave market does not differ from

the marriage market in England. Montagu states "In my opinion, [women] are bought and sold as publickly and more infamously in all our Christians great Citys" (406). It is what Pratt calls a narrative of anti-conquest depicting imperial relations as harmless and stressing the merit of reciprocal and mutual exchange (5-7).

Furthermore, the female gaze in the captivity narratives sets an imperial Christian stance against an exotic and erotic East, deeply dehumanized and full of fetishized objects underlining the depth of hatred between Muslims and Christians (Hoeveler and Cass 54). These works also encouraged Mary Wollstonecraft's "feminist Orientalism", based on exploiting Eastern stereotypes, to the extent of charging the British patriarchal system with the term "Mahometanism" which denies women their equal political, social, intellectual and spiritual rights, as demonstrated by Charlotte Brontë. Thus, the feminist agenda in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Villette* (1854) reflect their aversion from oriental women, a strong sentiment that held persistent trend in the culture of the era, culminating in Edith Wharton's visit to the harem in Fez in 1919, where she highlights every negative aspect of these women. Projection is the main player in these narratives as Hoeveler believes that depictions of the Muslim harems were "heterogeneous and contradictory", and asserts that despite the similarities between Eastern and Western cultures, the East became a convenient backdrop on which the west projected its undesirable traits (Hoeveler and Cass 69). Indeed such representations must thus be read according to their writers' perspectives and backgrounds. In a similar vein, Leila Ahmed discusses these contradictions and how they were utilized by the feminist writers to improve their conditions in England with the least concern for the truth and actual realities in the harem (Zonana 524).

Khalid Bekkaoui's "White Women and Moorish Fancy in Eighteenth Century Literature" addresses motives of English women's preoccupation with the East through

the *Arabian Nights* as depicted in their travelogues and captivity narratives. He traces an anti-conquest line in English women's reception of the *Nights* enacted through their fictional and real accounts of captivity narratives. In his reading, he refers to some of the works discussed by Sander and Hoeveler to prove that white women did envy Moorish women for the luxurious life of the seraglio. In these various accounts, male or female captives contemplate advantages of being Eastern captives and how such material gains can contribute to their future accomplishment and afford them a stable social and economic life back in their Western countries. Aside from that, eighteenth century captivity tales seem to offer their female readers the chance to transcend social boundaries at a time when they sought new independence, a clarion call sounded by Mary Wollstonecraft in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) "It is time to effect a revolution in female manners - time to restore to them their lost dignity - and make them, as a part of the human species, labour by reforming themselves to reform the world. It is time to separate unchangeable morals from local manners" (44).Social advancement was the reward of an Islamized Christian in the harem who would soon reproduce oriental despotism in a crueler manner. Therefore, "white female unruliness and libidinousness constitute a perilous threat to faith and race" (Makdisi and Nussbaum 159). Due to the imminent, though feared and forbidden desire of white women for black lovers as highlighted by Ania Loomba in *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama*, the white man's patriarchal power is threatened by white women's desire for black lovers (52). This is further complicated by the white woman's conversion and assimilation into Muslim culture. Accordingly, the white women's desire for black men reverses the hierarchy of race and the western ideological hegemony of conquest and domination. The depiction of the white woman in eighteenth century captivity narratives reveals that she could escape the villainy and treachery of her native Christian husband or lover to enjoy a happier more dignified life of moral and material access

with her oriental Master.[13] Therefore, the captivity narrative was an ambivalent form in which white women expressed their desire for the orient and their attraction to that luxurious exotic atmosphere which is in sharp contrast to their decline and deprivation in back home. As I argue in this chapter, the *fin de siècle* nineteenth century New Woman movement would serve to confirm the persistence of social injustices committed against Victorian women by their spouses and society which culminated in celibacy and the collapse of family units threatening the existence of the English race.

Additionally, Nabil Matar's "Christians in *The Arabian Nights*" discusses the difference between the Egyptian and Syrian manuscripts of the *Nights* in their depiction of Christian characters. He cites a captivity narrative in the Bulaq Egyptian version which depicts the story of a fourteen year old Christian princess called Maryam, and the romance with her captor Nur al-Din and their struggle to stay together in spite of their different backgrounds, as he too becomes her father's captive in Europe. In the tale, Maryam converts to Islam and prefers to live with her beloved rather than be a Christian princess in Europe. The *Nights* cycles are, according to Matar, the first accounts from the late medieval period which highlight a Muslim captivity in the Genoese-dominated Mediterranean (Makdisi and Nussbaum 145-9). This *Arabian Nights* manuscript, compiled by Sheikh Muhammad Qitta al-'Adawi in Egypt, became the standard text in the Arab world. Moreover, this version, compiled and abridged at the city of Bulaq, after which the manuscript is referred to as the Bulaq edition in 1775 (131-132), testifies to the Muslim-Christian rivalry enacted in captivity narratives to illustrate the possible triumph of one culture over the other. Indeed, this theme is embodied in individuals who are forced by circumstances to deal with each other's differences so that either religion or culture prevails.[14]

In line with Bhabha's theoretical framework highlighted in the introductory chapter of this thesis, negative stereotypes inferred in captivity narratives were meant to

maintain the negative view of Eastern harems and not really to warn Victorians of any potential hazards related to them. They were meant to reinforce the timeless opposition for that period of time on one hand and to project their criticism of their own treatment of women in Victorian England. As Emma Roberts' "The Florentines" from *Oriental Scenes, Sketches and Tales* (1832), set in Italy, and Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* (1839), set in Turkey, stabilized negative stereotypes of Eastern harems, these critical projections served as the vehicle for the transformation and emancipation of Victorian women by women writers such as Charlotte Brontë. In this chapter the novel *Jane Eyre* (1847)demonstrates Brontë's criticism of the treatment of women in England and her attempt to alter it for the betterment of the society and the British Empire through her depiction of Jane's struggles for justice and independence in the story. In other words, the trope of harem and veil of the Muslim women "abroad" is used to interrogate the treatment of English women at "home" and eventually assert her superior identity and emancipation.

2.2 Emma Roberts' "The Florentines" (1832)

According to Elizabeth Conroy's "Biography of Emma Roberts, May 1998", Emma Roberts was born in 1794, and traveled to India twice in her lifetime. She was a close friend of Laetitia E. Landon, a famous poet and authored *Memoirs of the Rival Houses of York and Lancaster* (1827) after spending many years of research at the British Museum. Her first trip to India was decided after her mother's demise in 1827, as she was to join her sister and her husband Captain Robert Adair McNaughten of the 61st Bengal Infantry to India. In September 1839, Roberts started her second journey to India travelling via an overland route through Europe and Asia. She became the editor of *The Bombay United Service Gazette* and was planning to educate native Indian women to improve their living conditions and chances of employment. She died

suddenly in September 1840 and was buried in India. Amongst her publications was *The East India Voyage* (1839), a book of travel advice. Roberts was recognized as an extremely talented writer.[15]

Roberts' *The Florentines* is a post captivity narrative episode composed as a narrative in verse in her *Oriental Scenes, Sketches and Tales* (Calcutta 1832). The poem is divided into three scenes that condemn a typical stereotype of the East, namely, the *haremlik* and the humiliation of its captives. Giovanni, Helena and Rosmunda are the three main characters in distress whose lives are affected by Rosmunda's imprisonment in a Turkish seraglio. The plot is about Giovanni's first marriage to Rosmunda before Helena. Giovanni married Rosmunda to make right his father's wrong deed, which left her and her brother penniless orphans. Gracia, Rosmunda's brother had to live in Turkey before Giovanni hired him in Florence, Italyand is described as "sinister" and "malicious". Helena sees Gracia as "A renegade/ Amid the Turks, who in a Christian land, Can think him less than demon" (168-9). Just as Giovanni reveals the secret of his former marriage to Helena to calm her fears from Gracia's ghostly looks,Rosmunda, initially thought of as dead, shows up to demand the resumption of her marriage to Giovanni. She was captured by the Turks and had to endure the horrible life at the seraglio to please her master. Rosmunda though "Stained and defiled/ By the embrace of infidels? I know/How sacred female purity would be/ Within a harem's walls" (187), insists on Giovanni to accept her again, and threatens to harm his second wife and publicize the fact that she was his first wife. Giovanni's chivalry has him decide to kill her, to save Helena and their daughter. He does not however, resume his life with Helena, but decides to spend the rest of his life wandering, bearing the guilt of killing Rosmunda, the victim of both Italians and Turks.

Giovanni's murder of Rosmunda is his way of cleansing his society from such filth, evil and corruption which cannot be contained or rectified in any other fashion.

His concern for Rosmunda's proper burial testifies to his good Christian spirit and concern for others. On the other hand, his self-inflicted exile as punishment for his crime of murder and his request to be buried with chaste honorable Helena proves that his love and chivalry are stronger grounds than his Christian creed which could salvage him. The breakup of this once happy Italian family with the tragic parting of the two lovers, Giovanni and Helena, represents the Empire's anxieties and fears. It highlights that such fears over the different and radical cultures and religions of the East could threaten not only the Empire's morality but would also bring about justified crimes against the other at home and abroad.

The tale highlights negative stereotypes associated with captivity in an Eastern land, particularly Turkey, at the time. Although caused by Giovanni's father's oppression, once an European woman undergoes a life of servitude in the harem, it is not possible for European society to accept her back. Gracia and Rosmunda's fearful, undesirable looks and their supposedly, corrupt and defiled mentalities are abhorred and despised by the Christian society. Symbolic of the gap between the East and West, an outcast must never return or reclaim their association with Europe.

Gracia's experience in Turkey has made him a despicable being decent women are afraid of. However, his society continues to bestow its charity and kindness towards one who could not be defiled like his sister Rosmunda. Her experience in Turkey is the perfect embodiment not only of the captivity and servitude under a Turkish despot, but also the physical, mental and spiritual transgressions that made her a different woman willing to share her husband, to Giovanni's immense sense of shame and disgrace thereafter. Her husband's disgust with her is a perfect metaphor and a typical embodiment of the shock and shame of having to be associated with such a person in a society that upholds monogamy and despises not only the other's patriarchal social rules, but also a religion that permits polygamy and a despotic way of life. Hence, the

hero's sense of honor and family love is mortified and when weighed against his utter disgust and disgrace makes him resolved to stand up for chivalric values by killing his first wife in order to rid himself of that shame and to protect his second wife and child's honor from the hapless creature Rosmunda has become. Generally, Pardoe's treatment of these characters (Gracia and Rosmunda) suggest that any European male or female who experiences life in Turkey becomes tainted by the oppressive values of the East, and is reduced to a physically, mentally and spiritually corrupted soul, unfit to even exist in Europe. Fear of captivity was well known by the Romantics and the Victorians alike until the total collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1926. This theme sheds light on the English distaste of the Turkish polygenic way of life in which the lives and energies of numerous women are wasted for the pleasure and control of man. It emphasizes religious intolerance related to the sense of defilement the Christians, Muslims and Jews accused one another of.[16]

In this narrative, Roberts uses the Italian family from Florence to locate nineteenth-century English anxieties. Her choice of the birthplace of the Renaissance for England reflects her belief in the similarities the two cities have, being elite centersof commerce and learningand facing Eastern threats. In other words, she projects English concerns for any possibly arising troubles from mingling with the orient unto the Florentines. This is to warn the empire which may have him/her confront some of the worst anxieties to avoid contamination and defilement, in spite of its chivalric intentions on the civilizing mission. Consequently, the empire should be very careful in its Evangelical mission to the orient.

In her depiction, Roberts' criticism of her society is obvious when she sheds light on the political issues and fights between the patricians and republicans, which can be seen here as the third cord or Dinarazade leading to Gracia's and Rosmunda's oppression abroad in Turkey and at home after their return. At the same time, she

praises the positive role of existing chivalric, charitable and kind members of her society such as that of Giovanni and his platonic love for his wife and child and the way he spends his wealth to ensure a peaceful life for the oppressed. Thwarted by fate, however, he eventually commits a crime to protect his honor and that of his family.

As the treatment of slaves in Eastern Muslim lands stands in contrast to that of slaves and women in Western Christian lands, Orientalists drew on this difference to criticize the social mistreatment of women and the lower classes in their projections of the orient. In *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance,* Fadwa el Gundi discusses the harem from the perspective of Orientalists and Occidentalists in fact and fiction, together with factors that mark Eastern Muslim women as different from Western women, such as being secluded and veiled. In her study, she reveals the huge gap between what the harem is actually like, as in the memoirs of harem women like Huda Sha'rawi and other ethnographic works on Eastern Muslim harem women, and what Orientalists created and depicted in their letters, reports and biographies as discussed by Malek Alloula, Billie Melman, Fatima Mersnissi and others. The segregation between men and women in the haremlik and the salemlik is thoroughly discussed with its historical and ideological roots as well as its actual significance and impact on the society back then. Although it was not indigenous to Arabs or Islam, but rather borrowed from the Byzantine period when the Ottomans took over, the meaning and content of gender relations shifted dramatically during the Ottomans' time. Stripped from its socio-cultural context, Melman attributes the distortions of harem life and its environment to Orientalists' fears of Islam as a possible rival or alternative to Christianity (60). El Gundi identifies the polygamous practice of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the practice of wearing the veil to be the main reasons Orientalists clung to such ideas, even though Melman declared that polygamy is not prohibited neither in the Christian bible nor the Jewish one and nuns wear the veil as well. El Gundi attributes

this to the difference in "the meaning, the symbolism, the ideology, the constructed womanhood, and the notion of sexuality" (31). In addition, both Islam and Christianity have their moral systems to retrain improper and disorderly behavior that could pose as possible threats to the socio-moralorder. She believes that while "Christianity chose the path of desexualizing the worldly environment; Islam [chose that] of regulating the social order while accepting its sexualized environment" (31). It is this difference that sparked the fertile imagination of "baths and harems and veils" as an outcome of an internalized culture of a desexualized society (31). The harem system and Eastern slavery caught the Orientalists' attention so that Orientalists paintings capture the western gaze and fantasies of a polygamous condition in which a man may have a number of women ready to gratify his pleasure. As such conditions could never exist anywhere in Europe, these fantasies had a strong grip over western thinking. Aside from their out of the world allure, their defiling conditions had to be criticized, inspected and investigated. The climax of it would be the fear of having a western woman captive at a Muslim harem and having to succumb to its corrupt environment, which Orientalists insist exist.

Roberts' *The Florentines* is very much in line with the stereotypical treatment of the Muslim orient, their peoples and their rules, with very little consideration for their religion, culture and the previously established world order of servitude, which was only abolished in the nineteenth century. This is due to the author's real concern with the condition of the English people, men and women in England, in which the political conflict in England is portrayed in the battle between patricians and republicans, as embodied by Giovanni's father and Gracia's father. Giovanni's father's oppression of the enemy left the latter's children homeless orphans and caused them great suffering in Italy and Turkey, thereby tarnishing the aesthetics of the society. In Giovanni's attempt to uplift this misery and undo some of the harm inflicted by his father on Gracia and

Rosmunda, he becomes the victim of his own good intentions. He chooses to maintain and protect the social norms even as it comes at the expense of Rosmunda's death and his own family's breakup and eternal suffering. In this sense, Roberts warns those evangelizing in the East to be cautious, and to avoid excessive sympathy as that may lead to their contamination and eventual detachment from their own societies and peoples. Her experience in India, it seems, has taught her much about the risk of being in oriental lands, and the anxieties of its possible impact on established social norms and aesthetics.

Roberts considered the previously established stereotypes found in captivity narratives and improvised on them by dramatizing its aftermath back in England, having the victim this time escape from a *haremlik* after succumbing to its servitude and misery, and after being defiled physically, psychologically and spiritually. Even though Roberts contributes a different scenario, by introducing Rosmunda as a victim, an internal 'other' undergoing the captivity experience, and her husband's choice to murder her and sacrifice his blissful marital life, she advocates Victorian imperial choices at "home" and "abroad". Roberts' depiction of Giovanni's struggle in Italy serves as a metaphor for the British middle-class challenges at "home", with the upper and lower classes in their society and with the orient abroad, for which the full control, subjugation and murder of the other may be humanity's best choice. In other words, for the upper and middle classes in England to preserve their superiority, double standards must be implemented for their survival. Roberts implies that Giovanni's final resolution of self-sacrifice and eradication of any source of dishonor and defilement for the betterment of the society is the wiser choice the British Empire assumes in its civilizing mission. In this sense, the poem reflects what has framed Leask's "anxieties of empire". Once the empire had not much to fear from the East, its main fear was from being in a fallen empire's shoes. The East was like a mirror through which the west viewed itself

as ever reaching that pinnacle of corruption, despotism, and contamination as a result of mixing with the orient "abroad" and the lower classes at "home". The Muslim Turkish Empire did not dread other races or other nations, and the main drive to its collapse was through the treachery and sinister plots of its *odalisque* and their slaves, who decided to avenge themselves by assuming power. "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" said Lord Acton. This is what happened in the tale of the Ottoman Empire. With this lesson in mind, the well-established Orientalistview was one in which the British Empire aimed to override its weaknesses and fear by eliminating all "undesirable subjects" at "home" and "abroad" in order to safeguard its success in its civilizing mission.

Just as *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* was used to critique the mistreatment of women in English society, Roberts suggests that the empire's internal injustices, oppression and marginalization contributed negatively to the aesthetics of the society which could only be forgiven with the flourishing and success of the civilizing mission. On the other hand, feminists will not fail to comprehend the plight of a doomed woman oppressed at "home" and "abroad" who when defying her weakness and coming to terms with it, is ostracized and killed. Hence, there must be other choices of triumph for this woman, and the choice is to abandon her conventional role in search of her personal autonomy away from man. Victorian women writers believed in this choice and promoted it, leading to the emergence of "the new woman" as a cultural trend at the *fin de siècle*.

2.3 Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* (1839)

According to Stacy Weir's "Biography of Julia Sophia Pardoe 1806-1863", Pardoe was an English poet, novelist, historian and traveller. She began her literary career at the age of fourteen with the publication of her volume of poetry (Stephen,

Dictionary of National Biography 201). However, it is for her historical and travel writing that she was first acknowledged and widely renowned. She began travelling abroad due to the health problems she experienced in Europe. Her novels which include *Lord Morcar of Hereward* (1829), *Speculation* (1834), *The Confessions of a Pretty Woman* (1846) and *The Rival Beauties* (1848) were widely read (Cross, *Royal Literary Fund Archive* 1102), and in her fiction, she was known to examine corruption and hypocrisy within modern society.

Pardoe travelled to Constantinople with her father in 1836. It was this particular voyage which inspired *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks* (1838), the publication that brought her to "the height of popularity" as it was reprinted in 1845 and 1854 (Cross, *Royal Literary Fund Archive* 1102). Her in-depth knowledge of Turkey was said to be "unrivalled by any English Woman since Lady Mary Wortley Montagu" (Crawford *et al*, 1983). Such knowledge helped Pardoe to produce many other publications such as *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1839), *The Romance of the Harem* (1839) and her companion to the *Arabian Nights* entitled *Thousand and one Days* (1857). Pardoe's writing style was said to be "easy, flowing, and spirited, and her delineations of character as vivid as they are just" (Cross, Royal Literary Fund Archive 1102). In her own way, she was the embodiment of the emancipated new English woman.

In her preface to *The Romance of the Harem* at Bradenham Lodge (Jan 1838), Pardoe highlights the merits of her effort in which she

> carefully avoided the supernatural, save in one solitary instance.... Hence, my fictions neither borrow power from the Genii, terror from the Ghouls, nor grace and beauty from the Peris; they treat only of ordinary men and women; but individuals placed in positions, and *actuated by feelings, almost unknown in Europe* (my italics*)*.

She goes on to explain the figurative language she uses in her work "in which the Orientals much delight, and so constantly indulge",and announces how she distances herself as an author by focusing on the interiors of the Turkish *harems*. Thus, Pardoe establishes her work as being realistic and informative, distant from any Romantic machinery yet allowing projections and reflections related to feelings and experiences that do not as yet exist in Europe.

The Romance of the Harem is a tale in two volumes of 216 and 218 pages each. The frame of the story is that of a captivity narrative, where Katinka the heroine is a Greek slave who plays the role of Scheherazade as she enchants Saifula Pasha with her marvellous tales to pacify and savethe life of her best, long lost friend, Carmifil, who turns out to be Saifula Pasha's wife, and who eventually elopes with Anastatius Maniolopolo, Katinka's brother. Inspired by the *Arabian NightsEntertainments*, the work is as a testimony to the great impact the *Nights* had on the author as seen in her use of the frame story into which eight long stories are embedded, aside from the heroine's own story of conflicts and trials before being sold to the Pasha.

The main male character of Saifula Pasha stands in contrast to Anastatius Maniolopolo, the hero. The Pasha's manners and language are a typical embodiment of the Eastern despot who fulfils all the stereotypical traits of a Muslim ruler in charge of handling people's affairs whilst enjoying a luxurious life in his harem quarters. In this tale, Saifula Pasha has an entire harem serving his wife for whose happiness he is willing to spend his wealth and time. Yet he has little respect for other peoples and nations, with a tongue that can lash anyone in the name of justice, with minimum concern. Even though he is very loyal to his wife that he swears he lives for nothing other than her happiness, and in spite of his kindness towards his bored, dull wife, he is enchanted by Katinka's beauty whom he ends up with after the elopement of his wife. He is gullible and can be easily tricked as he is very trusting of others, especially

foreigners. He does not have any relationships with the other women in his harem and seems to be a monogamous man throughout the tale. He could fancy these women though, admire them at certain occasions and whilst listening to the narratives and songs of Katinka, he does develop feelings for her but does not express them. He is also lazy, and once he is tired of or disinterested in his work which is resolving people's conflicts, he simply quits and rests in his harem. Despite his great love for his wife, he eventually falls for the charms of Katinka, dazzled by the web of her tales.

Katinka, the newly purchased Greek slave of the Pasha is not only talented but also resourceful. She manages to bring her own brother in the harem; narrates a tale to the Pasha and his beloved Carmifil, performs with the harem alme dancers as an alme in disguise before successfully helping the couple elope while she stays back, in the spirit of self-sacrifice. She stands out for her intelligence and heroic endeavour in reuniting her friend and brother. Her hidden agenda, though, as Pardoe clarifies towards the end of the tale, is that she found in Saifula Pasha, a manageable Turkish husband who would not only accept her in spite of her defiled condition but also shower her with his affections and provide her with material wealth. This will thereby grant her the chance to avenge herself by ruling and controlling the people. All these traits make Saifula Pasha a 'desirable man' and his *haremlik* a convenient environment for self-realization. Despite the beauty of Carmifil, she is very simple minded and does nothing until Katinka and her brother help her run away from Saifula Pasha. In these tales, Pardoe repeats and affirms older perspectives and racial stereotypes known to the Victorians through earlier works such as that of Byron's *Oriental Tales* and *The Arabian Nights Entertainment*.

Aside from the tale's captivity narrative, each of the two volumes contain four stories but only four of them, *The Diamond Merchant*, *The Seven Doors*, *The Tatar's Tale*, and *The Arab Steed* include captivity narratives of a Muslim man or woman and

their resolve to escape with the help of others, or their elopement with their lovers and ultimate triumph or doom. *The Diamond Merchant* is a story of a young man named Hassan who gets trapped by a harem mob in a secret hideout. He is brought in and saved at the end by a beautiful enslaved girl called Felech-so. It is through this ransoming process that he escapes death from an evil woman and her *haremlik* by virtue of his intelligence, luck, Felech-so's help and the Defter-dar's support and ultimate rescue. This tale is not only an adventure in the harem embedded with various negative stereotypes mainly of Eastern women, but also highlights a possible role for the harem in Eastern societies, that it is a place to exploit feminine power in order to achieve personal goals, a condition which could not happen in Europe. It is unusual for the harem to have no patriarchal despot in control in all narratives, but in this narrative, it is a feminist despot enslaving a large number of women to kidnap and bargain money for their kidnapped men to achieve personal despotic and material financial aims. In this story, Muslim men are romantic and clever so that at rare occasions, they may be able to uncover and reveal evil plots many of them would easily fall for. Their characterization is somehow inspired by Sindbad and Aladdin's gallant characters. As for Muslim women, one of the main questions raised is whether or not theyhave souls (vol 1,79). Pardoe seems to project Western anxieties unto Eastern women, as doubly inferior beingsbeing women and Eastern. As there have been various negative depictions of Eastern women in English literature, she exploits the tale to criticise thewestern craze for eastern material treasures.

The Seven Doors is a tale depicting Muslim men and women in a very negative light. Unlike the previous criminal plot of a feminist despot, this tale portrays how the harem space is a prison from which an unhappy wife, her servant and lover plan to flee. Different types of Muslim men are depicted; one is the old distrusting lustful and gullible Suleiman, the Shawal merchant. Hafiz is the cunning and shrewd young lover

who persistently plots for his beloved's freedom and eventually takes off with her. As for women, Helmas Hanoum is a young woman forced to marry an elderly man even though she is in love with another young man, Hafiz. Her father refuses him just because of his lack of wealth and expertise compared to Suleiman. In spite of Suleiman's cautiousness, Hafiz is successful in every single trick until he wins Helmas Hanoum in the end.

At this point, Saifula Pasha mocks Suleiman for letting the couple trick him in such a way, asserting his complete ignorance of Katinka and Carmifil's escape plan and foreshadowing his reaction to such a betrayal by Carmifil. It is his self-critique for being in Suleiman's shoes. In fact, unlike Suleiman who did not trust his wife and her slave, he gave his wife and Katinka all his trust so that it was much easier for Carmifil to escape with Anastatius Maniolopolo. Saifula Pasha criticizes Suleiman for marrying a woman who has promised herself to another man, which in fact, is a pit into which every Muslim man falls in, Pardoe suggests, when he takes a slave for a wife.

Like Emma Roberts and many other Western Orientalists, Pardoe is attacking the slave system which is founded on the loyalty of foreign subjects with the promise of better status and higher ranks at the expense of their own freedom. SuchOrientalists believed that all the pleasures and luxuries of a life away from home areworthless; thus, enslavement cannot be justified. Slaves in Muslim lands were granted a good life, yet their mere subjection to slavery was highly criticized as completely unjustifiable and an unacceptable practice of oriental despotism. This perspective reveals the double standards of the British Empire which thrived on its use and abuse of manual labourers and slaves on one hand. On the other, it is their means to criticise enslavement, oppression and patriarchy of the upper and middle classes of the British Empire towards the poor and lower class. By condemning the oriental slavery system, Orientalists

writers are disapproving of slavery at "home", but not of the civilizing mission "abroad" meant to enlighten the other.

The Tatar's Tale is a metaphor of betrayal for a woman's sake. Zohara, Mohammed's fiancé is kidnapped by his best friend Rechid Aga. She manages to escape him and some drunken Arabs at the forest. Rechid Aga is killed by a snake and Zohra is saved by her fiancé. This tale is narrated by Safii, a Tatar guide to Anastatius Maniolopolo, Carmifil's lover on their way to Saifula Pasha's harem. In this story, Ali and Mohammed are Persians, typically portrayed Easterners, their only advantage is their western education. Zohara's depiction is that of an innocent Eastern girl who tries her best to defeat ill fate. She is the Scheherazade of the tale, who enchants everyone with her beauty and wit that secures her a happy end.

The Arab Steed is a long embedded tale set in Syria about a handsome young man called Ildji Reza who is betrothed to the beautiful daughter of Kassim Bey, Delsaise, by his mother. Making light of his betrothal and at a moment of extreme interest in an amazing Arab steed displayed to him by Ali the Toorkoman trader, who is interested in Delsaise, Reza trades in his fiancé to Ali for that steed. After seeing Delsaise and falling in love with her, he is baffled by his earlier deal and after his encounter with a doomed Hamlet-likefigure, he is resolved to kidnap her out of her father's harem. He is followed by Ali and caught in a fight that ends his life. The fight between the two men happens right after Delsaise falls off the 'ill-omened Steed' from a precipice down to the river and dies.

Like the previous tales, kidnapping seems to be a major trait for lustful Muslims, an event which happens frequently for good and bad reasons. It is regarded as an act of cowardice and rebellion, of someone unable to accept fate as it comes, in spite of the fatalistic trait typical of Muslims, and not willing to surrender and accept his loss or

defeat. In these narratives, this act is justified by love at times, by despotism and rebellion against an undesirable condition. If the woman is kidnapped, she is escaping from her despotic patriarch to her lover or from her own peaceful life to one of oppression, tyranny and despotism. In *The Tatar's Tale* and *The Arab Steed*, betrayal is a key factor making kidnap the only hope for these men. In order to avoid confrontation, heroes may find kidnapping their only choice. Like Helen's kidnap which led to years of combat and battle between the Trojans and Greeks, a confrontation resolves the kidnap, in favour of the fiancé in *The Tartar's Tale* but in favour of none in *The Arab Steed*. Even though Orientalists assume a full comprehension of Muslims' social life and culture –as shown in some detailed travelogues and accounts such as those of Edward Lane and Richard Burton-- they reflect their disbelief in fatalism and their inability to accept the way Muslims surrender to fate in their fiction and commentaries. They find fatalism the resolution of those lacking in bravery, although oriental characters try to defy and refuse their fate by kidnapping women they are denied. Kidnapping as an anti-fatalism gesture is also condemned by Pardoe as disgraceful, disrespectful and a despicable act when involvingthebetrayal of a friend or a promise. In the first two embedded stories, kidnapping is a form of escape from tyranny and a despotic regime, but in the second two stories, kidnapping is a form of betrayal which ends in the defeat and death of the man who betrays.

2.3.1 General Orientalist Stereotypes in Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem*

Belief in superstitions and omens is the first major trait of Muslim men and women evident in most of these stories. Pardoe demonstrates, in these narratives, her knowledge of Turkish language and culture in her treatment of their rank, religion and women,andin her frequent use of Turkish words followed by their English translation. Although she may be right most times, there are also instances where she makes mistakes, reflecting her incomplete understanding of Turkish language. Obviously Islam

is the main issue she did not quite comprehend, as she mentions swearing by God's name, but translates it as swearing with Prophet Mohammed's name illustrating the frequent orientalist confusion between the two (vol 1, 115). She also mentions the Muslim's testimony of faith improperly uttered by Katinka at the end of the novel to convince Saifula Pasha of her submission to him. In other words, either she believes that the Prophet and Allah are equivalent to each other and can thus be exchanged or this is what she found to be the Turkish speech practice and thus, she imitated that in her work. Another factor which could have contributed to this is the Christian belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ their Prophet, and the common practice of swearing with his name, a remarkable point of difference between the two religious beliefs.

In spite of the tolerance of Islam towards other religions, mainly Christians and Jewish peoples of the book, in *The Romance of the Harem*, Pardoe creates a racial stereotype of Muslims' intolerance towards Christians and Jews. Saifula Pasha is a despot who oppresses people, non-Muslimsand women, and who accepts bribery. He has very little respect for almost everyone. Once tired, he would retire to his harem and leave behind him many people in need of his attention. His language is vulgar, and at numerous instances he describes others as dogs, especially Christians and Jews. Suleiman, the shawl merchant, frankly hates Jews (113). Easterners, Arabs, Turks or Tatars are portrayed as speaking vulgar language and are shown as fond of cursing. Maledictions against Jews in particular are usually part of their speech (140). Hence, the historically established religious tolerance of Islam, as discussed by Reza Shah-Kazemi in *The Spirit of Tolerance in Islam*, which for centuries featured Muslims, Christians and Jews in a peaceful coexistence is contrasted in these narratives with the Muslim's practices of intolerance (13). Moreover, such language intensifies and reflects Muslims' inferiority, backwardness and intolerance to anyone who does not profess their creed. There is a hierarchy to this intolerance in which the Christians are preferable to

Muslims, and the Jews come at the base of it. This portrayal embodies the anti-Semitic temper in the East, a bias inflicted unto them by Muslim rulers. The third and fourth chapters of this thesis will include an elaborate discussion of the treatment of Jewish subjects in the Muslim state.

The way Pardoe sees it, Muslim men are lazy and are mainly interested in storytelling, relaxation, sleep, luxury and women. Most of them are passive and no matter how they try to change fate, are ultimately changed by it. They do not learn lessons, and have no ear for morals and values. Saifula Pasha sleeps when morals are mentioned and awakens when a story commences. Thus, they only appreciate stories as entertainment but cannot perceive and learn their moral significance. In contrast to the Holy Quran's brief tales in favour of teaching Muslims moral lessons is the oral story-telling tradition in Eastern lands meant as some sort of opium to their minds. *The Arabian Nights* amongst these tales had set listeners in a state of mental hypnosis, entering an imaginary world of happiness and escape away from reality. There is an instance in which Pardoe expresses her prejudiced opinion of Eastern men in her description of the handsome Ildji Reza:

> I say in beauty; for the experience of every day tends to convince us that the popular prejudice which peoples Jehanums with ghouls and afrits, is as that tattered cloak of a dervish always covers a saint. *More than half the evil which is wrought upon earth is the work of individuals whose beards are glossy and well-combed, and whose turbans are seated, upon brows as smooth as the Prophet's palm*; and he who asserts to the contrary eats dirt, or has walked from Stanboul to Mecca with his fingers in his eyes, and the skirts of his robe defiled by the abomination of ignorance (my italics). (vol1, 156)

These lines reflect Pardoe's Victorian bias and stereotypical perception of Eastern men exemplified by their Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), as an educator of evil practices. Such description makes it comprehensible that she describes Arab men to be drinkers of wine (vol. 1, 146, 189), believers in superstition (vol. 1, 188 an example) at all times, men who may prostrate before those other than their creator (vol. 1, 160) and equate

their Prophet to their God in the many occasions of her translating "Wallah billa –by the Prophet" such as in volume1, 159.

On the other hand, westerners, specifically Greeks here tell stories to teach lessons, and contemplate these lessons once the story is over. Katinka's emphasis of the moral values to be learnt from the story is Pardoe's way of establishing western superiority. She may be entertained and may entertain others with narratives, but does not fail to learn lessons and does not get hypnotized by them. If narratives are opium for Eastern minds, they certainly do not have that impact on brighter and wiser westerners. This novel draws a similarity between King Shahriyar of the *Arabian Nights* and Saifula Pasha. They both enjoy listening to stories and are both controlled by their narrators. King Shahriyar however learned that women may be innocent, chaste and honest whilst Saifula Pasha could only criticise the gullibility of some men as he fails to understand how motives could drive men and women to resolve to acts of kidnap or elopement. Pardoe has perhaps come to such a conclusion due to the lack of popularity of the *Nights* in the East compared to that in the West that is, learning the moral lessons in the tales. This is because they are an oral tradition which many Easterners deem to be of much less significance and importance in comparison to other Arab literary canons. The fact is most Easterners did not contemplate the *Nights*seriously because of their vulgarity, and because they begin with a taboo event, that is a wife betraying her husband. Easterners may use vulgar language at times, but not all the time and not all of them, and certainly not in writing which explains why few manuscripts recorded the *Arabian Nights*. As mentioned earlier, it was not until 1984 that the first Arabic version of the *Arabian Nights*appeared, properly edited by Muhsin Mahdi with vulgar language and stories omitted in comparison to Galland'smore provocative 1701 French edition (Irwin, *The Arabian Nights* 7). On the other hand, Easterners had many other properly composed and recorded narratives of lofty style, language and diction to contemplate

their moral values and lessons instead of the *Nights*. The *Nights* hence acted as a platform for Orientalists upon which not only inaccurate impressions of Eastern Arabs are given but also writings with vulgar language are authored. In this way, Orientalist authors composed potential "Oriental" works to manipulate European readers with distorted stereotypical desirable traits of passive easterners for the westerners to condemn, undermine, degrade and criticise.

Fatalism is another Muslim trait which seems to have been misunderstood by Orientalistssince the *Nights*.[17] Pardoe's Muslim men succumb to fate most of the time, yet when they rebel or act otherwise, they are also regarded as treacherous villains. In this way, some of the Muslim men portrayed by Pardoe have ironic traits: they surrender when they should act, and rebel when they should be courteous and noble. This paradoxical behaviour reflects Orientalists' misconception of Easterners at times, a behaviour advocating and justifying imperial invasion of those lands whose peoples' mentality would fail to rule efficiently and are thus in need of western tutelage.

In *The Diamond Merchant*, male characters are drawn in light of Sindbad and Aladdin, yet more realistic and less heroic in their portrayal, in spite of their eventual success and former accomplishments, making them typically naive, shrewd, stupid, or gallant, yet still inferior to Western men. In *The Seven Doors,* Suleiman is an example of a man who spent all his life with his mother and her harem, content with these women before he suddenly, in his old age, decides to establish a family. His portrayal too is emphatic of the western man's superiority not because white men do not seek wives in old age, but because he marries a woman with a heart for another. Despite Pardoe's critical views of Suleiman, uttered by Saifula Pasha, the main character in the narrative, she reflects on such instances in England, which Victorian women had to tolerate and accept in fear of their society. Unlike Eastern women who plot and escape from such conditions with their lovers, Victorian women are meant to learn a lesson

from the schemes of these Eastern sisters. As for Hafiz, he is an ideal oriental hero, as clever and witty as Sindbad in making intricate schemes and plots. He is more of a Byronic hero for saving his beloved from an undesirable life and a harem prison. One of the Oriental's positive traits is his knowledge, so the hero in the *Tartar's Tale* shows his mercy and chivalry in saving a girl from slavery, and his ultimate triumph over his Turkman friend is due to his western education. Pardoe states at the beginning of this tale that he has learnt the 'sciences of the franks'. Muslim men make lousy lovers who day dream, lie at the feet of their beloved, may prostrate for those other than their creator out of love, fear or respect. This is evident in most of the embedded stories, and in *The Arab Steed*, Ildji Reza depicts the fall of a great man from fate's favour for a whimsical mistake, trading his fiancé for a noble steed and falling in love with his fiancé whom he had ironically traded in for the noble steed he is riding. His dilemma is to keep his word, but only after encountering an ancient mariner-like character Pardoe creates, who suffers in the sea for long without dying. Like the ancient mariner, he tells Reza his miserable story and how he has become a lost man betrayed by his own brother, like Hamlet's father. After hearing this story, Reza resolves to kidnap his fiancé and flee with her to redeem himself from social criticism. The western hero in this narrative is Maniolopolo, who like Carmifil and Katinka, uses oriental people to assist him in his disguise and eventually flees with Carmifil. His success is reminiscent of the previous success of western white men in other captivity narratives in their utilization of circumstance as instruments to liberate themselves from despotic Muslim lands.

Pardoe's narrative illustrates how Muslim women may be evil despots, shrewd and cunning runaways, loving mothers, honest lovers, passive viewers, or gullible creatures whose fate lies in the hand of their men most of the time. Like Muslim men, they easily fall in love and are mostly lazy and idle. They can fall in love in a second and abandon their whole life to escape with their lovers, especially when the lover is a

giaour[18]. In sharp contrast to their recklessness are the Greek heroines, Katinka and Carmifil, who are self-oriented, highly motivated women who would do wonders if given the chance. Carmifil states that had she her freedom, she would not waste a minute in a Muslim harem. Once granted the chance by Katinka and her brother Anastatius Maniolopolo, she flees. As for Katinka, she utilizes her beauty and shrewdness to manipulate Saifula Pasha, frames an innocent servant in charge of watching over Carmifil to be the one who released her, thereby killing two birds with one stone, that is, getting rid of Ali Agha and saving herself from the guilt of her crime. Besides the contrast between Katinka and Carmifil's contrast, there is this example of a Georgian woman who married a rich merchant in *The Arab Steed*, Ildji Reza's mother. She refused to be the most important woman in a harem and returned to live with her parents. She is an example of a woman who could not be seduced by the material benefits and social status as a wife, and chose to care for her son rather than enjoy her former luxurious lifestyle. This example also reflects the pathetic condition of many Muslim women who may accept all sort of offences and insults in being one of many in a Muslim harem.

Pardoe's two volumes are distinctive for combining Greek heroic enterprises in the harem inspired not only by the *Nights* and her own travels and knowledge of Turkey but also by historical records of various captivity narratives. Many Orientalists are very well read in the sixteenth century historic story of Sultan Sulaiman the magnificent and his marriage to his Russian slave girl, Roxalana whom he dubs *Hurrem*. Roxalana's real story is a testimony to the superiority and intelligence of a western woman in a Sultan's *haremlik*. This woman avenged her enslavement, becomes a free woman, a legitimate wife of the Sultan and his advisor in many political and national affairs and enslaved everyone around her. Her conspiracies and intrigue created havoc which was one of those major factors that contributed to the downfall of the empire. Katinka is a character

very much drawn in her line, as she too claims to avenge herself by establishing her superiority over everyone else in the harem and in her personal political ambitions. In *The Beauties of the Bosphorous*, Pardoe devotes a whole section on the historical success of Sultan Sulaiman, the lawgiver, his tyranny and unjust murder of his son Mustafa and his submission to the vengeful spirit of his wife, Roxalana whose conspiracies not only contributed to the murder of Mustafa, his eldest son but also his innocent ten year old grandson.

Whilst Carmifil chooses to flee from Saifula Pasha's *haremlik* to be united with her former lover Manipololo back in Greece, Katinka chooses to pretend that she loves Saifula Pasha to enjoy the luxurious life of the harem and its power to control everyone enslaved in the system, to be the first to lead them no matter what sacrifices it could cost. She sacrifices her personal freedom, freedom of faith (when she pretends to be a Muslim woman) and the life of anyone who could and would attempt to reveal her conspiracies and future plans. This narrative also depicts Muslim Turkish men and women as typically gullible and tractable. In this work, there are two captive Western women, one escapes willingly whilst the other chooses to stay and enjoy all the power and luxury of a harem life. Therefore, Pardoe seems to believe in the western choice and its prevalence in both contexts. Another way of reading history and literary texts is that captives who chose to stay in the harem were disguised colonizers from within, acting in favour of their own imperial enterprises whose vengeance facilitated the western colonial enterprise and approved of their civilizing mission. Even though Pardoe condemns sixteenth century Sultana Roxalane or *Hurrem* in *The Beauties of the Bosphorous* highlighting and warning from such degeneration and contamination, in *The Romance of the Harem*, she justifies the plot of captive women.

Considering the narrative of *The Arabian Nights*, Pardoe inverts roles in her tale, as the lawful wife, Carmifil, takes the place of Dinarzade whilst the Greek slave turns

out to be the Scheherazade of the novel who enchants the pasha with her tales. Moreover, she delivers Carmifil and her lover out of her captivity of the harem and herself out of slavery to a higher rank inside the harem. She does so to accomplish her vengeful ambitions of enslaving others, acquiring material and moral benefits whilst enjoying a stable family life with a husband she controls. Katinka is the western version of Scheherazade whom Pardoe creates to illustrate superior western potential in controlling masters and servants whilst in captivity for their maximum advantage.

Pardoe's captivity narratives repeated established stereotypes at a time when the Ottoman threat was diminishing not only to perpetuate negative racial stereotypes but also to use them as convenient trope to condemn the Victorian mistreatment of English women, whose troubles and worries are projected unto Eastern women, such as the case with Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre.* The despotic patriarchy of the Victorians was likewise criticized through these projections unto Eastern monarchs. Feminist authors like Pardoe used these established depictions to emancipate English men and women from rigid Victorian social norms that maximized patriarchy at the expense of English women. Eventually, the new English woman emerged.

2.3.2 The Role of Seclusion in Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem*

Female seclusion in a harem quarters may not indeed exist in the west in its precise conditions and atmosphere, yet one can compare them to brothels or prostitution houses in Europe and England which became more popular and established after the Industrial Revolution, and with the rise of slavery and imperial conquests abroad. The development in Victorian society created not only the bourgeois middle class of certain values but also the discriminated, abused and oppressed lower classes in which women were neither dignified nor properly accommodated. Fallen women were victims of Victorianism as the society assigned certain domains and roles for them making them

venture abroad in search of their dreams. Orientalists closed an eye to this and chose to contrast her to her Eastern sister to gain the former's support. It was only Lady Mary Montagu who reflected on Eastern women's highly dignified manner of life and freedom in comparison to their married Western English sisters, who in spite of being an only wife, suffered from the despotism of men, had no economic or political rights and had no choice but to accept their societies' control and oppression.

In these tales, Pardoe highlights the use of the veil as a tool in Eastern Muslim societies to facilitate illegitimate or illegal acts of deception and disguise for both men and women. In the frame narrative and many others, men use the veil as a disguise to enter into the harem quarter. There is an instance when praying clothes, which fully covers the body, are used to cover the hero and make him look like a woman in a state of prayer, preventing anyone from really checking his identity. There are two instances as well in which women cover up and get into men's attire to facilitate their escape from their undesirable harem. Thus, Pardoe highlights the merit of European clothes in comparison to oriental clothes, which could not be used as a disguise for such purposes, thereby asserting the higher tendency for deceit and corruption in Eastern societies. This eastern cultural tendency towards corruption and deviancy is not only emphasized by their religion and segregation of men from women, but also by their clothes.

It is of significance to point out the role of perception in understanding cultural differences. Westerners had always carried along with them their bag of stereotypes, and with such literary productions coming from Orientalists whether they have been to the orient or not, a whole mentality of distrust and misunderstanding is propagated to emphasize extreme opposition between the East and West. Religion is not just a faith but a way of life which if implemented honestly would make society perfect and righteous. Although good and bad Muslims have always existed side by side, Orientalists frequently chose not only to focus on the worse group, but also added to

their ills from their imagination inspired by the obvious differences in geographical location, dress code, manners and not to forget their own history of corruption, deceit and taking advantage of the less knowledgeable and more trusting readers in Europe. Being the more powerful, the last contributed to their projection of their own critiques, anxieties and ambivalence. It is because of this anxiety from the possible empowerment of a former powerful Muslim empire that they had to distort facts and invade the orient not only literally but also mentally. They did not want to be invaded like the orient, they did not want to be passive time wasters or addicts like the orientals, but they wanted to take advantage of the orient's ideas of luxury, their exotic and erotic atmosphere and their faith. In spite of their criticism of the last, it was a sphere upon which they reflected their contrasting lack of faith, and displayed their intellectual confidence and trust in their own choices and power. This lack of faith has its history in the negative role of the church in governing or aiding the government of England and rise of the Industrial revolution, urbanism and scientifically, Darwinism. All these factors made people turn away from the church and faith and look towards science and empirical thinking for answers to their spiritual crises. This is evident in Chaucer's portrayal of the Summoner in *The Summoner's Tale*, church and the way it was perceived by commoners in *The Canterbury Tales*, which continued to be in that way until the nineteenth century(Hallissy 152).

According to Faegheh Shirazi in *The Veil Unveiled: The Hijab in Modern Culture*, the veil is an erotic symbol of oppression to westerners, whilst it is a sign of piety, modesty and purity to Easterners (6-7). Therefore, the veil is a screen upon which different people from various cultures project their dreams and nightmares, producing images which construct semantic meanings with symbolic versatilities (9). This difference in perception and its implication illustrates the merit of understanding, tolerance and coexistence. Because it is not at all feasible to comprehend cultural

difference, it is established in the holy Quran as a challenge meant by the creator to broaden our horizons.

The veil as a symbol was used in both the East and the West alike in advertisements, selling products in the Kingdom of Saudia Arabia, and selling sex and politics in Europe and America (Shirazi 41-2)[19]. It is a Western fetish promising endless pleasures which is being abused in today's American magazines to market negative anti-Muslim stereotypes. For example, "The Canadian playmate in the May 1989 issue of *Playboy* wears a veil made of embroidered diaphanous white lace. She is screened by her veil, except for one eye and some blond hair, but at the same time she is exposed to the gaze of the viewer" (Shirazi 46). Shirazi then concludes that "the function of the veil is to rouse in the consumer's fantasies of an Orient where voluptuous women eagerly submit to the sexual demands of a master […] the veil as a signifier of Oriental sexuality" (47).In relating thisto harem literature andthe captivity narratives discussed earlier on, the use of the veil as a symbol of modesty and purity was later abused and utilized as a tool of resistance to any tyrannical or despotic regime, facilitating the flight to freedom. In spite of the well-established dynamics of the veil in Eastern societies, the impact of all its possible misuse is highlighted and taken advantage of in English literature, propagated by the expanding Empire who used such narratives as their means to educate and warn Eastern societies from possible betrayals and corruption. This dynamism would raise revolt in Eastern societies against wearing the veil, to promote women's emancipation and justify colonial interferences. In 1869, Midhat Pasha, the governor of Baghdad was very influenced by this western perception, and as he introduced social and legal reforms, one of which was the practice of unveiling. Believers in the decency of the veil in eastern societies resisted this notion and practice so that poets like al-Hajj 'Abd al-Hussayn al-Azri (1880-1954) asserted the merit and significance of protecting women, men and the whole society through wearing the veil

against modernization, whilst there were other champions of unveiling like Iraj Mirza (1874- 1926) (Shirazi 139- 140).

Hence, the veil was used as a tool of resistance in the captivity narratives in Victorian literature, a tool for the colonizer to divide and rule, manipulate, propagate and control, just as it has become a tool of resistance by Easterners themselves against the colonial reality. Aside from the Romantic, erotic, aesthetic and historical significance of the veil, the economic role assigned to the veil began with Victorian paintings. With the development of the printing press, the veil's earlier aesthetic significance was utilized for economic purposes in advertisements and communication in magazines in the twentieth century. In Iran, the veil "hascreated a cinematics of its own, a cinematics that focuses on aesthetics rather than on sexual dynamics" (Shirazi 180). Therefore, the veil is a tool which could be used for good and bad purposes and that is how it was used as a tool to differentiate, segregate and maximize opposition between slaves and masters and East and West.

2.4 The Rise of Feminism

The century witnessed the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act in 1857, which permitted women limited divorce, and an act of 1891 which denied men conjugal rights to their wives' bodies without their wives' consent. Financially, the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 allowed married women to retain and control their earned income, and in 1882, women gained the right to own and control their property. In education, the University of London began to grant B.A. to women in 1878 and in the next two years the first women colleges were established at Oxford: Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville (Diniejko, "The New Woman Fiction"). By the 1880s and 1890s, the Woman Question was a vital issue discussed in British newspapers and periodicals. Besides the militant female activists (suffragists), writers, artists and educators who

expressed their polemical views on the condition of women, there were these odd women from the upper and middle classes of Victorian England who were not married and who, according to William Rathbone Greg "really and deliberately prefer the unsatisfying pleasures of luxury and splendour to the possible sacrifices of married life" (Greg 21). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of married women declined compared to the rising number of liberated, educated women so that by the end of the century, the "new woman" had established their autonomy as career women inside the empire and as travelers outside it. Some of the most prominent female New Woman novelists, now almost forgotten, include Olive Schreiner, Sarah Grand, and George Egerton, who were violently criticized and praised by both female and male readers (Diniejko, "The New Woman Fiction").

Charlotte Brontë's feminist novel *Jane Eyre* must be read in the aforementioned context of the nineteenth century. Such works marked a shift in style, from the captivity narratives and travelers' records and unto Eastern women, to a more frank expression utilizing Orientalism to signify the inferiority of any oriental or foreign agents that exist amidst the superior English race. On one hand, this kind of production reflects how the negative portrayals of oriental people has been established and stamped as a stereotype that is no longer negotiable. On the other hand, it is the likes of these works that promoted and encouraged the emergence of "new woman" novels, the most frank expression of rebellion in contemporary Victorian England, addressing and debating gender relations that were previously taboo. This justifies Burton's and Payne's radical translations of the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*. New women were encouraged by the *Arabian Nights*' recent translations, with their sexual highlights and 'scientific' 'realistic' manners to discuss taboo topics pertinent to contemporary current topics in support of Scheherazade's educative style, very much serving their social interests. Moreover, female authors, in their works, revealed the traps of conventional Victorian

marriage, thereby discussing "tolerated marital rape, compulsory or enforced motherhood, and the double standard of sexual morality. Many female protagonists of the New Woman fiction experienced conventional marriage as a degrading and oppressive institution because women suffered inferior status and were often victims of domestic violence and other threats" (Diniejko, "The New Woman Fiction").

A. R. Cunningham distinguishes two main types of the New Woman novels: the "purity school" novels and the Sue Bridehead type novels (179, 180). The purity school works depicted bold and independent women characters, like Benjamin Disraeli's *Sybil*, Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* and Elizabeth Gaskell's Margaret Hale in *North and South*.The Sue Bridehead novels portrayed the intellectual, emancipated, and androgynous women with a number of modern neuroses, like Sue Bridehead in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*. The first school novels did not reject the value of matrimony although its novels strongly criticized oppressive traditional Victorian marriage. The second school on the other hand, depicted the traditional Victorian marriage as repugnant and asserted the sexual double standard and aesthetics of the characteristic of male degeneration of the time.

The issue of the New Woman throughout the 1880s and 1890s was ranked as one of the most controversial phenomena of the British *fin de siecle*, also known as "Novissima," the "wild woman," the "odd woman," the "revolting daughter" and other names in the periodical press of their day for criticizing the double gender standard, and fighting for women's rights in education, work and for their frank outspokenness on various intellectual and sexual questions. Many of these women forsook the restrictive Victorian female fashion for a more comfortable and practical one. They also smoked in public and opted for professional careers (Jusova 1). Like the "lower or criminal class who posed a major threat to British civilization, these women raised fears among the middle-class British population at a time of much social unrest, agricultural depression

and industrial stagnation contributing to the British expansion overseas which attempted to compensate for their economic losses by expanding its overseas markets (Jusova 4). Thus, the new woman was the outcome of the British Victorian women for a new liberal identity, an extreme generated by social oppression and bonds.

The British civilizing mission was accompanied by rising fears of racial degeneration through contact with inferior races abroad and the nation's low degenerate classes within, an event which could predict the empire's demise when compared to the previous Roman Empire. There were also anxieties from new alliances made by France and Germany with other nations for their empowerment. In light of all these events, champions of the New women movement urged them to be economically independent, not only for their benefit, but also to contribute to the British economy and help the nation face its challenges as argued in Blanche Aletha's article "The Revolt of Daughters". Opponents of the movement such as Elizabeth Lynn Linton satirized them as "aesthetically repulsive" as they introduced "into the cultured classes certain qualities and practices hitherto confined to the uncultured and--- savages" (Linton 598)[20]. Regarded by the British as degenerate agents to their race, they were found to disseminate social unrest among British colonial subjects in India. Many of them were deeply invested in sustaining the empire as their work reflected their cultural and racial bias.

Late Victorian studies though tended to focus on examining the role of colonialism in the development of the works of these new women as they were found to support the British imperialist and colonialist ideologies and practices whilst devising new discursive strategies to express their disdain for the colonial enterprise. Jusova in *The New woman and The Empire* underscores differences in the writings of Sarah Grand, George Egerton, and Amy Levy by highlighting each one's distinct implication in the discourse of "scientific racism". In her book, she emphasizes the differences in

these three writers' works and their "negotiation of the Victorian colonial narrative and significant distinctions among them in respect to their implication in the late-Victorian discourse of "Scientific racism"" (6). Each writer's ethnic and religious background, ideology and location played a significant role in her adoption or resistance of racial biases prevalent in the British Empire then (6).

In this chapter, Brontë's feminist novel *Jane Eyre* is examined in the context of the evolution of English women and their autonomy. *Jane Eyre* serves as a remarkable milestone that stimulated the new rights granted to English women towards the end of the century and for its outstanding depiction and anticipation of future desirable changes.

2.5 Charlotte Brontë's*Jane Eyre* (1847)

Charlotte Brontë was a progressive and controversial woman of her time who bravely contradicted her society through her writing, at a time when women were considered little more than social adornments and bearers of offspring. Brontë's novels speak volumes for the plight of the English Victorian woman; thus establishing her as one of the first modern women of her time. Charlotte's biography reveals that feminism was not her plain target. Brontë isolated herself from a society that would not entirely accept her. She expressed her muted ideals in her novels. "Slight in size, perpetually modest, it was Brontë's suppressed spirit that gave way to her literary fantasies. She often likened herself to others in her oppressed situation; the ugly daughter or poor spinster, which she equated to slaves imprisoned by circumstances beyond their control" (Lowes, "Charlotte Brontë: A Modern Woman"). She was an extremely knowledgeable person, very well educated by her father. She also utilized her creativity to express herself in her writing.

The plot of *Jane Eyre* revolves around an orphan girl raised by her aunt Sarah Reed at Gateshead, who sends her to be educated at Lowood schoolwhere she later qualifies to become a governess. She then moves to Thornfield where she meets and falls in love with her employer Edward Fairfax Rochester. Before she leaves Thornfield to attend to her Aunt Reed on her death bed, Rochester had received some guests amongst whom is beautiful Blanche Ingram. Mrs. Reed informs her that her uncle John Reed had left her a fortune before he died. When Jane returns to Thornfield, Rochester finds out that she loves him, and he decides to marry her instead of Blanche and the two become engaged. On their wedding day, Jane finds out that Rochester had been married to a Jamaican woman named Bertha Mason. She is shattered and despite Rochester's attempt to have her as a mistress, she leaves Thornfield for a distant place and ends up in Moor House, with her cousins St. John Rivers and his two sisters. She stays there for sometime, shares her inheritance with her cousins and remodels Moor House. St. John tries to entice her to marry him and to travel with him to India as a missionary, but her love for Rochester drives her back to Thornfield just to find out that Bertha had burnt that house down one night, and that Rochester lost an eye and a hand trying to rescue her and the servants. She goes in search of Rochester and finds him at Ferndean and the two soon marry and enjoy a blissful life.

Jane Eyre contains some ofBrontë's autobiographical elements mingled with romantic notions of the period. In the character of Jane, Brontë created a woman very much like herself, secluded from others yet blessed with necessary survival skills. Jane does not need to be appreciated by a man to realize her self-worth. Through Jane, Brontë criticizes a society that has for long scorned her, while maintaining indifference toward humanity as a whole (Moers 18).

When Jane ultimately falls in love, she does not sacrifice her morals or self-respect for any man. It is crucial to her to remain true to herself. Like Jane, Charlotte meant to marry no other than a man she respected. She refused several offers of marriage which offered her an easy life just because they did not come from men of equal intellect and morality. Jane returns to Rochester and finally offers her love to him after he has lost his wealth and eyesight, when Rochester can only offer himself. In this Brontë proves that love transcends the societal expectations of marriage, and is truly based on mutual respect and affection. Jane Eyre, like Lucy Snowe in *Villette*, is a heroine endowed with intelligence and moral superiority to those around her (Lowes, "Charlotte Brontë: A Modern Woman").

In Rochester, Brontë created a typical hero who is rich, dashing, and romantic, adding to the gothic style of the novel. Yet at a more mature time, in *Villette*, Brontë creates the antithesis of that hero. Paul Emmanuel is no romantic, but pure flesh and blood, and humanly flawed. In spite of his flaws, the heroine Lucy Snowe recognizes a generous soul within, and together they form a bond of mutual respect. By doing so, Brontë reminds and enlightens her readers that intelligent women of self-respect like Jane and Lucy can seek their place in the world, without the assistance of men. In her subtlety, Brontë wrote of simple women who relied upon themselves and provided self-fulfillment in their lives. Through her female characters, Brontë presented her society with a modern woman, a woman determined to make her own way, and live her life by her own set of standards, dictated not by society but only by herself (Lowes, "Charlotte Brontë: A Modern Woman").

As stated earlier, Irwin argues in "Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives" against a persistent Orientalist trend in Britain. Many well-known nineteenth-century English writers such as Austen, Dickens and the Brontës to name a

few, did not have any works on oriental Muslims or Arabs. He states that past1830, "the craze fell off sharply and only the odd novel featuring oriental settings and themes was published (using 'odd' in both its senses)." Since the nineteenth century was the "The Age of Empire", from 1874 until the First World War according to Hobsbawm chronologically and exemplified by authors like Rider Haggard, Kipling, Henty and others whose works were produced in the late nineteenth century, the British 'Moment in the Middle East' according to Elizabeth Monroe came after Britain's occupation of Aden in 1839 and Egypt in 1882 with the settlement of their mandates in Palestine, Jordan and Iraq together with a dominant position in the gulf (Irwin, *Britain and the Muslim World*). Hence, past 1830 and with rising interest in imperial works, speculations and anxieties, as Said argues "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (Said, *Orientalism* 1-2). Thus, this fixed image of the orient was used to signify difference, oddity and dislike in some works such as CharlotteBrontë's *Jane Eyre*.

Throughout *Jane Eyre*, Brontëuses her Anglocentric perception of the orient, relating it to the British 'other' by attributing oriental people and ideas with familiar stereotypes. Even though Mr. Rochester and Blanche Ingram are British characters, at certain instances, they are given oriental traits. By doing so, Brontëis giving them a sense of otherness in general or at a precise moment in time. Robert Reese's article "Orientalism in *Jane Eyre"* reveals the exact traits Brontëassigns to each character. She also describes oriental locations as a contrast to the English, in this case India. Reese citesBrontë's depiction of Jane as an outsider, by identifying her with a Turk. This is said at the beginning of the novel (Chapter 1, 4) but once Jane finds her place in English society, she is no longer identified in that way. Blanche Ingram is distinguished with oriental features to mark her beauty as different from that of others. Her oriental trait is at one time related to her dressing up in oriental fashion. Similarly Mr. Rochester too is

dressed in oriental fashion and is given oriental traits. In this way, Jane creates a connection between the two. In the course of the novel, Brontëgoes on to use these oriental traits to highlight English superiority in comparison to oriental inferiority when she describes Bertha Mason as 'mad', 'crazy', 'exotic', of 'an oversized sexual appetite', 'unintelligent' with 'uncontrollable desires'.Brontë, in short, distinguishes English women as superior even if she were a poor English peasant compared to oriental women and other European women, such as the French character of Adele and her mother.

Thus, with this extraordinary status of English women, Jane questions whether she should go 'evangelizing' in Oriental India, which is a harsh place for "if I go to India, I go to premature death" (395). Charlotte Brontëcould have been influenced by Emma Roberts' experience in India. Although Roberts participated in the evangelical missions in India in the course of educating Indian women, her sudden unexpected death and burial there might have left a lasting impact of Brontë. In *Jane Eyre*, the anxiety of being contaminated by India and its peoples overrules the heroine's decision, and the happy ending comes when Jane prefers to stay in safe, secure and 'civilized' England without risking death in India. This resolution was obviously the practical one Brontë advocates, but is not the actual choice for all women, as many chose to go proselytizing and evangelizing as illustrated by Billie Melman. However, throughout her work, Brontë maintains an Anglocentric perspective of England and highlights the superiority of English women compared to other European and Eastern oriental women (Reese, Orientalism in *Jane Eyre*).

An even more emphatic study of the use of the harem as a metaphor of oppression was conducted by Joyce Zonana in "The Sultan and the Slave: Feminist Orientalism and the Structure of *Jane Eyre*" in which she reveals how feminist Orientalism (originated by Susan L. Meyer in 1989), was used by Brontë in her novel,

in light of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) who had related it to 'Mahometanism' in order to exhibit their rejection of the institution of the seraglio or harem in the East. "Brontë's sultan/ slave simile displaces the source of patriarchal oppression on to an "oriental," "Mahometan" society, enabling British readers to contemplate local problems without questioning their own self-definitionas Westerners and Christians" (593).

In her novel, Brontë uses Bertha Mason as the opposite of Jane Eyre to illustrate what an enlightened English woman such as Jane aspires to, and thus serves as an example for English women to follow. She is set to liberate herself from the despotic motives of English patriarchal society, as represented by Rochester and St. John, in order to lead an emancipated life in England. She "defines herself as a Western missionary seeking to redeem not the "enslaved" woman outside the fold of Christianity and Western ideology but the despotic man who has been led astray within it" (Zonana 593). Jane refuses all of Rochester's attempts to enslave her through his Sultan-like acts of showering her with jewels and offering her a secluded villa in the Mediterranean. Her aim is not only to assert that she has a soul and should be treated equally like men but also to purge oriental elements from her society, by replacing "Mahometan" and "Persian laws" with Christian doctrines. For example, in the same scene after their return from the market on their way home to Thornfield, Jane and Rochester have the following exchange, which shows both of them engaging in the master-slave rhetoric that they associate with harem life:

> And what will you do, Janet, while I am bargaining for so many tons of flesh and such an assortment of black eyes?' 'I'll be preparing myself to go out as a missionary to preach liberty to them that are enslaved—your harem inmates amongst the rest. I'll get admitted there, and I'll stir up mutiny; and you, three-tailed bashaw as you are, sir, shall in a trice find yourself fettered amongst our hands: nor will I, for one, consent to cut your bonds till you have signed a charter, the most liberal that despot ever yet conferred.' 'I would consent to be at your mercy, Jane. (298)

Although *Jane Eyre* focuses on Occidentalizing the occident, its underlying theme is Occidentalizing of the orient as well (615). Bertha Mason, Rochester's first wife is the perfect embodiment of an Eastern woman, being black and born in Jamaica. Her blackness "signifies both the oppressed and the oppressor" (Meyer 266). Moreover, she is Jane's "dark double" who enacts both Jane's and Brontë's repressed rage at patriarchal oppression (Gilbert and Gubar 360), and most significantly, she is "Vashti, King Ahsurerus's uncontrollable queen, and she is a harem inmate whose purported soullessness justifies and enforces her opposition" (Zonana 611). She is more of an animal than human to illustrate how Eastern women caged in a seraglio are no better than animals (610). Bertha's final action of tearing Jane's veil and burning the house, thereby blinding Rochester and killing herself is the event that illustrates her despise/contempt of her enslavement, claiming the freedom of her own soul and that of Jane's from a possible enslavement symbolized by Jane's wedding veil. Bertha's action reflects the oriental desire for redemption and her attempt to rescue and emancipate her race from oriental despotic tendencies (612).

Brontë depicts Rochester and St. John as two oppositional western men who, though both seek out Jane's hand in marriage, also serve as two portraits of despotism, oriental and occidental respectively. Rochester's oriental inclinations are a direct result of his relationship and marriage to Bertha Mason. Hence, he is a perfect embodiment of a man degenerated and doomed for mingling and associating with the orient. Certainly, this name he has given himself identifies him as a "polygamous, blasphemous despot – a sultan" (608). At one instance, he calls himself Mahomet "the mountain will never be brought to Mahomet, so all you can do is to aid Mahomet to go to the mountain" (Brontë 146). Rochester highlights his other oriental characteristic when conversing with Jane. He implements the "Persian laws", like king Ahasuerus when he banished Queen Vashti and gave her royal estate to another, Esther, in his attempt to redeem

himself from his vices by banishing Bertha and replacing her with Jane. Although Bertha's death is meant to emancipate her from oppression and symbolizes women's liberation, it also facilitates his reform back to Christian monogamy (612). Nevertheless, Jane's resistance to marrying Rochester "signals her engagement in both the reform of her master and the liberation of her people"(609). St. John Rivers, on the other hand, is an occidental figure who practices despotism in the name of Christianity. Although he is supposed to be a perfect missionary, he is the worst harem master in the novel as he is cloaked in Christian doctrine, asking Jane to marry him and go with him to India to do missionary work. Jane finds it difficult to combat him and her refusal of him and her preference for Rochester's love not only highlights the autonomy of women's souls and their right to have the choice, but also redeemsSt. John and delivers him from his despotic tendencies (613-4). Even though Jane is set to be a missionary and emancipate others outside England, she manages to emancipate English men and women in the novel through her words and deeds. Although Jane does not go abroad, the novel has that theme of enlightening and emancipating both the occident and orient (615).

The use of certain vocabulary in the English language has indirectly developed, sustained and maintained negative racialstereotypes which Brontë's *Jane Eyre* highlights. The use of the Italian base *Seraglio*, according to the OED "a place for confinement" to render the Turkish *serai*, "lodging" or "place" is directly related to that of the modern *seraglio* 'a cage for wild animals'. Late seventeenth century England used *seraglio* to refer to "a place where wild beasts are kept" (OED) and also the private apartments of women. This double meaning for the seraglio was invoked by Wollstonecraft when speaking of women being reduced to "mere animals" who are "only fit for a seraglio" (83)[21]. Brontë's novel depicts this structure of feeling in her portrayal of the secluded and confined Bertha Mason in contrast to the eventually free,

emancipated English heroine Jane Eyre, as inspired by Wollstonecraft. This Italian meaning of the *seraglio* enforced Wollstonecraft's belief that Muslim women have no souls, despite the fact that Leila Ahmed in her paper "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem" asserts, that she [Wollstonecraft] could not have found any proof in Islamic doctrine stating that women are created without souls (526). Wollstonecraft therefore related "Mahometanism" and the "Mahometan" institution of the seraglio or harem as the grand sort of all female oppression. Accordingly, any Western writer who treats women "as a kind of subordinate being, and not as a part of human species" is accused of writing in "in the true style of Mahometanism". In other words, "Mahometanism" embodies the antithesisshe strives to establish in her stance that is, women are likemen, created with soul (Wollstonecraft 80).

It is vital to point out the great distortion to the image of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the man to whom Islam was revealed as the perfect religion for mankind just because he married eleven women, in complete ignorance of his lifetime effort to bring peace, banishing oppression and establishing justice and humanity. The seventeenth century completely distorted such achievements, focusing instead on a negative view of the Prophet, demonstrated by Wollstonecraft's perception, and enhanced by Brontë in the nineteenth century in her depiction of Rochester, as a lustful Eastern sultan who attempts to subdue and enslave Jane to be one of his slaves. This testifies to the persistence of racial stereotypes of Eastern women in England as sexualized harem slaves. Furthermore, in her novel, Brontë reveals the historical antagonism between East and West and how it has been developed and sustained in Europe through language. Hence, she affirms and stamps established racial stereotypes associated with Eastern men and women in her use of these vocabularies. Derision and desire are used frequently in the novel, in the characterization and behaviours of all characters. A good example is Jane's shopping with Rochester after the day of their betrothal, during which

Rochester acted in the spirit of an Eastern Sultan who would shower his harem slaveswith all the silk and gems he could possibly get, which made Jane's cheek burn with "a sense of annoyance and degradation" (Brontë 296-7).Although that might not have been her main target, it was her secondary one in her depiction of Jane and Rochester, and in her recurring use of vocabulary such as "master/ slave" and "seraglio" amongst others such as "Turk", "slave-purchases", "bazaars of Stamboul" (Brontë 285)[22] to assert the contrast between Victorian women and Eastern Muslim women. In this manner, Brontëis using Eastern negativities to warn her society from slipping into such undesirable frames. Leila Ahmed and Chandra Mohanty amongst others highlighted how assumptions about the East was used by the Western feminist project instead of conducting research about the actual conditions of the harem or establishing genuine alliances with them.[23]

Another significant issue is Brontë's intermingling of women's oppression in India with the Eastern Muslim harem, conflating the situation of women in Hinduism and Islam. Yet Bertha Mason is nothing like any of these Eastern beauties of the harem. Her darkness of mind and soul, her similarity to animals--she is described as "a clothed hyena" (Brontë, *Jane Eyre* 321)-- is inspired by Wollstonecraft's reference of "Mohametanism" to the corrupting conditions of harems in the East. It may be initiated by Wollstonecraft but Brontë emphasized it in her portrayal of Bertha Mason as Jane's opposite in the novel.[24] This contrast is highlighted by Rochester himself, as he illustrates the contrast between Jane and Bertha:

> She was a big woman, in stature almost equalling her husband, and corpulent besides: she showed virile force in the contest — more than once she almost throttled him, athletic as he was […] That is *my wife* ," said he. "Such is the sole conjugal embrace I am ever to know — such are the endearments which are to solace my leisure hours! And *this* is what I wished to have" (laying his hand on my shoulder): […] Wood and Briggs, look at the difference! Compare these clear eyes with the red balls yonder — this face with that mask — this form with that bulk; then judge me, priest of the gospel and man of the law, and remember

> with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged! Off with you now. I must shut up my prize (311). [25]

The portrayal of Bertha through her physical appearance and madness, though it stands in contrast to the well-known beauty of Eastern women, reflect Brontë's perception of the corrupt mental conditions of Eastern woman. They thus justify her imprisonment by Rochester and imply that he has the right to seek another wife in Jane, just as polygamy may happen in the East, as Islams permits it. In spite of Jane's sympathy for Rochester's condition, she cannot accept this marriage, inferring that polygamy could not happen in this particular setting and context not only because Christianity does not allow it, but also because a strong, confident, educated and enlightened woman as Jane will not accept it despite the circumstances. Such is the example Brontë wants to set for Victorian women.

There are four harem-like quarters in this novel, in which Jane lives and experiences circumstances of captivity. Zonana highlights how "[e]xamining this narrative structure, one sees that each household in which Jane finds herself is constructed to resemble a harem; each of her oppressors is characterized as a Mahometan despot; and each of her rebellions or escapes bears the accents of Roxanna, the harem inmate declaring her existence as a free soul. At Gateshead, at Lowood, at Thornfield and at Moor House one discovers a series of communities of dependent women, all subject to the whim of a single master who rules in his absence as much as his presence and who subjects the imprisoned women to the searching power of his gaze" (Zonana 605-6).At Gateshead the household is made up of John Reed, Mrs. Reed, Eliza and Georgiana Reed, Jane and two female servants, Bessie and Abbott. John Reed, though only fourteen years old, demands Jane to call him "Master Reed" (41). He tries to subjugate Jane to his commands by not letting her out of his sight, and he describes her as an animal[26]. He denies her education, in an attempt to keep her in an ignorant submissive state. She moves to Lowood, where all are female students brought

in due to their orphaned state and this is where Jane acquires knowledge and makes use of it to her advantage. Once the despotic control of Mr. Brocklehurst, "the black marble clergyman" (98) whom Jane perceives as a "black column" (94) is limited, the females in Lowood school manage to lead a happy peaceful life while receiving proper education. At Thornfield, Rochester is the harem master who attempts to treat Jane in a similar fashion as that of harem inmates, when he asks her to help him to mount his horse, “"I see ... the mountain will never be brought to Mahomet, so all you can do is to aid Mahomet to go to the mountain” (Brontë 146). At Moor house, St. John Rivers is the despot of that harem quarter. Aside from these four despotic male figures, only Mrs Reed and Bertha Mason are mean to her. In the novel, other women such as her teacher at Lowood, Maria Temple, servants such asBessie Lee and Alice Fairfax,and Diana Rivers in these four different places were friends with Jane or acquaintances, so that Brontë seems to be setting a contrast between congregations of women in the West to that in the East. She does that by asserting the difference between the harem segregation in a seraglio in the East and the women’s segregation in separate schools and rooms in Britain to prove that a harem-like condition could exist physically in England but it would not be morally corrupt and could not possibly have the same implications as the harem quarters in the East. Accordingly,as the passages on Jane’s assertion to Rochester of her difference from the typical oppressed harem slave show, Eastern Muslim women are “othered” in *Jane Eyre* in order to assert the superiority and diligence of their Western sisters who could not succumb to the slavery of their masters like harem inmates. Jane establishes her superior identity and choices anywhere she goes throughout the novel, from the beginning and until the end. By virtue of her intelligence, she begets respect from all who surround her. Her responses to Mr. Rochester and St. John redeem them from their despotic tendency, thus showing how her handling of such aspects of their “tainted” character illustrates her purity and

superiority as a liberated Western subject.Her success with Rochester recalls that of Scheherazade's in the *Arabian Nights*. In this manner, she sets a positive example for Victorian women to emulate, which is to love and marry a man who can perceive her as his equal in order to secure a happy and stable life.

In conclusion, the female captivity narrative stands out as a genre for the role it played in emancipating the English woman from their patriarchal English societies, which initially, denied them rights to education and divorce amongst others. Established racial stereotypes of segregated and veiled women in the Muslim Orient were emphasized by Roberts' "The Florentines" and selected tales from Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* to become a convenient background unto which English women of the era such as Charlotte Brontë would use to assert her integrity and fight for justice in *Jane Eyre*.

In the selected works discussed above, the portrayal of Muslim men confirmed set stereotypes more often than challenged them, making their image stable and unchanging. These stereotypes stand in contrast to those of Jewish men and their communities, present only in two of Pardoe's tales: the frame tale of *The Romance of the Harem* and *The Diamond Merchant*. The rarity of the portrayal of positive Muslim characters and the sympathetic depictions ofthe Jewish community destabilizes their portrayal and invites new depictions. The following two chapters on the historical and political novels will prove this instability true as a literary trend, as seen in the various new positive depictions of Jewish characters in the novels discussed and through the repeated emphases of their plight and prosecution at "home" in England and in the Muslim orient "abroad".

CHAPTER 3: THE JEWISH QUESTION IN VICTORIAN HISTORICAL ROMANCES

> Isolated from everything except the past created for him by Orientalist polemic, the Arab is chained to adestiny that fixes him and dooms him to a series of reactions periodically chastised by what Barbara Tuchman gives the theological name "Israel's terrible swift sword".
>
> (Said, *Orientalism* 286)

To begin this chapter, a brief discussion on the historical romance as a literary genreis imperative. The contribution of Sir Walter Scott to the genre will be illustrated before arriving at the way historical romances were used to discuss the politics of Victorian England. This is followed by an explicit assessment of Benjamin Disraeli's *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* (1833), Edward B. Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* (1838) and Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* (1890) and how depictions of the Muslim and Jewish communities in these works established and challenged Scott's racial stereotypes inthe attempt to resolve the question of whether or not the Jews should be included within English national identity.

The historical novel as a literary genre was highly instrumental in exploring urgent national concerns in Victorian England in a creative way that blended historical facts with fiction. Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) came to be known as the father of the historical novel aside from being a poet and a playwright. He was popular throughout the nineteenth century and his works are still currently widely read in Europe, Australia and America for his innovation in historical novels that cast a new light on the orient. Before him, any historical writing had to match historical facts of character and events, or else it would be looked down upon as misleading the readership.

Scott was intrigued by all the hostility and prejudices that characterized the Crusades' period which persisted until his day. In his historical novels, he attempts to "cast a humane view on what for him was basically the irrational behavior of people with strong convictions. Though he was dependent for his background on chroniclers whose devotion to truth was subordinate to that of their religion, he hoped he would be fair to all sides and represent the times not so much as they were but as they might have been" (Cavaliero 161).

Thus, Charles Mill (1788-1826) who wrote a *History of the Crusades* considered Scott's *The Talisman* offensive due to Scott's "assertion in his introduction that an Edith Plantagenet had existed" and hence viewed Scott as "deliberately misleading his readers" (Walter Scott Digital Archive: *Edinburgh University Library*). *The Edinburgh Magazine* criticized Scott's use of Oriental characters in *The Talisman*. On the other hand, *The Quarterly Review* praised its grandeur and characterization. *London Magazine* distinguished *The Talisman* as the "first English novel to portray Muslims in a positive light."[1]

Scott's best crusade novel, *The Talisman*, is the only one set in the Holy land. In his preface, Scott admitted the difficulty of creating a vivid image of a place he has never been to, and had only been acquainted with through the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. The opposites in this novel are the Christians and the Muslims. Scott portrays Richard as the flawed leader of the crusade, the embodiment of extreme courage and formidable physical strength, but unlike Saladin he cannot conquer his arrogance as he is more devoted to knighthood than to the Christian faith (Cavaliero 165-6). Saladin, who is known as a 'good paynim' is an exemplary Chivalric hero in the novel, to the extent of being foolish. His idealization by Scott was part of his desire to "dismantle a view of Islam which the crusading myth had perpetuated, to show that

Muslims had been and could be again more rational and generally better conducted than the Christians" (Cavaliero 167).

Despite Scott's positive portrayal of Saladin and overall noble representation of Muslims in *The Talisman*, the origin of Saladin's personality is pronounced by no other than him when he boasts about tracing his lineage back to Eblis/ Lucifer (Scott, *The Talisman* 51). This is what makes the historical novel agreeable to English readers to whom the Muslim orient has been classified as a fixed, stagnant and unchangeable entity since their tenth-century portrayal inthe*Arabian Nights Entertainments*. Furthermore, the Muslim orient is no longer a threat to Western Christians due to the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

Just as Scott's *The Talisman* handles oriental themes of the Crusades in its portrayal of the Holy land and Saladin, his other literary work *Ivanhoe* is an equally prominent oriental novel but set in England. There are only two Muslim characters in the novel – the Saracen servants of Bois-Guilbert who play an insignificant part in the plot. As the novel handles the theme of the Saxons and Normans' mounting struggle and competition for leadership in Europe, its Orientalism thus lies in Scott's treatment of Jews in King Richard's time, the epitome of irrational behavior based on prejudice. The heroine is Rebecca, the daughter of Isaac of York, the stereotype of a Jewish money lender. The villain is a Christian paladin, a Templar knight and the personification of stringent Christian radicalism. All the gentiles including those for whom Scott feels the strongest sympathy, are highly distrustful and even hate the Jews who may be temporarily exempted from their arrogant prejudice and cruelty. Hence, the gentiles' best treatment of the Jews varies from tolerance to oppression and exploitation. Rebecca's beauty arouses the dark passions of Templar Bois-Guilbert. She defies all accusations of her use of witchcraft and is burnt for it. When she demands a champion to decide her case before God, her eloquence stirs Templar Lucas Beaumanoir, whose

image evokes that of Heinrich Himmler, a perverted romantic who was dedicated to the purification of the world from the Jewish race. In the speeches Scott puts in the mouth of his gentile characters, we find arguments used a hundred years later by the Nazi propaganda whose irrationality and wicked prejudice is self-seeking (Cavaliero 162-3). Before Beaumanoir decides that Rebecca must be purged as a sorceress, Bois-Guilbert makes one last effort to save Rebecca. He proposes that she accepts his love and religion so that he may rescue her from western tyranny and prejudice and enroll as a mercenary at a Christian enclave of the Near East whose rulers do not care to know who fights their battles. Although her refusal means inevitable death, Rebecca is firm in her rejection. Bois-Guilbert is felled by a divine heart attack as he unhorses Ivanhoe who hastens to rescue Rebecca. The supernatural death of Bois-Guilbert and the appearance of Ivanhoe were both perceived as melodramatic, but the novel established the identity of the Jews as "separate from and identified with western civilization" (165). In this manner, *Ivanhoe* contributes to the climate of sympathy in which Disraeli would rise to the rank of Prime Minister while George Eliot was writing *Daniel Deronda* (164-5). After being rescued, Rebecca flees with her father to Spain. This subplot is meant to reflect the European and English intolerance of the Jewish people in contrast to the Muslim coexistence with Christians and Jews in Spain.

Cavaliero also highlights the way Jews were associated with black magic. Alexander Kinglake in the 1840s wrote that "the Jews of Jerusalem had a strong faith in the power of magic that they believed that the 11miracles of Jesus could only have been wrought with the help of the powers of darkness; more understanding Jews referred to Jesus as the Good Magician – but magician for all that" (163). The machinations of sorceresses in the Holy Land formed a large part of the crusader myth, and figured in crusader stories such as Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberta* (Armida) and Ariosto's

OrlandoFurioso (Alcina). Thus, Scott thought it was a great irony and depicted Rebecca accordingly in *Ivanhoe* (163).

In "The Birth of a Nation in Victorian Culture: The Spanish Inquisition, the Converted Daughter, and the "Secret Race"", Michael Ragussis argues that "by locating the origins of modern Spain in the conquest of the Moors at Granada and the banishment of the Jews, nineteenth century historians and novelists alike began to use fifteenth century Spain as a paradigm for the birth of a nation based in racial and religious homogeneity" (477). Consequently, he highlights Scott as the first to start a sort of sequel to *Ivanhoe* in a number of works, amongst which was Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* (479).

Prescott commended the contributions that Romance could make to historical study, and applauded the way Scott added new value to Romance by basing it on history and embellished history with the charms and grace of Romance (12: 231-2). The specific literary model behind the focus of Victorian romance on the role of the Jews in medieval Spain was *Ivanhoe's* depiction of Jewish persecution in medieval England. Ragussis argues that "depicting the persecution of the Jews at a critical moment in history --the founding of the English nation-state-- *Ivanhoe* located "the Jewish question" at the heart of English national identity" (478).

Thus, Rebecca's harsh critique of England at the end of *Ivanhoe* and her justification of her impending flight to Spain provoked Scott's successors in the historical romance to dwell on "the Jewish question" in medieval Spain. Scott's portrayal of rebellious Rebecca, in late twelfth-century England, who prefers the protection of King Boabdil of Granada in late fifteenth-century Spain, opened the way for a number of authors to challenge Scott's contrast between intolerant England and tolerant Spain. Hence "the persecution of the Jews that dominated fifteenth-century Spain, including the forced conversion of masses of Spanish Jews and the eventual

institution of the Inquisition, provided sufficient historical material to challenge Rebecca's choice of Spain over England" (Ragussis 479). In this light, the selected historical romances can be read within a larger field of nineteenth-century English discourse in which different national identities are defined, through the implied contrast in this case, between Protestant England and Catholic Spain.

In *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: The Formation of a Secret,* Ivan Davidson Kalmar highlights that the term "Semite" was first used by German biblical scholars to denote a language family whose members are the Hebrew and Arabic. The common message, comparing Arab Bedouins to Jews came from orientalist explorers such as Carsten Niehbuhr in 1772 before Ludwig Schlozer used the term "Semitic" for the first time in 1781 followed by George Wilhelm Friedrich who declared that Judaism was part of the "overall Arab religion" in 1821, and in light of Benjamin Disraeli's statement that "God never spoke except to an Arab" in 1847 in *Tancred*. As Disraeli's label included the Jews as part of Arabs, Wilhelm Marr invented the term "anti-Semite" in 1879 when he founded his "Anti-Semite League" organization (136).[2]

The image of the Jew in Western Christendom was a mixture of the prophetic and the demonic. The prophetic aspect is based on the concept that "Jews were God's Chosen People" and the demonic is based on "the biblical suggestion that the Jews betrayed this trust and murdered the Son of God" (Kalmar 137). Although Muslims were neither related to the prophetic or the demonic, Harold Bloom stated that "Yahweh… retreated to the remnants of Jewry, until he returned as the Allah of Islam" (Bloom 98 as cited in Kalmar 137). Thus, the medieval and the modern Christian view of Islam came about so that in the middle ages Islam was considered a Judaizing trend held guilty for sins committed by the Jews (137). In this chapter, the demonic aspects of despotism and tyranny are highlighted as stereotypes of the Muslim orient, while the Jewish practice of witchcraft is considered as part of their intelligence and superiority,

making them a prophetic sort of people. As the Muslim communities are depicted as simple minded, fatalistic, superstitious and have no prophetic merit about them, their best leaders are no match to gallant Christians and Jewish characters and are superseded by them. Thus, negative demonic traits are transferred from the Jewish Semite and fixed to the Muslim oriental Semite and the prophetic, heroic, and superior aspects of the Muslim Orient are affixed to the Jewish Semite. This is mainly due to the eminent presence and struggle of the English and European Jews for emancipation in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, who aimed not only to establish their superiority in Europe but also to gain support for their return to Palestine.

The selected works in this chapter are all romances with one national main plot within which is embedded a romantic subplot of the tragic union or eternal separation or death of the heroes or heroines. Benjamin Disraeli's *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* (1833), Edward B. Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* (1838) and Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* (1890) are historical romances that challenge Scott's depiction of a more tolerant Muslim Spain towards the Jews in that the authors demonstrate a mock tolerance towards Jews within which hatred, shrewdness, religious bigotry, and fear of defilement is shrouded. The anthropological significance of race over religious faith stands out in this chapter as the main drive, that a man's historical ascent or descent is the main factor that determines his future ambitions and end.

The selected works in this chapter reflect the increasing pertinence of the Jewish question to Europe and England during the Victorian period and the marginal significance of the Muslim orient in contrast. With the Jews' struggle for emancipation and eminence as a superior race in Europe and the beginning of their migrations to Palestine by the 1880s, their demonic traits are romanticized and considered as part of their heroic prophetic qualities to be sympathized with and admired. Their will, physical stamina, witchcraft and wit dominate the selected works against a fixed, fatalistic,

despotic and fossilized Muslim orient. On one hand, England as "home" for the Jews is contrasted with present day Iran and Iraq in *Alroy*, Spain in *Leila* and Morocco in *The Scapegoat.* As these countries are "abroad", they are represented according to set Eastern stereotypes. Through the Jewish communities in both parts of the world, not only "home" is compared to "abroad", but the treatment of the Jewish communities by the gentiles and Muslims is reflected upon in favor of English Jews and their possible inclusion or otherwise within the English national identity. The question these works seem to raise is where should a Jewish community establish their "home"? Even though Scott's historical novels inferred that "abroad" should be a better "home" for them, these works show that England is better for them on one hand or else, such a race deserve to establish their state elsewhere. Moreover, the works reveal the uniqueness of the Jewish race over other races especiallyin light of their historical contribution to Christian Europe or Arab Muslim regions.

3.1 Benjamin Disraeli's *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* (1833)

Born a Jew in England with little room for a bright future, Isaac Disraeli, Disraeli's father realized that his only means to enhance his children's future in England was through conversion. After a dispute at his synagogue and with the advice of his friend Sharon Turner, Isaac decided to baptize his children, among them twelve year old Benjamin. By doing this, Isaac removed the main obstacle which could have hindered his son's parliamentary career. Richard Levine highlights in his book *Benjamin Disraeli* (1968) that Benjamin's conversion as well as his inheritance of his father's library with 25000 books were the two factors which shaped Benjamin's future, that is his literary and parliamentary career (15, 19). By 1837, and with the beginning of the Victorian age, his election to parliament determined that his future associations would be more political than literary (Cline 404).

His earlier works *Vivian Grey* (1827), *The Young Duke* (1830) and *Contraini Fleming* (1832),were influenced by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton and marked by the literary dandyism he was well reputed for. These former works were unlike his latter ones that had far more insights into English society, economics, politics and religion (Levine 23). Kalmar in "Benjamin Disraeli, Romantic Orientalist" asserts that Disraeli was introduced to the high society in England by Lytton. A writer, a socialist, a novelist and a playwright, Lytton was fascinated and attracted to Disraeli's exotic looks. Disraeli's romantic Semitism attracted public attention to his persona. Paul Smith's brilliant biography of Benjamin Disraeli focuses on his dramatic character of being an English man, a Hebrew prophet, and a sheik of Araby. He attracted the attention of authors such as George Eliot and, likewise, was repelled by others like Anthony Trollope (360) as the next chapter would reveal. A third factor which has been overlooked by most of Disraeli's biographers was his tour to the East for sixteen months during which he did not write much. But the East hovered over his imagination and played a role in his political treatment of the Eastern question and interests in the Suez Canal.

It was Disraeli's poetic character and literary sensibilities that prepared him for his political career. His tour in the East was the spark that fired more literary productions, after which Disraeli was finally resolved to enter politics and realize a dream he was certain to achieve, that is to be Prime Minister.

> In his diary in the autumn of 1833, Disraeli confides:
>
> > Poetry is the safety-valve of my passions, but I wish to act what I write. My works are the embodification of my feelings. In *Vivian Grey*, I have portrayed my active and real ambition. In *Alroy* (1833), my ideal ambition. The P.R. (i.e. 'Psychological Romance', the original title of *Contraini Fleming*) (1832) is a development of my poetic character. This trilogy is the secret history of my feelings—I shall write no more about myself.[3]

During Disraeli's Eastern tour in 1831, he was back to his project of writing *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* (completed in 1833) whilst also writing *Contraini Fleming*, his record of his own artistic sensibilities. Disraeli's vow to write "no more about himself" reflects that his Eastern tour had determined his future writing to be no more about himself and his psychology, but more on his political career. In "Benjamin Disraeli's *Contraini Fleming* and *Alroy*", Charles C. Nickerson highlights that in *Vivian Grey*, Disraeli foreshadowed his parliamentary ambitions. In *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy,* with an account of a self-sacrificing hero on a mission to reunite and restore to power his divided and humiliated people, Disraeli projects his sense of personal idealism and national destiny. This pair (*Alroy* and *Contraini Fleming*) mark a significant development in the course of Disraeli's literary career, a necessary one which anticipates his political career, his political literary works, his trilogy of *Coningsby*, *Sybil* and *Tancred,* as well his other novels (72).

Disraeli's ambition in becoming a Prime Minister crystallized during his Eastern tour. He decided to finish up writing on himself and proceed with acting in politics by completing *Alroy* and *Contraini Fleming*. Nickerson highlights that each page in *Contraini Fleming* corresponded to his diary entries during his Eastern trip (83). Like his hero Contraini[4], Disraeli was parting from the world of letters to that of action (75). In Contraini's letter to his father, Disraeli uses Contraini to reflect on the great opportunity awaiting him back in England: "It was a political age. A great theatre seemed before me. I had ever been ambitious. I directed my desires in a new channel, and I determined to be a statesman" (Disraeli, *Contraini Fleming* 212). In England, new opportunities were available after the Great Reform Bill which motivated Disraeli to finish up *Alroy* and *Contraini Fleming* which had all his particular themes before he would move on to politics (77).

While Nickerson believes that Disraeli's *Contraini Fleming* left room for readers' inference on Disraeli's own character and aspirations, *Alroy* was inspired by Disraeli's actual visits to the tombs of great kings in Jerusalem (Nickerson73) to ascertain readers of Disraeli's ideal ambition in using his potential and wit to deliver his people to Palestine. His belief in belonging to Jerusalem and which served as further motivation for him to play a key role in emancipating English Jews is stated in *Contraini Fleming*:

> Truly may I say, that *on the plains of Syria, I parted for ever with my ambition.* The calm enjoyment of existence appeared to me, as it now does, the highest attainable felicity, nor can I conceive, *that anything could tempt me from my solitude, and induce me once more to mingle with mankind, with whom, I fear, I have too little in common, but the strong conviction that the fortunes of my race depended on my effort, or that I could materially advance that great amelioration of their condition, in the practicability of which I devoutly believe* (my italics, 151-2).

Disraeli believed in the prominence of the Jewish race, their purity as "an unmixed race" and dominance over other races for two historical reasons. The first has to do with their persecution and oppression in Europe during and after the Spanish inquisition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the second has to do with their historical premiership and cultural contribution to the whole world which is ruled by the world order of the day. It is by these Judaic laws that England leads its everyday life, which should be acknowledged and appreciated. These two themes held a strong grip over Disraeli amongst other English Jewish authors and were reflected in the life and politics of the man who came to be the Earl of Beaconsfield[5]. Disraeli's "Jewish career" is well portrayed in *Alroy* and his *Vindication of the English Constitution* (1835) (Levine 52).

In correspondence with Said's opinion, Kalmar asserts that English Jews utilized Orientalism for their benefit, being "the Asiatics of Europe". The secret intentions of Orientalism was not pronounced before Said's pioneering work, and admiration of

exotic oriental qualities were the hallmark of oriental literature and arts, for Arabs more than Jews. Yet that Romantic dream had within it the ambivalence of not only the desire for domination but also the anxiety of the non-fully comprehended oriental other. Orientalist works transcended the patriarchal and racial assumptions that structure them and despite the racist elements within oriental works, these elements were often intermingled with those that negate them. Accordingly, the romantic aspects of Orientalism which emphasized and highlighted Jewish uniqueness as a genius race, and negating elements were also used for their emancipation (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist", 349-350).

Levine highlights the significance of *Alroy* to Disraeli's overall career when he relates it to his political stance and his Young England trilogy[6]. He asserts that the novel "articulates his debt to the past… removes whatever doubt might have remained in any reader's mind about Disraeli's Hebraic consciousness… and most important … an allegory which develops the efficiency of great, traditional principles and of the destruction inherent in compromising them" (51). Moreover, the novel is a vivid example of Disraeli's involvement with his race emotionally and intellectually and not with his religion as he frequently utilizes traditional principles of the past as a means to resolve and control contemporary problems. Accordingly, Levine believes that the author's ideal ambition is his commitment to traditional principles and the Hebraic past, which includes Christian tradition. He also observes that the diary entry in which Disraeli mentions his ideal ambition to be reflected in *Alroy* was written in the same year as his *Vindication of the English Constitution*. In other words, a few years after composing *Alroy*, Disraeli's commitment to tradition as highlighted in the *Vindication* might be read as part of his ideal ambition to which the novel is of great significance (52).

In *Peacocks and Primroses: A Survey of Disraeli's Novels* (1953), Muriel Masefield asserts that it is Disraeli's Eastern tour that inspired him to dream of a revival of racial glory and power that he indulged "in visions of himself as the inspiring hero of such an epic drama" (75). Likewise, Sheila A. Spector highlights in her "Critical Introduction to Orientalism" that as *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* was composed before Disraeli entered politics, in this "Jewish novel" Disraeli "comes to terms with his own identity as a baptized Jew" (2)[7]. This must be understood in relation to the state of Jews in England being denied basic public rights as they were denied citizenship since 1290 and until their emancipation in 1858. Disraeli's baptism meant that although he did not suffer these legal disabilities, he was heavily criticized by Christians as a crypto-Jew and by Jews as an apostate who abandoned his obligations to his people. Consequently, Disraeli felt compelled to resolve and rationalize his conflicting identity on a personal level as a Christian and an ethnic Jew at the same time. At the political level, he had to justify promoting the national Church despite its disenfranchisement of the Jews. On the literal level, he needed a vehicle to resolve apparent contradictions. This vehicle was *Alroy*, a hybrid literary work in which he superimposed the archetypal structures of the Jews and Christians on each other to reflect his deep conviction announced later on in *Tancred* which was "Christianity is Judaism for the multitude" (2).

Spector points out the biographical significance of *Alroy*, with a young Jewish hero trying to confront a non-Jewish world. *Alroy* reflects Disraeli's own dilemma in confronting a Christian majority while retaining strong emotional bonds to his Jewish heritage. Disraeli purposely created a novel which is neither Jewish in culture nor Christian in themes and characterization as the few giaours are minor characters undermined by the large Muslim population of Persia then. In a way, Disraeli is reflecting on what might have been his active ambition had he had a Bar Mitzvah as a teenager rather than a baptism. Moreover, in light of the overall conditions of the

English Jews in England in the early nineteenth century, *Alroy* represents the failed messianic mission graphically which was not possible. Instead conversion was the only means to emancipate English Jewry (3).

Spector highlights *Alroy* as the first Jewish historical novel, "a fictionalized account of the failed twelfth century messiah" (121). The narrative is set in Persia and present day Iraq to depict the conflictbetween the Jewish community with the Arabs, Persian, Seljuk Turks, and other tribes, and is setbetween the two crusades sometime before the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire. The significance of this novel is not only historical, but also political.[8]

The plot of *Alroy* revolves around David Alroy a Jewish pseudo-Messiah born in Amadiya, Iraq, and being the last descendant of the house of David, the Prince of Captivity, he was well educated the Torah, Talmud, Muslim literature and was known for his art of magic. He questions his being a captive prince and utilizes the chaotic conditions of the Muslim state to lead an uprising aimed at delivering his people from Iraq to Palestine. His confidence in the glory of his ambition is countered by the divisions of his Jewish race. Alroy's heroic endeavour begins after he kills Alschiroh in defence of his sister Miriam, and flees to the wilderness where he is schooled by Jabaster, a Jewish Kabbalist whom Disraeli compares to contemporary Jewish fundamentalists who wish to implement a strict theocracy in England. Jabaster would like to be the messiah and despite knowing his inabilities, is jealous of Alroy and would eventually undermine and challenge him. After taking the signet ring from Jabaster, on the path he is instructed to follow, Alroy is caught by a multicultural group of bandits (a Muslim Kurd, a Zoroastrian Persian, a Buddhist Indian, a godless African, and their leader, the half Jewish half Islamic Scherirah) who hate Christians. After forming a friendship with Scherirah, Alroy manages to escape. At the House of Pride in Baghdad, Alroy meets Honain, Jabaster's brother, a crypto-Jew[9], the Caliph's physician who

attempts to undermine Alroy's faith through the seduction of Schirene, the half Christian half Muslim Caliph's daughter. Though tempted by Schirene, Alroy recognizes the possible dangers in associating himself with her at this time, and resumes his journey to the House of Holiness, to the Tomb of Solomon in order to get the sceptre from his Temple, the symbol of his election as the messiah. Once he gets the sceptre, Alroy consolidates a multicultural army including Jabaster and the Jews, Esther the Prophetess, Scherirah and his band of mercenaries without whom the Jews would have been defeated. As soon as Alroy conquers the Seljuks, he attempts to guarantee the emir of Baghdad the protection of all Muslims. Jabaster, with all religious zealots, tries to interfere in Alroy's plans but Alroy decided to "have practical men about [him]" (8:1). Alroy represents the British government in which the throne determines the role of the altar. The two men become enemies when Jabaster sets free some Jewish soldiers who had desecrated mosques without Alroy's approval. Without his Jewish base, Alroy turns to the pragmatic Honain for advice and it is precisely this turn that leads to his downfall and ultimate death. Honain is an oriental villain who cannot be trusted. Honain and Schirene join up with Alp Arslan the Turkish king of the Karasme, her original suitor destined to defeat Alroy. Honain and Schirene, after Alroy's capture, try to have him admit to seducing Shirene through witchcraft in order for their marriage to be annulled. Alroy proclaims his Jewish identity instead and dies a tragic hero by decapitation.[10] Before his death, his sister meets him to bid him farewell and hails him as a national hero for his accomplishments, despite his failure towards the end.

In examining this novel, Spector ponders on Britain's attitude towards the Middle East and the Jews in the early nineteenth century. She highlights Napoleon's attempt to establish a base in the region and gain the financial support of wealthy Jews in Europe and how, in 1799 Napoleon declared to the public his intentions in restoring the Jews to their homeland. Although he was stopped by British forces at Acre, his

incursion facilitated the British establishment of a base in the area and their appropriation of Jewish Zionism as part of their imperial aspirations in the Middle East. It is significant to assert the role of Zionism in the consolidation of British nationalism. As Protestant England had to confront its hypocrisy as an intolerant nation in the anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic riots in 1753 and 1780, and after incorporating Ireland into Great Britain, the English felt that emancipation of the Jews would threaten Christian religious identity. Their resolve was for the Zionist political enterprise by which they established the Palestine Association in 1804, with the aim of exploring the holy land and attempting to export the "Jewish problem" out of England under British protection (122). The Evangelical movements' support for the project was due to their belief that the apocalypse was at hand, and hence, millenarians[11] put effort to have the Jews return to the Holy land and convert to Christianity for the second coming. Although Jews did not convert to Christianity, the evangelists played an instrumental role in convincing the British government to establish a consulate in Jerusalem in 1838, the basis of which promoted further influence during the Victorian period which prepared for their role in the political Zionism of the twentieth century. Disraeli in *Alroy* used Alroy to justify his own conversion to Christianity (122-3). He also uses the Middle East in the novel "as a kind of negative laboratory in which to explore the deleterious effects of a government that could not be predicted on the kinds of principles laid out in the *Vindication of the English Constitution*" (124). In his *Vindication*, Disraeli establishes the significance of the government and the Anglican Church to British identity. Accordingly, protestant England should mediate between the two. Disraeli's means to explore these ideals was by displacing it onto the historical episode of David Alroy (124-5).

In her "Critical Introduction to *Alroy*", Sheila A. Spector discusses the heroic personality of Alroy as one that isless interested in Judaism and more into uniting his people and leading them back to Palestine in the midst of the turmoil of the crusades in

the twelfth centuryand how this idea attracted Disraeli. Aside from that, she highlights Alroy's bold arrogance, when he vowed that he would live oneven after death, but this challenge helped him avoid a fate far worse than decapitation. According to the Jewish tradition, the possibility to adhere to the Jewish faith past the Spanish inquisition was through two means: to become martyrs or to become *marranos*, that is, crypto-Jews, assuming Christianity in public whilst practicing in private whatever is possible of the Jewish vestiges (3-5 [12]). Thus, Disraeli realized that his life represented another possibility, as he "attempted to devise a median way by which to combine the Old and New Dispensations into a religion through which people of both faiths might flourish. Disraeli's political accomplishment is his means to demonstrate this third possibility (10). Alroy falls from grace due to his lack of judgment as he trusts the wrong people such as Schirene and permits her to take off his signet ring and in his complicit murderin defense of his sister Mariam, he provides Honain with access to Jabaster and thus betrays his mission. Consequently, he is deprived of the sceptre and executed (37).

There are several interesting themes that Disraeli reflects in his tale such as the significance of the Jewish race and being affiliated to it and not the religion/ Judaism. His portrayal of the divided condition of his people then in contrast to Alroy's loyalty and stance speaks much for the Jewish crusade to Palestine and Disraeli's keen intent to contribute to it and for Disraeli's perception of that historical moment in contrast to the wider opportunities the Victorian times offered him. This is better understood when this novel is discussed as a precursor of his trilogy, particularly, *Tancred* which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Spector asserts that Disraeli displaces his contemporary political debate on an exotic setting in a manner not loyal to true historical record of the Middle East by recycling descriptions contained in his own letters written during his grand tour of 1830-1. His misrepresentation of both Muslims and Jews were part of a deliberate

manipulation of the history and culture of twelfth century Persia to produce an archetypal empire, in order to evoke the spirit of Middle Eastern history whilst reflecting the opposite of nineteenth century England, by creating a world with neither a representative government nor an established protestant church ("Critical Introduction of *Alroy"* 17). Moreover, the portrayal of the Seljuk Turks in the novel is, as Disraeli admits, inaccurate. This inaccuracy was acceptable to nineteenth century readers as Orientalists have always used the East as their means to project upon and discuss their sensitive social or political issues. It is also part of Scott's legacy in literature which allowed the manipulation of historical material to highlight certain wanted literary themes. Accordingly, Spector claims that Disraeli portrayed Seljuk Turks inaccurately on purpose, that is, to incorporate some of the most significant elements, either directly in the plot of the novel, or indirectly through the names of characters. ("Critical Introduction of *Alroy"* 15-6).

In *Alroy*, historical facts were rearranged and Disraeli dramatized the historical cycle of the inevitable fall of an empire with a secular government and the rise of a religious one. Just as the Arabs took over the Persian Empire, the Turks followed and in *Alroy*, by associating Alroy with the battle of Nihawand, Disraeli highlights the effect of the historical cycle in which the Turks replicated the victory of the Arabs, which is also replicated by Alroy's victory in the first part of the novel. Moreover, Disraeli manipulates history to have it conform to his narrative structure as Alroy's killing of Prince Alschiroh, in defence of his sister Miriam, evokes Prophet Moses' slaying of the Egyptian in Exodus. At the same time, he alludes to Saladdin's uncle Assudeen Sheerkoh and his alliance with the Fatimids in Egypt to defeat Christian forces in 1169. That happened after he was forced to flee to Egypt after killing a high born man who insulted an unprotected female (Malcom 1:379 as cited in Spector, "Critical Introduction of *Alroy*" 18). Additionally, Disraeli inverts roles and Sheerkoh becomes

the villain and Alroy the hero ("Critical Introduction of *Alroy*" 18). This is one of those fictional elements that are motivated by established oriental structures and status quos and also by the inherent antagonism between Judaism and Islam well known in the historical record relating the spread of Islam in Arabia, specifically Prophet Muhammad's expulsion of the tribes of Banu Qaynuqa out of Madinah.[13] Disraeli thus has manipulated and inverted this historical event which eventually led to the exodus of theBanu Qaynuqa tribe from Madinah in depicting Alroy's defence of his sister Miriam in a manner of projecting animus, shifting negative demonic traits of the Jewish Semite unto the Arab Semite. I believe that Disraeli's loyalty to the cause of his race led him to take every opportunity possible for their emancipation not only in England but also in historical recordsby using the instrument of the historical novel, taking advantage of the western knowledge of Islamic history in Arabia.This is Disraeli's contribution to the development of racial stereotypes of Muslims and Jews at "home" and "abroad".

In her "Critical Introduction of *Alroy*" Spector asserts that Disraeli did not privilege Baghdad over Jerusalem, as the novel depicts Turkish materialism to be just as hollow as Jewish religiosity in spite of the description of Baghdad as a city thriving in great wealth and beauty and the inverse of Jerusalem as a city whose religious significance is asserted in the Talmud. Accordingly, there is a great moral significance attached to the House of Holinessin Jerusalem in contrast to the House of Pride in Baghdad, and there is no midway alternative for Alroy to turn to after he makes the wrong choice of the latter over the former (36). Alroy's heroic death which promises and indicates the continuation and persistence of the Jewish race after his death is however an indication of the prominence of the Jews as a race with an insight that planned for generations to come. If Alroy failed in accomplishing his mission, other Jews will succeed and see to that day and marvel the world with their capabilities.

Through a kind of sympathy-arousing trend Disraeli uses a romantic epic Hamlet-like hero like Alroy to assert the right of the Jewish race in leading a life of their own, by utilizing their heroism and intelligence in claiming their dignity as a superior race whilst being conquered and controlled by their fellow Arab Semite race. As an example of Alroy's reflections on his role as a prince in captivity,

> 'Live we like slaves?' (argues the elder Hebrew.) 'Is this hall a servile chamber! These costly carpets, and these rich divans, in what proud harem shall we find their match? I feel not like a slave. My coffers are full of dirhems. Is that slavish? The wealthiest company of the caravan is ever Bostenay's. Is that to be a slave? Walk the bazaar of Bagdad, and you will find my name more potent than the caliph's. Is that a badge of slavery?' 'Uncle, you toil for others.' 'So do we all; so does the bee; yet he is free and happy.' 'At least he has a sting.' 'Which he can use but once; and when he stings—' 'He dies, and like a hero. Such a death is sweeter than his honey.'" (22)

Another instance is when he frets against his helpless subordination to the cruel conquerors of his race:

> I know not what I feel, but what I feel is madness. Thus to be is not to live, if life be what I sometimes dream, and dare not think it might be. To breathe, to feed, to sleep, to wake and breathe again, again to feel existence without hope; if this be life, why then these brooding thoughts which whisper death were better... Hark! The trumpets that sound our dishonour. Oh, that they sounded to battle!....God of my fathers! For indeed I dare not style thee God of their wretched sons; yet, by the memory of Sinai, let me tell thee that some of the antique blood yet beats within these pulses, and there is yet one who fain would commune with thee face to face, commune and conquer. (24-5)

And towards the end after falling in the hands of the Karasmians, he declares:

> Ah! Worst of woes to dream of glory in despair. No, No; I live and die a most ignoble thing; beauty and love, and fame and mighty deeds, the smile of women and gaze of women, and the ennobling consciousness of worth, and all the fiery course of the cendant of a sacred line of kings, and with a soul that pants for empire, I stand here extending my vain arm for my lost sceptre, a most dishonourable slave. (25)

Disraeli depicts Alroy's psychological development as "purely Byronic", "a brooding, charismatic, isolated, reckless, doomed figure, from the beginning manifesting a sexually ambiguous attitude towards his sister". Moreover, like Hamlet, he is reluctant to assume his role as the Prince of Captivity. In line with the Old

Testament prototype, his death caused by his father-in-law is also a romantic end, which Disraeli dramatizes through Alroy's success in tricking his captor into beheading him (Spector, "Critical Introduction to *Alroy*" 30). The novel follows the linear pattern of cyclical Jewish messianism typical of the Old Testament in the examples of Moses, David and Solomon who successively enacted the pattern of rise and fall. Overall, Alroy's rise and fall arouses sympathy for the Jewish cause, one which utilizes the Romantic aspects of Orientalism in the establishment of new racial stereotypes in which the Jews are cast as the oppressed other by Muslims and Christians.

It is important to assert that Disraeli's ambivalence towards Alroy's character had him resolved to introduce him in a different contextin *Coningsby*, as Sidonia in *Coningsby* is a prominent Jewish character who resembles Disraeli in many ways. Both men work for the emancipation of their race in a sort of stealth manner. To Spector, Sidonia is Disraeli's means to resolve "contradictions implicit in his attitude towards Judaism" ("Critical Introduction to *Alroy* 41). In *Coningsby,* Disraeli manages to idealize and minimize the impact of Sidonia by limiting his appearances to just a few times in the novel. He is modelled in the same fashion as Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1808-79), a wise wealthy cosmopolitan who counters established anti-Semitic stereotypes of the kabbalistic Shylock like figure and assists Coningsby to become a Christian hero. Thus, in Sidonia, Disraeli manages to recast dead Alroy and "transform the failed Jewish messiah into the Christian symbol of Grace" ("Critical Introduction to *Alroy*" 41).

Similarly, Levine highlights the way characters in *Alroy* relate significantly to each other and contribute to the thematic purpose of the narrative. He believes that Alroy, a man of commitment and action parted with his mentor Jabaster for his excessive commitment and lack of action even though it was Jabaster who educated and inspired Alroy to embark on his journey to the House of Holiness where he managed to

acquire the sceptre of Solomon. It is when Alroy fails to balance his commitment and actions, and rejects his commitments for further action after he marries Schirene that he is defeated and executed. This figure of the Jew whose commitments and actions are balanced is then further developed into the instrumental character of Sidonia in *Coningsby* and *Tancred* (53). It is also significant to consider the Schirene-Honain world view and its impact on Alroy. Although Honain is Jabaster's brother, he is committed to comfort and power regardless of their being offered by Hebrew, Moslem or Karamsian. Alroy realizes that he has to continue his quest as a pilgrim and the offspring of his marriage would be compromise and reconciliation, which he rejects and pays off with his life. Disraeli hints with the Honain- Schirene view of the uncommitted though prosperous life parallels the way Young England perceived of old Toryism (54-5).

The novel is of extreme significance not only to Disraeli's own poetic feelings and personal literary aspirations in a historical novel, but for its investment in the politics of Victorian England and future colonial plans in the Middle-East. Through the racial stereotyping employed in the portrayal of Alroy and his encounters with other secular and non-secular Jews, and the short-sighted, worldly motivated Muslim characters, *Alroy* elaborates, facilitates and justifies the way England should colonize Palestine. A land that is ruled by the despotic and demonic Muslims should be part of their colonies, by means of their superior Jewish agents for whom Palestine is a promised land they have strived to return to even before the twelfth century.

The Muslim Caliph's daughter Schirene is an efficient instrument to the narrative plot in two ways. She is an Eastern woman who would and could do anything to achieve her lustful purpose. In other words, she is an evil sorcerer who entraps Alroy. Disraeli however, depicts her as one of those naive love seekers who does not mind

breaking her religious bonds for a spirited figure like Alroy. Jabaster warns Alroy of Schirene's attractions when he tells him

> Arise, Alroy, arise and rouse thyself. The lure that snared thy fathers may trap thee, this Delilah may shear thy mystic locks. Spirits like thee act not by halves. Once fall out from straights course before thee, and, though thou deemest 'tis but to saunter mid the summer tees, soon thou wilt find thyself in the dark depths of some infernal forest, where none may rescue thee!. (163)

This warning is a sort of projection of the possible future role Jewish women would play in both Muslim and Christian societies for personal and racial purposes. Throughout the novel, her role is not questioned as one of the conveniently established tropes of the Eastern woman. Alroy's love for the Caliph's daughter hints of the possible co-existence between the Muslims and Jews on one hand and affirms the Orientalist misrepresentation of Eastern Muslim women's tendencies to love, elope and marry the racial "other" against their guardians' wishes, thus pointing out the possibility of the Jews'covert control over their Muslims rulersthrough such romantic relationships.

Paradoxically, in *Al-mara'a Al-Yahwdiyah bayna Fadhaih Al-Tawraht wa Qbthat Al-hakhamat*, Deeb Ali Hassan elaborates on the established instrumental role of Jewish women throughout history in causing animosities and conspiracies in the Ottoman Turkish courts such as Roxolana (195) and Safia (203), after Esther's role in the downfall of Vashti and the convenient rise of her Jewish people to superiority and authority (81). Thus, despite claims of Disraeli's inherent preference for Muslim Ottomans, this depiction has him add a milestone to earlier Orientalists' depictions of the Muslim woman, despite her being of mixed faiths,both Muslim and Christian[14].

Against this characterization of Schirene in the novel, is Disraeli's portrayal of Alroy's sister Miriam, the beautiful, honorable and supportive Jewish woman of her brother. According to Masefield, the brother and sister's relation was pure and sublime as the two are very supportive of one another. She visits him at the dungeon where he awaits his death sentence and comforts him. When he tells her that he believes God has

forgiven him, she replies in the affirmative and adds "You have done great things for Israel; no one in these latter days has risen like you. If you have fallen, you were young, and strangely tempted" and asserts to him "Failure when sublime, is not without its purpose. Great deeds are legacies, and work with wondrous usury. By what man has done, we learn what Man can do; and gauge the power and prospects of our race... Never! The memory of great actions never dies…" (as cited in Masefield 79-80). He cites their last conversation as one that reflects on the sort of relationship Disraeli and his sister Sarah shared. This novel was written to console Sarah over her fiancée's death, Meredith. Meredith was Disraeli's travel companion in his trip to the East, but on their way back to England, he contracted smallpox and died of it in Cairo. Disraeli wrote to Sarah:

> Oh! My sister, in this hour of overwhelming affliction my thoughts are only for you. Alas! My beloved, if you are lost to me, where am I to fly for refuge? I have no wife, I have no betrothed; nor since I have been better acquainted with my own mind and temper have I sought them. Live then, my heart's treasure, for one who has ever loved you with a surpassing love, and would cheerfully have yielded his own existence to have saved you the bitterness of this letter. Yes, my beloved, be my genius, my solace, my companion, my joy. We will never part, and, if I cannot be to you all our lost friend was, at least we will feel that life can never be a blank while gilded by the perfect love of a sister and a brother. (as cited in Masefield 80-81)

Although the fictional relationship between Alroy and Miriam is somewhat motivated by the factual relationship between Disraeli and Sarah, Disraeli's portrayal of it in *Alroy* stands against that of Jabaster and Honain and in contrast to Alroy's relationship with his father- in-law and other characters around him. This brother-sister relationship is his means of asserting that despite the trials of time, strong family ties still thrive amongst the Jewish people.

It is important to point out the role of the historical David Alroy to further appreciate Disraeli's novel. According to *Jewish Encyclopaedia*[15], he lived in about 1160, and was the messiah of Amadiya. He was well educated in

Torah and Talmud under Hisdai the Exilarch and Ali, the head of the Academy in Baghdad. Being well versed in Muslim literature and magic, he tried to take advantage of the chaotic state of the caliphate days during his life time.[16]

The most detailed historical account of Alroy is by Benjamin of Tudela, which relates Alroy's detailed revolt and triumph to his downfall after the governor of Amadiya, Saif al-Din, bribed his father-in-law to assassinate him. Two impostors followed after him and succeeded using Alroy's messianic visions to deliver their people to Jerusalem.[17]

Alroy's account stands out as the heroic endeavour of a Jewish leader who not only tries to break his Jewish race free from being enslaved in Muslim lands, but also represents the only Jewish power who claimed the right over Palestine at that time. Despite his sincere claims and sublime ambitions, Alroy fails because of the divisions amongst the Jews then and because unlike the Christian and Muslim powers back then, he was too insignificant to challenge them. His legend lived because, as he promised, the Jews did migrate from Iraq to Jerusalem one day, after the Jewish race as a power became far more motivated and consolidated.

As a historical novel, *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* has the aesthetic qualities of the *Arabian Nights*. In Disraeli's descriptions of theluxurious Caliph's courts in Baghdad, he emphasizes the particular historical moment to assert the civilization of the Jewish race, significant for its antiquity, amiable ambitions and wonderful ends.

In the depiction of Alroy, Disraeli highlights the superiority and integrity of the Jewish race back then, and points to elements that contributed to their failure such as their disunity and insufficient support of each other. On the one hand, he projects western anxieties of their internal differences and diverse interests unto this romantic orient, using the well-known fantasyas a means to discuss pertinent Victorian current issues. On the other hand, the narrative alludes to the glorious stance of the Jewish

people, inspired by the Islamic tradition of martyrdom, found also in Christianity, a fact that happened during Alroy's lifetime, in the Christian crusade in Palestine.

Thus, *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy*consolidates the British civilizing mission during the reign of the British Empire through its emphatic negative stereotyping of the Muslim Orient as a land of tyranny and injustice, and where Britain should protect the Jews. Although Alroy is a skilled magician, the novel shows how his ability to use it is limited, and that without wisdom and religious guidance, magic is of no use to him. In addition, Alroy's attempt to reconcile all parties and his tragic honourable death cast him in a prophetic light. He fails to be the messiah who leads his people back to Palestine, but his inspiration and faith regenerate them so that he succeeds at a spiritual level. In contrast, religious extremists and dishonest people such as Scherirah and his band, Jabaster, Honain and Schirene who betray Alroy, contribute to the demonic Muslim orient. The narrative further highlights Palestine as the best alternative for a Jewish home"abroad", which extends the colonial rule of the British Empire "abroad" and displaces the Jews away from Britain as "home".

3.2 Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton's *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* (1838)

Known as the first Baron Lytton, Bulwer Lytton was an English novelist, poet, playwright, politician, and an immensely popular writer of a stream of bestselling novels which earned him considerable affluence. The son of William Bulwer and Elizabeth Lytton, he assumed the name of Bulwer Lytton after inheriting the Lytton estate "Knebworth" in 1843 (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist" 360). Brought up by his mother after the death of his father at the age of four, he had his own perspective of education. He was encouraged to write and managed to publish *Ishmael and Other Poems* by the age of fifteen. In 1822 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, but

afterwards moved to Trinity Hall. In 1825 he won the Chancellor's Gold Medal for English verse. In the following year he took his B.A. degree and printed, for private circulation, a small volume of poems, *Weeds and Wild Flowers* (1826) (Allingham, *The Victorian Web*).

The political career of Bulwer-Lytton began as a follower of Jeremy Bentham. He managed to be a parliamentarian for nine years during which he spoke in favour of the Reform Bill, and played a major role in securing the reduction, after vainly essaying the repeal, of the newspaper stamp duties. In 1841, he left Parliament and politics until 1852; this time, he stood for Hertfordshire as a Conservative and held his seat until 1866, when he was raised to the peerage as Baron Lytton of Knebworth in the County of Hertford. In 1858 he became a member of Lord Derby's government as Secretary of State for the Colonies, thus serving alongside his old friend Benjamin Disraeli whom he greatly admired and had introduced to the literary circle (Allingham, *The Victorian Web*).

Bulwer-Lytton's literary career began in 1820 with the publication of a book of poems and thrived for much of the nineteenth century. He contributed not only to the historical novel but alsomystery, romance, the occult, and science fiction. His literary output financed his extravagant life His most famous work is *Pelham* (1828), which earned him public acclaim and established his reputation as a wit and dandy. The novel's intricate and humorous plot and intimate depiction of pre-Victorian dandyism kept his reviewers and critics trying to associate public figures with the fictional characters in the book. *Pelham* resembles Benjamin Disraeli's first novel *Vivian Grey* (Drabble 147). Bulwer-Lytton reached the height of his popularity with the publication of *Godolphin* (1833). He wrote many other great works such as *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* (1834), *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834), *Rienzi, Last of the Roman*

Tribunes (1835), *Harold, the Last of the Saxons* (1848) and *The Coming Race* or *Vril: The Power of the Coming Race* (Drabble 147).

Lytton's historical novel, *Leila* or *the Siege of Granada*was originally published with many engraved illustrations. The preface to the novel's 1860 edition explains that its lesser popularity is due to the prejudice of the time, against literary works that may owe part of their value to their illustrations.[18]The novel, as the double title suggests, has a double plot, one on the domestic story of the Jewish daughter Leila and her father Almamen, and the national story of the fall of Granada of Spain in the hands of the Spanish King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. There are two romantic plots in this narrative. One is the fall of the Moorish threshold, the last to fall to the rule of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, and the other is the tragic loss of hope and desperation of the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants of the city amongst whom is Leila, the daughter of the Jewish Almamen bin Issachar, and the other, the Moorish prince Muza bin Abil Gazan.

Within the two plots, the main characters that play a major role in the narrative are the Moorish King Boabdil, whose real name Muhammad XII of Granadais never mentioned throughout the novel; Prince Muza bin Abil Gazan who was willing to fight for Granada until his death; Almamen, Leila, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Minor characters are Almamen's Jewish friends Ximen, Issac,andElias, the priest, and the princess and leaders at the Christian camp; the Queen mother and Amine, King Boabdil's mistress and concubine. The tale of the fall of Granada is a fictional account of actual fall of Granada in 1492. Even though the actual war was a ten-year battle between the Christians and Muslims, the narrative focuses on the last few months of it. Hence, the tale not only highlights the war story between King Boabdil and Prince Muza on the Muslim side and King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella on the Christian one,

but also asserts the suffering of the Muslim and Jewish multitudes residing in Granada during the span of the narrative.

The plot of *Leila* or *The Siege of Granada* has the Muslim Prince Muza, in love with a Jewess. Beautiful Leila is the daughter of witty though shrewd magician Almamen, whose goal in life is to secure a peaceful and prosperous life for Jews in Spain, under either Muslims or Christians. He surrenders her to the protection of the Christian King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, who are in the course of a long battle with the Moorish King Boabdil. Despite the negative tendencies and superstitious beliefs of King Boabdil, with the encouragement and support of his army and his cousin Prince Muza, he fights relentlessly for the Moorish cause. When defeated in the end, he signs a peace treaty with the Christian King and Queen and surrenders the city to them. As for Leila, she is eventually killed by her own father when he discovers her conversion to Christianity, during a ceremony to be a nun. Almamen, who struggles in every way to gain the Christians promise to treat Jews with equality and justice, commits suicide by announcing his identity before the Moorish masses gathered to fight for Granada the night before King Boabdil surrenders the city to the Christians. He is slain by them and dies heroically, unlike King Boabdil who lives defeated.

Superstition is one main trait that marks the entire work, a trait seen in both Christians and Muslims. However the Muslim's superstitious beliefs surpass that of the Christian's by far. The characterization of the main characters reflects highly Lytton's orientalist perception of the historical character of King Boabdil, Prince Muza bin Abil Gazan and the fictitious character of Almamen and all the implications of the fall of a great civilization as that of the Spanish Moors who were never referred to as Spanish in this work despite their affiliation to the land and magnificent, undeniable contributions.

One of the most prominent aspects of this narrative is the prosecution of the Jews by both Muslims and Christians, their suffering under the Muslim rule, and the

structure of feeling implied accordingly; sympathy with the chosen people for their hard work, intelligence, knowledge, humanity, the strive for excellence and peace, and the struggle to survive with two other faiths.Lytton's assertion of these aspects contributes directly to the development of racial stereotypes of both Muslims and Jews in *Leila*, one that challenges what Scott had established earlier in *Ivanhoe*.

Almamen's character is the most provocative, unconventional and instrumental throughout the novel—he is portrayed as a larger than life figure who escapes death by virtue of his diligence and the shrewdness of his people, andwhose determination to uplift the plight of his people resulted in his sacrifice of his one and only offspring, Leila. Through flashbacks, readers come to know that Almamen's father Issacharwas killed by the Moorish king of Granada for his excessive wealth. The Muslim greed for money, savagery and foolishness is inferred in his murder, as his body was cut open to search for his jewels. Paradoxically, Jewish shrewdness, diligence and teamwork is inferred in Issachar's ability to hide his wealth successfully in different places aside from the collaboration of the Jews in bringing up his sole heir, Almamen, as a Moor with a Jewish faith and upbringing. Almamen is thus determined to kill King Boabdil and make friends with the Christians against his Muslim foe. His hopes and dreams for a peaceful existence for the Jews under Christian rule are however shattered when King Ferdinand breaks his promise to him causing Almamen to transfer his allegiance to King Boabdil and Muslim rule. He is unlike the ordinary Jews whose sole purpose in life is to survive and be wealthy, despite his sympathy for their avarice as their means to survive with dignity; he criticizes their disunity and timid and short-sighted traits when he is with them. As a young man, he saves the life of a Christian man and his son whose wife is eternally indebted to him and who tries to help him flee with Leila when he finds her. His gentle and soft heart is depicted in his concern for his daughter's wellbeing and safety. A man of valour, who fights courageously with the Muslims against the

Nazarenes, his witchcraft and shrewdness is best portrayed in his dealings with King Boabdil and King Ferdinand. He uses his magic to enchant his captors and escape their prisons and chains. He also manages to enchant Muza once, when he leads him to watch the murder of Leila. In spite of his love for Leila, his loyalty to the Jewish faith compels him to kill one who chose not only to convert to Christianity, but also to take a vow and be a nun at their church. He refuses to lead a normal life and decides to die fighting the Christians who betrayed his trust and caused his great loss, and fight for the Moors, in spite of his hatred for both of them. His physical power and stamina is best portrayed in his battle field skills, where the Moorish masses attempt to kill him with six swords, but he only falls dead with the seventh towards the end of the novel. Although depicted as an enchanter, he is an admirable character for his bravery, diligence and kindness.

Almamen's skill in witchcraft challenges Scott's portrayal of Rebecca as an idealized innocent. Almamen, like Alroy, is skilled in sorcery which helps him escape the Christian camp twice, and have Muza witness Leila's death. However, Almamen's witchcraft does not save his life at the end, just like Alroy. Thus, their knowledge in witchcraft is nothing more than religious rituals that intelligent men are able to perform. The two men are prophet-like figures sent to their people, and killed by the insolent Muslims. Like Disraeli, Lytton believes the prophetic to be a Jew, and the demonic a Muslim. The illustrations published alongside the text of the novel also reflect Lytton's deep conviction in there being many admirable rituals to the Masonic trend of Judaism.

As a Muslim King, Boabdil's past and youth is riddled with dejection and failure to rise to favour in his father's and uncle's eyes. Muslim disunity is reflected upon here as Boabdil's lack of support for his uncle's troops results in his uncle's cooperation with the Christians against him. Nicknamed el-Zoghbi, he hesitates in fighting for his state for fear of loss and doom, not of himself but his people. The moral support he receives from his mother, mistress and Muza bear fruit when he finally decides to fight with his

troops against the Christians. His people gather around him in adoration and support and remain faithful to him despite the surrender he is resolved to, to protect their lives. The one combat in which Ferdinand and Boabdil met does not clarify how he lost and how the Muslim's flag fell. His fighters suddenly forsake him and run away from the battle field and even though Muza tries to get them back to fight, they refuse. Lytton perhaps wants to show that the Muslim army can be divided in an instant for their love of life. Even though Moorish troops vow to die for their state, when facing the valour of the Nazarenes they are no match, and their sudden awe and loss is proof that it is the will of heaven that King Ferdinand wins and rules Granada. A philosophical man of wisdom and insight, King Boabdil adheres to his promise of surrendering Granada safely to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. When Almamen urges the Moorish masses to take the Christian army by surprise at night, which could have changed the course of history, Boabdil stops them, fearing for their loved ones in order to save them from prosecution and death. Certainly, Almamen is more courageous than Boadbil, the wiser but meeker one. Boabdil convinces the masses, however, to stick to the treaty. His last night in his palace and surrender of Alhambra the next morning is the most painful historical fact in the novel elaborated by Lytton especially when he glances back at Alhambra from a distance, sighs and weeps. It is the moment when his mother tells him"Ay, weep, like a woman, over what thou couldst not defend like a man!" (290). In spite of Boabdil's wisdom and respect for the terms and conditions agreed there upon, history proved him wrong in his surrender which led to the forced migration and conversion followed by death to the Muslim inhabitants of Granada who would not willingly convert to Christianity, which took place in 1499, when King Ferdinand lost hope in the possibility of peaceful conversion. As the novel ends with the queen mother's famous saying to her son, *Leila*ends at that romantic historical moment and

does not depictthe aftermath of King Boabdil's adherence to truce, but only with Lytton's sense of remorse for the fall of Granada.

The other Muslim main character isMuza bin Abdil Gazan, the noble prince whose sincerity and intelligence are of no compare to other Muslim fighters, and who seems to be the only prince fighting besides the king for Granada. There are many renowned fighters in the Christian camp fighting with King Ferdinand and the masses, but only one Muslim one, Muza, who seems to match his bravery and skill in fighting. Muza is the only man Leila falls in love with and remains loyal to until her death. Had her father Almamen died during the fights, had he not given her as a hostage to King Ferdinand, she would have been saved and happily married to prince Muza. Muza manages to turn a revolution against King Boabdil into a combat for the city of Granada. He also convinces King Boabdil to let go of his fears and to fight with his troops. He urges the king and the people not to accept King Ferdinand's terms and conditions of truce and to surrender and fight until the last breath for their city despite famine, in realization of all the tragic consequences to come. Granada is his first concern and love, Leila is the second which he seeks with Almamen, after forever parting with Alhambra once the treaty is signed. After losing both, he bitterly parts with both and disappears in the "shadows of the forest" of Granada.

In contrast to King Boabdil, the Christian King Ferdinand is depicted as mighty, surrounded by loyal men and supported by his Queen Isabella, even though he is not loyal to his word and can easily break his promises, as in the case of his treatment of Almamen, whom he promised equal rights with the Christians under his rule. When his priest told him not to trust Almamen, to kill him and break their vow for suspecting his loyalty may be to the Muslims, he does not reflect on Leila's hostage condition at his camp but instead uses the priest's advice as his legitimate excuse to participate in the killing and looting of not only the Jews, but any Christian of Jewish descent to avoid

any problems with *marranos* or crypto-Jews. It is because King Ferdinand spreads the news of the Jewish attempt to make a deal with him against Muslims that King Boabdil considers the Jews traitors and banishes many of them after confiscating half of their wealth. Thus Ferdinand is not a man of his word, despite being a staunch Christian, and is depicted as one who may only accommodate other faiths only in the hope of converting them, evident in his breaking of the terms and conditions agreed to with King Boabdil upon surrendering the city.

Ferdinand's consort Queen Isabella is a kind, just, intelligent and prudent leader who understands the whims of men such as that of her son, Prince Don Juan and the priest Tomas de Torquemada who requests Leila to be part of the tribunal of the inquisition. Despite the priest's accusations of Leila of witchcraft and evil, she recognizes the soft innocence of Leila which may be misunderstood, vilified and falsified by men. She realizes the evil intentions of the priest for Leila and that he might have fallen in love with her as his excuse for his claims and sends her away to her own fortress to be attended to by her maids. Her conversion plot for Leila works very well as Leila is breath taken by all the narratives the Queen's maid Inez related to her of Jesus Christ and realizing the similarity of his teachings to that of the Jews, she gradually converts. By doing this, she aims to secure Leila's future as well as that of her son's. She is the one who informs Almamen that Leila is going to vow for nunnery in a special ceremony the next day. She is overconfident in thinking Almamen will accept things as they have become, and in believing that King Boabdil might even consider converting to Christianity for his people after being conquered. Queen Isabella is a typical Catholic in her behaviour, acts and expectations. She fulfils the racial stereotype of an intolerant Catholic Christian who must have Muslims and Jews converted, or else they must be annihilated. Like King Ferdinand, their depiction is an embodiment of the opposite of Protestant Victorian England, which Lytton seems to believe must differentiate itself

from Catholic Spain and be more tolerant of its Jewish subjects. Thus, he expects Victorian England to include them within the English national identity and make use of Jewish skills and expertise. Although this racial stereotype is in line with Scott's perception of Christian intolerance towards Jews in Spain, in contrast to Muslims' tolerance, by depicting the Muslim community as intolerant of their Jewish inhabitants, Lytton is challenging Victorian England to distinguish itself from those two intolerant faiths and communities by granting English Jews their emancipation.

Leila is the only round character in the novel. Portrayed as an oriental woman of extreme attraction and beauty, her physical assets only begets her trouble, such as the anger of her father for loving Muza and invitingtrouble with prince Don Juan and the monk. Unlike the previous characters, despite her loyalty to her Jewish faith, she falls in love with Muza and would have accepted him as a husband. Lytton distinguished her as follows:

> But the chief charm of that exquisite countenance was in an expression of softness and purity, and intellectual sentiment, that seldom accompanies that cast of loveliness , and was wholly foreign to the voluptuous and dreamy languor of Moorish maidens; —Leila had been educated, and the statue had received a soul (635).

Her heart hates no one, and her murder by her father is symbolic of the murder of the innocence and peaceful coexistence between Muslims, Christians and Jews. Leila's soft nature makes her gradually persuaded into converting to Christianity. Just as she could easily be convinced to flee with Muza at the beginning of the novel, shewas easily convinced to flee with her father despite her conversion due to her will to lead a happy life, to assimilate and get along with others,unlike her father,whichall resulted in her death. Her affiliation is to her father and Muza only, as she declines the repetitive offers of marriage and happiness from Prince Don Juan. Her murder thus represents the end of tolerance between Catholics and Jews in Spain. The priest and all the attendants of her nunnery ceremony mourn her loss with sadness. Lytton's characterization of Leila is

similar to Scott's depiction of Rebecca. It is meant to emphasize the plight of assimilable or tolerant Jews to Christians in fifteenth-century Spain and also in Victorian England, which brought about crypto-Jews and which should now be redressed in the emancipation of English Jews.

Lytton asserts that one of those factors that contributed to the persecution of the Jewish population in Granada by both Muslims and Jews is their disunity, as seen when Ximen, Issac and Elias announce to king Boabdil who Almamen actually is. Ximen does that in order to inherit Almamen's gold after his death, but before getting that, he too is killed by the Moors. Elias contributes to Almamen's murder for thinking that Almamen has not been grateful enough for his help in getting him Issachar's fortune. He had expected to be rewarded but has not been so. This is because Almamen was unlike other Jews, and cared more for their emancipation and honourable life than anything of material value.

Aside from the theme of superstition and the persecution of the Jews by both Muslims and Christians in Granada, the novel asserts the deep antagonism between these three faiths. The maledictions spoken by the three representatives of each faith against one another are a prominent feature of an oriental novel. Although Lytton highlights the merits of the Muslim major characters and that of the overall army and population, his depiction is often intermingled with negative inferences suggesting the inevitable futility of Muslims. In comparison, while his portrayal of the Christian characters are not idealised, their eventual triumph and rule over the Muslims are. Despite imperfections in their characters, the Christians overpower Muslim population with their tight schemes, prudence and economic sanctions which strikes Granada with famine.

The historical romance of *Leila or The Siege of Granada* reflects Lytton's perception of the historical event of the fall of Granada as close to reality as possible

through the portrayal of King Boabdil, prince Muza bin Abil Gazan, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Lytton, however, seems to mourn the loss of Granada when he depicts Muza's last failed attempt to save it, stopped by King Boabdil in respect of the truce. As he declares:

> And then perhaps, had the Moors passed these gates and reached the Christian encampment, lulled, as it was, in security and sleep, that wild army of twenty thousand desperate men might have saved Granada; and *Spain might, at this day, possess the only civilized empire which the faith of Mahomet ever founded* (my italics)" (276).

Despite his sympathy for the fall of Granada, the racial stereotype is there in his perception of Granada as the only civilized Muslim Empire. Such was the mindset in which Islam, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Muslim civilization was perceived in Victorian England on one hand. On the other, this romance shows the fall of Granada as one of those historical events to ponder upon, for drastically altering the lives of the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants of Granada in such a way that the British empire, carrying the burden of humanity and aspiring to realize the civilizing mission, must avoid, for its own good as well as others.

Linked to the notion of racial stereotyping is the influence of the *Arabian Nights,*clearlyevident in the narrative and shownin the love scenes between Leila and Muza, as he sings to her:

> Light of my soul, arise, arise !
> Thy sister lights are in the skies;
> We want thine eyes;
> Thy joyous eyes;
> The Night is mourning for thine eyes!
> The sacred verse is on my sword,
> But on my heart thy name:
> The words on each alike adored;
> The truth of each the same.
> The same ! — alas !too well I feel
> The heart is truer than the steel !
> Light of my soul !upon me shine;
> Night wakes her stars to envy mine.
> Those eyes of thine ,
> Wild eyes of thine ,
> What stars are like those eyes of thine ? (634)

It is also evident in the depiction of Leila's exotic beauty:

> Leila stood within this chamber, pale and breathless, with her lips apart, her hands clasped , her very soul in her ears ; nor was it possible to conceive a more perfect ideal of some delicate and brilliant peri , captured in the palace of a hostile and gloomy genius. Her form was of the lightest shape consistent with the roundness of womanly beauty; and there was something in it of that elastic and fawnlike grace which a sculptor seeks to embody in his dreams of a bejng more aerial than those of earth. Her luxuriant hair was dark indeed, but a purple and glossy hue redeemed it from that heaviness of shade too common in the tresses of the Asiatics; and her complexion, naturally pale, but clear and lustrous, would have been deemed fair even in the North. Her features, slightly aquiline, were formed in the rarest mould of symmetry, and her full rich lips disclosed teeth that might have shamed the pearl (635).

It is also there in the depiction ofthe Muslim King Boabdil, his mother, his mistress (Lytton 652, 654) and the magnificent city of Alhambra (Lytton 628). Lytton's intense interest in the historical episode of the fall of Granada had him narrativize history. The influence of Benjamin Disraeli on Lytton is particularly evident in his portrayal of Almamen's prophetic qualities as well as Leila's innocence, traits which distinguish the Jews as a remarkable and superior race, worthy of admiration, respect and a land of their own. In this novel, "abroad" is the Spanish land where Muslim oriental communities lived for centuries before it becomes "home" after falling into the hands of Christian Catholics. The Christian Catholic forces are compared to Protestant Christians at "home" in England in their treatment of the Jewish communities. This novel asserts, therefore, the plight of the wandering Jews in their virtual "home" and also as aliens "abroad" in having no land of their own. It further underscores their significance and need to have a "home" of their own. As *Leila* dramatizes the historical event of the fall of Granada, it exaggerates the suffering of the Jews and their persecution by both parties. Although Moorish Muslim inhabitants of Granada suffered even more, their persecution is overlooked in favour of that of the Jewish community. This asserts the fact that this narrative was meant to contribute to English national identity, part of which was the rising Jewish question. Just as the fate of the Muslim communities under

their tyrannical rulers was overlooked by Victorians then, to a certain extent, their suffering under such rulers and under the Jewish incursion in the Middle East continues to be overlooked today.

3.3 Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* (1890)

In "A brief Biography of Hall Caine" (1853- 1931) at *The Victorian Web*, David Wilson states that Hall Caine was born on 14th May 1853 at Runcorn in Cheshire. Thomas Henry Hall Caine was the son of John Caine, a Manxman from Cumberland. During his childhood, he occasionally was sent to stay with his uncle at the Isle of Man in a thatched cottage at Ballaugh, where he spent time with his grandmother who told him wondrous tales of Manx fairies and witches and all about the folklore of the island which he would use later as raw materials to draw on in his future career as a novelist. She also taught him the rudiments of the Manx language.

His childhood years on the Isle of Man sowed the seeds of a lifelong attachment to the island, and with time this bond grew ever stronger. He later became an apprentice architect in Liverpool, whilst at the same time writing articles for trade journals and contributions to newspapers and magazines. He gave lectures around Merseyside to various societies and was then invited to London by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The two became great friends and Caine lived with Rossetti up until his death. Under his influence, Caine contributed to *The Academy* and *The Atheneum* as well as other periodicals. Aside from Rossetti, Caine shared rooms with an academic friend Eric Robertson. It was then that Caine met Mary Chandler, his future wife (Wilson, *The Victorian Web*). The couple lived together in Sevenoaks in Kent before they were legally married four years later in 1886, a marriage which marked the start of the most successful stage of Caine's career. His first and second novels, *The Shadow of a Crime*

(1885) and *A Son of Hagar* (1886), were both set in Cumberland following Rossetti's advice to Caine, which was to write Manx stories so that he may be become "The Bard of Manxland" (Wilson, *The Victorian Web*).

Caine's popularity sold him 10,000,000 copies of his novels by the time of his death (Baylen 326). Unlike Conrad, Hardy and other proponents of the Art for Art's sake movement, he was not canonized and many of his works were overlooked as less aesthetic romances. Caine elaborated on this issue in his article which divides literature into 'realism' and 'idealism' and referred to melodrama as romance, with respect to novel writing. He concludes that human nature would want more than just a realistic portrayal and aspire for idealism so long as it is chaste, moral and concerned with one faith. In his novels, aside from the women question, he tackles issues of race. For example, in *The White Prophet* (1909), he criticizes British imperialism through the description and exploitation of contemporary social problems and idealizes ways of dealing with them (Hammond 44)[19].

Although Caine wrote other novels on the Isle of Man which won him prominence as a novelist, he also wrote *The Scapegoat*, and *The White Prophet* in which he experimented with oriental stereotypes, confirming some and challenging others. *The Scapegoat* is authoritatively described as one of his highest achievements, as it won him praise of the Jewish community in England, contrary to *The White Prophet*, which brought him black mail from his enemies. It was not banned, however, and did not affect sales of subsequent novels (Hammond 47). Despite Caine's immense popularity then, Allen highlights that now, he is virtually unknown. In comparison with Dickens, his characters are not clearly drawn;Caine's are "frequently fuzzy at the edges" while Dickens' characters are "diamond-clear". His characters and plots tend to resemble each

other. Although emotionally moving, his characters are lacking in humour; and are extremely earnest and serious (430-1).

As a successful Victorian critic, novelist and playwright, by the time he wrote *The Scapegoat*, Caine was aware of the significance of the Jewish question in Victorian England. With acquired knowledge of the orient from his research and travels to Egypt, Palestine and Morocco, he chose the last to be the setting for his oriental novel. This novel is in line with Caine's concern for the suffering of the minorities such as that of women, and consequently, this novel reflects his sympathy with both Muslims and Jews and their predicament in having to endure a despotic ruler. It also shows his perception of oriental peoples and lands as well as his conception of how Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities lead their daily lives and how they felt towards each other. In his novel, along with the typical racial stereotypes of Muslims and Jewish communities in Morocco, he presents his readers with outstanding men in both of these communities, Israel Ben Oliel and Al-Mahdi who do all they can to defeat tyranny and break the established stereotypes. Israel is the more admirable hero as Al-Mahdi's prophetic heroism is deprived of optimism and genuine knowledge.

In *The Scapegoat*, the Muslim community is depicted as naïve, passive, fatalistic, lusty, despotic, poor, abused by their governor and unable to change their conditions except for pathetic attempts at revolt. Eventually, when a change does come at the end of the narrative, it comes with the aid of the foreign forces. The Jews are alsonegatively stereotyped as usurers, greedy people who contribute to the Muslims suffering around them. Yet both Muslims and Jews are the scapegoat of their tyrant's rule. The novel has romantic versus political dimensions and Muslim versus Jew dimensions. *The Scapegoat* is not only a testimony of Caine's awareness of Jewish history and plight in the Middle-East and Europe but also a testimony of his awareness

of the historical Mahdi movement and the political conditions and despotism in oriental lands.

The novel is centered around Israel Ben Oliel, his background and upbringing in England to his return to Morocco, his marriage to Ruth (a daughter of a Jewish Rabbi) and his twenty-five year service under the governor of Tetuan El-Araby (nick named Ben Aboo). The main plot revolves around Israel and his twenty five years of service to Ben Aboo during which he inflicts much injustice and suffering unto Muslims and Jews alike, as it is part of his duty as a tax collector to demand taxes from the poor majority of Muslims and Jews who cannot afford to do so.This causes him to be immensely offensive to both Muslims and Jews, and hence despised and ridiculed by both. The dramatic shift in the novel begins when he finds out that his blind, deaf and dumb daughter has carried the lot of his sins. He then decides to achieve the impossible: to be redeemed and to have her sighted, hearing and speaking, in order to realize her mother's vision at her death bed. By the time all that happens, he has gone through much suffering and dies leaving his Muslim daughter to be taken care of and married to Al-Mahdi, Mohamed Ben Mequeinz. He dies a redeemed pious man, believing in divine justice, content with his daughter's condition and loved and revered as a hero by Muslims and Jews alike.

According to the *Jewish Virtual Library*, the Jewish people have been part of the Moroccan population ever since the destruction of the first temple. More Jews fled to Morocco after the Spanish inquisition. They contributed to the economy of Morocco throughout these times, and were used by Moroccan rulers such as Sultan Abdul Haqq in the fifteenth century to straighten their finances. When his government was toppled down, his Jewish prime minister as well as others were assassinated. Generally, Moroccan Berber Jews as well as other migrants from Spain were all subjected to oppression and persecution by Muslims.[20] In the eighteenth century, the Sultan's Jewish

vizier, Elijah ha-Levi was sold into slavery after the Sultan's death and upon his return, was humiliated and fled out of Tetuan in a similar manner to that of Israel Ben Oliel in the novel. Hence, Hall Caine reflects his awareness of such historical records on Moroccan Jews and their plight as a minority there who inflict injustices on others due to their sense of inferiority, and who end up badly beaten by circumstance and deeply troubled. Caine's depiction of Israel Ben Oliel's background as a son deprived of his father's love and brought up by his uncles after his mother's death justifies his lack of affections for others. The plot of the novel changes Israel from a stiff, hard-hearted man as a consequence of being subjected to ridicule and insult by Moroccan Jews and Muslims, to a kind hearted, gentle, humane and humble charitable figure as a result of his daughter's predicament. Israel's only source of love and affection is his wife, Ruth, after whose death, his love for his daughter Naomi and his sympathy for her miserable condition leads him through several attempts to uplift her suffering which in turn makes him identify with the poor, needy, homeless, orphans and persecuted people thwarted by evil circumstance. Israel's identification with the inferior classes in Morocco changes him so that he finds the generous hand and heart to lose everything he has for his daughter's sake and for the poor and needy as well. Moreover, he finds the courage to face the harshest penalties that could be inflicted unto him by the governor of Tetuan. Israel Ben Oliel changes when he realizes that his daughter is the embodiment of his sins, and unless he is redeemed, he will continue to suffer watching her live where no one could reach.

Consequently, the portrayal of Israel's character and the doom of his daughter in an unjust society made him the scapegoat of Ben Abo's injustices and the Moroccan society, just as his daughter is his scapegoat. Redemption in the novel is thus on two levels. The first is achieved through his spiritual growth and positive change and the second is achieved after his society realizes its mistake in accusing him of Ben Aboo's

tyranny. Once they realize their unjust treatment and wrong verdict in attempting to kill Israel at first, and then casting him out of Tetuan to Semsa when their governor is in fact the villain, they manage to topple Ben Aboo and kill him once they have the chance after the Spanish involvement.

The Al- Mahdi episode is not a real one, but a historical event in Egypt employed by the author's fantasies to fit into his Moroccan narrative. It is reported by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) that towards the end of this world, Jesus Christ will descend from heaven and fight infidels with Al- Mahdi troops and that Mahdi will be a Muslim leader whose real name is Muhammad Ben Abdullah, like the prophet's name. Together with Jesus Christ they will be victorious and until this world comes to an end, Al- Mahdi will rule justly and establish peace and happiness. As a consequence of the Prophet's report, several heretics throughout the centuries claimed to be Al-Mahdi at different locations of the Muslim world (Arjomand 134-6). One of them was a Muslim cleric named Muhammad Ahmad in the 1870s in Sudan. He preached renewal of the faith and liberation of the land, and attracted some followers. Soon, in open revolt against the Egyptians, he proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the promised redeemer of the Islamic world. He revolted against the oppressions of the Ottomans and the Egyptian administration of Sudan at that time and accomplished several victories. Just like Caine depicted his Mahdi's men in Morocco, this historical Mahdi's troop members were poorly clothed, half starving, and armed only with sticks and stones. Muhammad Ahmad died right after his victory in 1885, and was succeeded by Khalifa Abdallahi ibn Muhammad, who proved his leadership ability, albeit ruthlessly. The Mahdist state ruled until Abdullah was killed in 1889, and with his death the Mahdist regime ended (Churchill 458).

Caine's perception of the political and social conditions in Morocco is at first established in his preface where he describes Morocco as

> a land wherein government is oppression, wherein law is tyranny, wherein justice is bought and sold, wherein it is a terror to be rich and a danger to be poor, wherein man may still be the slave of man, and women is no more than a creature of lust--a reproach to Europe, a disgrace to the century, an outrage on humanity, a blight on religion!. (6)

From this point onwards, the well-established negative stereotypes of the Muslim and Jewish orient is evident in every page, with both depicted as people who are in need of western guidance and tutelage.In establishing Allah's divine doctrine of nature as represented in the character of Al- Mahdi and his followers,Caine indicates that the East can redeem itself by getting rid of its despotism and establishing equality and justice amongst different ethnicities and faiths. Obviously, such a doctrine cannot be imposed as it lacks a proper system of a ruling state that secures a good future and equal opportunities for everyone, leaving Morocco in desperate need of the civilizing mission. Furthermore, in the preface to *The Scapegoat*, Al- Mahdi is described as:

> *appealing to God against tyranny and corruption and shame*. This great soul is the leader of a vast following which has come to him from every scoured and beaten corner of the land. His voice sounds throughout Barbary, *and wheresoever men are broken they go to him, and wheresoever women are fallen and wrecked they seek the mercy and the shelter of his face. He is poor, and has nothing to give them save one thing only, but that is the best thing of all--it is hope. Not hope in life, but hope in death, the sublime hope whose radiance is always around him. Man that veils his face before the mysteries of the hereafter, and science that reckons the laws of nature and ignores the power of God, have no place with the Mahdi.* The unseen is his certainty; the miracle is all in all to him; he throngs the air with marvels; *God speaks to him in dreams when he sleeps, and warns and directs him by signs when he is awake.* (my italics) (6)

Al- Mahdi's wife is Israel Ben Oliel's daughter, and the couple lead the Moroccans:

> *Together these two, with their ragged fellowship of the poor behind them, having no homes and no possessions, pass from place to place, unharmed and unhindered, through that land of intolerance and iniquity, being protected and reverenced by virtue of the superstition which accepts them for Saints*.?_ (my italics) (7).

Thus, the Mahdi as portrayed by Caine is an illiterate man, a man who is like Prophet Muhammad, who neither reads nor writes. Unlike the prophet though who encouraged his Muslim followers to "read" as the first word revealed to him from Allah, an educated man who believes in science has no place to this Mahdi. Prophet Muhammad was followed by not only the poor and the lower classes of people in Makah and Madinah but also by noble men from high ranks. Thus the contrast Caine portrays in the name of the same religious faith is sharp, which he justifies as the aforementioned Moroccan reality. This depiction also echoes the author's perception of what has become of Islam in the nineteenth century, a religion which accommodates the poor and needy, yet leads them to death.

Al- Mahdi Mohamed Ben Mequinez is a man who has always lived in poverty with the poor, a man who lived to die for justice. A fearless prophet-like man who could not be seduced by all the gold of this world to commit any injustice, his charisma is best portrayed in his threat to Ben Aboo and his prophecy of Ben Aboo's eventual death. He leads not only Muslims but also poor Jews, and by whose doctrine Israel is convinced to follow. Before Israel's death, he is anxious for Naomi's safety, but when Al-Mahdi tells him that he will marry her and protect her, he dies in peace. In a way, Caine made one positively controversial Jewish character and a positively controversial Muslim one. The contrast between these two men is vast though, as Israel matures throughout the course of the novel, and becomes a hero, whilst Al-Mahdi is a flat, visionary prophet-like character throughout. His name invokes the sense of an extreme sect of Islam, andis linked with anti-modernism andanti-urbanism. A man who could not become a leader for other than a poor majority, a man who could rule their spirits and hearts but not make a significant national change for people to depend on. This is why Israel perceives that a new life for a Jew, in an established country like England, will be far better than any in the East.

In the figure of Israel Ben Oliel, Caine provides a pro-Jewish sympathetic depiction. This novel was praised by English Jews, not only for its sympathetic treatment of their race, but also for justifying some negative Jewish stereotypes. Another reason for the novel's approval is its indication of England as a better country for a practicing Jew to live in peacefully, in comparison to the Muslim Orient. The notion of a far more tolerant British Empire as a "home" for the Jews is set in contrast to a despotic oppressive Muslim orient "abroad," as inferred in Israel's advice to Ali to depart from Morocco and live in England "a place where a Jewish man could lead a good life", and his intention to take Noami along from their last station in Semsa to make a new "home" in England, which does not happen because of Israel's sickness and eventual death as well as Naomi's conversion. The novel also highlights the plight of a Jewish nation in having to be scattered in different lands in Europe and Asia, away from their one promised land. In contrast to Disraeli and Eliot, Caine does not hint of the significance of having Eastern and European Jews migrate to Palestine in his plot, but instead suggests that they settle and assimilate in England. Caine was anti-Zionist, like Israel Zangwill, a friend of his literary circle, who broke away from the Zionist movement fearing the displacement of the indigenous Arab populations (Felsenstein 724). Even though the novel comes in line with the previous two novels in its sympathetic portrayal of the Jews, it does not promote Zionism but rather Jewish emancipation in England.

In the novel, there is a certain extent to which the Muslims and Jews in Morocco seem to tolerate each other and ally against tyranny, but Caine certainly reveals the heartfelt antagonism they express ~~frankly~~ for each other in their daily dealings in the urban cities of Morocco. Thus, the Muslims and Jewish inhabitants of Tetuan are anything but idealistic in their treatment of each other, as evident in the maledictions they utter against each other.

A typical Muslim tyrant and villain who dominates the plot is El-Araby or Ben Aboo. He is a flat character, depicted as a vulgar, ugly despotic Muslim ruler who lives only to increase his wealth and victimize the poor lower class Muslim and Jewish men. He rules with an iron fist, and kills in cold blood and without any sense of remorse. Paradoxically, his fourth Spanish wife Katrina controls him, as many of his decisions are implementations of her advice. He is moved at times due to his cowardice but is a flat character as he never changes, a figure whose tyranny had set him way beyond redemption. He is not afraid of God but only Sultan Abd Rahman III and no one else. He is despised not only by his subjects but also byKatrina and his otherwives, a Moor named Tarha, a Circassian named Hoolia, a French woman named Josephine and a Jewess named Sol who try their best to lure Naomi into falling into their trap by becoming one of El-Araby's concubines.

The description of the governor's house, the harem inmates, and their lethargic lifestyle and sense of boredom thereinis a typical orientalist description.Pardoe's ambivalent description was both in the spirit of derision and desire of the orient, while this one is just in the spirit of derision, a development from Pardoe's style. In fact, Caine asserts the negative stereotyping through his depiction of the harem quarter of Ben Aboo as well as his selection of wives.By making El-Araby's wives of different faiths and ethnicities, Caine highlights the common Ottoman predilection for avariety and assortment of slave women. The fear of captivity is heightened and dramatized by Naomi's forced conversion and attempts to entrap her into concubinage. In spite of her childish character, she has the strength to withstand the forceful intrigue of Al- Araby and his wives. Through sucha depiction, Caine illustrates the weak essence of Al-Araby's household, as one that is no better than a flimsy spider web bound to collapse and fall apart with a single blow. Before his death, he seeks refuge with his three wives but they do not open the door for him, either out of fear or vengeance. Katrina, his

fourth wife of Spanish origin tries to escape with him, but not succeeding in getting him up, runs away with his guards. Ultimately he is wounded by Ali, Israel's foster son before being stoned to death by his Muslim subjects.

The novel depicts poor common Muslims as a passive, naïve and fatalistic people. This passivity is evident in their treatment of Israel,unaware of his being a victim of Ben Aboo's crimes, had used him as an instrument to oppress people. Their fatalism is also evident in Absalam's resolve to commit suicide after killing his father and son. In addition, there is this stereotypical illustration of a slave market in Morocco which Caine depicts in the novel. On Israel's way to meet Al- Mahdi, he happens to pass by one, and witnesses how slaves are sold, "all black, and of varying ages, ranging from ten to about thirty […] drawn up in a line for public auction":

> *Israel's blood tingled to see how the bidders handled the girl, and to hear what shameless questions they asked of her, and with a long sigh he was turning away from the crowd, when another man came up to it.* The man was black and old and hard-featured, [….] he made a great shout of anguish, and, parting the people, pushed his way to the girl's side, and opened his arms to her, and she fell into them with a cry of joy and pain together. *It turned out that he was a liberated slave, who, ten years before, had been brought from the Sooq through the country of Sidi Hosain ben Hashem, having been torn away from his wife, who was since dead, and from his only child, who thus strangely rejoined him. This story he told, in broken Arabic; to those that stood around, and, hard as were the faces of the bidders, and brutal as was their trade; there was not an eye among them all but was melted at his story.*
>
> *Seeing this, Israel cried from the back of the crowd, "I will give twenty dollars to buy him the girl's liberty," and straightway another and another offered like sums for the same purpose until the amount of the last bid had been reached, and the slave-master took it, and the girl was free. Then the poor negro, still holding his daughter by the hand, came to Israel, with the tears dripping down his black cheeks, and said in his broken way: "The blessing of Allah upon you, white brother, and if you have a child of your own may you never lose her, but may Allah favour her and let you keep her with you always!* (my italics). (120-2)

The above quotation is loaded with oriental stereotypes of the sultan's harem, of slavery and all the humiliation associated with it. Vulgar language and behavior are

evident in the entire novel, as in the above quote.Here the portrayal of the slave market reflects the inhumanity and cruelty of Muslims against the kindness and mercy of Israel, and thus, he is a better man than Moorish Muslims, and his act of freeing the girl to unite with her father is shown as one of those acts of self-redemption. Moorish Muslims in this scene are all cold and stone- hearted as none seem to disagree with the humiliating way of selling a slave, nor feel any sympathy for the enslavement of father and daughter, nor happiness in their coincidental meeting and unity.

Romance in the novel is depicted in Israel's sacrifices to be redeemed for the sake of Naomi who was born to Ruth and Israel after three years, and after they prayed to be blessed with one child only. The couple does everything for their handicapped child who lives by her feelings only but seems to recognize places and people around her. Israel adopts a son, to be her playmate. Ali is a four year old Muslim boy whose father had killed his mother for infidelity and neglect of their son. The father was executed in prison for having no one to buy him out of it. Ali is brought up a Jew and dies faithful to Israel Ben Oleil and Naomi. Ruth dies when Naomi is just seven. One day, Israel reads a passage from the Torah about the scapegoat, who carries the sins of the people. He has a vision of that scapegoat to be Naomi, and another vision of the Lord telling him that Naomi has carried his sins and that Mohamed Ben Mequinez shall tell him what to do about it. From this moment on, Israel goes on a journey of self-discovery, and eventually Naomi regains her sense of hearing and seeing.Heeventually becomes a champion for justice and learns that "God is good". In this novel, the theme sin and earnest repentance is beautifully depicted as the most special romance in a man's life between man and his God and creator. Although Israel does it for his daughter to regain her sense of hearing, speech and sight, he ends up a better man and dies with a resolute heart firmly believing in His divine justice.

In *The Scapegoat*, Caine promotes a romantic lifestyle of living in the open lands and being fed and clothed by God, through the Mahdi. In a way, it reflects the great extent of man's trust in His benevolence and in his fate so as to be ready to accept whatever good or bad that comes. In the course of the narrative, Caine proves this faith to work. As this romantic lifestyle meant that these masses could not be taxed, they were thus seen as a threat to the political order. Al-Mahdi meets Israel twice because of Naomi. Al-Mahdi does not care for anyone other than the poor, be they Christians, Muslims or Jews. His sect asserts this creed of the unity of all religions and that it is the economic poverty of these people that make them coexist peacefully with one another. Accordingly, there is this fundamental divide of good and bad as poor people following the Mahdi chose to be good. This gives a further romantic sentiment to Morocco. Others were a mix of good and bad, but the novel shows that the majority are good. Muslims in particular are shown as meant to lead a peaceful life away from politics.

In the novel, urban Muslims and Jews hate each other and make frank negative remarks or criticism of one another during their daily lives in the city.These people are depicted as simpletons, gullible and hypocritical when fearing calamity, as they were all happy in welcoming Abdul Rahman and the next day are all eager to see him removed. They do not resist the Spanish forces, and shut their doors in the face of Ben Aboo before stoning him to death.

In serving as the proverbial scapegoat, Ali is killed by Ben Aboo's guards after injuring him, an injury which made him unable to run away resulting in his death as foreseen by Mohamed Ben Mequinez. Ali dies gladly to avenge Israel, and is Israel's scapegoat for sacrificing a future life in England. Ali and Fatima (one of Ben Aboo's slaves given to Israel and his wife), become Jews and respect their Jewish affiliations to the end. Habeebah, the Muslim maid leads Naomi to Ben Aboo's captivity, while Fatima, the Jewish maid, remains sincere to Israel and informs him of Naomi's plight

during his imprisonment at Shawan before her predicament at the house of Ben Aboo. Muslims' conversion to Judaism and Jews' conversion to Islam seems to be common in Morocco. People look for good examples in their society to follow their lead, and Israel's and Ruth's benevolence had them raise Ali as a Jew while Fatima converts willingly to Judaism. Naomi's conversion to Islam was a forced one, yet Caine illustrates by the end of the narrative that it was the wrong thing happening for the right reason. Israel dies in peace knowing that his daughter will be protected by a good man, despite the difference in their creed. This ending is indicative of the reconciliation between good Muslims and Jews who only differ in their manner of worshipping One God.

Caine's belief in the unity of religions is represented in the one dominant good and bad divide reflected in the novel. The novel closes with the dramatic and romantic death of Israel Ben Oliel as a redeemed man who is reunited with Naomi by the efforts of Ali and the Mahdi. Worried for his daughter, Israel asks him "But what Jew would not repeat her father's troubles? And what Muslim could save her from her own" to which the Mahdi takes full responsibility of Naomi. Israel then dies in peace believing that "God is good" and whatever He does is good. The symbolism of this ending signifies the scarcity of life for Jews in the Muslim East and the suffering and struggle Muslims have to endure under tyrannical incompetent rulers. Israel's death, which brings the Muslims and Jews together, and the Muslim community's revolt against Ben Abu and Sultan Abdul Rahman is admirable, but as such struggles may not last, the only hope and optimism for these communities is in a change they are not able to bring about, namely throughBritish intervention in the region.

The novel's political description of an improvised Eastern nation under tyrant rule is a vivid foreshadowing of contemporary Middle East. Compared to Disraeli's *Alroy*, *The Scapegoat* is more reflective of the social and political circumstances in the

Muslim orient in spite of recycling tenth-century oriental stereotypes in its portrayal of the Muslim communities. The political upheaval in the Middle East in the twenty first century is pre-conditioned in the same manner it was many centuries ago. Despite promoting England as a home for Jews and casting Morocco in a demonic light, as a land ruled by despotism and tyranny, the novel challenges negative stereotypes in its sympathetic representation of the innocent majority of Muslim communities. The novel casts a prophetic light on Israel ben Oliel and the Mahdi figures, but while Israel's aim is to lead a peaceful and prosperous life, Al-Mahdi's is to be the embodiment of good values, even if it leads him and his followers to death. Despite his prophetic idealistic spirit, he represents a Muslim orient in desperate need of western involvement, rule and emancipation, in contrast to Israel, whose likes could assimilate in English society and benefit it with their diligence and wit.

Thesixteenth-century Muslim Empire thrived under the Ottomans, who ruled across three continents and in whose dominions the Jews had the privilege of leading a stable life which guaranteed their security, peaceful coexistence and financial prosperity. It was only afterthe fall of Granada in al-Andalus, Muslim Spain, in the hands of the Spanish Catholics led by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella that Spanish Jews fled from Spain to Western Europe and were later dubbed Sephardic Jews, who later collaborated with the Ashkanzi Eastern European Jews to alleviate their standards and secure their liberties at "home" in England and "abroad" in the Middle East.

In the three historical romances discussed in this chapter, the Muslim oriental character is portrayed alongside his Jewish counterpart. In Disraeli's *Alroy*, Alroy is contrasted to other Muslim and Jewish characters who are nothing like him in heroism and vision for the purpose of setting an example to the British empire on the way the church could contribute to its government. In Lytton's *Leila*, Almamen stands out in comparison to the Muslim ruler and Prince (King Boabdil and Prince Muza) and the

Christian king Ferdinand and other characters at the Christian camp as the better able, whether physically, mentally or spiritually.In Caine's *The Scapegoat*, Israel Ben Oliel is set against the Mahdi, for the same purpose the previous two works were intended for, that is, raising sympathy towards the Jewish people as a nation that is not given the opportunity to lead a dignified life at "home" and "abroad", as it has had previously in the course of history.In this manner, Jewish eminence is made a testimony of their prominence in history, and suggests a promise for a great future to come. The selected novels discussed in thischapter appeared after the Jews managed to gain their emancipation in England and participate in the British parliament, so as to highlight to English readers their admirable traits, and theirtragic though heroic past throughout history which bore fruit in their eventualeminence at "home" during the Victorian era. In contrast is the decadent Muslim oriental character who possesses none other than his aesthetic romantic merit and political value as a member of afuture colony in need of western enlightenment and tutelage, considering his despotic tendencies. Any admirable traits that Muslim communities have are locked within a past moment in time, and hence, no longer valuable. The echo of his silence after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which was no great age of justice for Christians and Jews living in Ottoman lands, infers their future failure for having within them seeds of decay back then. Therefore, these three works challenged Scott's inferences of a better life of tolerance for the Jewish communities in Muslim lands.

Accordingly, the historical romances of the Victorian period discussed in this chapter narrativize established racial stereotypes of the Muslim communitiesso asto emphasize their inferiority and demonize them, as seen in their oppressive treatment of the Jewish inhabitants in their lands. It furtherlocks any positive depictions of these Muslim communities within a bygone historical era, so as to imply their irrelevance to modern times. As for the Jewish communities at "home" and "abroad", these historical

romances depict the authors'sympathetic treatment of Jews, as they challenge older racial stereotypes with prophetic and heroic traitsof Jews, whether at "home" in the depiction of Alroy,or "abroad" in the figures of Leila and Israel.Through such depictions, all three authors-- Disraeli, Lytton and Caine contributed to the lively contemporary debates on the inclusion of Jews within British national identity in the Victorian era.

CHAPTER 4

THE UNDESIRABLE ORIENT AT "HOME" AND "ABROAD": ZIONISM IN THE VICTORIAN POLITICAL NOVEL

> But man is a fickle and disreputable creature and perhaps, like a chess-player, is interested in the process of attaining his goal rather than the goal itself.
>
> (Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Notes from Underground*)

The previous chapter examined Benjamin Disraeli's *Alroy*, Edward Lytton's *Leila* and Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat*as literary textsthat challenged and interrogated Victorian England on the location of the Jews within English national identity. In this chapter, I highlight Said's theoretical insight on the transfer of anti-Semitism from European Jews to Oriental Muslims and the history of the Jews in the Muslim orient, followed by a brief assessment on the conditions of the Jews in England during the Victorian period. The significance of the political novel as a literary genre is then discussed in light of Homi Bhaba's theory on the role of repetition in the stabilizing or destabilizing of racial stereotypes as highlighted in the introduction. In *The Location of Culture*, his third chapter "The Other Question", Bhabha discusses how repetitions of racial stereotypes maintain and perpetuate them in contrast to the lack of their repetition, which invites new impressions and challenges them. Based on the analysis of Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* (1840), Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* (1876) and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876), the discussion in this chapter aims to show how these three political novels assert the role of the British Empire in relocating the Jews as its undesirable "Asiatics" at "home" in England and "abroad" (to Palestine) through the use of Zionism.

Victorian politics attempted to tackle domestic and foreign issues of great significance to the British Empire, prepared for by historical, political, economic and literary events and developments in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although ~~the~~ English society was divided into classes and riddled with poverty, disease and numerous social ills, the Empire ruled over other vast landscapes in the name of the civilizing mission. The Victorian political novel prepared the nation for the Empire's future plans and schemes abroad, and shed light on significant social and political issues that needed to be addressed within England itself.

The aforementioned selected works of the first chapter on women writers and orientalist aesthetics demonstrate the stability of oriental stereotypes on the Muslim communities, which are repeated in the historical romances of the second chapter. The unstable sympathetic portrayal of the Jewish communities in the Muslim orient in the selected works of the first chapter is further dramatized at "home" and "abroad" in the second chapter. These representations demonstrate and interrogate their dualistic position within British national identity. On one hand, the novels suggest that these Jewish communities are descendants from a supreme race, and their distinguished traits should thus have the British welcome them as part of the English nation. On the other, their being Arab Semite by origin, the difference in creeds and the established perception of them as abhorred lowly people challenged their inclusion and acceptance within British national identity.

This chapter resolves the Jewish question, by locating the English Jew within the English national identity theoretically and outside it practically, due to their economic and political eminence in England, directly related to the accomplishments of Benjamin Disraeli and the Rothschilds. These achievements were enhanced earlier on by Napoleon's incursion in Acre, made initially to serve the British Empire's interest in keeping divided a people united by faith and language. Furthermore, the chapter reveals

that the Jewish state also marked the British Empire's foreign affairs in the Middle-East, which began with the migration of European Jews to Palestine in 1882 and 1890 and was then followed by the Balfour Declaration.

On the difference in the representation of the Muslim and Jewish Semites in English fiction, of significant relevance to the political developments of the Victorian times is Said's statement in *Orientalism*:

> *The transference of popular anti-Semitic animus from a Jewish to an Arab target was made smoothly, since the figure was essentially the same*. Thus, if the Arab occupies space enough for attention, *it is as a negative value*. He is seen as the disrupter of Israel's and the West's existence... *as a surmountable obstacle to Israel's creation in 1948*. Insofar as this Arab has any history, it is part of the history given him (or taken him: the difference is slight) by Orientalist tradition and later *the Zionist tradition Palestine was seen -by Lamartine and the early Zionist- as an empty desert waiting to burst into bloom; such inhabitants as it had were supposed to be inconsequential nomads possessing no real claim on the land and therefore, no cultural or national reality. Thus the Arab is conceived of now as a shadow that dogs the Jew... For the Jew of Pre-Nazi Europe has bifurcated: what we have now is a Jewish hero constructed out of reconstructed cult of the adventure–pioneer-structured Orientalist (Burton, Lane, Renan), and his creeping, mysteriously fearsome shadow, the Arab Oriental.* (286, my italics)

Accordingly, negative traits of laziness, backwardness and despotism were transmitted from the Jewish people and affixed to Arabs and Muslims through the English novel. On actual ground, the century was marked by the contributions of outstanding ~~great~~ Jewish thinkers, scholars and figures from all walks of life, professions and sciences. In literary works, the Jewish people's plight was magnified and consolidated in such a concrete fashion, and their seemingly lofty moral and social standards admired. Disraeli's *Tancred* and Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* depicts the Jewish community as a unique race, noble, gentle, amiable, talented, intelligent, loving humanist and tolerant peace-maker with all races. Yet despite all these traits, they are looked down upon at "home" and hence it is best that their skills are made use of by the British Empire. Anthony Trollope, on the other hand, depicts them as infidel Orientals,

creeping within English society. He represents a different trend of perceiving English Jews and believes they tarnish English values, and accordingly, should be doomed to death like Sodom, or to leave England at least. Before Theodor Herzl, known as the father of Zionism, appeared at the very end of the century, Benjamin Disraeli wrote a number of works amongst which was *Tancred* in 1840. Disraeli's novels and political accomplishments were challenged by other literary works in Victorian England, such as Anthony Trollope's*The Prime Minister*and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, which further explored or criticized the possible future role of English Jews at "home" and "abroad". While these political novels marked the intellectual discourse on this issue in Victorian England, with the weakening Ottoman Empire, thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe migrated to Palestine.

Although it has generally been agreed upon that the First Zionist Congress at Basel in 1898 was the beginning of modern Zionism, and that Theodor Herzl is its originator, Regina Sharif points out in "Four Hundred Years of Non-Jewish Zionism" that the Zionist movement was in operation in Europe centuries before Herzl aspired to achieve it and registered it in his works (as cited in Brandabur). Moreover, as Spector highlighted in the previous chapter, Napoleon had planned for this (122). In "George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* and the Creation of Modern Israel", A. Clare Brandabur asserts that Napoleon intended to declare a letter he had brought along from Jerusalem to Acre, as an invitation for all the Jews of the world to return to their 'homeland.' After that, in the 1840s, Lord Palmerston welcomed Shaftesbury's proposal of using the Jews as a British wedge[1] within the Ottoman Empire. Charles Henry Churchill, a Gentile Zionist during the Palmerston era, exerted all his efforts on the creation of a climate of opinion in the Jewish community which would be favorable to this idea[2].

Neville J. Mandel in *The Arabs and Zionism Before World War I* (1976) traces the two waves of Jewish migrations to Palestine in 1882 onwards and in 1903 onwards,

corresponding to Theodor Herzl's efforts in establishing a state for the Jews in Palestine. In spite of the strict regulations on Jewish entry and settlement in Palestine, both Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews migrated from Europe to Palestine. Their net continued to grow despite restrictions and the twenty four thousand Jews residents/ Ottoman subjects who were there in 1882 doubled by 1890 to forty seven thousand, so that by 1897, when the Zionist Movement was founded there were around fifty thousand Jews in Palestine and eighteen new settlements (20). In other words, the Jewish population which was less than five percent in 1882 rose to ten percent[3] in twenty five years and together with the New Yishuv[4], the figure rose to six hundred and fifty thousand in 1908 (29)[5]. The two main aspects of these migrants were land purchases and Zionist activities. Whilst the first was backed by Baron Edmond de Rothschild with vast amounts of money, the second focused on uniting all Jewish people in Palestine and having them contribute to the making of the new Jewish state. The different groups of Jews began to replace Arabs on the colonies, they produced their own journals, and whilst some were engaged in commerce and trade, others were artisans. Those who became Ottoman subjects benefited from the millet system and those who remained foreigners benefitted from the Capitulations, and together they consciously set the basis for the Jewish state on Palestinian land (30-31). This migration was the stealth catalyst to the future occupation of Palestine by the Jews in 1948 before which the Balfour agreement[6] promised them the land of Palestine in 1917.

It is significant to highlight that most members of the New Yishuv were astonished to find Palestine's major population to be Arabs, ninety five percent in 1882, on the ground that they believed that they were going to a barren, empty land (Mandel 31). It is therefore vital to elaborate on the historical background of the Jewish people in the Muslim orient to better rationalize the small percentage of Jews in Palestine until 1882.

4.1 The History of the Jews

According to Henry Cattan in *The Palestine Question*, the three peoples who inhabited Palestine, played a role and left their lasting impact on it were the Canaanites, the Philistines and the Israelites. The earliest of them were the Canaanites. They settled there after 3000 BC, made cities and established their economy based on agriculture and commerce. Accordingly, the country's earliest name was the 'land of Canaanites' and Jerusalem was one of their cities for some eighteen centuries BC. The Philistines and the Israelites came to the land of the Canaanites at around the same time, 1175 BC. The Philistines occupied the southern part and eastern coast and controlled it for centuries. It is the Philistines who gave Palestine its modern name (3-4).

According to the Bible, twelve Israelite tribes came in to Palestine after their exodus from Egypt about 1200 BC and they were ruled by Patriarchs. They assimilated to the Canaanites culture and lived in peace, but they never lived peacefully with the Philistines. The Israelites and the Philistines were constantly at war which compelled the twelve Israelite tribes to unite. After their leader Saul was killed by the Philistines, his son in law David succeeded him and took Jerusalem from the Canaanites, and ruled for thirty three years. He was followed by his son Solomon who built the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem. Even at their best control, they could not dominate the Philistines who lived in other states. This unified kingdom lasted for seventy three years, after which they were divided into two kingdoms. One of them was destroyed by the Assyrians in 721 BC after which it was extinct, and the other survived for a while until it was besieged and taken by the Philistines, the Arabs, the Syrians, the Babylonians and the Egyptians. A vassal state paid its tributes to Egypt and Babylon in turn. In 705 BC king Judah failed to pay tributes and his territory was taken by the

Assyrians who gave it to the Philistines leaving him with Jerusalem only. In 587 BC, the kingdom of Judah was destroyed by the Babylonians who burnt Solomon's temple and carried the Jews into captivity to Babylon. After their disappearance from Palestine, the Hebrew language disappeared as well and was replaced by Arabic and Aramaic, the language of Jesus Christ. Few Jews returned to Palestine during the Persian rule over it, as their king allowed it, whilst the rest settled in Babylon and dispersed to other lands. Palestine was then subjected to the rule of Alexander the Great followed by the Syrians and then the Romans during whose time Christ was born in Bethlehem. Bethlehem, Nazareth, Galilee and Jerusalem where Jesus Christ was crucified became holy sites for Christianity since then. The Jews revolted twice during the rule of the Roman Empire and after their defeat in the second revolt, their temple was burnt and they were forced to disperse to the four corners of the Empire. From that point in time until the nineteenth century, there were no Jews in Jerusalem and only a small number stayed in other states in Palestine (4-6).

This historical record affirms the minimal presence of the Jewish people in Palestine and that the Palestinians and the Canaanites have always been its indigenous people before the Israelite migrants settled in it after their life in the Sinai desert for forty years. In other words, the Israelites were once one of the three peoples who contributed to the geographical population in Palestine, but after that, they were just a minority until their systematic migrations from Europe during the Victorian period, followed by their migration from other Arab countries in the twentieth century. It is therefore vital to elaborate on their role in Europe which prepared for their relocation in Palestine.

4.2 Jewish Oppression in Victorian England versus their Economic Control of Europe as Part of the Making of the Jewish State

In "The Birth of a Nation in Victorian Culture: The Spanish Inquisition, the Converted Daughter, and the "Secret Race"", Ragussis asserts that the Spanish inquisition was reinscribed in the 1870s in English culture through the novels of Anthony Trollope and George Eliot, a moment when the drama of the converted Jew was no longer embellished in the pages of historical romance as illustrated in the previous chapter but in the daily events of the life of the nation. The epitome of this was in the parliamentary career of Benjamin Disraeli. When he became Prime Minister, there was that crisis in English national identity, that an "Oriental dictator" ruled the Empire (479). It is such events that stimulated and anticipated the works of Gladstone[7], Trollope and Eliot.

The Victorian period marks a "central moment in the formation of Diaspora identities" , one which could be seen by in tracing Jewish population figures in England, which rose from 0.01 percent in 1850 to 0.38 percent by 1900 and elsewhere in Europe. The Jewish population increased during the nineteenth century from 1.1 percent of Europe's total population to 2.2 by the end of the century. They were subject to restrictions on their movement and occupation except for France, where they were franchised though not equally treated since 1789. In England, the Jewish emancipation came in 1835 when the requirement of swearing the Christian Abjuration Oath was removed, allowing the Jewish access to parliament (Lewis 201-2). Moreover, "in 1840 Palmerston's government considered supporting Jewish colonization in Palestine as a solution to conflicting imperial interests in the region" as they were seen to have the potential to improvise England's imperial plans in the East (Lewis 216). Palmerston wrote a letter to the British ambassador in Constantinople advising that the Sultan

should be persuaded to have rich opulent Jews settle in Palestine to assist with their wealth and intelligence in recruiting people and directing the Industry. This was because the loyalty of those who counted as "aliens" in England and "British" elsewhere could help in perpetuating the control of the British Empire over parts of the Ottoman Empire by establishing the Jewish nation within another nation. The English Jews would thus assert their English national identity as a defence mechanism when representing the English institution in the East (Lewis 216-7).

There were two types of Jews in England, Ashkenazi and Sephardic. The former have been for many centuries residents in Eastern and central Europe. They were mostly illiterate, backward and in favour of assimilating with their current European cultures. Sephardic Jews, on the other hand, migrated from Spain and Portugal to Italy and from there to all over Europe after the Spanish inquisition. This second group were educated, professional men and overall more cultured Jews in favour of migrating and establishing their new state in Israel. Western Ashkenazi in England, however, were seen as highly educated and politically radical. In England, the 1840- 1860s was a period in which the earlier Jewish communities were challenged by the new Ashkenazi migrants (Lewis 202-3).

The life of Benjamin Disraeli and his social, literary and political connections, endeavours and contributions, provide a vivid image of the sort of life the Jews had in England during the Victorian period. In addition to political, social and literary eminence the English Jews were attaining in the nineteenth century, there was the prevailing economic contribution and grip the Rothschilds had over the European economy through banking systems which made them political decision makers who could influence the lives of masses of people all around the world. Valley asserts that despite the heterogeneous solidarity of the Rothschilds, many were supporters of Zionism. According to *The Rothschild Achieve,* it was Walter Rothschild, second Baron

Rothschild in 1917 who was the addressee of the Balfour Declaration to the Zionist Federation, which committed the British government to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.[8]

As for other European countries such as Germany and France, the Jewish population was beginning to be seen differently, in light of their affluence and control of their economies through their banking systems.[9] Aside from Disraeli and the Rothschilds who were pro-Zionism, there were other eminent European Jews such as Israel Zangwill and Karl Marx who were not. Although Zangwill resembled Disraeli in looks and political aspirations, he was content to be like Disraeli, a man of letters and a friend of other literary figures of his day such as Hall Caine (Felsenstein 724). Zangwill however represented Jews who were in favour of assimilation into the English life (Rochelson 4-5). Despite his sincere affiliation to his Jewish race and his involvement with Theodor Herzl's Zionist movement which founded the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO), Zangwill believed Britain to be the ideal homeland for the Jews. Moreover, he was fearful that the Zionist plan would cause the displacement of the indigenous Arab population in Palestine, and hence, broke away from the movement (Felsenstein 725). Accordingly, Zangwill was gradually forgotten as he ceased to be the voice of the Jewish generation (Felsenstein 726). The German Jew Karl Marx also opined on the role of the Jew and in 1844 wrote an essay "On the Jewish Question" in which he attacked the Jews severely as a parasitical kind of human species. In his essay, Marx asserts that in all their social relations, Jewish men and women are defined by their love for money. He perceives them as financiers who are Christian flesh eaters and thus as Cannibals; they are opposite of Germans. As a marno-baptized Jew[10], Marx was critical of anyone who cared a lot for material wealth and money-making despite their faith.[11]

Disraeli's political rival, William Gladstone from the Whig party attacked him using the political event of the Turkish atrocities in the Balkans and wrote the *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (1876) to launch a campaign against him. To Gladstone, like many other English men, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli represented the Turkish despotic monarch tampering and manipulating the Great British Empire. Accordingly, other Victorian writers such as Anthony Trollope perceived Disraeli in the same manner, and reflected his hatred for English Jews in a number of his novels such as *The Way We Live Now* (1875) apart from *The Prime Minister*(1876). George Eliot on the other hand, proposed a theoretical inclusion of the Jews within ~~the~~ English national identity. She acknowledged the contribution of English Jews such as that of Benjamin Disraeli to the British Empire, and hence, used this minority community as a means to reform the English majority. She represented those who believed in their wit, and that it should be utilized "abroad" as a means to resolve the domestic conflict of their presence and competition with the English Gentiles at "home", as such a proposal would secure the future of Muslim oriental lands to be under British control.

Against the aforementioned factual accounts on the history of the Jews in the MiddleEast and Europe, the selected literary works in this chapter thus reveal and reflect Victorian sentiments towards the Jewish question at "home". Due to the absence of Muslim communities from the English society and the European scene, being restricted to their geographical area, they have been a silent majority with no executive power in England or their lands and thus unable to assert their significance, if any, on the British Empire. They were rather the silent and invisible subalterns to be spoken for, through oriental works and travel narratives. Paradoxically, the Jewish people, though degraded, took advantage of their location, in England and Europe, and contributed to the making of English and European societies they lived in, thereby altering stereotypes. Accordingly, Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred,* Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* and

George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* complement this image and reflect the rising tensions around the Jewish question and the means to resolve it.

4.3 Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847)

As highlighted in the previous chapter, Benjamin Disraeli's literary ambitions were part of his political ambitions as he used the former to prepare for the latter, and assert his controversial personality as a member of the Tory party in 1837 and a Prime Minister in 1868. Disraeli's literary contributions were more an expression of his personality and ambitions. His works reflect the major change the English novel had undergone from the 1830s when they were written for "indolent, languid men on sofas, of Aesthetic Tea; to the 'sect' whose temple was Almack's and whose sacred books were fashionable novels" to the 1840s when people read more novels than ever with "speculations on reform and change of rules [...] It belongs to no-man's land on the frontier between two nations" (Tillotson 124 as cited in Levine 23). Disraeli contributed significantly to the genre of political novel inhis trilogy of *Coningsby, Sybil* and *Tancred* in these conditions, using the novel as his vehicle to impact public opinion.As he wrote in his preface to the fifth edition of *Coningsby* in 1849: "It was not originally the intention of the writer to adopt the form of fiction as the instrument to scatter his suggestions, but after reflection he resolved to avail himself of a method which, in the temper of the times, offered the best chance of influencing opinions" (Disreali, *Coningsby* xviii). Accordingly, it is among his accomplishments that he was credited for creating the genre of the English political novel. Levine highlights the way Disraeli manipulates historical and political facts in his novels to produce works that are highly interesting and inquisitive, interrogating and urging England's future progress (28). Each of his Young England trilogy's heroes develops fully and comes to realize the efficiency of the "great principles of the past" (87). In *Coningsby* and *Sybil,* protagonists

theorise about these principles and put them into operation through political measures. In *Tancred*, Disraeli shifts his attention from politics to religion in an attempt to reach a successful end (87). Hence, Disraeli's literary career which started with the ambition of accomplishing himself as one of the aristocratic members of his society ended up as his means of disseminating his agendas of social, political and religious reform for the betterment of English society and the Jewish race.

According to Kalmar, the public perception of Disraeli's demonstrative Semitism was highly related to English jingoism, which comes from a popular song celebrating Disraeli's strong imperial policies. In *Tancred*, he states "all is race; there is no other truth" (*Tancred* 176). His eminent belief in the Jewish "anointed race" (*Tancred* 202) and Jewish people as God's chosen people, had him turn race theories the other way around, having oriental Jews as the superior race to all other races. Disraeli expressed the "scientific" opinion that racial mixture was harmful to the qualities of a race. In *Conings*by, he asserts that the Jews are "the aristocracy of Nature" (vol.II, 138) due to their being unmixed, "a pure race of Caucasian organization" (*Tancred* 461). Disraeli favoured Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's racial typology, highlighted by Brantlinger, "which included Aryans and Semites as "Caucasian" ("Romantic Orientalist" 99). In this way, "Disraeli located the cultural history of the Jewish race and that of the English race at the same narrative and imaginative context… a successful ploy, striking as it did a responsive cord among the Gentiles" (Brantlingner 99 as cited in Kalmar "Romantic Orientalist" 361). Trollope and Eliot were influenced by this scientific theory as well and they responded differently though in their literary output.

Disraeli contributed immensely to his race and religion, to the conservatives, the Church and the English poor, at the local sphere. He was also highly influential in developing England's relationship with the Ottoman Empire, with Egypt and Russia as

one of the world's most powerful countries then that were able to set and determine future events at "home" and "abroad". Furthermore, Kalmar believes Disraeli to be an imperialist and an expansionist at the Empire's "greatest" hour, an orientalist who was fascinated by the orient in the way Said set it, to serve the goals and practices of imperial domination, but at the same time, "felt a romantic kinship for Empire's distant subjects. For crucially, this imperialist was, in his eyes and those of many others, himself an Oriental" ("Romantic Orientalist" 348). Moreover, he believes Disraeli's ambivalence to be not just a "colonial discourse", but rather one on European Jews which although underestimated by Orientalist mainstream ideas as a whole, had an undeniable impact and an overwhelming empirical weight no thoughtful writer could ignore (349).

As highlighted in the previous chapter, Jewish authors utilized the romantic aspects of Orientalism to their advantage and Disraeli was no different. Many Jews found in Orientalism the potential to improve their self-image among the Gentiles. This was by opposing orientalist scholars like Ernest Renan who depicted Jesus as a remarkable contrast to his Semitic environment; by insisting that he was a typical Semite and a Jew. It was upon this chord, which had a certain cachet among the Gentiles that Disraeli played on. It was his instrument to promote his Semitic identity and a reflection of what many European Jews believed in (351). Hence, it was part of Benjamin Disraeli's agenda to assert the Jewishness of Jesus Christ and overshadow his Christendom.

The "Young England movement" came about four years after Disraeli had been in Parliament when a group of eager brilliant MP's educated at Eton and Cambridge elected him to become their "master" as they found in him a hero with charismatic leadership qualities. These young men shared romantic temperament, royalist principles, and medieval and Catholic sentiment. With Disraeli as their leader, they

attempted to revive the decaying Tory party with true principles and as they lamented the state of the people. They distrusted Utilitarianism, democracy and the middle class. Most importantly, they urged Disraeli to put in print their goals and aims, which he presents in his Young England Trilogy. The movement sought an organic society from their past like Carlyle before them and Ruskin after and thus Disraeli's emphasis on history as an organic continuum is elaborated in the sphere of religion. Accordingly, the great principles which govern mankind is based on man's understanding of the Law of the Hebraeo-Christian Church (Levine 24).

In retrospect, Disraeli composed his Young England trilogy in light of Thomas Carlyle's conception of heroism, which emphasized the need for a national hero. Each of his Young England trilogy novels has a hero who tries to reform the English society in spite of challenges through idealistic principles that restore the dignified and spiritual position of the Church. Accordingly, these three themes are interwoven in each of the three novels but whilst *Coningsby* deals with the "derivation and character of political parties"; *Sybil* with "the condition of the people"; and *Tancred* with the "remedial" role of the Church (Levine 63).

According to Levine, in *Tancred*, Disraeli reflects his belief in the spiritual traditional principles in order to understand "the great Asian mystery", that is through firm conviction in Judaism, which he had introduced his readers to in*Alroy*, but now has fully developed in *Tancred* (89-90). He perceived of "history as moving in a spiralling motion toward the fulfilment of the Law of the God of Sinia and of Calvary, a law which embraced all areas of man's life" (92). In *Coningsby, Sybil* and *Tancred,* Disraeli deals with societal, political, and religious organizations respectively. As the proponents of the Young England Movement were a minority and finding that a political solution to England's great ills has reached an impasse, Disraeli has his hero go to Palestine to resolve the great Asian mystery in order to find a solution to the "condition of England"

through a union between the East and West after he spurns a political career and prefers a pilgrimage to the Holy land (92-4).

Disraeli's trip to the East gave him the chance to see the real East, but Kalmar asserts that it was not the Orient that he observed, but rather the imagined one he carried along as his guide. It was his excited sense of belonging to the East that he realized as he made his way to visit the Pasha and the holy sites in Jerusalem. Disraeli was fully aware of his great opportunity to rearticulate Orientalism as an expert, being an oriental himself (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist" 356).

Disraeli belonged to a Sephardic denomination, a minority in Europe and a majority in the Middle East. They are descendants of those Jews who lived in Muslim Portugal and Spain. Disraeli's oriental appearance added to the exotic impression he made on average Englishmen, with large dark eyes, un-English curly black hair and an olive coloured face which gave him the look of a black Jew and an Arab Jew. Disraeli was proud of his looks and his brand of Christianity was Judaizing and orientalising. He believed the church's deficiency of oriental knowledge had led to the loss of Western spirituality. In *Tancred* he warns from further decay, and establishes that oriental intellect is the only means for reviving western civilization (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist" 356).[12]

One of Disraeli's contributions for the conservative Tory party was the Tory democracy which entailed that the bourgeoisie displacement of the aristocrats as a ruling class was not a class struggle, but only the wish to share some of these privileges with the aristocrats. This was one of Disraeli's consistent themes in *Vivian Grey* and *Henrietta Temple*. In spite of there being some opposition between the two classes, many bourgeoisies craved the aristocrats' level of distinction, an example was the Rothschilds who fought fanatically and strived to get the title of Barons in Austria. For

those who could not become members of aristocracy, "race thinking"[13] was their means to console themselves. They were fascinated with antique furniture and cared for animal husbandry, dog breeding, dove rearing and others in the spirit of race nobility. The concept of "noble race" in the animal kingdom was extended by Disraeli to humans, and just as he emphasized the nobility of the English race, he also highlighted that of the Jewish race. This theme was articulated by Fakredeen in *Tancred* ". . . nationality, without race as a plea, is like the smoke of this nargilly, a fragrant puff" (*Tancred* 306). Accordingly, "race thinking" was applied to Tory democracy when Disraeli spoke for the right for the Jews to sit in Parliament in 1847 in opposition to his own party, due to their special distinctive merits whose legacy and literature showered Christians for thousands of years with so much instruction and Law (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist" 363-4).

One of Disraeli's aims was to getLionel de Rothschild in the English Parliament but as the vote did not pass, he could not take his seat. Lord John Russell, the Whig leader who had succeeded Peel as Prime Minister,hadproposed in the Commons that the oath should be amended to permit Jews to enter Parliament (Blake 258). The bill was passed however, during the Derby government in 1858 when Disraeli had supported efforts to allow Jews to sit in Parliament, enabling each house of Parliament to determine what oaths its members should take. This was resentfully agreed to by the House of Lords, with a minority of Conservatives joining with the opposition to pass it. In 1858, Baron Lionel de Rothschild became the first MP to profess the Jewish faith (Weintraub 371–3).

In a similar fashion, his campaign demanded the voting rights for many members of the working class not because he believed in equality, but rather in their being members of the noble race with distinctive qualities who should have their voice in government. In other words, Disraeli offered to the new classes inclusion with the old

ones on the principle of race (Kalmar, “Romantic Orientalist” 364-5). Thus, Disraeli’s aristocracy of race reflects his biasness to his own Jewish race for whom he has amuch higher concern compared to the average English man.

Due to his belief in the aristocracy of the Jewish race, and the possible unity of the British Empire and the Ottoman Muslim Empire, he worked on the Jewish emancipation in England and secured French shares for the British Empire on the Suez Canal in 1869. The Canal could cut weeks and thousands of miles off the journey between Britain and India so that in 1875, approximately 80% of the ships using the canal were British (Blake 581). In the event of another rebellion in India, or of a Russian invasion, it would save time. Built by French interests, much of its ownership and bonds remained in their hands, though some of the stock belonged to Isma'il Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, who was known for his profligate spending. As the canal was losing money, Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the canal, attempted to raise the fallen tolls when the Khedive had threatened to use military force to prevent it. The event attracted Disraeli's attention (Blake 570–1). He sent the Liberal MP Nathan Rothschild to Paris to enquire about buying de Lesseps's shares (Weintraub 541). The Khedive offered to sell the shares for 100,000,000 francs (Baer 379). Instead of seeking the aid of the Bank of England, Disraeli asked Lionel de Rothschild to loan funds. Rothschild did so and controversially took a commission on the deal (Aldous 262–3). The contract for purchase was signed at Cairo on 25 November and the shares deposited at the British consulate the next day (Baer 379).

Sir Ian Malcolm described the Suez Canal share purchase as "the greatest romance of Mr. Disraeli's romantic career"(Baer 379). From that event onwards, the security of the Suez Canal became a major focus of British foreign policy. Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon described the canal in 1909 as "the determining influence of every considerable movement of British power to the east and south of the

Mediterranean" (Aldous 263). This event marked the first British agreement to secure its own share in the East, particularly Egypt. Although Disraeli was much criticized by Gladstone and others for taking such a step, this event secured the British Empire's interest in the Middle-East for the next two centuries.

In his attempt to write the blueprint for the Young England movement, Disraeli attacks the social and political ills of the English society and in *Tancred*, he is resolved to their recovery through the Hebrew Christian faith. The plot of *Tancred*begins whenthe eponymous hero leaves England on an adventure to the East, where he meets Eva, the Rose of Sharon. She is the daughter of the Croesus of Syria, one of Sidonia's friends to whom Tancred has brought a letter along with him from England. In their first meeting, Eva indoctrinates Tancred into the mysteries of the Hebrew faith. Disraeli's racial theories with which he presented Jews and Arabs as given the exclusive privilege to speak with God is highlighted in *Tancred*, having the hero set to find out and challenge that notion.Tancred then carries on with his travels to convents, shrines, and tombs in his quest for spiritual guidance. He meets Fakredeen, a brilliant Emir whose mind is occupied with stratagems and dreams concerning East and West relationships. When he finally reaches the sepulchre of Christ, he fasts and prays but does not experience any supernatural sort of revelation or inspiration. On his way to Sinai, Tancred and his party are ambushed and taken prisoners by a band of Arabs who think Tancred is the brother of Queen Victoria and hold him for a ransom. Fakredeen appears again and has several interesting discussions with the hero. When Tancred does finally reach Sinai, he experiences some sort of a revelation, and hears the message of an angel. He then gets seriously ill and is nursed back to health by Eva. Later on Tancred and Eva are taken captives by the Queen of the Ansary, Astrate whose people worship the Greek gods of Mount Olympus. They manage to escape from Astrate, who has by then fallen in love with Tancred and has planned to kill Eva (Levine 122-3). The novel ends with

Tancred proposing to Eva at twilight at the beautiful exotic garden, symbolic of a possible union between East and West represented by the assumed marriage between Eva and Tancred.

According to Dellamora, Tancred is a devout Christianwho leaves England disillusioned with his society, seeking a true faith and a principle upon which he could base his individual duty. He perceives his personal crisis as part of the disintegration of the British institution due to the weakness of the monarchy, aristocracy and the lack of implementation of democracy. Accordingly, Tancred embarks on a journey to the Holy land for the purpose of finding a "principle of public and private conduct". There, he finds it in the prophetic utterances of Eva, the beautiful wise Jewess he falls in love with and in the political schemes of Fakredeen, a young Maronite emir who becomes Tancred's friend and political allyasthe two agree to liberate Syria from Turkish domination through an armed struggle. The novel ends with Tancred's asking Eva for her hand in marriage and with him realizing that due to Fakredeen's betrayal, he has been the "unconscious agent" of a "great mystification" (72).

The symbolism of Tancred's proposed unity by marriage to Eva is Disraeli's device employed in each text of his trilogy, as seen in *Coningsby* (Coningsby and Edith representing the union of aristocracy and trade) and in *Sybil* (Egremont and Sybil representing the new Toryism and the people). Thus, in the last of his trilogy, Disraeli caps these symbolic unions with that of England and the East. In this novel, Disraeli proposes embracing that religious Eastern life, Judaism specifically, in order to steer the political and social organization around great principles, which could only be achieved through the union of the East and West. Disraeli urges the West to seek its salvation in the East just like Tancred sought his in Palestine. Tancred in the novel was appalled by Lady Bertie and Bellair's suggestion to have a railroad from London to Jerusalem. This railroad context represents the opposition to the new Toryism; to Young England and

thus, it is the wrong path to salvation. Accordingly, Tancred's journey attempts to bring great principles in England, by implementing the unions symbolized in *Coningsby* and *Sybil* and solving the "condition of England" (Levine 123-5).

In this novel, Disraeli criticizes English decadence manifested in materialism and lack of spiritualism which was one of the main themes during Victorian times. During his first meeting with Eva, Tancred is embarrassed to admit that money is most valued in Europe (*Tancred* 166). It is in this precise conversation (*Tancred* 161-8) that Disraeli illustrates the similarities and differences between Christianity and Judaism. As Eva says "But the Christianity which I draw from your book does not agree with the Christianity which you practise..." (163) Disraeli highlights the merit of Judaic practices in contrast to Christian deviance from true Christian teaching. In this manner, Disraeli points out the negative values in England and that right values could only be found in the Hebrew faith, in the amalgam of Hebraism and Christianity found in The Primitive Church, which is a direct outgrowth of Judaism. Thus, this church is the most significant depository of great Hebrew Christian principles, upon which other churches were based (Levine 126-7). Eva's refusal to embrace Christianity just goes to show that if it were not for worldly reasons, such as the case of Disraeli himself, a Jew would not embrace Christianity. Hence, the unity is possible through the Christo-Judaic Primitive Church (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist" 354-5).

Another major theme Disraeli discusses in his novel is how Arabian Laws regulate the life of Tancred and other English men in who said "The life and property of England are protected by the laws of Sinai" (227). According to Levine, this statement implies it is only through the Primitive Church's incorporation of the Mosaic and the Christian laws which could afford "the essential plan by which man can practically follow the teachings of Sinai brought to perfection, as it were, by Christ"(128). Just as Disraeli offers his reading of the past in social and political terms in *Coningsby* and

Sybil, he completes his secular trinity as he invokes the past in religious terms. Disraeli uses the negative elements prevalent in English Victorian context for his advantage. He never admits that Christianity defied Judaism that Christ was born to make right the wrongs of his Jewish people with a new faith. Instead he dwells on the Jews' once glorious past as his basis and promise for a great future. Thus, this is his strategy in defending his people entrusted to kill Christ. Disraeli believed that Christianity completed Judaism, and that the Jewish race was entrusted by God to crucify Jesus Christ, for the salvation of mankind. He elaborates on this in *Tancred*, book 3, chapter 4 "Where then was the inexpiable crime of those who fulfilled the beneficent intention? The holy race supplied the victim and the immolators. What other race could have been entrusted with such a consummation?" (Endelman 113-4).

Tancred is convinced that divine revelation is "local" and he comes to despair, however, if it may not also be racial: "Let men doubt of unicorns," Tancred is told by a "Jewish sheikh," "but of one thing there can be no doubt, that God never spoke except to an Arab." (*Tancred*231). In spite of Tancred's frustration at learning that God only spoke to "Arabs," when the miracle happens when an angel does indeed speak to him on his trip to Mount Sinai, making him the first "Frank" to directly receive the word of God, Disraeli shows that it only happens after Tancred comprehensively learns the lesson-- that religious inspiration is a peculiarity of the Semite Arab race. Thus, the angels may speak again to England, if the English comprehend their indebtedness to religious inspiration from "Asia." Once enlightened, Tancred is resolved to establish an Eastern and Western symbolic unity in his marriage to a woman of fine Arab breed (Kalmar, "Romantic Orientalist" 357-8). Thus, the basic Arab blood/race shared by Muslims and Jews is exploited by Disraeli to romanticise the Jew and overlook the Muslim at the same time.

The most noteworthy event in the novel is Tancred's vision at Mount Sinai,

during which the angel spoke directly to Tancred saying

> [....] 'I am the angel of Arabia, *the guardian spirit of that land which governs the world*; for power is neither the sword nor the shield, for these pass away, *but ideas, which are divine*. The thoughts of all lands come from a higher source than man, but *the intellect of Arabia comes from the Most High*. Therefore *it is that from this spot issue the principles which regulate the human destiny [...]*
>
> 'Yet again, and Europe is in the throes of a great birth. The multitudes again are brooding; but they are not now in the forest; they are in the cities and in the fertile plains. Since the first sun of this century rose, the intellectual colony of Arabia, once called Christendom, has been in a state of partial and blind revolt..... Now they despair. *But the eternal principles that controlled barbarian vigour can alone cope with morbid civilisation*. *The equality of man can only be accomplished by the sovereignty of God.... In the increased distance between God and man have grown up all those developments that have made life mournful.* Cease, then, to seek in a vain philosophy the solution of the social problem that perplexes you. *[...] Fear not... Obey the impulse of thine own spirit, and find a ready instrument in every human being.*' (*Tancred* 249-50; my italics)

The most significant purpose of the novel, in relation to the characterization of Tancred,is the "exploration of the meaning of the Asian mystery" that is, in order for the political and social structures to develop to full efficiency, they must be based upon the authority of the primitive Hebraeo-Christian Church. Eventually, the Law of the God of Sinai must be the source of all other laws for the social and political institutions to gain strength, wisdom and divine guidance (Levine 134). The angel's speech complements Disraeli's twin focus on Judaism and Christianity as the two revered and revealed religions that guide the life of mankind. The angel's emphasis on the valuable contribution that ancient races could save the European civilization asserts his theme of the validity of the Hebraic teaching to the Christian European civilization of the day, that it is their depository of spiritual and genuine values that could cope with the new materialistic world and close the distance between man and God. The angel concludes with its command to "Announce the sublime… and find a ready instrument in every human being" (250).The novel is Disraeli's direct instrument which he uses to convince his readers of the merit of Judaic teachings whose faithful followers must in turn use others to their advantage since "The equality of man can only be accomplished by the sovereignty of God" (250). It is inferred then that since God is the only one who can be

just and as people are not equal, their inequality has to be taken advantage for the advantage of one race over others. With such a racist opinion, Disraeli justifies the Christian and Jewish racism and future schemes in the East, which may not establish equality to other inhabitants of the land, but would certainly enforce a cooperative spirit amongst Christian and Jewish people. On one hand, it would invest every single Jewish man and woman of various interests and professions as an instrument to build the state of Israel. For the establishment of this future state, Christian people too must submit to their will and cooperate, and that is what Disraeli prepared his readers for as his ideal dream, a dream which may be achieved after getting the Reform bill (1876) in favor of accepting the Jews to participate in the executive political life of Britain. This partial accomplishment facilitated the participation of the Rothschilds as well as middle-class Jews, the aristocrats by virtue of their race, to participate in English politics. In such a dream, the fate of the Muslim and Christian inhabitants of Palestine is of the least concern.

Tancred's encounter with Fakredeen foreshadows Disraeli's political plans, of special significance to the "Asian mystery", the term used by Disraeli to refer to the speciality of the Middle-East as the only place where religions were revealed to prophets and peoples to spread to the rest of the world. He is the one Muslim positively depicted as a peaceful assimilative Oriental. It is Fakredeen who suggests to Tancred that the Queen of England becomes the Empress of India in order for the East and West to unite through a political combination:

> Let the Queen of the English collect a great fleet, let her stow away all her treasure, bullion, gold plate, and precious stones: be accompanied by all her court and chief people, and transfer the seat of her empire from London to Delhi. There she will find an immense empire ready made, a first-rate army, and a large revenue. In the mean time I will arrange with Mehemet Ali. He shall have Bagdad and Mesopotamia, and pour the Bedoueen cavalry into Persia. I will take care of Syria and Asia Minor. The only way to manage the Affghans is by Persia and by the Arabs. We will acknowledge the Empress of India as our suzerain, and secure

> for her the Levantine coast. If she like, she shall have Alexandria as she now has Malta: it could be arranged. (*Tancred* 225)

In this way, the British Empire would be empowered by the Eastern Empire. Truly, Queen Victoria was given the title Empress of India but her throne continued to be in England (Levine 127). Kalmar elaborates on the significance of this symbolic unity which Disraeli found suitable for her majesty at a time other European nobilities were getting other titles, although her seat was never moved to Delhi. Disraeli himself was supposed to be the Governor-General of India but that never happened. The whole event asserted his status as the Queen's Prime Minister ("Romantic Orientalist" 370).

Of the portrayal of Fakredeen, Levine highlights his envy of Europe for its trade, money, and power. His comment on Tancred's pilgrimage reflects Muslims' keen interest with money and power, and disinterest in spirituality:

> What can you want to do on Mount Sinai? Now if it were Mount Lebanon... there is an immense field... We might establish manufacturers, stimulate agriculture, extend commerce, get appalto of silk, buy it all up at sixty piasters per oke, and sell it at Marseilles at two hundred, and at the same time advance interests of true religion as much as you please. (*Tancred* 233)

Moreover, the best of oriental Muslims could only think of commercial plans with Europe to improve their living conditions but would not go beyond such thoughts with the West. In a way, it shows how Muslims have submitted to the superiority of Europe and are now considering mutual benefit through commerce. This proposal is juxtaposed by Disraeli, thereby reflecting the English and European foil to Tancred's feelings (Levine 129). Fakredeen's speeches reveal that Disraeli's depiction of Muslims is rather assertive of the racial stereotypes demonstrated in the previous chapters of this study--no matter how clever and resourceful the Muslim oriental may be to the English, he eventually turns out to be a self conceited traitor to the bone. In Fakredeen, Disraeli asserts the decadence of the fallen Ottoman Empire who seeks development and

material worth only, ignores spirituality and hence poses no threat. They can be easily manipulated, conquered and ruled. On the other hand, as stated earlier, Disraeli informs the British of the three main components for the Empire to target when addressing the Eastern nation, "nationality", "race" and "faith" to divide the Muslim orient, who had been united by faith and language, against racism and nationalism. Fakredeen is the agent who boasts of and asserts a divided state. Paradoxically, Tancred's mission in Arabia is to catch a glimpse of this faith, powerful enough to regenerate Europe, that is the Judaic Christian faith. Tancred's heroic thoughts and actions stand in contrast to Fakredeen's who thinks of political "intrigue" despite his being the more knowledgeable than Tancred.[14] This depiction too, hints at the inferiority of the Muslim mind and reflects their ability to deduce and plan for the future.

His portrayal of Arabs and Muslims as insignificant people who live either to ally with or fight against each other, and who quarrel all the time in a manner that does not beget any significant ends, undermines the Muslim orient and belittles their various masses of different loyalties and affiliations. Generally, they exist as dependents no matter how high their status may be. Those who rule, guide and plan the future of Arabia and have the upper hand in all of its affairs are the Jews, who are portrayed as a majority and not a minority, against the previously highlighted historical account of the Jews in the Muslim orient. In such a portrayal, Disraeliminimizes and undermines the majority peaceful Arab population who controlled and managed their affairs, governed by the Turkish *Mutasariflik* in Palestine and in all other Arab countries. Moreover, he creates and inspires English readers with the impression that Palestine is a barren hardly inhabited land. This is why the New Yushiv migrant Jews were shocked upon arriving to Palestine in 1904, as they found around half a million Arab Muslims with two minorities, ten percent Christians and ten percent Jews. They were misinformed by such works. As Disraeli's *Tancred* (1840) preceded George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1976)

and Theodor Herzl's *The Old New Land* (1901), he takes the credit for creating what later became an established impression of the geographical condition of Palestine that thrives until today. Furthermore, in his depiction of their control of the region, he asserts their superiority over their other Muslim counterparts.

InDisraeli's portrayal of the Jews, he sets a good example of making use of different skills in people in the blend of the Christian-Jewish concept found in the membersof the Baroni family. Indeed, this family embodies "in microcosmic view the Hebraeo-Christian concept" which is the answer to the riddle of the Asian mystery. Financed by Sidonia, a Disraelian character who appeared in *Coningsby* also, the Baroni family has the chance to prove its genius and talent in England, improve their life and become widely popular in Europe within a span of twenty years. Tancred is amazed at how this one single family could impress the world, due to "the genius produced by Hebreo-Christian complex" nurtured by Sidonia's financial help. Moreover, their family's name suggests a Roman Catholic background, Italian or Spanish, which is as the elder Baroni indicates "the name of old clothes men in London, and of caliphs in Baghdad" (*Tancred*289) inferring the union between East and West (Levine 132-3). The name also alludes to the Spanish inquisition and its devastating impact on the Jewish populations who were contained in Muslim Spain. Such ahistorical inference deepened the perception of the Jewish plight in Europe generally and England specifically. Levine points out, however, in allegorical terms, that "Tancred is to Sidonia as the Asian mystery is to the Baroni family" and that it is due to Tancred's spiritual genius that he ventures on a pilgrimage to the East, where the Law of the God of Sinai and of Calvary exists to be rediscovered and disseminated throughout the world to inspire mankind and guide them (Levine 133). All this is Disraeli's means to urge the English of the English Jews' possible role in Palestine. Accordingly, Tancred represents the British

government which would grant the Jews, exemplified by the Baroni family, the mandate to occupy and settle in Palestine under British protection.

In line with this aim, Disraeli portrays Sidonia and Besso as two significant bankers with instrumental roles in *Tancred*. Levine elaborates on the peculiarities of Sidonia, who is a phantom sort of divine figure who serves as Disraeli's mouthpiece in the novel. Sidonia's concern, sympathy and diligent efforts for the Jewish cause are apparent in his devotion to his work (Levine 71-2). Unlike most men, he is single. Disraeli portrays in him a kind of a hero who cares less for himself than his work, his race and his race's ambitions. Besso is a successful Jewish banker too, Sidonia's friend, and a representative of the Jewish inhabitants in Palestine. His benevolence also extends to many, amongst whom would be Tancred during his visit.

In comparison to the portrayal of Christian and Jewish characters in *Tancred*, Arab Muslim characters in the novel, aside from Fakredeen, are far less impressive as they hardly contribute to population or to the occurrence of events around them. A good example is Sheikh Hassan Nejid, who plays a minimal role in the novel, and accepts the benevolence of Tancred and the Jews around him and appears a few times in the course of the novel. Aside from discussing and arguing, they do not do anything and remain flat characters throughout the course of the narrative. Even though Fakredeen is portrayed as a Muslim Emir with a vision and foresight for future events and collaborations with the West, he portrays a collapsing Empire which does not seem to offer any sort of inspiration, unlike that of Eva's, to Tancred. In defiance of historical facts of there being a large Muslim population with executive political power with whom Disraeli should have had his hero seek unity and spiritual revival for the materialistic West, Disraeli's hero seeks spirituality, revivalism and unity with the few powerless ineffective Jews in Palestine. In addition, Disraeli highlights the significance of hierarchal social pattern, the heroic aristocracy realizing its real responsibilities, and

the spiritual dignity and nobility of every individual in comparing the Young England movement to the Young Syrian movement characterized by feudalism (Levine 133). Tancred declares "We wish to conquer that world, with angels at our head, in order that we may establish the happiness of man by a divine dominion, and, crushing the political atheism that is now desolating existence, utterly extinguish the grovelling tyranny of self-government" (*Tancred*263).

Tancred is the only political novel in this chapter that features Muslim characters. The lack of their portrayal reflects their fixity and stagnation, inviting others' control and rule. Fakredeen is the only one of them who stands out with his ideas of nationality, race, faith and materialism. However, his submissive nature, stereotyped as a materialistic leader, recalls that established stereotype of Eastern luxury and lack of spirituality. Thus, his positive outward spoken traits are countered by his downright decadence. At the end of the novel, when he is disenchanted with Tancred, he turns into a villain in favour of the pagan queen of the Ansary tribe.

Tancred highlights the need for a form of heroism to change Europe and Asia, for a prophet-like hero, to promote the well-known "popular Sympathies"[15] (*Tancred* 221) of the world which can be traced through Victorian novels that have a Jewish hero and to raise sympathies for the Jewish race in Europe, especially at "home" in England, which proved a useful means for their emancipation at "home" and "abroad" in the Muslim orient. *Tancred* illustrates Disraeli's progression from the earlier sympathetic depictions of the Jewish Alroy in *Alroy*. The failed relationship and mentor mentee friendship in *Alroy* is revived in this narrative through Tancred's friendship with Sidonia. The way this novel ends suggests that, it is possible for the West and East, Christian and Judaism to meet and marry, in the distinguished characters of Tancred and Eva, but only if the two find the union agreeable. *Tancred* suggests that marriage

between the Christians and Jews is possible but not desirable; instead, political and religious goals control and manipulate their relationship.

Yet despite Disraeli's sympathy and preference for Muslims which Kalmar insists is apparent in his political career[16], Muslims had no share of benefits from Disraeli's efforts. The British Empire and Jewish settlers in Palestine were and still are the benefiting parties. By insisting on positive contributions from Jews to the Christians and shunning Islam as anti-Christ, the two, Christians and Jews are able to lead the world hand in hand, making sure that their unity and their enemy's division (the Ottomans) continued even after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, since Jewish settlers began their mass migrations to Palestine from Europe at the end of the Victorian period followed by those from other parts of the world, they paved the road for the Balfour agreement which usurped the Palestinians' right in their own land and delivered it to the Jews. Obviously, this end result was ~~not only~~ achieved through the help of influential Jews amongst the English gentiles, as seen in ways in which Disraeli and the manyother devoted ambitious Jews like the Rothschilds contributed to the collectiverise of their economic power.

4.4 Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* (1876)

Anthony Trollope was one of the most successful, prolific and respected English novelists of the Victorian era.Like Dickens and Thackeray, he was a Victorian canonical author whose perceptive novels from the 1850s to 1870s handled political, social, and gender issues that are highly insightful of Victorian England (Nardin 679-80). Trollope was born in 1815 and obtained a post as a civil servant in the British Post Office when he was nineteen[17].His experience with poverty and debt, as a debt of £12 to a tailor fell into the hands of a moneylender and increased to over £200 making the Jewish lender regularly visit Trollope at his work place to demand payments, was reflected in some of

his novels. Trollope hated his work, but had no other alternatives and lived in constant fear of dismissal (Chapter 3)[18]. Perhaps it is this experience, of poverty which forced him to borrow money from a Jew, aside from the political emancipation of the Jews in England, that contributed to his anti-Semitic spirit and depictions in some of his works such as *The Way We Live Now* and *The Prime Minister.*

In 1844, he moved to Ireland where he met his wife Rose Heseltine (Chapter 4). Trollope began his writing during the numerous long train journeys he made around Ireland as a Post Office inspector. These train journeys, show how quickly the development of the rail system happened in Victoria's reign. Like Disraeli, Trollope was determined to establish himself as a literary icon and a politician. He made money through writing and eventually became one of the most prolific writers of all time (Proust, *On Trollope's Barchester Towers*)[19].

However, his dream of taking a seat in the House of Commons was not achieved. In 1868, Trollope resigned from the Post Office to remove this obstacle and aimed to be amongst the Liberals in the borough of Beverley campaign[20], in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Even though he spent £400 on his campaign which was meant to reveal the conservatives' overt corruption and disqualify them, the conservatives won over the liberals. The borough campaign was disenfranchised in 1870 due to widespread corruption. This failure was a major setback for Trollope as he never attempted politics again and focused on his literary career, so that he continued to write until he died in 1882 (Trollope, *Anthony Trollope* chapter 16). Some of his best novels are *The Warden* and *The Way We Live Now*. According to John Williams, Trollope's novels criticized the upper class and their sons, the phenomenon of the "new rich" which resulted in its counter "new poor", the English Church, the rich Jews and their contribution to the politics of the day.

Amongst his literary circle were writers such as Thackeray, Eliot and Collins who admired and befriended Trollope. George Eliot remarked that she could not have embarked on her ambitious project of *Middlemarch* without the precedent set by Trollope in his own novels of the fictional—yet thoroughly alive—county of Barsetshire (Super 412). Hence, Trollope had quite an impact on other Victorian contemporary authors of his time. Although the two authors believed in a different answer to the Jewish question, they were both concerned with preserving English national identity and like Disraeli investigated possibilities of reviving and regenerating English decadent society towards the end of the century, where patriarchy was dominant, and marginal groups such women and Jews needed to cooperate with the dominant classes within proper guidelines to resolve political, economic and social conflicts.

The Prime Minister was composed just six weeks after Benjamin Disraeli won the elections in 1874, and right after he purchased the khedives shares in the Suez canal in 1875 which was perceived as a support for Muslim Turkey against Christian England in the name of political interests, that is, their alliance against Russia back then. It was written also in response to the 1867 Reform Bill which gave the Jews the right to vote and hence, included them within English national identity. All these events along with Disraeli's disregard for the Turkish atrocities in the Balkans in 1878 created an opposing current against him and the rise of the Jews in England who were seen as representatives of the Muslim orient (Dellamora 102, 107). The novel is written in three volumes, and eighty chapters.

Aside from Trollope's personal experience with Jewish money lenders, his failure at the Beverley campaign due to his loss against the conservatives, amongst whom was Disraeli, may have contributed to his grudge against Disraeli. This hatred extended to the Jewish race in light of the aforementioned developments in Victorian

England so that Trollope, like Gladstone, perceived in Disraeli an oriental infidel interfering in the destiny of England and thus, must be wiped out. Just as Gladstone launched a campaign against Disraeli's indifference and wrote a pamphlet on the Bulgarian Horrors, Trollope's novel *The Prime Minister* addressed English domestic political, economic and social concerns related to aforementioned events, English national identity and the rightful expulsion of English Jews away from "home".

In *The Prime Minister*, when both Whigs and Tories fail to found a strong government of their own, Plantagenet Palliser, the Duke of Omnium, is called upon to form a coalition government. Palliser is at first hesitant that he can fulfill the tasks of the Prime Minister, but gradually becomes accustomed to it. He is eventually frustrated though when the coalition is too weak to actually accomplish much. Lady Glencora, his wife, recalls Benjamin Disraeli's wife in her support for her husband's political affairs by hosting frequent magnificent parties in order to garner support for his success as well as that of his party. The subplot in this novel highlights the role of Ferdinand Lopez, his effort in money-making and securing himself a seat in Parliament. Lady Glencora gives him a false impression that her husband will support his campaign. Lopez succeeds in persuading Emily Wharton to marry him against the wishes of her family, who find Arthur Fletcher a better choice for their daughter. Fletcher is Lopez's political opponent, who wins and causes Lopez to withdraw from society. Lopez, however, insists the Duke pay his electioneering costs. Although Palliser mocks this ungentlemanly behavior, he gives in. When the issue is publicized, the duke becomes very unhappy. In time, Lopez's high-risk business ambitions fail and result in disgrace and financial ruin. To make up for his grievous losses, he attempts to persuade wealthy Lizzie Eustace to run away with him to Guatemala, but the latter refuses. Highly traumatized, Lopez ends his life by throwing himself before a train at the subway station. Fletcher eventually coaxes his widow, Emily Wharton into marrying him so that the unity of the Whartons and the

Fletchers dispels any undesirable foreign elements from their lives and restores peace and tranquility to everyone. The coalition government, which has served its purpose throughout the novel, is dissolved leaving the Duke and Duchess relieved and disappointed at the same time.

It is significant to relate Trollope's personal experience with parliamentary election to the Prime Minister's experience in the novel, as seen in the competition between two of its main characters Arthur Fletcher and Ferdinand Lopez. Trollope's liberal campaign not only failed to compete, but instead of revealing the corruption of the Tories, it was cast away for corruption. It seems that the tension and rivalry known between Disraeli and Gladstone extended at times to others such as Trollope and expressed not only in Gladstone's pamphlet but also in the works of Trollope, as *The Prime Minister* tries to shed light on the political challenges England has to encounter, the competition between Tories and Whigs back then and the possible unintended and undesirable events and outcomes parliamentarians may face in their political lives.

Dellamora highlights the anti-Semitic spirit of the Victorian English as hailed in Gladstone's pamphlet "The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" which asserts identifying Jews and Muslims as tyrannical oriental infidels and thus opponents to ~~the~~ English national identity. Just as Gladstone perceived of Muslims and Jews as potential demonic oriental Semites who could create havoc at "home" and "abroad", Trollope used his narratives to show their potential to manipulate the economic, political and social life in England (102). In *The Prime Minister*, Ferdinand Lopez, for instance, manipulates honest and trustful English men into investing money with him and white English women, like Emily Wharton, into paving the path to his political success after marrying him for his great ambitions and charisma. This novel attempts to counter face the 1867 reform bill and the success of Benjamin Disraeli and his friends, the Rothschilds, in manipulating English economy and political order in their favour.

Accordingly, Gladstone and Trollope used Victorian political, economic and social realities to emphasize racial stereotyping as an antithesis to their independent and significant English identity.

According to Stephen Boatright and Sarah L. College in "Anti-Semitism in Anthony Trollope's Palliser Novels"[21]*The Prime Minister* is one of the Palliser novels (*Can You forgive her, Phineas Finn, The Eustace Diamonds, Phineas Redux, The Duke's Children*), in which Lopez's description suggests his Jewish background, as he never admits to it. Other characters assume he is a Jew due to his physical characteristics **"**tall, dark, thin and has black hair and bold, unflinching, combative eyes" (Trollope, *The Prime Minister*, vol.1, chapter 1) and overall behaviour and aspirations, matching that of the English Jews during the Victorian era**.** He belongs to a gentleman's club, makes Emily dress in the best fashion and keeps a brougham, none of which he can afford in order to maintain his status as an aristocrat.

Audrey Jaffe discusses the extent to which the market affects feelings and feelings affect the market since Trollope's *The Prime Minister*until Alan Greenspan's "irrational exuberance" in 1990s, just to find out that nothing is certain, and that it is feelings that "tie our identities to the market" (46). Moreover "In offering up as villains stock-market characters whose particular forms of exuberance are routinely characterized as reverberating beyond the market, contemporary culture demonstrates the persistence and the usefulness of a Victorian master narrative within which matters not otherwise easily regulated may be placed". Accordingly, Jaffe dwells on the role Lopez's character plays in disturbing the way the Whartons and the Fletchers would rely on their feelings as a means of grudging value (47). Throughout the first half of the novel, "no one knows anything about him, or where to inquire even" (46).However, "It was admitted on all sides that Ferdinand Lopez was a 'gentleman'" (10). Once that exception has been made, and it is this exception that allows him to attend social

gatherings, meeting one's family, running for Parliament, and marrying an English woman (48). This depiction asserts the way English Jews tried to overcome racial stereotypes and their attempts to blend into the English society. However, the plot of the novel reveals this gentlemanly appearance to be no more than a guise, as the greedy, selfish and despotic character deep inside is what controls Lopez's behaviours and actions. Lopez is compared to Benjamin Disraeli himself, as the latter struggled to blend into English society and become an aristocrat, and married an English widow to facilitate this purpose.

The racial stereotype of Jewish propensity for materialism is also emphasized throughthe way the romance between Lopez and Emily is pronounced in financial terms. Emily is taught to invest her emotions "wisely", as she would her money. The terms of finance and romance are interchangeable and universalized by gender difference. "If feeling is a woman's capital (and its signifier, since she brings her father's wealth with her) then speculating with love is... an analogy for, speculating with money. Feeling here is a form of currency, and feelings about money are a template [….] The truth about a character, Trollope implies, can be learned from the way that character feels about money" (49). Thus, in *The Prime Minister*, feelings and value has as much to do with Lopez's financial dealings as well as his romantic ones, and likewise, the marriage plot is the financial plot: the lesson Emily finds out all about Lopez through her increasing knowledge of his financial dealings. His value and lack of it emerges for her, is revealed in a series of demonstrations of the nature of his feelings about money (49). Hence, these events testify to set racial and cultural stereotypes known of the Jews as greedy money lovers, and English women as vulnerable to innocent ones, ignorant of such intrigues.

Jaffe further highlights Trollope's depictions of Lopez's failure to distinguish between the guano that is not there and the guano that is further reveals his status as a

man who fails to make appropriate distinctions. The novel's detailed illustration of Lopez's feelings about money is seen in the following statement: "He knew how to speak, and how to look, how to use a knife and fork, how to dress himself, and how to walk. But he had not the faintest notion of the feelings of a gentleman" (497 as cited by Jaffe 51). Accordingly, once the guise falls off, Ferdinand conforms to oriental racial stereotypes, which has nothing to do with Englishness and gentlemen.

In the course of the narrative, for Emily, Lopez comes to personify the rapid fluctuations to which, her life under the guardianship of her father never exposed her to. She has never the fluctuating value of a man with a stock ticker for a heart. Lopez is elated after receiving a requested loan of £3,000 from his father-in-law "he was overjoyed,—so much so that for a while he lost that restraint over himself which was habitual to him. He ate his breakfast in a state of exultation" (224), but soon afterwards, he finds himself needing more money. The event makes her heart to grow cold, revealing it to be no less a ticker than her husband's. Although Emily tries to assimilate to the "better or worse" of her marriage vows (301), she finds herself not quite good at that. She finds out she was mistaken "that she had found the good man in Ferdinand Lopez" (42). His financial success depends, as we see in his relationship with Sexty Parker, on perpetuating his beliefs: on selling himself (Jaffe 55-6). This depiction of Lopez is a further development of Shylock's stereotype in *The Merchant of Venice*. It reveals the extent to which English Jews were seen as parasites within Victorian England, as well as the anti-Semitic spirit of some English gentiles back then.

Lopez's first order of business upon marrying Emily is to teach her to look as he does upon money: "She must be instructed in his ways. She must learn to look the world with his eyes. She must be taught the great importance of money"(214). Helena Michie in *Victorian Honeymoons: Journeys to the Conjugal*, emphasizes how Trollope's portrayal of Lopez as sinister and despotic is seen not only in giving Emily such instructions (192), but also in realizing how her significance to him is but part of his personal plans to establish himself as an English gentleman socially, financially and politically.

He also realized her influence on her father, and tries to use it to his advantage as a means of acquiring her father's wealth but she resists his teaching. Through Emily's marriage to Lopez, her father spends money on him, which endangers the "hygienic" attitude toward money the Whartons and Fletchers wish to preserve. The atmosphere of wealth in which the Whartons and Fletchers dwell in and likewise, Emily, is a world of "pretty things". After her marriage, this world is transformed by Lopez into money: "she was told that her household gods had a price put upon them, and that they were to be sold" (337). Emily's ignorance of the exact amount of money the Whartons keep as well as her husband's financial failure double her sense of degradation. She can no longer pretend not to know. Once the book of life is opened, it turns out to be the financial page, as Lopez throws his burden and Emily's on her father, "She could read his mind so far. She endeavoured not to read the book too closely,—but there it was, opened to her wider day by day, and she knew that the lessons which it taught were vulgar and damnable" (338). Accordingly, her repulsion from Lopez contributes and reinforces the difference between that of a financial speculator and investor (Jaffe 56-7).

The Prime Minister, Jaffe concludes, is a narrative of speculation. The narrative uses Lopez as an English Jew to set an example of "greed and the defiling touch of

money" and the irrationality of Emily's investment in Ferdinand Lopez (56). I believe this literary work asserts and confirms racial stereotypes known of the Jews at a time when those of the Muslim orient are highly propagated and dramatized, following the Balkan events and the publication of Gladstone's pamphlet. Jaffe also asserts that Wharton's failure to stop his daughter from marrying Lopez is a failure of his prejudice, as his thoughts were clouded by Emily's love and will to marry him (58). At the end of the novel, Lopez's suicide leaves no marks of him, "The fragments of his body set identity at defiance, and even his watch had been crumpled into ashes" (523–24). Five months after his death, it is discovered that Lopez had signed Sexty Parker's name to a bill, effectively ruining Parker's wife and children. Even though Trollope's portrayal of Lopez's life and end reveals "he had been all a lie from head to foot" (606), Jaffe thinks otherwise. He believes that Lopez is "is a trope for Trollope [...] of a man who looks, dresses, and sits on a horse like a gentleman but is not one. And we know he is not [...] because the stories he tells are [...] the ordinary emotions of the married, middle-class subject, whose choice, shaped by life's hard lessons, is articulated by that narrative as a choice of investment over speculation" (60). As a false gentleman, Lopez is truly a liar. Just as this liar should not be given the chance to thrive in England, Trollope implies that English Jews too must be neither acknowledged nor be made part of English identity. Therefore, Trollope uses racial stereotypes of the Muslim orient by projecting them onto Lopez's character, focusing on the Jewish community in England to highlight their likely negative impact not only on the social fabric in England but also on the stability of England's economy and political aspirations, as negative traits to be avoided.

Dellamora asserts how Emily's father describes Lopez in a characteristic way of describing the Jews at that time, "a hybrid of southern European and African types" (116). This description asserts the progress of identifying Jews with Judaism and to

their identification as members of the Semitic race. Disraeli's novels helped in codifying and disseminating this view in *Coningsby* as well as his other works. Dellamora points out a key racial theorist who was well read by Trollope, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, who believed that "existing races were already thoroughly hybridized" and that members of different races possessed a "racial instinct," which he dubbed "the law of repulsion," which made people refrain from cross-breeding. The white race, however, has this urge for social intercourse and expansion and thus an opposite tendency for 'attraction' instead. However, as the laws of "historical chemistry" assert that "sub-races must degenerate" (118), Lopez is killed by both his ego and social isolation at the end of the narrative. Although Disraeli's *Coningsby* shows that national reconciliation with the lower classes and other races would result in "single hybrid" entity, Trollope shows that the Wharton-Lopez marriage results in an irreconcilable difference (118). The novel proves the law of attraction to be much stronger than repulsion, however, and in his illustrations of its devastating effects, Trollope sets an example of the possible degeneracy and undesirable consequences to avoid (116-8).Even though both of Disraeli and Trollope were faithful to their races, *The Prime Minister* shows the contrast between their prospects on intermarriage or intermingling of the two races. Both utilized racial stereotypes of the Muslim orient to assert their different agendas and to contribute to discourses of race in Victorian England, socially and politically.

According to Dellamora, "Trollope's commitment to progress can be seen as requiring both fidelity and infidelity". In this novel, "expressions of social desire are very harshly dealt with, especially in the behaviours of women and Jews" (105). The fidelity, therefore, is for Englishness, and infidelity for women and Jews in English society. Ferdinand Lopez is portrayed in anti-Semitic spirit as an infidel, a money maker with such ego for social acceptance and success and a sodomite against which stands

Trollope and Gladstone as representatives of one of the anti-Semitic stream of thought in Victorian England. This is because it is Lopez's ego in, not achieving his prestigious aim that isolates him and leads him to commit suicide (105). The narrative points out that the society is responsible for his suicide, as his failure is related to their rejection of him, making his death a "lesser holocaust"[22] as Dellamora calls it. The contrast to his image is the independent, wealthy and diligent lawyer Arthur Fletcher, who not only wins against Lopez but also marries his second cousin, Lopez's widow, Emily Wharton (106). Thus, the rivalry between Disraeli and Gladstone is portrayed in the novel in the depiction of the Prime Minister himself, Lopez, and Fletcher.

The similarity between Disraeli and Lopez is further elaborated in Dellamora's assertion of the manner in which Disraeli was perceived by his society, as a man who had been involved in an affair with Henrietta Sykes. As a young man, he used to be dressed in an attractive manner, and hence to many, he posed like a sodomite. At a dinner, he discussed with the Prime Minister then, Lord Melbourne, details of "Arab sexual practices" he knew from his friend who lived in Egypt, Paul Emile Botta (107-8). Like Disraeli, Lopez is Jewish, a dandy, and unreservedly sodomitic (109). Although the Duke of Omnium seems to be the contrast of Disraeli and despite Trollope's admiration for the Duke and disapproval of Disraeli, the two were married to wealthy women who encouraged their husbands' political careers. The Duke lives an emotional isolation that recalls that of the widowed Disraeli's state of mind after he became Prime Minister. Despite the difference in age, the Duke is described as though he were a generation older. Moreover, the duke's relationship with his secretary is an intimate one, recalling Disraeli's good relation with his secretary Monty Corry (108-9).[23]

The thematic significance of *The Prime Minister* can be better comprehended if allied with the historical and political context in which it appears. The publication of Gladstone's "The Bulgarian Horror and the Question of the East" was meant to defeat

the Reform Bill by using the occasion to project a model for the post-Reform Bill electorate. Gladstone meant to enlighten the new working class English voters on the Question of the East. In his pamphlet he hails them to identify with their Christian cousins in the east, and aligns the English with "the councils of Europe" (36) and "Western Christendom" (10). Gladstone is thus faithful to the monotheism of Judaeo-Christian tradition, unlike Disraeli who has been deluded to worship the false god of "British interests" (28). In his pamphlet, Gladstone highlights "the elaborate and refined cruelty- the only refinement of which Turkey boasts!- the utter disregard of sex and age- the abominable and bestial lust- and the utter violent lawlessness which still stalks over the land" (22). He projects his criticism and antagonism of the English Jewry represented by Disraeli, the ministry and the queen unto Turkish Muslims in the "strange perversity" (26) of England, which made it a moral and material accessory to such outrages (10) (cited in Dellamora 109-11).

Thus, all negative stereotypes of oriental Muslims highlighted by Gladstone were meant to attack English Jews and Disraeli's pro-imperial policy, which was attributed to a misplaced sense of Jewish messianism. Accordingly, English Jews amongst whom is Disraeli are perceived of as infidels along with the Rothschilds who provided him with money in his purchase of the shares in the Suez Canal (Dellamora 111). He also attacked the "leisure classes" in England. Any financial wrong-doing had the implication of idolatry, infidelity, and sexual transgression (112). Gladstone was in favour of Europe's unity against the East and anti-Muslim Satanism and bestiality which were thus traits transferable to English Jews (115-6). In this comparison, Gladstone utilized a readymade kit of racial stereotyping to assert the distinguished status of English men in contrast to the lower classes of Jews and women.

Like Jaffe, Dellamora asserts the way Trollope warns Victorian England against English Jews instead of expanding its range of affections and opportunities to the lower

classes and women. The deliberate turning away from political complexities and inward to a contained Anglo-Norman-Celtic hybridity represents a moral, social, and political failure which "signals the end of the Tory-liberal consensus of the mid-Victorian period" (118-9). These depictions in Trollope's novel thus demonstrate that many Victorian English men wanted a politically and economically stable British Empire, independent of the assistance and financial contributions of English and European Jews. Moreover, by emphasizing Lopez's impact on Emily and Lady Glencora, Trollope suggests that he is in favor of maintaining purity of races and restricting the definition of English national identity by excluding Jews (122). This social impact is highly related to the economic impact, as Lopez tries not only to enter parliament but also to make money from Sextus Parker. Trollope demonstrates, like Karl Marx, that Jewish economic crimes revolve around "egoism" (122-3)[24]. In spite of this gap in the perspectives and aims of the Trollope and Marx, this anti-Semitic trend was put to use by the Zionists to assist in the Jews' proper migration and deportation to Palestine.

Disraeli's initial proposals for national reconciliation involving English Gentiles and the English Jews in *Coningsby* and reflected upon in *Tancred* are negated by Trollope's *The Prime Minister*. While Trollope's novel focuses on the impact of such reconciliation at "home", Disraeli inspects its possibilities "abroad" which he does not resolve through interracial marriage, but through the progression of religion and the inclusion of Christianity to Judaism. Dellamora highlights the way Trollope's *The Prime Minister* and Gladstone's "Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" associate national decadence with non-Christian foreigners. At home, they both accuse English Jews especially Benjamin Disraeli of being the main culprit of this decadence. Accordingly, both men associate Disraeli, English Jews and Ottoman Turks to the figure of a Sodomite and as "the Protestant English man's abjected other" (127). Just as Gladstone attacks the decadence of the leisure classes, Trollope's novel not only

registers the breakdown of the Tory-liberal consensus that shaped the parliament mid-nineteenth century (127) but also highlights "luxury"[25] as one of the main causes for social decadence and degeneration, a luxury associated with women and Jews. Thus, English men and women should avoid contact with the Orient at "home". Emily Wharton's preference for Lopez to Arthur Fletcher, her marriage to him and melancholy for his loss which sort of detaches her from English society makes those around her perceive her as a white woman captivated by this oriental Jew. Though not held captive in oriental lands but by Orientals at "home", Emily is only able to free herself from this captivity when reminded of the significance of her English society in comparison to the insignificance of her sense of "luxury" which led her into that kind of psychological entrapment in the first place. This moral sort of "luxury" in being associated with an oriental is degenerative due to its disastrous effect not only on Emily's life but also on the lives of those around her. Consequently, English Jews seem to compete with English men not only in politics but also in earning the favour of their women. This is due to Trollope's belief in the purity of the English race, the importance of protecting it from degenerative elements. Even though Lopez is depicted to represent the Jewish community in England, he is also representative of the Muslim Orientals "abroad" as a proponent of Gladstone's opinions of Ottomans in his pamphlet. Moreover, unlike *Alroy*, *Leila* and *The Scapegoat*, *The Prime Minister* raises no "common sympathies" as mentioned in Disraeli's *Tancred.* Instead, such criticism of Lopez was used to raise these "sympathies" and maneuver British politics "abroad". *The Prime Minister*is thus a depiction of English Jews at "home". The next novel moves a step further, in finding the best means to treat English Jews at "home" and "abroad".

4.5 George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876)

Born1819 in Warwickshire,Mary Anne Evans was the third child to Robert Evans and Christiana Pearson. Realizing her intelligence, her father cared for her

education and sent her to several schools; the last was in Coventry from thirteen until her mother's death in 1836, where she was taught by the evangelical Maria Lewis, to whom her earliest surviving letters are addressed. It was there where she was exposed to a new opposing belief (Karl 31). She continued to take lessons from tutors from Coventry at home until nineteen years old. In 1838, she moved to London with her elder brother Isaac and published her first poem two years later (Hardy 42-45).

In 1842, she refused to go to Church with her father, as she had already begun to develop her own conception of religion, having mingled with radical liberal figures at the Brays. She continued her rebellion until two years later, at the age of twenty five when she began her translation and critical examination of Strauss's *The Life of Jesus* to be completed two years later in 1846. She continued to work in London and met other contemporary literary figures. She travelled alone to Geneva at the age of thirty, after her father's death and changed her name to Marian. At the age of thirty two, she befriended Herbert Spencer and Bessie Rayner Parkes who introduced her to Barbara Leigh Smith, with whom she developed a maternal relationship. She continued to move and stay with different friends until she decided to live together with G. H. Lewes, a married man at thirty four, two years after she first met him at *The Westminster Review*. The couple moved to Germany where she translated Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity*. Three years later, she began to compose her novels for *Blackwood's Magazine*, beginning with *Scenes of Clerical Life* followed by her other essays and novels to other magazines until her last, *Daniel Deronda,* which appeared in *Blackwood* in 1876 (Uglow xiv-xvii).

In "George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* and the Creation of Modern Israel" Brandabur asserts that, at twenty-two, Mary Ann Evans was a devout Evangelical Christian who was about to embark on her first major intellectual project, the translation of Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* from German to English. Her involvement with Strauss,

and later with Feuerbach (whose *The Essence of Christianity* was to be her next major undertaking as a translator) confirmed her anti-Jewish sentiments, which were still evident by 1848. In this year she wrote the now well-known letter to a close friend John Sibree to comment on the latter's remarks about Disraeli's *Tancred*. In her letter, she expresses hostility towards Disraeli and to his idea of the debt owed by the Christian world to the Jews, and even to "everything specifically Jewish.'' This letter contains not only anti-Jewish expressions, but also ideas of racial inferiority and superiority. Brandabur cites Eliot's letter in order to suggest the anti-Semitism which underlies her later Zionist novel which is overlooked by most readers. In her letter, she says:

> . . . . As to his (Disreali's) theory of races it has not a leg to stand on, and can only be buoyed up by such windy eloquence as—You . . . Europeans owe your commerce, your arts, your religion, to the Hebrews,--nay, the Hebrews lead your armies. . . *Extermination up to a certain point seems to be the law for the inferior races—for the rest fusion* for both physical and moral ends. It appears to me that the law by which privileged classes degenerate from continual intermarriage, must act on a larger scale in *deteriorating whole races. . . . . the negroes certainly puzzle me. All the other races seem destined to extermination, not excepting even the Hebrew Caucasian.* . . . The fellowship of race, to which D'Israeli so exultingly refers the munificence of Sidonia, is so evidently an inferior impulse, which must be ultimately superseded, that I wonder even he, Jew as he is, dares to boast of it. My Gentile nature kicks most resolutely against any assumption of superiority in the Jews, and is almost ready to echo Voltaire's vituperation. I bow to the superiority of Hebrew poetry, but much of their early mythology and almost all their history, is utterly revolting. Their stock has produced a Moses and a Jesus; but Moses was impregnated with Egyptian philosophy, and Jesus is venerated and adored by us only for that wherein He transcended or resisted Judaism. The very exaltation of their idea of a national deity into a spiritual monotheism seems to have been borrowed from the other oriental tribes. *Everything specifically Jewish is of a low grade*. (Emphasis added, Cross, *George Eliot* as cited by Brandabur)

Eliot's life was not only shaped by her early education but also by her social encounters with the Brays and Herbert Spencer, the phrenologist Combes, followed by Harriet Martineau, aside from those introduced by Lewes. The fact that she began to develop radical views since adolescence also contributed to her turning into a free thinker. Her religious views are illustrated in her critical examination of *The Life of Jesus* and *The Essence of Christianity.* Religious tensions in Victorian England were

depicted in her first novel *Scenes of Clerical Life* which is sympathetic to the Church and its ministers. Eliot however "was too secure in her own naturalistic ethics to need to become crudely anti-religious. What she demanded was a freedom from fanaticism, dogma, intolerance and inhumanity in the preachers of the Gospel" (Ewen 458).

Bellringer attributes Eliot's international outlook to her sixteen journeys inside Europe which began in 1849 to Germany and Austria, where she spent two years in both countries. Her travels were her part of her research on English culture in a wider, European context. Part of her extensive reading in the classics, in Jewish and Christian writings, in post-Renaissance literature and philosophy and in the main European languages which gave her a deep insight in geography and history was done during those trips. This was coupled with her keen interest in the progress of democratic and nationalist politics in Europe of her day. Accordingly, Eliot demonstrated her understanding and vision of England's and Europe's future in her historic novel *Romola* and in her last *Daniel Deronda*, the subject of study in this chapter (80).

Uglow elaborates on Eliot's stance of the feminist campaign during her life time, her concern for it as reflected in *The Lifted Veil* in 1859 and in her novels. Despite her sympathy with the feminist cause, she did not view herself as a feminist as she admired the world of men and saw herself as part of it on one hand, and "because she genuinely felt that there was a danger in the emphasis placed by the contemporary women's movement on individual rights; partnership, not personal fulfilment, should be the goal" (10-11). In her novels, ~~as~~ she created different types of heroines with limited opportunities in contrast to her own achievement. She also reflects her resentment of a patriarchy which undermines women's rights and capabilities so that her belief in the vital role of women and their agency that complements that of men's world harmoniously is made clear (12).

In a similar manner as that of Disraeli, her means to resolve conflict was "by looking for a radical new social ethic in traditional roles" evident in the way she always found old systems of loyalties practised by rural societies to be more organic and maternal in comparison to the ethic of new emergent industrial societies (Uglow 16). Moreover, like Disraeli, she tries to cover all the different aspects of life by exploring analogous boundaries: literary, moral, social, political, emotional and spiritual. She hid in the guise of masculinity in order for her texts to be considered seriously by male readers and not to be undermined or disregarded for being written by a woman (Uglow 86). In *Daniel Deronda*, Eliot investigates different aspects to the possible relationships between gentiles and Jews at "home" and "abroad" in a different fashion from that of Disraeli's. Like Trollope, she focuses on the treatment of women and English Jews, but identifies the Muslim orient as a possible location for their successful collaboration, an issue totally ignored by Trollope.

Eliot believed she had a bigger role in life, and experienced maternal feelings towards women who sought her spiritual guidance such as Barbara Leigh Smith (Uglow 89), Elma Stuart who was buried beside her in Highgate cemetery and had several correspondences with others like Emilia Pattison (Uglow 265). In *Daniel Deronda*, she illustrates the positive and negative aspects of women's friendships and relations. She has her heroine Gwendolen inspired by Deronda on her possible fruitful role in uplifting her society as a rich widow at the end of the narrative.

Brandabur asserts Eliot's growing sympathies for the Jewish cause between 1848 and the later novels of 1876, as the accumulated result of her encounter with the learned Jewish scholar Emanuel Deutsch, the years of a shared life with George Henry Lewes and of course her travel with Lewes to Germany for the completion of his research on the life of Goethe which brought them into contact with a cosmopolitan mixture of the learned and talented of Europe among whom Jewish poets and musicians

had a significant place. According to Uglow, Deutsch was loved by many distinguished English men and had great aspirations for his Jewish race, "the dream of a Jewish homeland in the Levant" (268). He is in many ways a visionary, like Disraeli's Sidonia and her Mordecai in *Daniel Deronda*. His prophetic message had to be dispersed to his superior race to realize the dream and regain their land. Deutsch contributed to Eliot's keen interest in Judaism and to her literary contribution to the Jewish cause evident in her novels with Jewish characters. It was in the summer of 1873 after his death that Eliot developed her plans for her last novel (267-8). Her sympathy for the Jewish race, admiration of its genius and considerate portrayal of Jewish characters is evident in *Romola* and *Daniel Deronda.* Her most successful novel is believed to be *Middlemarch* (Dolin cited inUglow 6).

To better understand Eliot's perspective, it is significant to emphasize that she shared with many other intellectuals the social Darwinism of her time, intrinsic to which are concepts of race, the inferiority and superiority of certain races, in which a 'race' was viewed as something fixed and material with a permanent set of traits, whereby culture is transmitted through 'blood' rather than spiritually. It should be said that, in spite of his insistence on 'race' in his novels, Disraeli seemed to entertain the 'fellowship' of races, which could be ultimately celebrated in a dynastic marriage such as that of Tancred and Eva, at the end of *Tancred,* thereby resolving the Eastern Question by bringing the Middle East into the bosom of the royal family of Victorian England. To Brandabur, Disraeli was thus less racist in his vision than Eliot in *Daniel Deronda* in which she prescribes a rigid segregation and separation of the 'races'[26]. The way I see it, Eliot proposed sacrificing a marriage between the gentiles and Jews at "home" for a marriage of interests "abroad" which would preserve the two races as distinct while benefiting both economically and politically, a unity against the other Muslim orient.

Brandabur highlights that in *Daniel Deronda*,

> Sephardic Jews are given an aura of culture and a patina of mystery, descended as they are from Arab Spain and identified with scholars, mystics, and poets of 'our golden age' in contrast to the Jews from Eastern Europe like the pawn-broker Ezra Cohen of whom Eliot says his eyes light up 'like a miraculous guinea pig' when he is 'cheapening' Deronda's watch, (399) and whose mercenary proclivities render him socially beyond the pale.

Therefore, through Spanish civilization, positive cultural traits of oriental Muslims are transferred to Shephardic Jews to raise their status to a respectable level, to that of a suitable political ally for the British in Palestine.

In her letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe, George Eliot declared her intentions in composing *Daniel Deronda* to break down English complacency:

> As to the Jewish element in 'Deronda', I expected from first to last in writing it, that it would create much stronger resistance and even repulsion than it has actually met with. But precisely because I felt that the usual attitude of Christians towards Jews is –I hardly know whether to say more impious or more stupid when viewed in light of their professed principles, I therefore felt urged to treat Jews with such sympathy and understanding as my nature and knowledge could attain to. Moreover, not only towards the Jews, but towards all oriental peoples with whom we English come in contact, a spirit of arrogance and contemptuous dictatorialness is observable which has become a national disgrace to us. There is nothing I should care more to do, if it were possible, than to rouse the imagination of men and women to a vision of human claims in those races of their fellow-men who must differ from them in customs and beliefs. But towards the Hebrews we western people who have been reared in Christianity, have a peculiar debt and, whether we acknowledge it or not, a peculiar thoroughness of fellowship in religious and moral sentiment. Can anything be more disgusting than to hear people called 'educated' making small jokes about eating ham, and showing themselves empty of any real knowledge as to the relation of their own social and religious life to the history of the people they think themselves witty in insulting? They hardly know that Christ was a Jew. And I find men educated at Rugby supposing that Christ spoke Greek. (*L*, VI 301-2)[27]

A champion of the lower classes and oppressed oriental people, Eliot criticises her society's ills in ignorantly maintaining negative Jewish stereotypes, as she used to, and aims to enlighten them as well as rehabilitate negative treatment with her sympathetic and positive portrayal of English Jews. Using the agency of the English novel in addition to her wide readings, social encounters, influences and travels, *Daniel*

*Deronda*is her third novel on Jewish people. Her portrayal of English Jews in this novel marks a great leap from *Romola* and *The Spanish Gypsy* in its positive depiction of the protagonist. Daniel Deronda is an ideal English man and a Jew who, like the new Messiah lives to accept his noble mission, that is, to revive Christianity using Judaism (Lewis 214). He can also be compared to Prophet Moses, who was raised to be an Egyptian and amongst them, but when he grew up, he led the Israelites out of Egypt, away from discrimination and tyrannical rule to have their own state. In her persuasive and illuminating letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe, in line with her claim of knowing and understanding Judaism better than fellow English intellectuals, she sides with the Jewish cause due to her admiration of their ambition, hard work and struggle in Europe, which has benefited European societies to a certain extent, and of their dream of returning to Palestine, which would free England from their undesirable presence. In spite of her criticism of Victorian England's social ills which she aims to correct through her work, she contributes immensely to the sustenance and triumph of the British Empire by resolving the new threat of the emancipated Jew at "home" who can be utilized as a successful agent for the Empire "abroad".

In a way, Eliot and Disraeli tried to alter Orientalism by establishing the superiority and genius of the Jewish race which would keep the white man on top of the hierarchy, as it would serve their purpose. Reina Lewis in *Gendering Orientalism* elaborates on *Daniel Deronda* as a well-structured scientific novel, infused with European languages to establish a story which is essentially religious (193-4). The situation of the Jews in England and their significance to the intellectual framework was dominated by the evolutionary theory of Darwin's *Descent of Man* which saw the white man as the natural ruler of the world with details on sexual selection and evolutionary survival, all of which were encompassed within the scope of *Daniel Deronda*. In addition, as the novel incorporates the scientific theory of Organicism; of the

development of man with respect to that of his surrounding environment (people and events), the two main keys are Englishness and Jewishness. In contrast to the development of Organicism stood the theory of degeneracy according to which illness, insanity and criminality threatened the progress of race. A heterogeneous formation that impacted educational, medical and military life, most significantly was its stress on heredity and fear of hidden threats to the social fabric; threat of individual and society. Such threats loomed round the lower working classes within England and the orient abroad (200-1).

In *Daniel Deronda*, the Jewish race is constructed as a medium of transmission and understanding, a bridge between the East and West. Although its outward expression is the benefit of both, the inward is that of invading the other, displacing them and ruling their land in a battle of domination[28]. Mordecai's vision of the Jewish state in the East is in line with Palmerstone's:

> *There is store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity*... like the old—a republic where.... an equality which shone like a star on the forehead of our ancient community, and *gave it more than the brightness of Western freedom amid the despotisms of the East.* Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defense in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman of America. *And the world will gain as Israel gains.* For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom: there will be a land set for a halting-place of enmities, a neutral ground for the East as Belgium is for the West.... Let our wise and wealthy show themselves heroes [...] *So will a new Judaea, poised between East and West—a covenant of reconciliation...The sons of Judah have to choose that God may again choose them*. The Messianic time is the time when Israel shall will the planting of the national ensign. [....] *The divine principle of our race is action, choice, resolved memory. Let us contradict the blasphemy, and help to will our own better future and the better future of the world—not renounce our higher gift and say, 'Let us be as if we were not among the populations;' but choose our full heritage, claim the brotherhood of our nation, and carry into it a new brotherhood with the nations of the Gentiles*". (my italics, Eliot 537-9)

The speech proposes the possibility of gentile Jewish collaboration in Palestine. It reflects how the Jewish role as a medium relies on their cultural similarities to the West, anti a despotic East (Lewis 217), despite its emphasis on motivating the Jews to realize their outstanding capabilities and genius there.

In her novel, Eliot reflects on the recent migrations of Ashkenazi Jews in England, who have been for many centuries residents in Eastern and central Europe. These Jews are illiterate, backward and in favour of assimilating with their current European cultures, while Sephardic Jews had been in England since after the Spanish inquisition. The 1840- 1860s was a period in which the earlier Sephardic Jewish communities in England were challenged by the new Ashkenazi migrants (Lewis 202-3). When Daniel meets the club's men with Mordecai, he meets both types and is better influenced by the educated aspirants and their Zionist cause. Although Brandabur believes in Eliot's anti-Semitic base proven in preventing the cross-racial marriage of Daniel and Gwendolen and having the Jews transferred to Palestine, Lewis asserts how in her portrayal of Daniel and Mordecai, Eliot challenges negative stereotypes so that enlightened and educated Jews could be seen as equal to the gentiles and thus would be able to realize their cause and revive the degenerated English society with their outstanding genius (219).

In *George Eliot (Marian Evans): A Literary Career*, McSweeney believes that *Daniel Deronda* is written and could be read in three folds, as that of Daniel Deronda versus Gwendolen Harleth, the Jewish versus the gentile worlds, and the romance versus the realist worlds (134-5). The plot of the novel revolves around a handsome English man named Daniel Deronda, and begins with the first time he sees a young middle-class Gwendolen Harleth who aspires to a life of wealth, stability, romance and adventure to help her mother and sisters. InGwendolen's character, Eliot depicts the fear of becoming a governess, one that many middle-class English women like her had.She

marries Grandcourt to secure herself and family a good living standard, but realizing his shrewdness and cruelty, regretsthis marriage and finds solace in Daniel's counsels and advice. Brought up as an upper class English man, Daniel's real parentage is concealed from him, and he is desperate to know all about it[29]. Before meeting Gwendolen, Daniel coincidentally rescues Mirah Lapidoth, a Jewess who escaped from her father from the United States.[30] He finds her brother, Mordecai/ Ezra, an inspirational figure who motivateshim to realize the Jewish dream. He then finds his real mother, Princess Halm Eberstein who was a singer and who tells him all about his past. Once made aware of his Jewish background, he decides to marry Mirah, not Gwendolen and realize Mordecai's visions by migrating to Palestine, where he would establish a political career. In this way, he uses his educational background provided for him by Sir Hugo Mallinger to make a new country for the Jews in the East instead of becoming a parliamentarian in England, as his foster father had wished.

There are several other characters who serve to enrich the novel with a "Jewish as Orientals within Victorian English Gentile context". There is Catherine Arrowpoint, Gwendolen's friend who marries Mr. Herr Klesmer, a Jewish artist, and Hans, Daniel's best friend, aside from his foster father and Lush, Grandcourt's trusted servant.Most Jewish characters in the novel are witty, kind, moderate and talented. Mirah, and Daniel's mother are both successful singers and Klesmer is an established artist. Daniel and Mordecai are visionary men with great dreams. There are also other partially exemplary characters such as Daniel's mother, the Princess Halm Eberstein, a superior charismatic figure who fulfils her mission in life, her art. She gives her son to one of her admirers and lovers to bring him up as a gentle man, in order not to feel the stigma of being a Jew in Victorian England. Once that is done, and because of the strength of her late father's Jewish grip of her now that her time has come, she decides to undo the secrecy, and discloses to her son the truth. She represents those Jews who hate to

practise their religion and play the specific role wanted of them that is to be good daughters, wives and mothers in preference to her freedom and art. She is ambivalent though, and despite her sense of stigma, her affiliation to her race which she did not acknowledge much during her lifetime, has her eventually reveal a secret she had earnestly concealed as it would eventually be revealed to Deronda by her father's friend and thus, it is best she takes charge. She is the most controversial emphatic character in the novel, a woman of high birth, talent, wit and will. She renounces her maternal instinct for a higher achievement for herself and her son. She is a human after all, and defeated by age is resolved to marry and mother other children as well. Although she pretends to have no sense of remorse or regret for what she did, thinking it is the better choice for her son, her maternal sense can be felt in the decision she makes for her son and in her careful disclosure of everything to him. Hence, these Jewish characters are like Deronda, admirable racial stereotypes that challenge old ones, and assert their desirable contributions at "home" and "abroad".

Eliot's portrayal of the negative traits of other minor Jewish characters in the novel, as Lewis highlights, makes her portrayal realistic and true to a certain extent. For instance, Lewis draws attention to Eliot's depiction of avarice in Kalonmos, who is all noble but degraded due to his occupation as a banker. The same is true of Cohen, a pawnbroker, who is disagreeably fat, 'glistening' (Eliot, 389) and money-grabbing. The family is mercenary but presented as good-hearted. They accommodate Mordecai in their house because they believe he is a blessing and also for his skill in repairing watches and jewellery. Mrs. Davilow explains in her letter to Gwendolen how the family lost its fortune because the Jew, Mr. Lassman, contributed to their loss (Eliot 43-4). Yet this avarice in some Jews is counteracted by others' pursuit of and preference for success. Nevertheless, Kaufman elaborates that "to be greedy, then, is human; it is successful greed that seems to be peculiarly Jewish" (Lewis 224). In this manner, Eliot

humanizes negative Jewish traits in contrast to positive ones which mark their peculiarity (Lewis 222-4). This humanization is her attempt at justifying Jewish behaviours which are minimal in comparison to their intelligence, prophetic and heroic traits that she depicts mainly in Deronda and Mordecai. Even though Gwendolen as well as the English society perceives the marriage of Sir Klesmer to Catherine Arrowpoint as strange, she imagines a happy life with Daniel after Grandcourt's death.

Eliot was very aware of Jewish capabilities as she clearly establishes her preference for educated Sephardic Jews who spread all over Europe past the Spanish inquisition and who were pro-Zionism against the less educated who preferred assimilation to migration. This is seen in her depiction of Daniel Deronda as an educated Jew, and the lower class men whom he mingles with at the club, most of them being Sephardic Jews. It is such educated thinkers whom she uses to set an example for the rest, those who would treasure their sacred race, counter anti-Semitic spirit and migrate. Lewis highlights Eliot's historical research on Judaism and how she reflects her preference of Orthodox Judaism and Sephardic spiritualism in Modecai's vision and speeches over Reform Judaism, thereby endorsing Zionism (Lewis 208-9). Moreover, *Daniel Deronda* utilizes the Kabbalistic past to revive Victorian English life and the Jewish present by offering it as a way to revive its glorious past. Daniel is the heir to the Jewish Sephardic traditions through Mordecai and his grandfather and to the English for his learning and aristocracy (Lewis 211). He is in a way the Carlylian-Disraelian[31] hero endowed with both, the aristocracy of race and English upper class aristocracy who preserves the purity of the Jewish race and strives to make a new country for the Jews. Unlike Disraeli who establishes interracial marriages in his novels, Eliot reflects her belief in the purity of a race in having Deronda refuse interracial marriage. Eliot's narrative skills in this novel reflect her ability to use various means to achieve similar but more interesting ends. Although Eliot and Disraeli use different narratives, they

both assert the same theme, which is sympathy for the Jews, and support for their cause in establishing their superiority.

According to Dellamora, just as Trollope and Gladstone criticized British decadence and leisure, Eliot's Deronda goes further in "underscoring this decadence of the old alliance of Church, land and aristocracy"(127). In his fifth chapter on "The Music of Sapphic Friendship in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*", Dellamora argues that Eliot found in Judaism the freedom of personal choice (128), absent in Christianity with reference to her extensive readings on Judaism, her work *Felix Holt* and its relation to Deustch whom she resurrects in Mordecai (138-9). Daniel had the freedom of making his own choices, not given to other Christian characters. Eliot perceived and embodied Judaism as a religion that utilized individual differences in establishing the Jewish home in Palestine, so that Jews were united despite "hearsay" or "secularism", as their racial bonds were always stronger. They knew history well and used it to their advantage (129). Indeed, the politics of the United States of America is based on this principle, using sectarian differences to create divisions and rule others.

In spite of Lewis's elaborate discussion on the way *Daniel Deronda* replicates orientalist tropes of difference and otherness in using Jews to naturalize ideologies of racial difference (192), it is significant that such differences challenged and altered set racial stereotypes in favour of the English Jewish, the more superior race which could revive English society. This revival through Jewish emancipation recalls Disraeli's theme, that of reviving the English society through spiritual guidance of the Christian Judaic Protestant Church. Lewis concludes that, in Eliot's novel, the Jews represent a displaced version of Englishness and embody positive elements of the English character that were sacrificed in the course of making the industrial and imperial self. Klesmer retains elements of creativity and humanity lacking in Mr. Bult. Therefore "the Jews are simultaneously produced as a projection of the self and something alien to the self. It

thus naturalizes the very dynamic it tries to challenge" (222). This is why Eliot was careful in her depiction of the English Jews, and emphasizes the merit of good, educated, aristocratic Jews such as Daniel in the novel, in comparison to "bad" Jews like Cohen to signify the distinction between self and other (222-3). Furthermore, McSweeney highlights that the novel does not grapple with fact; instead it addresses 'the higher and wider truths'. In chapter 46, Eliot remarks that 'the romantic or unusual in real life requires some adaptation' which is the point of Mirah Lapidoth's entry in the novel, into the gentile world of Mrs Meyrick and her three daughters, a positive cosy image compatible with that of the home of the pawnbroker Cohen's family, which is Deronda's point of entering the Jewish world (135).

Eliot's sympathy with the Jews as victims of anti- Semitism is depicted in several ways in the novel. Daniel's mother gives him to Sir Hugo to bring him up to relieve him of the stigma of being a Jew, and hence, her secrecy spares him from anti-Semitic treatment for a lesser suffering, of being aimless for some time in his life. Gwendolen initially thought that Herr Klesmer is not the best marriage choice for Catherine Arrowpoint, just for being a Jew. These Jewish men at the club, whether for migration or assimilation, were there as a result of the racial discrimination they suffer in England every single day of their life. Mirah's father's choice to go to America, in search of a more tolerant social environment which could better appreciate their talent followed by Mirah's attempt at suicide, are all implications of anti-Semitic sentiment and treatment in England. This is why Daniel is a hero, because he chose to be with the lower, discriminated, undesirable English minority and chose to identify with his Jewish and English heritage, to embrace both in delivering his people away from English bigotry. Gwendolen is psychologically sustained by Daniel, and her knowledge of his Jewish race would not have made him a worse choice for her had he chosen to marry her instead of Mirah. Just like Catherine's choice and preference for Klesmer,

Gwendolen's choice reflects the extent to which the humanity of Jewish people influenced others. Despite mainstream English racism and anti-Semitism, to Gwendolen, Daniel was the best choice in this novel.

In contrast to the assertiveness, talent and thoughtfulness of Jewish characters stand the Christian ones, Gwendolen and her family, Grandcourt, Lydia and her children, Lush, Daniel's foster father Sir Hugo, the Meyrick family and everyone else associated with them. Overall, they are weaker in purpose, care less for the world outside their boundaries, while some of them like Gwendolen, Catherine Arrowpoint and Hans choose to associate themselves by marriage to English Jews despite differences. This choice, Eliot shows, is the wiser and better one as these Jewish characters are preferable to Christians by virtue of their genius. In this manner, Eliot challenges her society by demonstrating how the high minded low, middle or upper-class Jews could be the better choice of marriage for fellow wealthy aristocratic or middle class Christians sometimes. Catherine's marriage to Klesmer also reminds one of Benjamin Disraeli's marriage, only that Klesmer maintains his faith. It is the only cross breeding that takes place in the novel, because just as the gentiles prefer marrying within their own kind, so do the Jews. In fact, their sense of preserving the purity of their race is crucial. When Hans decides to ask Mirah to marry him, Daniel counters him by stating the fact that strict Jews will not marry Christians. In this depiction of Hans's weak character, Eliot asserts the extent to which love could be the more powerful drive in gentile Jewish relations and marriage. Had Daniel not discovered his Jewish heritage, had he continued to think himself a Christian, he would have chosen Gwendolen for a wife, to protect the purity of both the Gentiles and the Jews, but with his secrecy undone, he reconciles his love to Mirah, a love which could help him realize the future as he dreams of it. Thus, interracial marriage is possible but not ideal, neither

for the Christians nor for the Jews. Christians may opt for it as it may be an excellent choice, while the Jews may opt for it in their attempts to assimilate into English culture.

The Jewish world stands in contrast to the Christian one, as the Jewish lower class families are depicted with good hearts and kindness that they could welcome and treat any stranger just like one of them. This Eliot proved to be true to the Christians as well in her example of the Meyricks family and the way they treated Mirah Lapidoth. In other words, where simple life is found, love, warmth and happiness are found as well in spite of religion or race. The example of Mordecai and Deronda is where she establishes the striking difference, as she portrays the Jewish people's intent and concern for changing their bitter realities in England to establish a Utopia of their own unlike Englishmen like Grandcourt whose only concern is in subduing others around them. Despite Daniel's English upbringing and education, once the secret of his Jewish birth is revealed, his inclination to reunite with his race becomes his resolve. Eliot depicts his noble mission as similar to the "White man's burden" and his civilizing mission as the promotion of Empire, invading others in the guise of religious legitimacy, except a significant difference lies in its displacement of thousands of people from all over Europe to usurp other people's land, permanently.

Moreover, Dellamora observes that "Eliot uses the Jewish plot to correct aesthetic errors" (140), in Daniel's relationship as a mentor or mentee with Gwendolen and Modecai respectively. Daniel's friendship with Mordecai recalls that of Alroy and Jabestar in the previous chapter (138). Yet in *Daniel Deronda*, Deronda marries Mordecai's sister and assumes the task of fulfilling the Jewish dream of his mentor, by marrying Mirah and migrating to Palestine. In the inference to indecency in Deronda's relationship to Hugo, as an illegitimate son, especially after he finds out that nephews of clergymen are illegitimate children from Scotchmen, recalling the Irish problem as part of the British identity. The Protestants invited their fall as a result of the sexual practices

of the leading clergy. Her representation of the Mallingers as beneficiaries of Henry VIII is an attack on the Church. Accordingly, English identity is based on much injustices and the legitimacy of the Church is put into question (146-7) [32].

Eliot's portrayal of Grandcourt as a typical colonial figure who displays cruelty towards Lydia and Gwendolen serves as her critique of English gentile society and all the injustices they inflict on the lower members of their society. This is also in line with her portrayal of the Malingers' corrupt history and that of clergymen in the Church. Thus, Dellamora highlights how Grandcourt's depiction connotes national infidelity, a miniature image at "home" of what happens in other lands under British rule (132-3)[33]. Furthermore, Gwendolen's "luxurious ease" stands as a hallmark to pinpoint British colonial exploitation at the expense of other races (145). Just as Trollope portrayed Emily Wharton's unsuitable marriage to Ferdinand Lopez in *The Prime Minister* and illustrated "luxury" as the cause of the whole problem, Eliot likewise has Gwendolen involved in her wrong marriage to Grandcourt to realize "luxurious ease". Before her marriage, she could not bother about others' suffering at "home" or anywhere abroad, but after her marraige, and after Deronda's counsel, she lets go her ambitions and cares more for her own family, and others.

The shallowness of the English aristocratic classes is portrayed in the novel, in contrast to the deep thought and assessment the Jewish inhabitants of England seem to make in their social circles. Whilst some Jews dream of parting with England to migrate to Palestine and revive their own racial and cultural heritage, there are others who believe that assimilation with the English is not a bad choice and that Jews have adopted the English culture to their advantage. Accordingly, to continue to live in England in the hope of prospering and getting wealthier by virtue of Jewish genius is preferable to having to migrate and run a new country of their own in the East. This pro or anti-Zionist argument is still debatable today as there are Jewish people who refused to

migrate from Europe and continue to prosper there. It is inevitable to recall the Rothschilds' economic control of European banks made even firmer earlier in the century, with Napoleon's final defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, and its role in improving the lives of European Jews in Europe and Palestine. There is also the fact that some Jews, both past and present, resented Zionism and the idea of having to displace a nation to establish one's own. *Daniel Deronda* is hence a pro-Zionist cause novel which managed to illustrate both the Zionist and the non-Zionist tendencies of English Jews. As for the aristocrats, who aimed to raise their sons to become leaders and achieve a parliamentary career, this novel shows this to be not very rewarding an enterprise compared to the Jewish aspiration in the East. The novel attacks the ills of the English society and undermines British history in spite of its supremacy in comparison to a more fundamental earlier Jewish history and cultural heritage.

In her portrayal of Gwendolen's dilemma, Eliot reflects on some of those circumstances English women may face. Through her characterization and narrative plot, Eliot asserts that Victorian women have either their bodies or talent to sell, as seen in the characters of Gwendolen and Mirah respectively (Uglow 277). Unlike Brontë's Jane in *Jane Eyre* and Lucy Snow in *Villette*, Gwendolen resents becoming a governess who has to work to secure her family's financial stability while Mirah does not have the choice in the first place. Thus, Eliot's heroines represent a different type of challenged English women. In spite of the author's sympathy with the feminist cause, in this novel her two heroines choose to be either good daughters or good wives. The narrative shows it to be easier for them to lead this simple life rather than work, and speaks for this type of women who would rather stay at home. Although Gwendolen loves adventure, her losses at the roulette table together with her integrity by marrying Grandcourt creates in her a wiser, more reserved woman at the end of the novel[34]. Through this depiction, Eliot warns young women against putting themselves at the mercy of luck, risking all

they have for a possibility and shutting out many other opportunities for a good future. Gambling with life, and making reckless decisions can result in no other than delusion, escapism and partial if not complete loss, as seen in the example of Lydia Glasher (Uglow 281).

Mirah on the other hand, does not gamble and all her actions are thoughtful. She escapes from the treachery of her father to search for her mother and brother. When saved by Deronda, she believes that God has blessed her with another chance to live and does not attempt suicide ever again in the course of the story. Despite knowing that Deronda has feelings for Gwendolen, she refuses a convenient marriage offered to her by Hans Myrdick. Instead, she holds on to her newly found brother despite his financial disparity and severe illness. Before that, she sells her talent to earn for herself. Had Gwendolen been able to do the same, she might have turned Grandcourt down. Had Mirah not been gifted with a melodious voice, she might have thought of Hans' offer twice, but would have refused him in the end. Although this portrayal is a real reflection of Eliot's perception of women's plight in England, that not all women have guardians and not all women would or could become governesses or artists, she made the Jewish characters much wiser and gifted compared to Gwendolen and other Christian characters who reveal and display Eliot's peculiar vision of her dramatic plot. This element of economic pressure which contributed to the progress and the aesthetics of the century, as addressed in the previous chapter, resurfaces in this novel and contributes to Gwendolen's and Mirah's choices and ends.

Deronda and Mirah are both endowed with exotic Eastern Arab looks which distinguish them from other gentile characters, such as Gwendolen, (she notices Deronda's good looks for the first time at the roulette table), and to Hans who is overwhelmed by Mirah's beauty. Deronda's mother's beauty and charisma are described as strikingly outstanding from that of others. Therefore, the exotic looks and

characterization of Daniel Deronda, his mother and Mirah which entices anyone around them and begets their admiration, recalls those depictions in the *Arabian Nights*. Their passionate choices are distinctly smart. Deronda's choice in embracing his faith and venturing eastwards also resembles the adventurous heroic motivations in the *Nights*. Despite the political implications of Deronda's marriage and voyage, Eliot portrays it as a romantic happy ending which adds an aesthetic flavour to the narrative.

Eliot's enticing depiction of Daniel Deronda marks a significant shift from that established in the *Arabian Nights* and Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* discussed in the previous chapters. In those works, oriental Muslim men are attractive for their generosity, gentle treatment of women and gullibility so that they make desirable husbands; Eliot however knocks down this stereotype by creating new, far more attractive male characters for English readers. Daniel Deronda has the looks, romance, kindness and wit any woman desires. He is simply a dream come true, a new stereotype which stands in drastic contrast to the old one established in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and well acknowledged all over Europe. Benjamin Disraeli was bombarded with that stereotype when he appeared in public, yet his speeches, acts of sincere concern for the Empire and his whole lifetime venture stood in contrast with and defiance of that stereotype. Therefore Benjamin Disraeli's literary and political career coupled with Eliot's Deronda were ground breaking efforts that contributed to a new sub-trend within Orientalism, a trend which bestowed and honoured the Jewish race in the course of criticizing English colonial practices and Victorian society. By romanticizing the prophetic heroic Jewish traits, as one with much potential in contrast to the demonic despotic, stagnant Muslim orient, Orientalism was thus enhanced.

In fact, as Ragussis argues, Eliot's portrayal of Daniel Deronda was that of no other than the well-known British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, as Deronda and Disraeli have the same lineage (503).They are both descendants not only of English and

Italian Jews but from Iberian Jews who were persecuted and banished from Muslim Portugal and Spain in the late fifteenth century. In the novel, Daniel Deronda boasts of his heritage saying "And it is not only that I am a Jew... but I come of a strain that has ardently maintained fellowship of our race – a line of Spanish Jews that has borne many students and men of practical power" (Eliot 817).

Conversion is another issue Eliot reflects upon in the novel. Eliot suggests that outward conversion and baptism does not necessarily involve a conversion of the soul and that no matter how one would decline their race, he or she is bound to face it again and would have to acknowledge it before parting with their lives. Eliot seems to have a deep conviction in the power of Judaism, that no matter how one would renounce it, it remains inseparable, built in deep within the soul. Disraeli is probably her practical example for this, a Jewish convert to Christianity who, when bullied as a Jew, never denied it and took it to his heart to reform England and to improve on the conditions of English Jews inside England, to grant a maximum of 2.2 percent of the English population the right to vote, participate in parliament and rule to enhance imperial plans abroad. Additionally, Deronda's mother does not just reveal their race and birth story, but also informs him of significant related matters. Her revelations illustrate the sincerity Jewish families and friends have for each other. Unlike Disraeli, Daniel Deronda does not convert to Christianity and embraces his Jewish faith for the same purpose Disraeli converted. This contradiction elaborates the uniqueness of the role of Jewish converts within and outside England. On one hand, Disraeli converts and Deronda does not, for the sake of Israel in line with the ideology of utilizing differences amongst individuals to serve the Zionist cause. On the other hand, conversion is not a serious matter because Jews believe that no one could change their race. Hence, this narrative versus actual accounts of Jewish attitudes to conversionemphasizes the gravity ofthe Jewish question in nineteenth-century Britain. Although the number of Jewish

converts was estimated to be 204,540 in the nineteenth century, the account of Benjamin Disraeli's conversion and his perspective on the subject as thoroughly illustrated in *Tancred* confirms it to be but a tool of the Jewish communities in Europe to gain equal rights to the citizens of those countries.In fact, it was their opportunity to a stable life and to assert their superiority as a race at "home" and "abroad".[35]

Certainly, *Daniel Deronda* played a leading role in changing British opinion, more especially Jewish opinion, thereby helping to bring about the actual creation of a Jewish state. Lewis dwells on the novel's reception by both Jewish and Gentile readers. The novel earned praise from Jewish Rabbis and other Jews from all over Europe. Although gentile readership criticised Eliot heavily in their journals and periodicals, describing the novel as marking a "foreign intrusion into an English narrative" (193),[36] Brandabur also highlights how Eliot's novel impacted the lives of many English Jews in England, so that some of them gave up some of their dreams for the "bigger" Jewish dream, that of Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. In *The Jew in the Literature of England,* Ruth Levitt declares that she was one of those highly influenced and inspired by Daniel Deronda's tale and impact on English society. She celebrates the influence of Eliot's book on the politicians, philosophers, financiers, and poets who would later play major roles in the founding of the Jewish state.[37]Similarly, English Christians like Margaret Oliphant was inspired after reading the final pages of *Daniel Deronda,* and consequently her husband Lawrence Oliphant made his trip to the East in 1876, where he usedhis influence to promote the establishment of 'an autonomous Jewish colony in Palestine' (40).

Israel Zangwill was also one of those enchanted by the novel, to become the right arm of Chairm Weizmann[38], as he (Zangwill) received Herzl in his home with the words 'I am Daniel Deronda' (Levitt 72).Furthermore, the words in Herzl's diary about 'spiriting the penniless population across the border (as quoted by Edward Said in *The*

Question of Palestine, 10) are very much in line with the speech by the oracular Mordecai in *Daniel Deronda* Book VI, Chapter 42, where he envisions wealthy and skilful men "who carry in their veins the Hebrew blood" to rally to the Zionist cause,and states that"they have wealth enough to redeem the soil from the debauched and paupered conquerors"(Eliot 536). In spite of there not being any evidence that Herzl actually read Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, the two shared a profound sense of indifference to the fate of the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine who would have to undergo the process of 'rooting out', to use Fuad Shaban's phrase, as stated in his article, "A Tapestry of Colors: The Arab Orient in the Mind of America" (11). Moreover, Levitt is convinced that *Daniel Deronda* prepared the way for Herzl in England, by planting the seeds of his acceptance. She asserts how Herzl resembled Daniel Deronda in "appearance, personality, sensitivity, charisma, and beauty". Accordingly, people welcomed Herzl because he looked like Daniel Deronda (Levitt 73 as cited in Brandabur)[39].

Brandabur highlights that Eliot's depiction of Mordecai is in part, based on the religious scholar Emmanuel Deutsch from whom Eliot learnt Hebrew and whose whole life had been devoted to the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, and also on the Biblical prophetic figure of Ezra in the Book of Daniel (Deutsch died at Alexandria on his last failed attempt to achieve his goal). The novel was thus part of an intense ongoing discourse concerning the destiny of the Jews during the Victorian period. Certainly, it should be read as a kind of reply to Disraeli's *Tancred* despite the changes since 1847. In Deronda's marriage and migration to Palestine, Eliot argues against assimilation, and in favour of the departure of the Jews to Palestine. In her 1848 letter to John Sibree, she is firmly on the side of separation, as the following quotation shows:

> If we are to consider the future of the Jews at all, it seems reasonable to take as a preliminary question: Are they destined to complete fusion with the peoples

> among whom they are dispersed, losing every remnant of a distinctive consciousness as Jews; or, are there in the breadth and intensity with which the feeling of separateness, or what we may call the organised memory of a national consciousness, actually exists in the world-wide Jewish communities—the seven millions scattered from east to west—and again, are there in the political relations of the world, the conditions present or approaching for the restoration of a Jewish state planted on the old ground as a centre of national feeling . . . .
> *They (the Jews) are among us everywhere: it is useless to say we are not fond of them. Perhaps we are not fond of proletaries and their tendencies to form Unions, but the world is not therefore to be rid of them. If we wish to free ourselves from the inconveniences that we have to complain of, whether in the proletaries or in Jews, our best course is to encourage all means of improving these neighbours who elbow us in a thickening crowd, and of sending their incommodious energies into beneficent channels.* (162-63 my italics)[40]

The desirability for separation rather than fusion is thus clearly argued for in *Daniel Deronda,* first through the trajectory of the plot in which Deronda is prevented from marrying Gwendolen and instead made to marry Mirah and leave England, and second, through Eliot's choice of two distinctly 'separationist' books from the Old Testament, as the rhetorical and archetypal basis for her highly ideological narrative. Both the Book of Daniel and the Book of Ezra deal with the sojourn of the Jews among the Babylonians and argue for the segregation of the Jews from other surrounding tribes. In fact, Ezra's name is chosen in the Biblical account, as the one to lead the faithful in their return from the Babylonian diaspora, and his first major act was to demand that all Gentile wives must be divided from both these husbands and children, as a condition for 'purification' in the return to Israel (*The Old Testament,* Book of Ezra, Chapters 9 and 10 as cited in Brandabur).

In sharp contrast to the separation of English Jews from English society stands the common ground for Americans and Jews. In *The Decline of the West*, Oswald Spengler states:

> . . . the grand Old Testament Exaltation . . . which left behind it, in many an English family, even to the nineteenth century, the belief that the English are the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, a nation of saints predestined to govern the world—dominated also the emigration to America which began with the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620. It formed that which may be called the American Religion of today. . . (12)

This Old Testament legacy makes a significant part of the history of Zionism, according to which the United States has come to support, even to outdo, England as the sponsor of the Jewish state. This is why American Christian fundamentalists provide unconditional financial and moral support for Israel, which is greatly elaborated in *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America,* by Fuad Shaban (13)[41].

Eliot's novel Daniel Deronda thus suggests the need to preserve the English race and nation which does not necessarily lead to the extermination of Palestinians from their own lands. Moreover, the connection made by Ibrahim Abulughod in an address at the Shoman Foundation in Amman on September 20, 1999, between British influence and racism in the equation of Israeli policy toward the Palestinians becomes clear.As a distinguished professor of history at Northwesern University, Evanston, Illinois, and an advisor on Palestinian education, Ibrahim Abulughod reviewed the history of the growth of Israel, naturally accompanied by the ethnic cleansing of the indigenous population of Palestine. He spoke of the 'racism' of Israel, and asserted the role of England, noting that "Britain was the party which defeated the Palestinian people in the revolutions of the 1930s, a decade before the creation of the Israeli state" (as cited in Brandabur).When Daniel Deronda left England for Palestine, he carried in his mental baggage, the mandate to replace the Palestinean population with European Jews, just as the Jews were to be ethnically cleansed from Europe. The mental baggage presented to Deronda and Mirah before leaving has in it the imperial history and theory of British colonialism.

Unintentionally, Eliot's depiction of the Jew in *Daniel Deronda* contributed to the expansion of the British Empire through the displacement of distant oriental peoples (Christians and Muslims) by European Jews. Inevitably, the impact of Emmanuel

Deutsch, the new rising Jewish question in contemporary Victorian England andher own reading of the history of the Jews were all factors thatwon Eliot's sympathy over the "invisible" Ottoman Muslim Orient. Her focus on English social, political and economic conflicts related to the rising Jewish minority was the main drive which not only shaped her perception of the wholenotion ofmigration and themaking of a new statefor the Jewish people, but also convinced many Europeans of the Jewish peaceful mission to Palestine. In this way, she was an unconscious agent of great future political schemesinvolving the role of Jews in England. Ultimately, her sympathetic portrayal of Jewish people in her works and in *Daniel Deronda* specifically participated in expanding a thriving Empire which aided the accomplishment of the Jewish state and freed Europe from having to put up with the undesirable orient at "home", at the expense of other Orientals "abroad".

In sum, the three novels discussed in this chapter establish the culmination of the development of orientalist racial stereotypes through the depiction of Jewish characters in the novels of the Victorian period. They assisted in the establishment of the Zionism of the British Empire, as well as boosted and magnified the historically inferred superiority of the Jewish race to whom the Arab Semite is of no compare, even reducing the latterto being invisible in some of these works. With the preoccupation of Victorian England with its own domestic and foreign affairs in its distant colonies, these three literary works focused on the rise of the Jewish minority to political eminence. This accomplishment was crystallised in Disraeli's successful career as a parliamentarian which contributed positively to the political emancipation of the Jews in England. With their new right to take seats in parliament and the strategic participation of the Rothschilds in the politics of the country, these novels thus reflect the lively debates in nineteenth-century England on how the Jews could utilize their economic and intellectual contributions to extend their political powers both at "home" and "abroad".

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

In the course of investigating the racial stereotypes of the Muslim Orient in Victorian fiction, the significance of the English novel in participating in the "condition of England" and in perpetuating the British Empire at "home" and "abroad" is revealed. In the various novels selected throughout this study, racial stereotypes were used as a means to discuss the aesthetic and political concerns of the BritishEmpire in dealing with the lower classes such as women and Jews.

The fear of the expansion of Islam under the Ottoman Empire contributed to the establishment of negative racial stereotypes of the Muslim orient in medieval literature, a sentiment which continued to develop throughout the eighteenth century, a time when this threat was diminishing, inviting room for understanding and a new means to perceive this Muslim orient. Their virtual absence (whether in the social or literary context) offered nineteenth-century British authors better chances to manipulate, distort, criticize and project their fears unto this community through the use of negative stereotypes which went unquestioned for centuries on. The reverse happened with the Jews of Europe, who lived and faced discrimination and oppression for their difference, treated as undesirable outcasts with no land of their own. This is not only evident in the attitude of Victorian England to the emancipation of the Jews but also in the Russian oppression of Jews which stimulated their pogroms to Palestine in the 1880s as elaborated in Glodwin Smith's "The Vexing Jewish Question: A Nineteenth Century Scholar's View"[1]. During the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire, Europe knew well that the Muslim East, the closest of which was Spain offered a better life to Jews despite its religious differences and restrictions. Scott reflected this in his improvised historical novel, and was consequently challenged by later Victorian authors who did not think the Muslim Empire treated Jews justly like Muslims would.

European Jews utilized their undesirable presence in Europe to define their real goals as a race, which were either, to lead an emancipated life in Europe, or to return to Palestine and establish their own independent state on a scarcely inhabited land, as the Zionist Jews claimed and aimed at. Their contribution to Europe gradually mounted after the Spanish Inquisition as the Rothschilds established banking systemsin Europe in the seventeenth century, in addition to their scholarly contributions in all fields of knowledge. Their contribution to Orientalism before Disraeli was mostly indirect, as they worked on improving their self-image in Europe using the romantic aspects of Orientalism to their advantage. Significantly, it was through Disraeli's personal trilogy (*Vivian Grey*, *Contraini Fleming* and *Alroy*) and New England trilogy (*Coningsby*, *Sybil* and *Tancred*) that the positive and romantic aspects of oriental stereotyping became the hallmark of European (more specifically English) Jews whilst the negative racial stereotypes, in contrast, were stamped onto the Muslim orientto befixed in time, with more or less the same characterizations as that of the Galland translation of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*.

With respect to Said's *Orientalism*, other colonial and postcolonial theoristssuch as Homi Bhabha, Ania Loomba and Lisa Lowehave not proven Said to be totally wrong -- that Orientalism was free from any bias. They only proved that despite his claim of there being a structured sort of system in which all orientalist writers could fit, most of those Orientalists did not have that intention initially and some of them challenged that set structure. Lisa Lowe's contemplation in Mary Montague's *Turkish Embassy Letters* and Reina Lewis' insightful critique of Henriette Browne's oriental illustrations are examples of contemporary Orientalist studies that aim to share a more truthful image of Muslim communities in oriental lands, away from extravagant unrealistic exaggerated imaginations of the orient. Responses to Mary's letters and Browne's illustrations in England were critical. Elsewhere in Europe, they were much criticized and unwelcome.

Therefore, a successful popular orientalist had to fulfill the public's expectations by using set racial stereotypes to reflect and project upon, thereby indirectly contributing to Said's thesis on Orientalism.

In the course of analyzing the selected works in each of the previous chapters, this thesis argues that aesthetic and economic reasons, as well as historical and political causes, influenced the ways in which racial stereotypes of Muslim and Jewish communities were repeated or challenged at "home" and "abroad", and that these depictions were based on specific agendas. Inevitably, the effect of such events, issues and depictions on the British Empire at "home" and "abroad" then and in the Middle-East currently is of great relevance for the discussion of the continued usage of racial stereotypes until today.

It is noteworthy to contemplate Said's insight of perceiving the other in a structuredand systematic way, and how this impacts the interpretation of literary texts. As my discussion of the novels in this study makes clear, it is this 'othering mechanism' that enables Orientalist authors to distinguish the English race from these "other" marginal groups. Not only has it maintained the difference between them but also facilitated in the achievement of the objectives of the British Empire, most notably through the consolidation of the white man's superior qualities against his inferior others-- a form of strategic contrast andcontrol which would thrive until our present day, past the colonial era, and well into the "mental colonization" associated with the politics of the global era.

The aesthetics chapter reveals that women in England have come a long way since the sixteenth century when they began their writing career with the captivity narrative as one of their most outstanding genre. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed highly developed captivity narrativesin real travel reports and records as well as fictions which were ambivalent at times and skewed towards racial

biases of the British Empire at others. Such works were the means through which English women expressed themselves and reflected upon their being in the mirror of their Eastern sisters. This ambivalent tone faded gradually, towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the harem and the veil were used as symbolic vehicles by Victorian women to finally obtain increasing levels of equality in education, commerce and marital rights which affirmed their superiority over their Eastern sisters, formally launched by Mary Wollstonecraft in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

With their newly acclaimed status and personal accomplishments in England, Victorian women found their newly opened pathways to be far more tempting than their earlier ordinary roles as sisters, wives and mothers. Accordingly, Emma Roberts and Julia Pardoe used the discursive Orientalist strategies available to them and applied the harem, master and slave metaphor to assert English women's dominance as members of the expanding British Empire, as ones who were no longer ambivalent on their status in comparison to their Eastern counterpart. They are certain of their supremacy and are fully aware of the contaminating despotic effects of leading an oppressed lifestyle within secluded harem quarters as described in fictional works and proven in a number of historical accounts. In spite of these narratives' focus on Eastern elements, Victorian writers mainly targeted the racial stereotype of the master-slave trope in the harem-like environment within England itself. Both Emma Roberts and Julia Pardoe chose a life of celibacy and were content with their achievements, thereby introducing a model for the graceful, educated, enlightened English woman. Charlotte Brontë spelled these sentiments clearly in *Jane Eyre* as she also tried to set an example of an English woman who is not only educated but also able to reform other men in her society through kindness, self-respect, determination and love.

The veil and seclusion were the two main factors that marked Eastern women as subordinate and unenlightened. Throughout history, the veil has been used as an

instrument highly related to its perceived social role. It has been a living site of confrontation and opposition that the East and West strive to use for condemning one another and for resisting and liberating themselves from each other's possible influence. The historical grounds and establishment of seclusion by the Byzantines is overlooked. Its efficient role in establishing peace, order, stability and facilitating the administrative rule of the Ottoman Empire in which it was necessary to direct servants, slaves and retainers is negatively and badly translated and transformed instead into an image of prison camps, and a *locus* for polygamous, sensual and unethical practices. The socio-cultural and Islamic ethical values this segregation served were totally ignored self-critique of the English social norms and their treatment of women and internal others.

It is vital to note that racial and sexist hierarchies formerly established by Orientalist and anthropological studies of the mid-nineteenth century which were used by English writers to signify the contrast between East and West were further developed by Victorian writers such as Charlotte Brontë. The symbolic use of the orient as foreign undesirable object was displaced unto members of the lower classes within English society. This new trend which favored English Victorian society over the Muslim orient triggered the feminist campaign to claim more rights for English women. The controversy aroused by Victorian feminist and anti-feminist campaigns contributed to the aesthetics of the century, tarnishing conventional morals on one hand while establishing new moralities on the other. Motivated by Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* which was inspired by Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* as well as real and fictional accounts of captivity narratives, female authors like Brontë found in the harem and its instruments of captivity (seclusion and veiling), a figurative means for asserting their resistance and liberation from the secluded and oppressive conditions of Victorian domesticity. In other words, Victorian women used

the harem as a metaphor to highlight the negative aspects of their society in order to claim their rights.

Victorian women could not rise to favor in the eyes of their patriarchs neither within the domestic space nor outside it and realized that unlike the harem quarters, their house could afford them neither luxury nor power. Thus, they decided to break the convention on a quest to achieve their aims, away from any commitments and many of them made an example of rebellion in celebrating celibacy. They used the trope of Eastern women to project their plight upon, displaying the fear of being cast in harem-like confining conditions on the one hand, whilst envying the Eastern women for their luxury and possible executive power that they had been deprived of on the other. In other words, the enslavement of the Muslim women epitomized by captivity narratives provided Victorian women with a vehicle of liberation from their own enslavement in favor of self-autonomy, as well as moral and material gain. The "new woman" campaign succeeded because of the Eastern examples (Muslim and Hindu[2]) it warned the English society against and because the Empire permitted such a development as long as it contributed to its expansion and power. As an aesthetically repulsive development to the established English family unit, the Muslim Oriental woman was doomed and demolished by such a trend.

Despite the negative impact of the new woman campaign on the family unit in Britain, it was highly promoted in Turkey, Egypt and other Muslim countries under colonial rule from the Victorian times until today. This is because it would have a double impact in Eastern societies as a revolution, not only against established social norms but also against their religious values. Indeed it stirred revolt in Eastern countries, but it did not quite have the same impact on the Eastern family unit which in some aspects, offered far more respect and afforded more freedom to its women[3]. It is

part of the aesthetics of Islam, that women had been granted their rights, centuries before English women decided to claim theirs. Significantly, the feminist campaign in Europe stirred discussions in the East so that some people used it to rebel against well-established traditional norms which sanctioned certain female women behavior while deterring others away from it, realizing its irrelevance to the Eastern context.

The religious institutions of Islam and Christianity played different roles at different times as spiritual guides for or against women's emancipation in the East and West. Orientalists contrived religion together with negative social realities to distort facts and plan set roles for Eastern men and women in order to promote antagonism and competition for the Muslim Orient at "home". Deliberate and unintentional distortion of facts maximized the anxieties and fears of an Empire that did not want to find itself ever in the other's shoes. Ironically though and despite all the new rights Victorian women were granted, some writings of proponents of the "new woman" cause such as George Egerton and Amy Levy revealed a sense of ambivalence about their position and role in English society, and hence "contributed to their adopting or resisting racial biases then prevalent in the British colonial superpower" (Jusova 6-7).

While Emma Roberts' "The Florentines" and Julia Pardoe's *The Romance of the Harem* delve into aspects of captivity narratives in a direct manner, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* hints of oriental characters and settings and utilizes seclusion as a means to point out the gap between the proper treatment of women at "home" in comparison to the prevelant practiced treatment of English women. This difference stages a development in narrative style from using Eastern characters and settings to project upon their criticism of English social values in an indirect manner to the more direct discussion of English social values using English characters bearing contrasting Oriental traits. Brontë's use of this technique reflects the British Empire's

preoccupation with its own development with much less regard to the static orient, in favor of treating internal degeneration as a result of being in contact with the orient. Moreover, the moral lessons in these works are meant to draw the reading public's awareness to the possible misfortunes of Eastern despotism "abroad" as demonstrated by these fictional characters. These three works assert that established oriental traits stand in contrast to European supremacy and are thus, no longer in question, thereby reducing admirable oriental traits that could possibly arouse ambivalent sentiments.

Considering *The Arabian Nights* as an influence on Victorian Orientalists, authors discussed in these chapters assume the role of Scheherazade who enchants and provides the reader with various productions catering for all tastes and ages. Furthermore, like Scheherazade, they educate while entertaining and set an example for all readers, listeners and viewers of good and bad in different cultures using these readily available racial stereotypes. In this portrayal, the passivity, submissiveness and ignorance of the Muslim orient is meant to signify its undesirable difference from and contrast to the English in its aims for the emancipation of its women. Contemporary examples for this can be found in Disney's portrayal of Aladdin by Disney (1992), and other films such as *Three Kings* (1999), *Rules of Engagement* (2000), and *Reel Bad Arabs* (2006).

With the expansion of the BritishEmpire towards the end of the century and with English women's acquisition of their long forbidden rights, the new women of the *fin de siècle* contemplated with ambivalence their new presumed role as colonial agents at "home" and "abroad" in the literary works of the era[4]. In other words, some of these new women were against racism and patriarchy and sought to improve women's conditions not only in England, but also in other colonized lands. Patriarchy and Orientalism were compared in Melman's study and used as means to criticize English

social immorality at "home" (16-7). As I have shown, both Emma Roberts and Julia Pardoeuse oriental characters to criticize patriarchy at home for its authoritarian and discriminative role. In her *Turkish Embassy Letters*, Montagu praises the Turks for their abilities in

> politics, or philosophy, or even of gallantry […] Content with their condition, and accustomed to boundless luxury, they are become great enemies to all manner of fatigues. But, to make amends, the sciences flourish among them […] They have no more faith in the in inspiration of Mahomet, than in the Infallibility of the Pope(110, Letter XL).

Although Montagu is clear about such strengths in her letters, Orientalist authors like Julia Pardoe depict it with more ambivalence. Katinka's resolve to take over Carmifil's place is critical of Montagu's depiction.Emma Roberts "The Florentines" and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* on the other hand eliminate this ambivalent trend in their portrayal of the moral integrity of Giovanni, Helena and Jane Eyre in comparison to Oriental women. Significantly, Brontë uses the *harem* as a central image of gender oppression in a patriarchal society. The art for art sake movement and later on western preoccupation with materialism proves that the "go East" sentiment, after its elimination by recent authors, found itself an outlet in the name of art and development. It may not be direct, but fascination with the East and the indulgence with material luxury persisted in England and the rest of Europe as one of the signs of advancement.

Likewise, my discussion of the selected historical romancesin Chapter Three shows that these works are not free from political inferences. Each of them has a Jewish protagonist, a heroic figure whofaces various trials in the course of the novels so that by its end, his death reflects the plight of the Jewish people. Though depicted as somewhat demonic in their wrong doing or practice of witchcraft, these Jewish men embody prophetic traits of extreme wit and diligence with a vision for either a better life for themselves and their families like Israel Ben Oliel at "home" in *The Scapegoat* or for the emancipation of their own people in Europe and Palestine"abroad" as is the case

with Benjamin Disraeli's Alroy in *The Wondrous Tale ofAlroy* and Lytton's Almamen in *Leila*.

Disraeli's *Alroy*, being its author's "ideal ambition", asserts the ultimate Jewish wish, to claim Palestine as their home, which Disraeli never spoke about publicly. It represents the mistreatment of Muslims, at one of its most glorious times towards its Jewish subjects. Although *Tancred* would later have him blur the differences between Muslims and Jews under the Arab race, his intent in establishing the superiority of the Jewish race is emphasized throughout *Alroy*. The revival of the historical twelfth-century *Alroy* in a plot similar to that of the heroic traits of Prophet Moses followed by his murder by Muslims, casts a prophetic light upon Alroy. As the novel contrasts the religious intolerance between Muslims and Jews to Alroy's tolerant secular modern perception of the means to rule the Muslim orient, it challenges Victorian England to think twice of the prophetic Jewish people, and particularly to value their intelligence and broadmindedness which should have them emancipated and included as equal British subjects at "home" even if they would later be used by the British Empire "abroad".

In addition to *Tancred*, Disraeli's earlier novel *Coningsby* and Lytton's *Leila* both emphasize the indebtedness of the world, part of which is the British Empire, to Judaism and the Jewish heritage in the chronological development and religious similarities and continuation between Judaism and Christianity. Christianity's base being Judaism and its affiliations to it are evidently pronounced not only by Coningsby, but also in Leila's gradual conversion to Christianity by Inez who asserts her personal indebtedness to the humanism of the Jewish people. The extraordinary benevolent man she describes turns out to be no other than Almamen, Leila's father. Moreover, Tancred's conversations with Eva about Judaism and Christianity speak the most of Disraeli's sympathies with the Jews in this regard.

All three novels – *Alroy, Leila* and*The Scapegoat*-- raise sympathy for the plight of the Jewish race under Muslim rule, but Caine's *The Scapegoat* is the only one that suggests that England is a better home for the Jews than the Muslim orient, in affording more liberties for the 'Asiatics of Europe'. These novels thus challenge Scott's theme of a more tolerant Muslim rule and better lives for Jews "abroad" in comparison to the Catholic or Protestant Christian persecution of Jews. Although Lytton's *Leila* affirms Scott's view of an intolerant Catholic Christian rule, perceiving Jewish women as sorcerers, Lytton's depiction of the Muslims' cruelty against them makes them no better alternative for the Jewish race. This depiction of Jews being unwelcomed, neither at "home" nor "abroad" creates the urge to define 'English national identity', and whether or not the Jews would be included within the nation due to the British economic dependency on them. While political realities show they are included within, social controversy reflects opposing sentiments. The only solution is thus, to have them within the English national identity at "home" but relocated "abroad" as representatives of English colonialism in Palestine, which later would became the new home for the Jewish community.

Strategically, the three novels also depict the Muslim communities as riddled with internal conflicts and disunity. Their governments are not stable due to the competition for power as in *Alroy,* challenged by internal and external forces as in *Leila* and weakened by despotic rule as in *The Scapegoat*. Many positive circumstances are underplayed or overlooked so as to establish the Muslims' immense need of western imperial guidance and rule. The overall sympathetic portrayal of Muslim Moors in Spain in *Leila* is overshadowed by their inferiority as a disunited people when compared to their Christian and Jewish opponents. For instance,in spite of King Boabdil's efforts to maintain Granada, his superstitious and fatalistic character weakens him. As the narrative shows the betrayal of Catholic Christians towards the Jews of Granada, it

challenges the English national debate on the Jewish question. It suggests that Protestant England in the Victorian era should distinguish itself from Catholicism and consider their assimilation both in English society or elsewhere. The historical manipulation in the selected works exaggerates the antagonisms that the Jews, Muslims and Christians had for each other.

In a way, the oppressive experiences the Jews undergo in *Alroy* and *Leila* are projections of the English treatment of the lower classes, amongst whom are the English Jews in England. In other words, the British Empire's oppressive treatment of English Jews is projected "abroad". The Muslim governments in *Alroy* and *Leila* had the same political conflict, as governments dealing with multi-racial societies and who had dealt with the Jewish question. Moreover, the portrayal of these Muslim governments, as oppressive ones prosecuting the Jewish minority motivates the British to be different, and certainly more benevolent in resolving the insistent question of whether or not to include the Jews as part of British national identity. Although "home" is practically absent from these two works, it is there figuratively, interrogating and promoting a better resolution for English Jews at "home" and "abroad". *The Scapegoat*, on the other hand, sets the Muslim community and ruler "abroad" in contrast to the English community at "home" where tyranny does not exist, and peace is the way of life for citizens and other classes.

Hall Caine's *The Scapegoat* does more justice to the historical coexistence of Muslims and Jews in general, as it depicts the two peoples living together side by side in relative peace. Despite their religious difference and disagreements with each other, they are shown as being subjected to the same suffering under Ben Aboo. *The Scapegoat* depicts the tyranny of Muslims towards the Jewish community, which suffered greatly in Morocco, as recorded in the *Judiac Encyclopedia*. It revives certain historical occasions such as that of the humiliating outcast of the Jewish minister by the

Muslim ruler back then and the historical fabrications around the awaited, highly esteemed Muslim ruler, al-Mahdi whose personality was claimed by several Muslims in the course of history in different Muslim countries. The novel foretells past and present day conditions of the Muslim communities "abroad" under despotic Muslim governors and corrupt rulers, while their fall and alliance with their colonizer reflect events related to contemporary political upheavals in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria.

In line with their underlying sympathies for the Jewish people, the three Jewish heroes Alroy, Almamen and Israel ben Oliel are portrayed by the authors of the respective worksas tragic victims of their oppressive Muslim societies. Alroy and Almamen are perceived as demons due to their practices of witchcraft and their shrewdness and threatening intelligence in convincing others. Despite their differences, these two men inherited Judaic traditions and practices. They both worked hard for their race, hence, are portrayed as prophet-like despite their demonic practices. Almamen and Israel ben Oliel are despised for their intelligence in accumulating money. They are envied for their wealth. Their death is prophetic, for a noble cause. Although the general Muslim community around them is sympatheticat times, Muslim communities are depicted as even more demonic due to their materialism, love for luxury and intolerant mentality for the Jewish minority in their lands. This is directly depicted in the slaying of Alroy by Alp Arsalan and the murder of Almamen by the Muslim masses once they declare their Jewish lineage. Israel, on the other hand, dies as a result of Ben Aboo's abuse and imprisonment. He is also much revered by Muslims and Jews as a national hero for facing Ben Aboo's tyranny. He is portrayed as a Prophet for bringing together Muslims and Jews and accepting both as God's religions. Hence, he is a messenger of peace. The only difference in Caine's narrative is there being a Muslim prophetic character in his depiction of the Mahdi, who, like Israel, accepts people of all faiths and lives to establish justice, no matter how costly.

In *Alroy*, by juxtaposing the position of Alroy with those of other inferior races in the novel, Disraeli employs the othering mechanism in the representation of race relations in order to project western ideals upon other inferior races, as Alroy is the desirable model whose failure is meant to instigate successful future trials. In doing so, Disraeli implies that such trials should be supported by the empire. It is also used in this work to project the fears of the empire, and to protect them from the possible mistakes the desirable other could make, as well as possible troubles that may be caused by the undesirable or derided other, [by villains who are some of the Jews and mainly Muslims in this work.]. In *Leila*, Almamen, Muza, King Boabdil and Leila are not the only racialised others. King Ferdinand and the whole Catholic Christian community is othered as well, as Lytton projects racial stereotypes of villainy and treachery on them in comparison with the Jews. Just as the othering mechanism is used to assert set racial stereotypes of the Muslim community to promote the cause of the British empire in distinguishing the English race and their identity from English Jews and distant Muslim subjects, here it is also used to reflect upon the other's desirable traits. Indeed the contrast highlights the utter loss of the Moorish Muslim Empire in Spain, and the Moors as possessing faults much graver than their desirable traits. Moreover, it is used to arouse sympathy for the Jewish community in Europe, for their suffering despite their intelligence, honesty and trustworthiness. In doing so, Lytton introduces the idea of the English Jews as potential contributors to British national identity. Additionally, the othering of the Catholic Christian king and queen is meant to have Victorian readers distinguish themselves from Catholics, to be against the degradation and annihilation of English Jews in Victorian England, as they are more enlightened and just and should thus rise above such lowly standards. In *The Scapegoat*, the othering mechanism is used to highlight racial stereotypes of both Muslims and Jews. Once again, the use of such new, dynamic and fluctuating stereotypes are meantto promote the idea of accepting

English Jews as part of the English national identity and to acknowledge their likely contribution to the British Empire. The same tool of the othering mechanism is used to assert negative racial stereotypes of fatalism and despotism towards Muslim rulers, enabling Caine to suggest that Muslim and Jewish communities in the Middle-East will lead a better quality of life under the guidance and benevolence of the British Empire.

This third chapter, which discusses how the selected novels serve tomagnifythe suffering of the Jewish race under others' rule raises extreme sympathies for the Jewish communities in Europe and the Muslim orient. Such historical romances manipulated history in their favor, to urge the British Empire to avoid being in the shoes of other fallen empires, and to address the Jewish question favorably. *Alroy* highlights the Jewish aspirations to return to Palestine as the best resolution for English and European Jews. *Leila* depicts their struggle to lead a respectable life as a Jewish community and gain equal rights to citizens in Spain under Muslims and Christians. *The Scapegoat* asserts their attempts to redeem themselves not only from their own wrongful acts but also to establish peace with others Muslims and Christians.

The impact of the *Arabian Nights* on Scott, Disraeli, Lytton and Caine's works is felt in their depiction of characters, the choice of harem quarters as setting, the use of slavery as a common theme, and the atmosphere invoked at some points in their narratives. As Said established in his *Culture and Imperialism*, the narrativization of history, evident in the three selected works, is one of the characteristics of the English novel, which, in its creative and entertaining manner manipulates history and reflects the significance of the imperial enterprise at "home" and "abroad" through the use of racial stereotypes of Muslim communities at "home" and Jewish communities "abroad".

The Jewish question is further discussed in Chapter Four on the English political novel. Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* countered negative stereotypes about the Jewish people and highlighted their merits in comparison to English gentiles, in a manner that

undermines the Muslim community "abroad". Ironically and in defiance of his reading public, in a progression of his themes illustrated in *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy,Tancred* does not reveal Jewish ambivalence about their position in the world, rather it addresses the English people's ambivalence about the oriental lands, religions, spirituality and people and the inevitable English role in the East. It asserts the significance of Eastern spirituality present only in the primitive Judaic-Christian church in England, as their only means to face their conflicts and turmoil and regenerate the society at "home" and abroad in its colonies. Conversion may be a personal choice, but it should not be forced upon the Jews. More important than interracial marriage is the political alliance between British gentiles and English Jews "abroad". Contrary to historical accounts, Disraeli portrays Palestine as populated by Jewish Sheikhs riding horses and running its affairs. The Jewish Zionist cause is to be sympathized with in England, as Jews had proven their superiority in the course of history. This intrigue would revive England at "home" and establish its superiority, aided by Jewish migrant settlers "abroad". Moreover, in line with the sympathetic spirit of the English towards the oppressive conditions and the suffering of the Jewish race around the world highlighted in the historical novel, Disraeli depicts these conditions in Europe through the experiences of the Baroni family, in contrast to their eminence in Palestine in *Tancred.* Both portrayals inform Victorian readership of Jewish capabilities and genius in two different environments with different conditions.

In comparison, Anthony Trollope's *The Prime Minister* represents the anti-Semitic voice in Victorian England. In his portrayal of Ferdinand Lopez as a good-looking oriental with limitless ambitions of financial and political success, Trollope is highly critical of Jewish economic control as embodied by the Rothschilds, and political interference in the destiny of England as represented by emancipated Jews like Prime Minister Disraeli. His novel depicts the failure of the Tory-Whig consensus which

marked mid-century events, and the likely negative impact of English Jews as parasites in English society, and as detrimental to its social structure as demonstrated in the failed marriage of Emily Wharton to Lopez. Trollope's depiction, emphatic of racial stereotypes, is in line with Gladstone's argument in the *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* and Marx's essay "On the Jewish Question" where English Jews are portrayed as threatening the stability and peace of the English society, and should thusbe eradicated from the society. Lopez's suicide at the end highlights the kind of end Trollope believes should take place. The novel neither approves nor disapproves of Zionism in the relocation of Jews "abroad". It is preoccupied with the social, economic and political issues associated with English Jews at "home"

George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* reflects on the Jewish existence within English society to firmly establish and declare her aim to have them relocated to Palestine. Her challenging of positive depictions of Jewish characters is a further development from the sympathetic portrayal of Jews in the historical romances discussed in the previous chapter. In her novel, Eliot sheds light on the Jewish presence in England and asserts the significance of utilizing their prophetic qualities in line with Zionism as the means to resolve racial conflicts at "home" and "abroad". She frowns upon her society's anti-Semitic treatment of English Jews and advocates their positive contributions at "home" and likely success "abroad". Just as Disraeli uses *Tancred* to correct social and political issues at "home", Eliot's idealistic portrayal of English Jews is the means she uses in her novel to correct what she perceives as a form of implicit discrimination in Victorian England. This is mainly achieved in her characterization of Daniel, Mirah, Gwendolen and Grandcourt. She also illustrates the humanity of those racial stereotypes long associated with Jews, such as their keen interest in accumulating wealth. At the same time, their artistic abilities as singers and musicians distinguish them from other gentile characters in the novel. Her novel stands out for advocating the emancipation of English

Jews and the justification for their Zionism in Palestine. The narrative also illustrates that forced conversion or assimilation in England, after the Spanish inquisition is of no efficiency. Eliot depicts how keeping their Jewish identity and faith had entailed English Jews to suffer the degradation of a lowly life. Interracial marriage is possible but not advisable, in order to preserve the purity of both Christians and Jews. In Mordecai's speeches and Deronda's resolution, Eliot makes a bold statement in her novel that Zionism is the ultimate resolution for English Jews who would extend the colonial legacy "abroad" and certainly it is the resolution of Victorian England to the issue of Jewish emancipation. Whereas Disraeli and Eliot utilize their racism to regenerate English society on one hand and to demonstrate their support for Zionism on the other, Trollope reiterates the sentiments of Gladstone, as he illustrates the extent to which the English society is threatened by the Jewish presence. In their works, Gladstone and Trollope attacked the Jews using established negative racial stereotypes which equate them with other Arab Muslim Semites.

In *Tancred*, the othering mechanism is a tool that separates the faithful from the unfaithful, with the desirable Jewish other contrasted against the derided Muslim other. Muslims, however, are not the only marginal groups in the novel, for the English aristocratic society is also othered by Disraeli, who portrays them as shallow and lacking religious power. Thus, apart from the desirable Jewish orient, portrayed in Eva, her father, Sidonia and the minor Jewish characters, Disraeli uses the othering mechanism to promote his ideal dream, a powerful alliance that restores faith to and revives the English society whilst strengthening the Jewish presence in Palestine.In *The Prime Minister*, Trollope employs racial stereotyping in his depiction of Ferdinand Lopez, a character who is "othered" through his selfishness and greed for money and social status. In this novel, this mechanism detaches him from the English society so that, feeling derided and failing to merge with this society as an English gentleman, he

commits suicide. In contrast,Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* features Daniel, who despite being a Jew and hence a racialised other, is also depicted sympathetically as an admirable hero who ought to be included within the English national identity at "home" in order to represent the political interests of the British Empire "abroad" with other migrant Jews.

Disraeli, Trollope and Eliotmanipulate racial stereotypes in their respective novels in order toinvestigate the corrupting influence ofdecadence and luxury in Victorian England. While Disraeli proposes the revival of the spirit of the primitive Christian Judaic Church as the means to reform the social and politically corrupt aspects of England, and to promote a gentile Jewish alliance in Palestine, Eliot uses Jewish agency, the opposite of the self, to correct Victorian society and suggests Zionism as the ultimate solution for both the English and the Jews in Palestine. Trollope, similarly, proposes Anglo-Saxon unity as represented by the Whartons and the Fletchers as the means to defy luxury and any Jewish interference in English society.

It is significant how the three writers are interested in resolving the Jewish Question at "home", but vary in their discussion of and ways to resolve it. In spite of their differences in depicting English Jews, their depictions point to no other than the latter's relocation to Palestine. Accordingly, even though Trollope never suggests deporting English Jews to Palestine, their treatment in his novel suggests their unwelcome presence in England, and hence displacing this problem "abroad" would participate in the civilizing mission of the British Empire in the Muslim orient. Moreover, as their representative ally in Palestine and the means to secure British interests in the Muslim orient, the English colonial legacy could be adopted as the instrument to be put to use by European Jewish migrants to Palestine.

Disraeli's portrayal of Fakredeen is an example of an innovative desirable portrayal of the Muslim orient. Despite Fakredeen's social and political involvement in

contemporary issues, in suggesting a political alliance with the British, he is just as incompetent as others around him, unfit for leadership due to his irrationality, villainy and ego. In this manner, Said was right for suggesting that the Orientalists' works shifted negative racial stereotypes from the Jewish Semite and stamped them unto the Muslim Semite. Accordingly, English readers would at least sympathize with the Jewish plight and approve of their emancipation in England. Disraeli implies that they should not be forced to convert and should be welcomed amongst the higher social ranks by virtue of their genius and professionalism, aside from their being "the aristocracy of nature" (Disraeli, *Coningsby*, vol. II, 138). Moreover, English gentiles should respect their cause, that is, to return to their 'promised land' of Jerusalem and aid them in their undertaking.

Just as Disraeli reveals in *Tancred* the significance of the Jewish race and the possible collaboration and alliance the British could have with the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* captures the Jewish psychological struggle for eminence not only in Europe but in their own promised land. Daniel's embrace of his Jewish identity in full realization of its consequences adds to his charisma and emphasizes the heroism of intending to strive for his race in establishing the Jewish state. It is the impact of such a man as Daniel Deronda himself on the English characters in the novel that depicts the English indebtedness to Jews, an issue of great controversy to the gentile public. Moreover, his intention of establishing the Jewish state highlights the possibility of a British Jewish alliance in the Middle East. On the other hand, Trollope's *The Prime Minister* illustrates the perception of the rise of the new Jew as a phenomenon in England. Just as many English perceived of the Jews as no more than a degenerate Oriental to deal cautiously with due to the possible threat associated with his lowly nature, Trollope's novel revisits the female captivity narrative, in a different context. In line with De Quincey's opium-induced anxiety over a possible degeneration

due to being in contact with Orientals, Trollope explicitly highlights the possible allure of Jewish men in England to English women, who may not be able to see the difference between a Jewish man and a truly English gentleman. He reflects with alarm this sense of possible conquest by a stealth and deceptively amiable type of "Oriental".

Although the motives behind Trollope's narrative are essentially similar to that of Disraeli and Eliot, as seen in his treatment of the social decadence, indulgence in luxury and the oppressive treatment of women, his attitude towards the Jewish question is different from Disraeli's and Eliot's. In spite of his anti-Semitic sentiments and negative portrayal of Ferdinand Lopez as threatening to the English social, economic and political structures[5], he does unconsciously contribute to the "popular sympathies" which were utilized by English Jews to hasten and justify their transfer to Palestine. Like Gladstone who used the events of the Bulgarian atrocities to turn the tables against his foe, Benjamin Disraeli, Trollope creates "a lesser holocaust" in suggesting that Lopez was killed by the social rejection he earnestly aspired for after his financial, social and political failure (Dellamora 119). Accordingly, this repetition of sympathetic depictions would promote the gentile Jewish collaboration in Palestine in light of the new prophetic heroic image of theEnglish Jew in Disraeli's *Tancred* and Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*. In contrast, as seen in my chapter on the aesthetic and historical Victorian novel, Muslim communities are virtually absent from Trollope's and Eliot's narrative. In spite of Gladstone's claim of the possible threat posed by the Muslims highlighted in his pamphlet, their absence from these works assert their irrelevance to the political schemes of the British Empire. Hence, Gladstone was just using them to address the Jewish question at "home" apart from the need to revive English social and political institutions then. Even though Trollope's anti-Semitism in the novel targets English Jews, it can be inferred that Lopez represents the Muslim Orientals "abroad" as a proponent of Gladstone's opinions of Ottomans in his pamphlet. Most significantly, the

impact of racial stereotypes was well established since the Victorian period, with Muslim communities being portrayed as passive and submissive on one hand, and despotic and treacherous on the other, and hence must be controlled and ruled -- a view that is still resonant until today.[6] As for Eliot, despite her travels and wide knowledge, in her keen interest in addressing the Jewish question, she appears as an unconscious agent to the Zionist cause. Indeed, transferring European Jews to Palestine would free Europe from the social regression associated with having them around, while offering them a state of their own; it all comes at the expense of the silent Muslim majority "abroad".

Like Herzl, Eliot illustrates the genius of how European Jews could transform Palestine from its present condition to a successful nation within twenty years' time, by virtue of their hard work and intelligence. *The Old New Land* fantasizes a Utopian state in which Muslim Arabs and Jews from all over the world live in peace and harmony. It emphasizes the positive traits of the Jews and the dramatic change they can bring about whilst fostering relations with Arab Muslims who would be blessed by their contribution and thus be able to share the same benefits. Although Herzl meant to actualize the dream through peaceful means, Zionism did not. In other words, in spite of their being English gentiles and European Jews against Zionism, there were more Zionists or there were more influential people in favour of Zionism who worked earnestly to realize this dream. Indeed, the Jews made the best of their differences in Europe to establish their State in Palestine. In the course of creating their state, they became more united and made Arab Muslims "abroad" more divided through issues of race, nationality and faith, as highlighted by Fakredeen. Racial stereotyping of the Muslim orient was hence used in the civilizing mission by these Jewish migrants, who are portrayed as enlightened as the Britons, to justify their invasion of this land. These stereotypes are further emphasized by the media and movie industry of today, which

depicts the English, European or Israelian Jew, as a heroic prophetic figure. In doing so, Said's claims have indeed been actualized, in that negative stereotypes were shifted from the Jew to the Muslim, whose inferiority is constantly perpetuated in the media, in a manner that justifies the Jewish occupation of Palestine.

In contrast to this favorable preoccupation with the Jewish Semite in England stands the Oriental Arab, whose role has dropped from the political stage and stands as a fixed entity in time. Disraeli's *Tancred* portrays them in this manner, with the most exceptional of them being the noble Emir Fakredeen, who envisions a strong economic future for the Empire in the Arab world. Their brief contribution to the novel and their portrayal as a minority marks the novel as one of those efforts that gave a false impression of statistical actualities in Palestine. George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* implies that Daniel's trip will have him establish a nation on a vacant land. It is with these impressions that the English specifically and Europeans in general never criticized their government's alliance with the Jews in Palestine.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and in light of the constant challenges in the different countries of the Muslim orient, Orientalism has realized its aims. Racism, poverty and oppression which have marginalized the peoples of these nations and accordingly demonized them, have all been used to justify American or Jewish intervention or invasion of these lands in the present and the future. Hence, the Victorian period is a peculiar one for its crucial impact on the course of history, a history of these divided peoples which Hall Caine fictionalized in *The Scapegoat*, but which continues to repeat itself in all of the Arab States today.

This thesis thus establishes the dramatic shift in the treatment of the Muslim Semite in England by Victorian writers, in contrast to the Jewish Semite. The Muslim orient is depicted as a fixed entity of history, associated with captivity, enslavement,

despotism and villainy, to be controlled and ruled by the newly emancipated English Jew who used history to manipulate Victorian politics and realities, in order to carry the "white man's burden" to the Muslim orient. Through repetitions that assert or challenge racial stereotypes, the English aesthetic, historical and political novel at "home" participated not only in justifying the inclusion of the Jews in Britain but also in creating a new Jewish home through the destruction of Muslim communities "abroad".

NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

[1] While teaching these languages, certain texts were selected for European readers through a technique called fragmentation. This norm was an acceptable medium of learning about the orient. Pioneer Orientalists decided that fragments provided sufficient information on the orient, which was in fact a tool the Orientalists used to achieve their aim, namely, creating a false image of the orient. This image not only still lingers in contemporary fiction, but is also a certified image upon which social and political decisions depend upon.

[2] Although "the East" covers a vast geographical area and includes India and Japan, in this dissertation, Middle-Eastern countries will be the main focus.

[3]The Muslim orient has a direct reference to the orient living in the Arab Peninsula or in any Muslim land such as India and North Africa.

[4] For more details on the lives and accomplishments of James Balfour and Lord Cromer, see Josep Puig Montada's *Edward Said and the Spanish Orientalists* 1-3.

[5] The idea of 'timeless opposition' or 'binary opposition' is well established and discussed by several authors. Aside from Said and Loomba, Michael Adas also highlights this in *Decolonization: Perspectives from now and then* 79.

[6]First established by Moraga, Cherríe; Anzaldúa, Gloria (1981). *This Bridge Called My Back*, "othering", or specifically attempting to establish a person as unacceptable based on a certain criterion that fails to be met. This is further developed by G. C. Spivak in her 1985 article "The Rani of Sirmur", where she explicitly discusses different examples in the history of colonialism of the "othering mechanism". Although she uses the concept – once - in a review of Derrida as early as 1980 (39), it is not until 1985 that Spivak begins to use the concept systematically, to analyse "the fabrication of representations of historical reality" (271) in the essay "The Rani of Sirmur".

[7] Aside from Islam's *Kipling's Law: a Study of his philosophy and Life*, see Norton Anthology online, the Victorian Age: Topics, Victorian Imperialism: Texts and Contexts, all of which offer similar definitions and details.
https://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/victorian/topic_4/civilizing.htm
For further details on the civilizing mission, *see Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, by Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann, New York: Anthem Press (2004) 4-8.

[8] For further details and names of organizations that specialized in the Middle East such as the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF founded in 1865) and the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF founded in 1882), see Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East* 29.

[9] For more details on the exact number of women travelers in each of the different countries of the Middle East, see Melman 46.

[10] Edward Said discusses the chronology and development of oriental racial degeneracy and inequality with the west in association to biological bases of racial inequality in numerous works of the nineteenth century such as the racial classifications of Cuvier's *Le Regne animal*, Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inegalite des races humanies* and Robert Knox's *The Races of Man*. This is in addition to other works addressing the question of imperialism and binary typology of advanced and backward races such as John Westlake's *Chapters on the Principles of International Law* (1894) and Gustave Le Bon's *Les Lois psychologiques de l'evolution des peoples* (1894) 206-7.

[11]Dellamora's *Friendship's Bonds: Democracy and the Novel in Victorian England*, Dawson's*The Effective Protagonist in the Nineteenth Century British Novel: Scott, Brontë, Eliot, Wilde*, and Colon's *The Professional Ideal in the Victorian Novel: The Works of Disraeli, Trollope, Gaskell and Eliot.*

[12] See also Said, *Orientalism* 205.

[13]Antoine Galland was a French orientalist, archaeologist and first European translator of *The Thousand and One Nights* (also known as The Arabian Nights in English).

[14]Muhsin Mahdi (1926-2007) published an Arabic edition in Leiden: Brill in 1984, claiming fealty to the oldest Arabic versions, based on early manuscripts from the Syrian tradition.

[15] Mahdi has a whole chapter on Antonie Galland and the *Nights* 11-41, with a full account Galland's oriental journeys and his construction of the *Nights*.

[16] For details on the difference between frame story, embedded stories and inserted one, refer to Mahdi's *The Thousand and One Nights* 158-160.

[17] Refer to Mahdi's book for a full account of these exemplary tales 144-157.

[18] Fatima Moussa-Mahmoud's essay "English travelers and the *Arabian Nights*" in *The 'Arabian Nights' in English Literature* (1988) by Peter L. Caracciolo is another work that highlights the different travelers' confirmations of some of the descriptions of the *Nights*. However, like Kabbani, Mahmoud highlights the different negative stereotypes of Eastern women that the *Nights* unveil to European readers. In short, the *Arabian Nights* contributed significantly to Victorian culture and hence, the English novel, which developed immensely in relation to the colonialist and imperialist aims of the empire.

[19]Examples of these themes are such as absolute faith in God, the rights of women in marriage and divorce and Islam's kindness to slaves, Islam's motivation and the Quran's emphasis on purposeful endeavour and energetic exploration of Allah's creation. Moreover, Lane's redaction highlighted the relationship between economic and political instability and vicissitudes and their social implications. Also, love, beauty and the social position of women, and differences between trade practices in the East and England were also highlighted by Lane's critics favourably or otherwise (Ali 133-7). All these themes are discussed in greater detail with particular references to the particular Victorian critics and their articles published in the magazines of the time. Ali furnishes a rich discussion with revealing insights on the impact of Lane's redaction of

the *Arabian Nights* which was at times critical of Islam and the Muslim orient and at others, in their favour when contrasted with Victorian ethics and practices.

[20] Ali devotes his fourth chapter to Lane and the Victorian Literary Scene and his fifth chapter A Panorama of Eastern Life 91- 115, to discuss how the periodicals and journals of the day read the *Nights*, and they way they truly perceived their thematic complexity.

[21] See also Said's *Orientalism* 194-7.

[22] For more details on these Burton and Payne's versions, see Ali *Scheherazade in England* 130- 140.

[23] Henry Reeve, *'The Arabian Nights', Edinburgh Review*, 164 (1886) 184.

[24]For more information of contemporary film productions, see Wingfield and Bushra Karaman, "Arab Stereotypes and American Educators" http://www.adc.org/2009/11/arab-stereotypes-and-american-educators/ and Jack Shaheen's "Stereotypes: United States: Arab Muslim Women as Portrayed in Film"http://sjoseph.ucdavis.edu/ewic

[25] Said cites these lines from Blake's *Selected Poetry and Prose* 447, ed. Northrop Frye. New York: Random House, 1953.

[26]In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said establishes that he novel is an incorporative, quasi-encyclopaedic cultural form in which plot mechanism and an entire system of social reference - of bourgeois society with authority and power- are packed. Their heroes and heroines exhibit restless energy characteristic of the enterprising bourgeoisie who are permitted limitless adventures. They either end with the death of their heroes or heroines (such as Julia Sorel or Jude the Obscure) or with their accession to stability in the form of individual success or marriage (such as the novels of Austen, Dickens, or George Eliot) (84).

[27] In addition to Said's brief explanation of how this "lasting trauma" was created by the Balkan horrors from the Ottomans, a full historical account of it is well covered by Andrew Wheatcroft's *Infidels*, 2004, in which the entire historical encounter between Islam and Christianity is described from 622 until the present. His section on the Balkan Ottoman conquests (221-272) provides relevant details of the horrors Muslims and Christians caused each other which contributed to Europe's lasting trauma with Islam which never ceased to exist. The events in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania in the 1990s are proof of its lasting impact.

[28] For more on the western heroes' narratives of the East, see Kabbani 8-10.

[29] For more on the sexual and racial discrimination of English women, see Lisa Lowe's section on Lady Montagu (30-52) and Billie Melman 103- 112.

Chapter 2: Victorian Women Writers And Orientalist Aesthetics: Captivity Narratives And Female Identity

[1]The historical development of the use of the term "Aesthetics" from the Romantics to the Victorian times is well elaborated in *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* by J. A. Cuddon.

[2]'Bourgeois' refers to the middle class of society, and 'ethos' are the guiding beliefs of a person, group, or organization, and hence the term refers to the particular standards of the the middle class Victorian society.

[3]Edward Ziter's article is from *Interrogating Orientalism* by Diane Hoeveler and Jeffrey Cass.

[4] For further details, see Hoeveler and Cass, Edward Ziter's article "Teaching Nineteenth Century Orientalist Entertainments" 224-242.

[5]*Fin de siècle*is a term referring to the end of the century. In this thesis, and in it is precisely referring to the end of the nineteenth century.

[6]In his article, Ziter describes in full details of the performances by Syrians, Algerians, and Indians at the Crystal Palace in 1851, and the way they were publicly perceived as recent and different while at the same time, maintaining the static image of the East, where it did not matter whether the Arabian Nights were initially in India or Baghdad. For full details 229-241.

[7] Makdisi elaborates on the role of Orientalism in the establishment and development of the Romantic literary movement, a point first established by Raymond Schwab in *The Oriental Renaissance*.

[8] These opposite traits were psychic tools the West experimented with unto Eastern nations, by emphasizing and instigating all sorts of negative fallen traits, morally and historically and educating Easterners with, so as to undermine and maintain the inferiority of Easterners and their collaboration with the Western rulers. This is also to overshadow any historical success for Eastern Muslims which may stir revolt against Western tyrannical rule.

[9]Makdisi asserts that this opposition has been in play ever since and is still in play today, in spite of there being Orientalists who dispelled myths about Islam and the East. Even though individual acts and records of literary and cultural exchange may not directly lead to imperial investments, collectively they cannot be easily separated from them (10-11).

[10] The internal other, as mentioned earlier in the introduction chapter, refers to the lower classes in England, as it is members of such a class that are prone to all sorts of negative circumstances such as falling captives in the hands of oriental Muslims.

[11] As most Muslim men marry one woman throughout their lives, and the seraglios with four women was not something any man can afford, only that small percentage of the society would have one or two wives in one house. Certainly, a number of women married to brothers or relatives could be together at times, but even this practice gradually ended throughout the twentieth century. By the twentieth first century, if a Muslim man has more than a wife, they are probably living in separate houses. Thus, the Muslim sultan's seraglio with hundreds of women no longer existed past the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1920, two years after the death of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

[12]All these texts as well as *The Romance of the Harem* (1839) by Julia Pardoe, *Tales of the Harem* (1827) by Mrs Pickersgill, *Girl-life in the Harem: A True Account of Girl-life in Oriental climes* (1908) by Annie Reichardt, *Through Persia on a Side Saddle* (1898) by Ella Constance Sykes, *Our Moslem Sisters* (1907) by Annie Van Sommer and Samuel Zwemer and *Facts and Fictions, illustrative of Oriental Character* (1844) by Marianne Young are highlighted as part of the Colonial Discourses series One: *Women, Travel and Empire 1660-1915,* by Adam Mathew Publications, http://www.ampltd.co.uk/collections_az/col-disc-1-3/description.aspx

[13] See Bekkaouri, Khalid "White Women and Moorish Fancy in Eighteenth-Century Literature*". The Arabian Nights in Historical Context Between East and West.* Edited by Makdisi and Nussbaum. New York: Oxford University Press (2008): 153-66.

[14] See Matar, Nabil. "Christians in The Arabian Nights". *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context Between East and West.* Edited by Makdisi and Nussbaum. New York: Oxford University Press (2008): 131-51.

[15] More details can be found at http://extra.shu.ac.uk/corvey/corinne/Corinne%20authors/1Roberts/BioRoberts.htm

[16] See Andrew Wheatcroft's *Infidels: A History of the Conflict between Christendom and Islam*, part two on the history of Spain where Muslims, Christians and Jewish coexisted peacefully as citizens of one country, in spite of the sense of defilement they felt for each other in sexual relations.

[17] Muhsin J. Ali. *Scheherazade in England: A Study of Nineteenth Century English Criticism of the Arabian Nights* 106-8 and 130 in which he elaborates on the theme of fatalism in the *Nights* and how Romantic and Victorian critics of the *Nights* in the magazines of the day criticized Eastern Muslims' submission to fate without doing much to alter it.

[18]The term giaour means one out of the Muslim faith, specifically a Christian. This term is associated with the nineteenth-century context of the Byronic hero known in Byron's "Turkish Tales".

[19] Shirazi devotes a section on the way "The Veil Sells Politics: U.S. Relations with the Middle-East" in *The Veil Unveiled: The Hijab in Modern Culture*, 48-61.

[20]Cited in Iveta Jusova 4-5.

[21]Also cited in Zonana 600.

[22]The Chiswick Soap copy.

[23] Zonana highlights the continuous use of western feminist discourse for harems as highlighted by Leila Ahmed (1982), Chandra Mohanty (1988) and others to either violently condemn or defensively celebrate the harem institution. Demetra Vaka and Leila Ahmed attempt however to defend polygamy and highlight positive facts for providing a separate space for women in addition to Billie Melman (as cited in Zonana 595).

[24] Zonana reflects this in his elaboration of Gateshead (606-607 and 611), and on Bertha's physical appearance and the true personality she embodies or is supposed to depict in the novel.

[25] This is another printed copy of *Jane Eyre*, by Chiswick Soap Company.

[26] Zonana's article describes the harem structure of these four zones of Brontë's *Jane Eyre* in full detail, and highlights the way Brontë uses the harem metaphor of masters and slaves to warn her society against such degradation.

Chapter 3: The Jewish Question In Victorian Historical Romances

[1] http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/works/novels/talisman.html

[2] All these scholars are cited in Kalmar [Niebuhr, Carsten. *Beschreibung Von Arabien Aus Eigenen Beobachtungen Und Im Lande Selbst Gesammelten Nachrichten* (Copenhagen: Müller, 1772); Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Georg Lasson, *Vorlesungen Über Die Philosophie Der Religion. Hrsg. Von Georg Lasson. Mit Einem Bibliographischen Anhang. (Nachdruck Der 1.Aufl.1925-1927.)*(Hamburg: Meiner, 1966), 18; Ludwig Schlözer, in Johann Gottfried Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, vol. VIII (Leipzig, 1781), 161; Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred, or the New Crusade* (1847)].

[3] Hughenden Papers, Box II, A/III/ C; the entry is dated Sept. 1, 1833 and occurs in the "Mutilated Diary." See also Levine 29.

[4] Levine highlights that Contraini's character is very much in line with Disraeli himself, in many ways. In Contraini Fleming, Disraeli reflects upon his childhood, and his needs for love and assurance then. He also depicts his own determination and ambition, his interest in language and writing so that Contraini's *Manstein* is just another name for Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* (44- 5). Most significantly is Contraini's dream to participate in politics and to be a Prime Minister as well as his depiction of his mentor in the portrayal of Sidonia (46-7).

[5] Many biographies, books and reviews on Benjamin Disraeli or any of his works discuss his consistent and persistent Jewishness. Examples include Robert Livingston Schuyler's "Dizzy: The Life & Personality of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield by Hesketh Pearson", Todd M. Endelman's "Disraeli's Jewishness Reconsidered".

[6] They are *Sybil*, *Coningsby* and *Tancred*.

[7] The electronic article is written in points form, hence 2, indicates the second point and not the page number. Accordingly, any number that appears besides her "Critical Introduction to *Alroy*" in this chapter is the number of point, not page.

[8]It was first published in 1833, then in 1834 and a revised edition in 1846.

[9] According to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, Crypto-Jews are "Jews who secretly practised their religion while officially converting to either Christianity or Islam."http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192800947.001.0001/acref-9780192800947-e-1719

[10] Sheila Spector in *Interrogating Orientalism* in "Orientalism in Disraeli's Alroy" compares *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* to Spenser's The Red Crosse Knight tale in *The Faerie Queene*, 125-33, the full chapter covers 121-36.

[11]Relating to belief in millennium or to a thousand of years.

[12] The article is not paginated, but as it is in point form, these numbers refer to the point number in the article.

[13]According to Ibn Ishaq, a dispute broke out between the Muslims and the Banu Qaynuqa, the allies of the Khazraj tribe in Madinah.A Muslim woman at a jeweller's shop in the Qaynuqa marketplace was harassed by a Jewish goldsmith who pinned her clothing so that upon getting up, she was stripped naked. Hearing this woman's shriek, a Muslim man killed the shopkeeper in retaliation. A mob of Jews from the Qaynuqa tribe then seized upon the Muslim man and killed him. This escalated into a chain of revenge killings between Muslims and Jews, and consequently, Banu Qaynuqa were forced to part with the city (Guillaume 363 and Stillman 122).

[14] Hassan narrates in full detail the contribution of these three Jewish women to their race as Roxallene and Safia brought the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and Esther has the King embrace and prefer all his Jewish subjects and abandon his wife Vashti and his people for her sake. He has chapters on the role of Jewish women in Palestine and other Arab states, their social impact and political influence.

[15]http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1312-alroy

16 Lebrecht, *The State of the Califate of Bagdad* in Asher's edition of Benjamin of Tudela, as cited in Marcus Adler's "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela" article in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* elaborates on the way Alroy led an uprising against Seljuk Sultan Muktafi and invoked his oppressed Jewish community to follow him to Jerusalem. He recruited supporters in the mountains of Chaftan, and wrote letters to rulers of Mosul, Baghdad, and other towns, declaring his divine mission. Although his real name was Menahem ben Solomon, he adopted the name "David Alroy" ("Alroy" possibly indicating "the inspired one") when he began claiming to be the Messiah to imply an association with the house of David. For more on see Israel Abrahams. "A Masterpiece for the Week: Disraeli's 'Alroy.'" The Jewish World. No. 3005 (11 Tamuz 5673/16 July 1913), 9-10. Rpt. Beaconsfield Quarterly, no. 3.41-3.

[17]The main source of the life of Alroy is "Benjamin of Tudela". *Travels*, (ed. A. Asher, 122-127), as cited in Marcus Nathan Adler's article in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*. This is followed by Solomon ibn Verga, in his *Shebeṭ Yehudah* (ed. Wiener, Hebrew text, p. 50). Ibn Verga states, on the authority of Maimonides, that when asked for a proof that he was truly the Messiah, Alroy (or David El-David, as Ibn Verga and David Gans in his *ẒemaḤ* David call him) replied, "Cut off my head and I shall yet live." David Gans, Gedaliah ibn Yahya (in his *Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah*), who calls him David Almusar, and R. Joseph ben Isaac Sambari (see A. Neubauer, *Mediæval Jew*. Chron. i. 123) closely follow Benjamin of Tudela's version.
[18] As highlighted in the novel's preface.

[19] According to Allen, during his career, Caine travelled widely and reflected his experiences abroad in his writings. Some of the places he visited included Iceland, Morocco, Egypt, Palestine, Rome, Berlin, Austria, and the Russian frontier. For many years, he had been concerned with matters relating to copyright. This concern made him travel via the United States of America to Canada, to the Society of Authors where he successfully negotiated for the introduction of copyright protection there (269).

[20]http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/Morocco.html

Chapter 4: The Undesirable Orient At "Home" And "Abroad": Zionism In The Victorian Political Novel

[1] The word "wedge" is used by Regina Sharif to illustrate the British plot of incursion in the Ottoman Empire, to force the Jewish existence as a foreign body to divide the Ottoman Empire and which ultimately facilitated the British colonization of the Middle-East. See http://www.al-moharer.net/falasteen_docs/regina_sharif.htm

[2] Brandabur provides more details on the efforts of Lord Palmerstone and Churchill and their letters on Jewish resettlement in Palestine. See http://cosmos.ucc.ie/cs1064/jabowen/IPSC/articles/article0003404.html

[3] Another source that confirms these details is the Jewish virtual library, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/demograhics.html

[4]According to Eric Nelson Newberg,new Yishuv is the term used to refer to the Jewish settlers in Palestine which established its own schools, industries, trade and labor unions, courts and so on before the establishment of the state of Israel. They were dedicated to a renewal of Jewish nationalism and the end of the Diaspora (32).

[5] Mandel provides details of the restrictions on their entry into Ottoman lands, and how different officials in Palestine reacted to the growth in Jewish population and their purchase of lands, 18-21. He also points out significant details such as the establishment of the APC bank (Anglo-Palestine Company) and the role it played for the benefit of new Jewish settlers in Palestine (23-5).

[6]According to *The Rothschild Archive,* the Balfour agreement or Declaration "(Nov. 2, 1917), is the statement of British support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." It was made in a letter from Arthur James

Balfour, the British foreign secretary, to Lionel Walter Rothschild, 2nd Baron Rothschild (of Tring),a leader of British Jewry".
https://www.rothschildarchive.org/contact/faqs/walter_rothschild_and_the_balfour_declaration

[7] According to Marjie Bloy in *The Victorian Web*, William Ewart Gladstone was Prime Minister four times — from 3 December 1868 to 17 February 1874; from 23 April 1880 to 9 June 1885; from 1 February to 20 July 1886; and from 15 August 1892 to 2 March 1894. He was an enemy of Disraeli as the two were constantly against each other. http://www.victorianweb.org/history/pms/gladston.html. In this chapter, I will refer to Gladstone contribution *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, in 1876, in which he attacks Disraeli's government, the Ottomans and the English Jews such as Disraeli rising to power in England such as Disraeli.

[8]For more on the Rothschild family, see *The Rothschild Archive*, to view the actual letter as it is.

[9] This is in direct reference to the history of the Rothschilds in Europe and their control of their banking systems. For more on the Rothschild's history in Europe and beyond, see *The World's Banker:The History of the House of the Rothschilds* by Niall Ferguson, Penguin books, 1999. There is also *The Rothschilds: Portrait of a Dynasty*, by Frederic Morton, Kodansha, 1998.

[10] A marno-baptized Jew is a Spanish crypto-Jew of Sephardic origins, one who migrated from Spain after the Spanish inquisition to other European countries. More details on this can be found at the *Jewish Encyclopaedia,*
http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10388-marano

[11] Richard Dellamora devotes an excursus on "The Economic Judaism of Karl Marx" (92-101).

[12] Kalmar has a section which elaborates on Disraeli's Jewish, Arab and Christian affiliations and personality, 353-4 before quoting Disraeli's illustration of it in *Tancred*. Disraeli's Jewish orientalist though Empire-biased stance and contribution at the Berlin conference and in his purchase of Suez Canal shares is best explained by Milos Kovic in *Disraeli and the Eastern Question,* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

[13] Kalmar has an entire section in his paper explaining all about "race thinking", that is "Disraeli's demonstrative Semitism because it was closely related to English jingoism" fully elaborated in his *Tancred*. See 361-3.

[14]For the full conversation between Tancred and Fakredeen, see 220- 225.

[15]Like Alroy's prophetic heroism which ends in martyrdom and has readers sympathize with the plight of the Jews and Alroy's doom, Almamen dies for a noble cause too, that is, the emancipation of the Jewish race. Israel ben Oliel dies a hero as well, having Jews, Muslims and gentile readers sympathize with all his sacrifices to redeem himself and start a new peaceful life in England with his daughter. *Tancred* spells and emphasizes the role of such sympathies on the future of Jews at "home" and "abroad".

[16] Aside from his Arabian looks, note his pro-Turkish policies in claiming that the reported Turkish atrocities in the Balkans were exaggerated in 1875 and in allying with Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali against British interests and his visits to Muhammad Ali Pasha in 1837 and 1838 (Kalmar 367-8).

[17]*Anthony Trollope: An Autobiography* (2005) https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/t/trollope/anthony/autobiography/chapter3.html

[18] As the online book is composed in chapters, without page numbers, the chapter will be used to indicate the section from which the information was taken.

[19] http://beholdthestars.blogspot.ae/2014/04/barchester-towers-by-anthony-trollope.html

[20]Borough of Beverley campaign was the political liberal campaign Trollope set against the conservatives in 1868, and lost against the conservative party (Trollope, *An Autobiography* chapter 16).

[21] http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~trollope/results.html

[22] This indication is never discussed, but stands out in the title of Dellamora's fourth chapter "The Lesser Holocaust of William Gladstone and Anthony Trollope".

[23] Dellamora provides more details for this resemblance 108-9.

[24] Dellamora dwells further on the psychological terms associated with money making, egoism, fetish and "Jewish self-hatred" as the ultimate result of sodomy, as illustrated by Trollope in the novel (123-5).

[25]The term recalls the Eastern material and moral indulgences which was initially praised by Mary Montagu and condemned by other Orientalists as aligned with decadence for its possible negative effects on English lives at "home" and possible social contamination and degeneration "abroad". Thus, there is this aesthetic dimension to Trollope's political novel, in its social subplot. Trollope shuns any such kind of relations between Gentiles and Jews or coexistence between the two races as a threatening sort of luxury.

[26] For more details, see Brandabur's article. For an extensive discussion of the Eastern Question in relation to Daniel Deronda, see 'Oriental Elements in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*.' Nasser Athamneh & A. Clare Brandabur. Abhath Al-Yarmouk. 18. 2, (2000): 9-37.

[27] As cited in Lewis 191-2, see also Uglow 268 and McSweeney 134.

[28] Reina Lewis elaborates on the position of the Jews in the racial hierarchy with respect to their being 'not quite not white' of Homi Bhaba in his work on colonial mimicry, 217-8.

[29]McSweeney has a full chapter on *Daniel Deronda;* for more details, see 131-46.

[30] Daniel takes Mirah to live with the Meyricks, who treat her with kindness. Meanwhile Daniel provides for her financially and searches for her mother and brother in the Jewish populated areas in London.

[31] In the course of discussing Disraeli's works and heroes, Levine highlights Carlyle's vision of a hero, so that there Disraeli's heroes fulfill his vision of a hero who could regenerate Victorian England, for example, Tancred and Sidonia in *Coningsby* and *Tancred*, 71. Likewise, Daniel Deronda fulfills these characteristics of a hero who could regenerate England, and hence, he can be seen as a Carlylian-Disraelian hero.

[32] For more on Eliot's criticism of British national identity, see Dellamora 144-5 and 148-9.

[33] Dellamora provides more details on the analogy drawn between Grandcourt and British colonials abroad, see 133.

[34] Uglow dwells on Eliot's opinions on gambling and on the way she portrays it, for Gwendolen a loss, but for Grandcourt an adventure to learn from in 280-2.

[35] For more details on Jewish converts to Christianity in Europe, see *Jewish Encyclopedia* , "Conversion to Christianity" by Kaufmann Kohler. ttp://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4633-conversion-to-christianity

[36] For more on the literary reception of *Daniel Deronda*, see Reina Lewis' *Gendering Orientalism*, 221-9 and Jenny Uglow, 267-8.

[37] Levitt reports that Eliezer Ben Yehuda read *Daniel Deronda* in Russian translation and left his medical studies at the Sorbonne to further the Zionist cause. Moreover, a group of Russian Jews adopted the book and made the 'national restoration their goal,' 46.

[38]According to the Jewish Virtual Library, *Weizmann*was a Zionist leader and Israeli statesman who served as President of the Zionist Organization and later as the first President of Israel from 16 February 1949 until his death in 1952. This political figure also played a role in the making of the Balfour agreement.

[39] Brandabur relates how this novel may be read as "a kind of secular life of Christ" in her analysis of Daniel's prophetic character, his decent and inheritance, relationship to Gwendolen and mission in establishing a new nation for his race in Palestine.

[40] Earlier on she had stated, "Let it be admitted, that it is a calamity to the English, as to any other great historic people, to undergo a premature fusion with immigrants of alien blood", 158.

[41] For more on the relationship between America and Israel, see Brandabur's article.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

[1] See http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v17/v17n1p16_Smith.html

[2] In this thesis, India is not covered for not being a part of the Muslim orient highlighted in the objectives of this study. Indian women were seen as sati victims, and equally oppressed by their patriarchal society, hence an example for English women to avoid.

[3] El Guindi elaborates the impact of feminism campaign unto Eastern Muslim women in the middle East, especially Egypt in her section on Veiling and Feminism (177-184). The impact of this campaign is still evident in the East as some women would still demonstrate to claim equality with men.

[4]As previously mentioned, *The New woman and the Empire* by Iveta Jusova reveals the ambivalent sentiments of some English women writers about the new woman's emancipated status at "home".

[5] Lopez is depicted as an orientalwithin England, and hence threatens to captivate English women into marriage, which alleviates the status of English Jews at the expense of isolating these English women from their former established social relations. Accordingly, as undesirable outsiders, they should not have the chance to increase their wealth or ascend the political ladder.

[6]In fact, the events of 9/11 can be perceived as "the lesser holocaust" that justified the American invasion of Afghanistan, Iraq and the ever worsening conditions in Palestine, as well as the so called "Arab spring" revolutions.

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