

INSTRUCTIONS FROM AUTHOR TO LIBRARY FOR THESES AND PRIZE ESSAYS

RESTRICTION REMOVED

6/24/81

Date _____

ES

Initials

AUTHOR Jay B. Heyman III

TITLE "An Intellectual Biography of Israel Zangwill"

TYPE OF THESIS: Ph.D. [] D.H.L. [] Rabbinic [x]

Master's [] Prize Essay []

1. May circulate [☒]) Not necessary
) for Ph.D.
2. Is restricted [☐] for _____ years.) thesis

Note: The Library shall respect restrictions placed on theses or prize essays for a period of no more than ten years.

I understand that the Library may make a photocopy of my thesis for security purposes.

3. The Library may sell photocopies of my thesis. ☒
- yes no

December 21, 1970
Date

Jay B. Heyman
Signature of Author

Library
Record

Microfilmed

Date _____

6/29/71

Anoira Steiner
Signature of Library Staff Member

AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Jay B. Heyman III

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters
and Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

1971

Referee, Prof. Stanley F. Chyet

To Bobbi

DIGEST

This thesis is intended to be an intellectual biography of Israel Zangwill. Zangwill was a Jew and an Englishman, a child of the Emancipation as well as a product of late-Victorian London. As an English author of some significance, he wrote material of particular interest to students of English literature. And as a Jew, writing frequently about Jews and Judaism, his Jewish writings are of particular interest to fellow post-Emancipation Jews living in the twentieth century. Zangwill lived at an exciting and controversial period in Jewish history. It was the time shortly after the typically modern problem of Jewish identity in an open society first developed. It was the time when traditional religion was challenged by the development of modern science. And it was the time when the call for a Jewish homeland was heard around the world. All of these, and more, are subjects that Israel Zangwill confronted daily in his life and work.

The thesis itself is divided into three main parts. Part One, consisting of two chapters, is devoted mainly to information indicating the social and personal history shaping individuals such as Israel Zangwill. Chapter I presents a brief outline of the historical development and socio-economic standing of the British Jewish community into which Zangwill was born. Chapter II deals with Zangwill's personal history: a brief outline of his life and canon.

Part Two consists of three chapters. It deals with the post-Emancipation world in which Zangwill lived. Chapter III reviews Zangwill's attempt to deal with the problem of Jewish identity in the late-Victorian period. Chapter IV proceeds to outline Zangwill's

attitude toward religion in general, and Judaism in particular, in its crisis with the world of science. Chapter V surveys Zangwill's involvement with Zionism and the Jewish Territorial Organization of which he was president.

Part Three--Chapter VI--deals with Zangwill's prospectus for the future: his hope for Jews and Judaism in the years to come. Just as other Jewish intellectuals the world over, dwelling in and emerging from a relatively autonomous marginal society, contributed to the world of thought in philosophy, economics and history, so Israel Zangwill presented his observations and hopes for a utopian society and a universal religion.

I am indebted to Professor Stanley F. Chyet whose advice and concern made the writing of this thesis easier. I am extremely grateful to him for his guidance.

jh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
-------------------	---

PART ONE

THE WORLD OF LATE-VICTORIAN JEWRY

Chapter I.	ENGLAND AND HER JEWS.....	5
Chapter II.	ZANGWILL'S LIFE AND CANON.....	9

PART TWO

THE WORLD OF ZANGWILL: PRESENT

Chapter III.	JEWISH IDENTITY IN THE MODERN WORLD.....	19
Chapter IV.	ENGLISH JUDAISM.....	39
Chapter V.	ZIONISM AND TERRITORIALISM.....	46

PART THREE

THE WORLD OF ZANGWILL: FUTURE

Chapter VI.	THE MELTING POT AND THE NEXT RELIGION.....	61
AFTERWORD.....		67
NOTES.....		70
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		78

Introductory Note

Israel Zangwill has often been described as a man of "violent contraries" who, throughout his life and writings, maintained a philosophical system built on untenable premises. Zangwill was indeed a complex personality, but his intellectual and literary activity amounts to much more than simply airing his predilection for "joining opposing views." In addition to his literary work as essayist, novelist, playwright, and translator, Zangwill was also interested in and committed to Zionism, Territorialism, pacifism, women's suffrage, and religion. If he has been bitterly attacked for intellectual inconsistency, then he has been equally praised for his "catholicity of interest."

Having such a wide range of interest, Zangwill was deeply involved and widely read in art, history, literature, philosophy, religion and sociology. Perhaps, given these credentials, Zangwill may lay claim to an ability actually greater than has been acknowledged in the past. Zangwill, it may be, was not quite so reckless as others would have him appear, but it is only after careful study that the "violent contraries" in his life and work slip away.

It has been noted that Zangwill was an eminently fair man with a keen sense of justice. As a result of this fairness, he could never let a point of view pass through one of his works without presenting its opposite. Such a variety of views has been

a constant source of trouble to biographers and critics seeking to discover which of the positions, if not all, were held by Zangwill himself. This is where earlier biographers and critics failed: the point where one is tempted to draw from fictional statements a valid inference regarding the personal feelings or biography of the author. Such an approach ignores simple psychological facts. The author may be hiding behind a "mask," an anti-self, which disguises his real feelings. Furthermore, even if a given work of art does contain identifiable biographical elements, it is likely that those elements will be so rearranged that they lose all or at least very considerable meaning in terms of the author. Since a work of art is not a document for biography, in this thesis any biographical interpretation will be subject to careful scrutiny and examination.

In the forty four years since his death, only two books have been published dealing with Zangwill's works. Joseph Leftwich's biography of his close friend consists of a series of essays about Zangwill's life filled with anecdotes and uncited quotations. Though poorly organized and badly written, Leftwich's book does provide the reader with a great deal of information about Zangwill's personal life. More recently, Maurice Wohlgelernter has published a "critical study" of Zangwill. According to John Gross, in an article written for Commentary magazine, Wohlgelernter begins by acknowledging Zangwill's literary deficiencies, and concentrates on his personality and historical significance. Wohlgelernter "spends more time placing Zangwill in the context of minor turn-of-the-century

novelists...than in following up topics which one would otherwise have supposed were of more immediate interest to a teacher at Yeshiva University."¹

This thesis is intended to be an intellectual biography of Israel Zangwill. Biographical material is of interest solely as a means for understanding the development of the man's thought. Zangwill was a Jew and an Englishman, a child of the Emancipation as well as a product of late Victorian London. As an English author of some significance, he wrote material of particular interest to students of English literature. And as a Jew, writing frequently about Jews and Judaism, his Jewish writings are of particular interest to fellow post-Emancipation Jews living in the twentieth century. Zangwill lived at an exciting and controversial period in Jewish history. It was the time shortly after the typically modern problem of Jewish identity in an open society first developed. It was the time when traditional religion was challenged by the development of modern science. And it was the time when the call for a Jewish homeland was heard around the world. All of these, and more, are subjects that Israel Zangwill confronted daily in his life and work.

The thesis itself is divided into three main parts. Part One, consisting of two chapters, is devoted mainly to information indicating the social and personal history shaping individuals such as Israel Zangwill. Chapter I presents a brief outline of the historical development and socio-economic standing of the British Jewish community into which Zangwill was born.

Chapter II deals with Zangwill's personal history: a brief outline of his life and canon.

Part Two consists of three chapters. It deals with the post-Emancipation world in which Zangwill lived. Chapter III reviews Zangwill's attempt to deal with the problem of Jewish identity in the late Victorian period. Chapter IV proceeds to outline Zangwill's attitude toward religion in general, and Judaism in particular, in its crisis with the world of science. Chapter V surveys Zangwill's involvement with Zionism and the Jewish Territorial Organization of which he was president.

Part Three--Chapter VI--deals with Zangwill's prospectus for the future: his hope for Jews and Judaism in the years to come. Just as other Jewish intellectuals the world over, dwelling in and emerging from a relatively autonomous marginal society, contributed to the world of thought in philosophy, economics and history, so Israel Zangwill presented his observations and hopes for a utopian society and a universal religion.²

Part One

THE WORLD OF LATE-VICTORIAN JEWRY

Chapter I

England and Her Jews

During the reign of Edward I, on July 18, 1290, the Jews were ordered to leave England. It is estimated that, in this one of many such expulsions in Jewish history, altogether some sixteen thousand Jews left England.¹ Before Jews would resume legal residence in England, almost four centuries were to pass after the expulsion of 1290. It was not until 1655, following a conference of British lawyers, that a formal declaration was issued to the effect that nothing in English law prevented the settlement of Jews in England. A year later, Jews were tacitly readmitted to England.²

In England, as in other countries, the achievement of Jewish rights was a slow process. Finally, in 1858, when Baron Lionel Rothschild was seated in Parliament, substantial Jewish political equality was granted. At the time of Rothschild's seating there were some thirty thousand Jews living in Great Britain, of which twenty-five thousand at least lived in London and its suburbs.³ This typically middle-class group were mostly involved in shopkeeping and petty trades, with a large number of prosperous merchants.⁴ By 1880, despite its size, British Jewry, reaching a high political, social and cultural level, had become quite secure. With Queen Victoria naming Nathaniel Meyer Rothschild as the first Jew to enter the House of Lords in 1885, emancipation

had reached its climax.⁵ Some six hundred years after their expulsion, Jews were once again in England, mixing relatively easily in English society at almost every level.

It was at this point that the Eastern European immigrants began to arrive. The May Laws of 1881 let loose a flood of immigrants seeking to escape Russia and her anti-semitism; hundreds of thousands passed through England in transit to America.. Between 1881 and 1914 nearly a quarter of a million Jews decided to remain in England; the United States was still three thousand miles away.⁶ For the most part those who stayed in England remained in London and settled around Whitechapel Road, the industrial slum of East London. By the turn of the century there were approximately one hundred and ten thousand Jews in London of whom one hundred thousand were living in the East End; out of these approximately sixty thousand had been born abroad.⁷

The face of the Anglo-Jewish community changed greatly with the wave of new immigrants. Before 1881, the Jews of England were mostly businessmen and financiers; they were inundated by a community which was essentially proletarian. Nearly half of the newly arrived workers in the East End were tailors; the rest were peddlers, shoe workers, cigar makers, produce dealers, and petty retailers.⁸

The arrival in London of these large immigrant masses in more or less destitute condition increased general awareness and sensitivity to the presence of Jews in England. Contemporary English society, prompted by various social, economic and religious

factors, became very much interested in the place of the Jew in England. Such concerns were thoroughly treated in a study, published in 1901, entitled The Jew In London. This analysis of the Jewish social structure and conditions in the "ghetto," prepared by sociologists Charles Russell and H.S. Lewis for the Toynbee Trustees of London, gave close attention to the hostilities developing within the indigenous working class which viewed the Jewish immigrants as "unfairly qualified for success in the industrial market by the combination of a sleuth-hound instinct for gain, with 'an indefinitely low standard of life'..."⁹ These hostile feelings perhaps influenced the creation of a Parliamentary Commission in 1902 which surveyed living and working conditions in the East End. Contrary to what popular belief held, the Commission's report observed that "the Russian Jewish newcomers were generally an honest and industrious group, and that most of the charges against them--cut throat competition, immorality, and personal uncleanness, were completely unfounded."¹⁰

Even though the charges against the immigrants were unfounded, the authors of The Jew In London sought to discover the source of the problem; to discover why, in fact, the hostilities did manifest themselves. The development of the current anti-Semitic feeling was seen as a reaction to the mere presence of a large non-assimilating group of foreigners:

So long as the Jews remain an isolated and peculiar people, self-centered in their organization, and fundamentally alien in their ideas and aims, the rapid growth of their community can hardly be regarded with complete satisfaction.¹¹

The prejudices of hostile London workers, it was felt, could and should be overcome. The solution proposed was that of rapid and complete assimilation:

A "state within a state" is generally recognized as an undesirable anomaly; and so long as the Jews remain independent and unabsorbed, they must expect to be regarded as strangers in the land.¹²

Russell and Lewis, in advocating assimilation as a solution to latent anti-semitism, had a particular model in mind: the "English" element of Anglo-Jewry. Unlike their more conservative brethren--the simple and humble Jews of Eastern Europe who were bound together in their talmudic tradition by isolation and persecution--the more "educated English Jews," notably among the upper middle class, were often on the way to abandoning their Jewish identification in becoming "proper" members of late-Victorian society.

Such was the political, social, and religious reality of late-Victorian Jewry. This was the milieu in which Israel Zangwill lived. He was born shortly after English Jews gained political equality; as a young man, he observed the influx of immigrants and the growth of the East London ghetto; as he grew older, he witnessed the immigrants' gradual assimilation and the dilution of their Jewish identity; before he died, the movement had already begun away from the East End and into suburban London.

Chapter II

Zangwill's Life and Canon

Israel Zangwill's parents were among the first immigrants from Russia and Poland. Moses Zangwill had come to London from Latvia in 1851, thirty years before the pogroms of 1881 sent new waves of immigrants from the lands of Russian persecution. Ellen Hannah Marks, Zangwill's mother, came from a small town near Brest Litovsk in Lithuania. They had come to England separately, and did not meet for some years. At that time Whitechapel and the Lane were the stronghold of Dutch Jews.¹

Moses Zangwill would have loved to spend his days as a perpetual student, studying Talmud and other Jewish lore, allowing his wife to earn the family income. His wish, however, was not to be fulfilled. Moses Zangwill and Ellen Hannah Marks were married on February 6, 1861, in the Great Synagogue by the chief rabbi, Dr. Marcus Adler. As the head of the new household, Moses began peddling and trading old clothes to earn the family living. Unable to earn enough because of the competition in the London area, he became a traveling salesman, and the couple took up residence in Plymouth.²

In Children of the Ghetto, Zangwill might have had his father in mind when he drew a vivid picture of the life and problems of Moses Ansell:

To Moses, "travelling" meant staying forlornly in strange towns and villages, given over to the worship of an alien deity and ever ready to avenge his

crucifixion; in a land whose tongue he knew scarce more than the Saracen damsel married by legend to à Becket's father. It meant praying brazenly in crowded railway trains, winding the phylacteries sevenfold round his left arm and crowning his forehead with a huge leather bump of righteousness, to the bewilderment or irritation of unsympathetic fellow passengers. It meant living chiefly on dry bread and drinking black tea out of his own cup, with meat and fish and the good things of life utterly banned by the traditional law, even if he were flush....It meant putting up at low public houses and common lodging houses, where rowdy disciples of the Prince of Peace often sent him bleeding to bed, or shamelessly despoiled him of his merchandise, or bullied and blustered him out of his fair price, knowing he dared not resent.³

In general new arrivals in England engaged in the two branches of economic activity which had been forced upon them by the restrictions against trade and manufacture which prevailed on the continent: trading in second hand goods, particularly old clothing, and peddling.⁴

It was during a visit Moses and his wife made to London that their second child, Israel, was born. Born in London, six years after Jewish political equality became a reality when Baron Rothschild entered Parliament, Israel Zangwill himself became a child of the ghetto. Leah and Mark, the first and third children, were born in Plymouth. Later the family moved to Bristol, where Louis was born. The youngest child, Dinah, was born shortly after the Zangwill's returned to live in London.⁵

Israel Zangwill's mother has been described as an active and rebellious woman who did not share her husband's great religious piety. In his biography of Zangwill, Joseph Leftwich makes this comment:

A correspondent in the Jewish Chronicle once suggested that there must have been heated religious arguments in the Zangwill home. The domineering cousin Malka in Children of the Ghetto spoke to Moses Ansell something in the way that Mrs. Zangwill must have spoken to her husband, Moses Zangwill. With all her competence and brilliance, the old lady was a Tartar, and living with her must have been hard for Moses Zangwill, who wanted a quiet life, prayer and study....She respected him, no doubt, but she had no patience with his ineffectualness, with his being a Shlemiel, luckless and unachieving. The word Shlemiel must have been heard quite a lot in that poor household.⁶

It was only natural that Zangwill should have been preoccupied in later years with this antithesis between the Jewish and the Pagan, between Hebraism and Hellenism. It is a theme, intimately bound up with the problem of Jewish identity, which finds expression in some of his most significant works.

Like many other youngsters living in and around London's East End, Israel Zangwill attended the Jews' Free School. The school gave him a scholarship in 1877 and 1888, the examiners being "struck by the excellence of his papers."⁷ At the Jews' Free School, Zangwill acquired the deep and extensive knowledge of Jewish lore which is apparent in his writings.

Following his graduation from the Jews' Free School, Zangwill became a pupil teacher at that same institution. Later he was promoted to the regular staff. In the meanwhile, he attended the University of London from which he was graduated in 1884 with an honors degree in literature.

Zangwill's literary career began at the age of fourteen while he was still a pupil teacher at the Jews' Free School. With the help of a friend, Louis Cowen, he wrote and published

Motza Kleis in 1882. This, his first printed book, was a pamphlet containing pictures of Jewish life in the East End. The description of market day along Petticoat Lane was later incorporated into Children of the Ghetto. Motza Kleis was issued anonymously because it was correctly felt that the school authorities would not like it. Because Zangwill mocked the idiom of some of his "uncultivated" Jewish brethren by reproducing many Hebrew and Yiddish words in dialect, and because he induced a friend to advertise the book by pinning posters on the city lamp posts during the night, the authorities of Jews' Free School called him before a faculty committee. The committee ruled that Zangwill be given the choice of submitting his works to the faculty censorship prior to their publication, or expulsion. He chose the former, intending to write without publishing, at least for the time being. In 1887, Zangwill clashed once again with the authorities of the Jews' Free School. The conflict centered about freedom of expression and resulted in Zangwill's voluntary resignation of his instructorship.⁸

Without work or income, Zangwill, collaborating with Louis Cowen, wrote his first novel, The Premier and The Painter, published in 1888. While he was editing the short-lived satirical weekly, Ariel, a long philosophical essay entitled "English Judaism" appeared over his signature in the newly founded Jewish Quarterly Reivew. Then Zangwill wrote two collections of sketches, The Bachelor's Club and The Old Maid's Club, using his own name on the title page. Both of these humorous books were later published

together under the title The Celibates' Club.⁹

On the basis of these two collections, and Zangwill's essay on "English Judaism," Judge Mayer Sulzberger, chairman of the Publication Committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America, sent emissaries to England to convince Zangwill to write a book on Jewish life in Western society. Sulzberger found Zangwill's essay, which set forth many of the ideas the Londoner later expressed in Children of the Ghetto, to be an illuminating analysis of the state of English Judaism, showing up with good humor, but at the same time unsparing fullness, the anomalies, the contradictions, and the hypocrisies that had accompanied the process of adjustment of Jewish customs to the English environment.¹⁰ Zangwill finally accepted the offer after Judge Sulzberger contacted him personally in London.¹¹ In 1892, he wrote Children of the Ghetto.

When Judge Sulzberger approached Zangwill, he was looking for a "Jewish Robert Elsmere"--a Jewish analogue to Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel about the spiritual crisis of a young Anglican clergyman.¹² In its stead, he received a portrait of the Anglo-Jewish community, a social panorama. Joseph Leftwich reports that when Children of the Ghetto was first published, it aroused a great deal of criticism among English and American Jews who felt that the book showed the Jews in a bad light.¹³ Despite all this, the approval that Zangwill's work received from his contemporaries was, for the most part, encouraging to the author. Modder, in The Jew in the Literature of England, points out that

the book did much to advance the cause of the Jew throughout the world; certain anti-alien legislation submitted to the British government for consideration was dropped because of the sympathy aroused by Zangwill's work.¹⁴

The ten years beginning with 1892 were crowded with many literary publications of merit. In 1893, Zangwill published another novel, Merely Mary Ann. In that same year appeared They That Walk In Darkness, a series of ghetto stories and sketches, later republished as Ghetto Tragedies. The appearance in 1894 of The King of Schnorrers, a study of a Jewish beggar, the king of all beggars, in an eighteenth-century setting, set a great part of London laughing.

Zangwill's Jewish canon continued in 1898 when he returned to the Jewish scene--following the publication of The Master and The Mantle of Elijah, two books on non-Jewish themes--with Dreamers of the Ghetto. This novel is a semi-historical chronicle of dreamers, born in the ghetto "from its establishment in the sixteenth century to its slow breaking up in our own day."¹⁵ Zangwill examined the "Jewish problem" through the lives of such rebels as Uriel Acosta, Spinoza, Heine, and Disraeli, who tried to "break the iron bands of the synagogue or to express its spirit in terms of the modern world."¹⁶ Dreamers of the Ghetto shows how they failed to realize their dream.

Two major events changed Zangwill's literary interests from art to propaganda: his meeting with Theodore Herzl in 1895 which drew his attention more closely to the Jewish question and

Zionism, and his marriage to Edith Ayrton in 1903 which brought him completely out of the ghetto.

When Herzl came to England and interested Zangwill in Zionism, Zangwill gave up an outstanding literary career at the height of his power. Writing articles, speeches and books, Zangwill devoted himself almost completely from that time until the end of his life to the problem of suffering Jewry. Despite his preoccupation with Zionism and his work as president of the Jewish Territorial Organization, he did manage to publish some creative work, but the novels and plays were few and far between.¹⁷

Zangwill met his wife, Edith Ayrton, while visiting in the home of her father, Professor W.E. Ayrton, in 1885. Following a long friendship, Israel and Edith finally became engaged.¹⁸ Zangwill was approaching forty when they married on November 26, 1903, in a London registry office. There was no religious ceremony. According to the general consensus of the irate Jewish community, Israel Zangwill had married out of the faith. At least one biographer explained that Edith Ayrton fulfilled Zangwill's expectation that a woman be spiritually and intellectually independent of her husband. Perhaps here was a woman who could challenge and stimulate, and complement the development of his character. If anything, Zangwill's marriage did just that. Maurice Wohlgelemerter relates the effect marriage had on Zangwill's life:

Marriage precipitated a temporary departure from the strictures of parochialism so often associated with ghetto life. This was to be accomplished not by a complete renunciation of Zangwill's past but rather a synthesis of Judaism and Christianity. His attitude did not arise suddenly but was a gradual

development in his thinking. He wanted to erase the differences between the two faiths by melting them in a crucible of love, into some form of universal brotherhood where all distinctions between men and religions disappear. For Zangwill himself some of these differences were removed in marriage.¹⁹

Israel Zangwill considered his marriage somewhat more than a "temporary departure from the strictures of parochialism." He considered his wife's religious outlook very near his own.²⁰

A character in Children of the Ghetto once asked, "Why shouldn't a Jew without Judaism marry a Christian without Christianity?"²¹

Perhaps this question was, in fact, Zangwill's own. This, of course, leads to the question of Zangwill's religious outlook which we will treat in Chapter IV. It is significant, though, that Zangwill considered himself a Jew by religious as well as social and ethnic ties--and was so considered by others--and his wife, whose religious outlook was so near his own, closely identified herself with his belief and work.

Toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Zangwill began combining his creative artistry and humanitarian concerns more frequently. In 1908, he produced The Melting Pot in Washington, D.C. This play expresses Zangwill's hope that the United States would be the means of regenerating the entire human race. In 1911, he wrote The War God, the first of a trilogy on the subject of international wars. The other plays of this series, The Cockpit and The Forcing House, appeared in 1920 and 1922, respectively.

Zangwill, in almost all his works, expresses the hope that "all men will ultimately be united in brotherhood under one

God.²² This theme, however, finds its clearest expression most often in Zangwill's works on war, peace, and religion. Religion is dealt with in two plays: The Next Religion (1912) and Plaster Saints (1915). In The Next Religion, Zangwill points out the need for a new international religion; with every man his own priest, such a religion would create a world of forgiveness and toleration.

In The Voice of Jerusalem, a collection of essays published in 1921, Zangwill expresses, among other things, his views on Judaism and Christianity, and his disappointment with the Zionist movement.

Though he was frail and weak, suffering from constant insomnia, Zangwill did not hesitate to accept an invitation to speak at the annual meeting in New York of the American Jewish Congress in October, 1923. Maurice Wohlgelemerter describes what took place in Carnegie Hall after Zangwill, in his famous speech, "Watchman, What of the Night," declared the death of political Zionism:

No sooner had he concluded than the leaders of world Zionism...poured their wrath on his head. In many other speeches and interviews following this address Zangwill also criticized American life and times, to the amazement of friend and foe alike. The counter-attack was merciless and caustic. Unable to withstand the violence of his enemies, he decided to return to the ivory tower of art.²³

Zangwill's last work, We Moderns, failed bitterly. In this three-act comedy, he attacked the new ideas of the times and criticized the Freudians for their conceptions of sex and love. Disgusted and dejected by the failure of We Moderns,

Zangwill "decided to produce for a season a series of his own plays."²⁴ He became involved, as his own producer, in problems over scenery and properties. In the difficulties, Zangwill lost both a law suit and his health. His last years had become saddened by artistic, financial, and personal failure. He succumbed on August 1, 1926, after a final breakdown. Zangwill was sixty-two when he died. He was survived by his wife, who died in Edinburgh in 1945; a daughter who suffered a nervous breakdown six years after his death; and two sons: Oliver, a psychologist, and Ayrton, an engineer. A Liberal rabbi performed Zangwill's cremation service; his ashes were buried in the Liberal Jewish Cemetery.²⁵

Part Two

THE WORLD OF ZANGWILL: PRESENT

Chapter III

Jewish Identity in the Modern World

Though he was born many decades after its waning, Israel Zangwill's art and interests can best be understood against the background of the Enlightenment. During the eighteenth century, a new spirit of brotherhood, liberty and justice had arisen in the world, with the interests of mankind seeming to dictate an emphasis on the similarities binding men together rather than their differences. As the eighteenth century wore on, it had become more and more apparent that the concepts of a universal law, universal human nature, and universal rationality made the exclusion of the Jew a gross anomaly.¹ It was during this period that the Jews of Western Europe began moving out of their ghetto existence and into a life full of political rights and citizenship.

The inevitable result of the Enlightenment spirit was the gradual breakdown of traditional forms of religion. Often those who had seized on the spirit of the times could no longer maintain their ties to religions which, through their claims to direct revelation and divine favor, could be seen only as hindering all efforts at unity among men. The spirit of the age led some sensitive thinkers to create or re-emphasize religious systems more appropriate to the times, such as Unitarianism and Reform Judaism.

Reform Judaism came into existence in the nineteenth

century. It developed more or less as a response to the problem of Jewish existence in a world of growing relative equality for Jews. The Jewish problem was at once a problem for both Jews and Judaism. From the religious perspective, the new age created manifold conflicts: Reform Judaism conflicted with Orthodoxy; liberal Christianity challenged liberal Judaism; and modern science threatened to crush all religious belief. In Chapter IV, we shall discuss Zangwill's treatment of the religious side of this issue.

Problems for Jews, as well as for Judaism, were created by the new age. Jews often felt it necessary to choose between the past and the present, between ghetto life and the free world, between Jewish life and secular society, between Hebraism and Hellenism. Zangwill, in basic agreement with Matthew Arnold, felt that both Hebraism and Hellenism--though differing in their governing ideas--still pursue the same end, the salvation of man. In Culture and Anarchy, Arnold points out that the essence of Hebraism lies in its "strictness of conscience;" that of Hellenism, in its "spontaneity of conscience."² If Arnold found more value in Hellenism, he did so not because he disparaged the firm practice of one's duty, but because he considered a stress on beauty and rationality a more profound index of the human spirit. Though more favorably inclined toward Hellenism, Arnold nevertheless found a third element--"culture"--which transcends both. To Arnold, "culture" is the love and study of perfection. It is not merely a state of mind, but mainly that impulse which drives individual men toward the betterment of mankind through love and

beneficence. It is "culture," in the Arnoldian sense, which when synthesized with Hebraism and Hellenism, presents the reader with a notion of how Zangwill would visualize human salvation.

Like many others, Israel Zangwill was very much a part of the conflict between Hebraism and Hellenism, expressing it in both his life and works. In Zangwill's case, it was doubtless intensified by the example of his parents. As we have mentioned above, two separate traditions existed in the Zangwill home: piety and paganism, orthodoxy and heterodoxy.³ John Gross, in a Commentary article for the Zangwill centennial, mentions that

His father whom he deeply admired, was a model of traditional piety; his mother, whom he is supposed to have taken after in character, was a hard-headed "pagan"....To a considerable extent the son can be seen as living out the parents' conflict; and if he often found this oppressive, it also gave him his true subject as a writer.⁴

The conflict provided Zangwill with a subject he deals with incidentally in almost all of his Jewish works. But only once, in Dreamers of the Ghetto, does he come to grips with it to the exclusion of all other interests.

Zangwill sought to possess the best of both possible worlds. He was not so much a man of "violent contraries" as he was a "child of the Emancipation." Like the rest of us, for we are all children of the Emancipation, Zangwill wished to enjoy the things he knew and loved. He loved both England and Jewish life. Zangwill, according to Leftwich, was unlike other Anglo-Jewish writers who "had thrown off the gaberdine in the English sunshine. Zangwill threw it open but always kept it on."⁵ He loved the traditions of the Jewish

household, yet he "hankered after the heathen." He loved the fresh air of the English countryside, yet he grew up in and devoted a great deal of his life to the ghetto. He strove to turn himself into a successful English man of letters, but he continually returned to write about Jewish topics. It becomes clear that for Zangwill the highest form of life and living was being a Jew and an Englishman.⁶

While Zangwill outwardly lived as both Jew and Englishman, inwardly--spiritually--he sought, through a synthesis of the Jewish and the secular, to refashion his world for the salvation of humanity. Zangwill often spoke of this synthesis between Hebraism and Hellenism; he was neither for the Greek beating the Hebrew nor the Hebrew beating the Greek in the great war between the cultures:

But as so many thinkers are beginning to see, these ideals are not in necessary opposition: in one soul Greek may meet Hebrew with no tug of war, moral aspirations may be wed with artistic, and conscience be reconciled to culture. How easily the two ideals fused in Tennyson--the cult of beauty and the cult of righteousness.¹⁷

Although Zangwill looked forward to such a synthesis, he remained aware that the Jews most needed development in art and general culture. Even if the "sensuous conception of life" was of more immediate interest to Zangwill than Hebraism with its "Puritan narrowness" and conception of life as "all soul and synagogue," still the two ideals were to be fused in a harmonious balance. Such a stance certainly does not reveal a "mass of inconsistencies."

Many of the newly emancipated Jews were unable satisfactorily to solve the problem of their Jewishness. Zangwill, like many others liberated once and for all from the ties of Orthodoxy, wished to

maintain some kind of cultural continuity. To this end Zangwill calls for the synthesis of Hebraism and Hellenism; some Jewish values will be seen as a priceless heritage, others as a "millstone round the modern Jew's neck." A consideration of some of Zangwill's works will reveal more closely the nature of the Jewish conflict, and how a child of both the ghetto and the emancipation solves that conflict.

In his magnum opus, Zangwill attempts to cope with a persistent Jewish problem: the survival of Judaism in the great, open Western society. In writing Children of the Ghetto, Zangwill did not abandon altogether the "Jewish Robert Elsmere" theme Judge Sulzberger wanted. In this epic novel, the author asks if the religion of the Jews can be maintained with dignity in liberal England; if Jews can survive as Jews in a non-persecutory environment? At the heart of the novel stands an intelligent young girl from the Whitechapel slums trying to make sense of being Jewish in the world of late-Victorian London.⁸ This intelligent girl, Esther Ansell, is the author's "truest" spokesman in his quest for options to ghetto life, on the one hand, and assimilation, on the other.

Esther was born into a completely Jewish environment. Her family, typical of the East End, combined their lack of life's necessities with overabundant religious piety. Esther was surrounded everywhere by the life of Whitechapel. Her only knowledge of the larger English society came from the shoppers who visited Whitechapel on Petticoat lane buying days, the Anglo-Jewish press, and the novels she read. Esther's achieving spirit and lively intelligence earn her a scholarship which finally enables her to become a pupil-teacher.

When her immediate family, no longer able to bear their poverty-level existence in the East End, chooses a popular option to the ghetto, America, Esther is "adopted" into the home of the Goldsmiths, a well-to-do North London Jewish family. Now the cultured and university-trained Esther, an aspiring literary artist of some quality, outwardly lives as a member of the assimilated Jewish middle class. Inwardly, however, her heart is elsewhere; she satirizes Jewry's upper and middle classes in her one literary effort, the pseudonymous novel Mordechai Josephs. Zangwill, through Esther's life among assimilated middle-class Jews, voices one of his many criticisms of this way of life as a viable option to the traditional Jewish life in the ghetto.⁹ The ways and beliefs of the ghetto are not possible for the modern Jew to digest, yet the middle-class of North London offers nothing but emptiness. The following remark pinpoints all the mixed-up feelings stirring in Esther:

For instance, a gentleman said to me the other day--
I was much touched by the expression--"I believe with
my father's heart."¹⁰

Esther would have liked to believe with her father's heart. But that was now impossible. She would have liked to believe even with her own heart. But what to believe; whom to believe? Before she can begin to answer these questions, "Esther had first to ask herself what has properly become one of the most important preliminary questions of post-emancipation Jewry: Why persist in being Jewish?"¹¹

Searching for an answer to her questions, Esther examines the depths of both Hebraism and Hellenism. She finds inspiration in the liberal, neo-orthodox views of the Oxford dilettante, Raphael

Leon. She visits him at his editorial office of The Flag of Judah, a new Jewish periodical, where they often discuss matters of Jewish interest. In his ideas, there is a chance that Esther will discover once again her Jewish self. Gradually Esther's friendship with Raphael warms and she reveals her humble background as well as her inner-most struggles. Esther tells Raphael of the "real world of Jewishness" in which she grew up. She finds his words inspiring, but unreal:

You have lived among your books...I have lived among the brutal facts. I was born in the Ghetto, and when you talk of the Mission of Israel, silent sardonic laughter goes through me as I think of the squalor and misery.¹²

Esther could find no signs for that "mission" in English Jewry of which Raphael spoke. Inside the ghetto, she could only find squalor and misery; outside the ghetto, ostentation and indifference. The dichotomy only served to increase her restlessness. If the brand of Judaism espoused by Raphael Leon was unpalatable, where would she turn to seek a viable, honest Jewish life?

From Hebraism, Esther turns her quest to examine the spirit of Hellenism. Like the "Salon Jewesses" of post-Mendelssohnian Berlin, Esther was attracted to romanticism which she envisioned as the antithesis of commandment-centered Judaism.¹³ To Esther's mind, Judaism lacked the kind of spirituality found in Hellenistic culture and the Christian religion. She remarks to Raphael:

As, yes, said Esther sadly...; but this is a Judaism of your own creation. The real Judaism is a religion of pots and pans. It does not call to the soul's depths like Christianity.¹⁴

Esther plunges into the Hellenistic world of "spontaneity of conscience."

She comes to view Beauty as the one ideal in life which is not an illusion. She appreciates the Bible, not for its holiness, but for its beauty as a work of art. But for all her freedom in the secular world of Hellenism, Esther has failed to end her quest for a viable Jewish identity.

It is at this point, when Esther experiences a gnawing lack of Jewish content and meaning in her life, that she enters a transitional stage. Zangwill changes her quest from a search of the external world to one of the inner self. Silverman, in his essay "Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto," points out that,

For Zangwill, like many of the later existential writers who believe that authentic questions of personal and cosmic meaning must begin with the self, the Jew cannot find security in externals, whether it be the blind faith of the fathers or avantgarde skepticism, until these externals are internalized within the self in experience.¹⁵

Self-understanding comes rather abruptly to Esther; an old playmate, now turned suitor, is rebuked and, in turn, lashes out at Esther:

But what are you, after all? A Schnorrer--that's all! A Schnorrer living on the charity of strangers... It's in the blood...Moses Ansell's daughter--a pedlar, who went about the country with brass jewellery and stood in the lane with lemons, and schnorred half-crowns off my father!¹⁶

This was Esther's moment of truth. The self-scrutiny, brought on by her accuser's words, revealed that she, who had satirized the idea of Israel as the servant of the world, was nothing but a schnorrer:

A Schnorrer, and the daughter of a Schnorrer! Yes, that was what she was...What hopes could she ever cherish? In literature she was a failure; the critics gave her a few gleams of encouragement, while all her acquaintances, from Raphael downwards, would turn and rend her, should

she declare herself...Again, she asked herself, what had existence to offer her?¹⁷

How, she wondered, could she possibly help mankind until she gained her own self-reliance? To free herself, Esther leaves the Goldsmith home; then she goes to Raphael to confess her authorship of the satirical novel Mordechai Josephs. Having done so, Esther now must return to the ghetto. She feels compelled to return; to begin once again in her own community, the ghetto. This time, however, rather than sponging off the Jewish community, she would dedicate herself to serving the poor and the oppressed.

The East End to which Esther returned was once again filled with recent refugees searching for a new home. She happened upon a family of "Greeners" huddled together on the cold and damp pavement. At that moment:

something in Esther's breast seemed to stir with a strange sense of kinship. The race instinct awoke to consciousness of itself. Dulled by contact with cultured Jews, transformed almost to repulsion by the spectacle of the coarsely prosperous, it leapt into life at the appeal of squalor and misery. In the morning the Ghetto had simply chilled her; her heart had turned it into a haven, and the reality was dismal. Now that the first ugliness had worn off, she felt her heart warming. Her eyes moistened. She thrilled from head to foot with the sense of a mission. Happiness was not for her; but service remained.¹⁸

At last Esther understood herself: she was one of many "Children of the Ghetto" for whom there was no happiness, but service remained.

Esther decides to leave the ghetto and London. Raphael, her friend, has found personal happiness by fitting Judaism into his life. Even Joseph Strelitzki, who abandoned the Orthodox rabbinate, is leaving; going to America, where Judaism is freer, in order to live

as a modern Jew. Esther, too, will accept the idea of service that Judaism has offered her newly discovered self. She decides to go to America, to join her family, where she hopes to live a "Jewish" life. Now Esther would be able to combine "Ghetto nostalgia for the simple Jewish tradition of the fathers with the enlightenment of the sons:"¹⁹

The quaint, monotonous cadence of her father's prayers rant pathetically in her ears, and a great light--the light that Raphael had shown her--seemed to blend mystically with the once meaningless sounds. Yea, all things were from Him who created light and darkness, good and evil. She felt cares falling from her, her soul absorbing itself in the sense of a divine love--awful, profound, immeasurable...²⁰

For Zangwill, as with Esther, the spoken or written word, never seems quite enough. What the Jew professes to be is determined ultimately by the act. For Zangwill, and for Esther, this means action in the cause of their people. In Children of the Ghetto, rather than one absolute option to either the ghetto or the secular life, Zangwill presents a highly individualized approach based on the idea of service. once self-awareness has been experienced.²¹ This theme is apparent not only in Zangwill's personal life, but also in some of his other works.

In Ghetto Comedies, Zangwill carefully examines two of the most popular options to the problem of Jewish identity. In both instances he saw the Jew doomed to extinction, whether by escape from the ghetto through conversion to Christianity or by a stubborn refusal like the settlers of Milovka, to "heed the call to action."²² To Zangwill, either choice was suicidal and tragic. He criticizes the "children of the ghetto" for their failure to comprehend the

the realities of life; for their self-deception and stubbornness. The root of the problem is essentially the Jew's failure to live according to the dictates of reason. He mocks the ghetto dweller for failing to understand the basic needs of survival: "recapturing the true image of himself and heeding the call to action."²³ These are the offenses Zangwill sets out to clarify and correct; thereby enabling ghetto dwellers to achieve their full freedom.

The Jew is dead, affirms Zangwill in "The Hirelings," when he forgets his past and its associations. The concert pianist, Rozzenofski returns home to Europe after his failure to impress the American public. Aboard ship, he falls in love with the Jewish maid of a wealthy American patroness of the arts, Mrs. Andrew Wilhammer. One afternoon Mrs. Wilhammer overhears him playing a medley of ancient synagogue tunes. She immediately invites him to return to America where, despite the fact that he is Jewish, she will present him to the public. Rozzenofski chooses, abandoning his love for the girl with whom he felt comfortable and conscious of his Jewish past, to forget the "sunless ghettos" and be drawn into a renewed bond with the human brotherhood. For Zangwill, Rozzenofski had given up that trait so characteristic of Jewishness: he was no longer willing to live and die with his own people. Success had brought Rozzenofski into contact with the world beyond the ghetto; he was unwilling even to look back.

In the story "Samooborona," Zangwill turns his tragicomic eye upon the settlers of Milovka who refuse to heed the call to action. Arriving in Milovka, David sets about to arouse the townspeople

to self-defense against the coming pogrom. He soon discovers that he is powerless to unite the disunity of the many separate parties and philosophies. Defenseless during the siege of the Milovka ghetto, David, unable so much as to struggle against the pogrom, takes his own life.

If the Jew is to survive an environment hostile to his very existence, Zangwill feels he must take the only course open to him: action. Esther Ansell reaches this same conclusion when she leaves the Henry Goldsmith's home and returns to serve the ghetto. Zangwill places his own sentiments in the mouth of the poet and playwright Melchisedek Pinchas--"The Yiddish Hamlet" in Ghetto Comedies--when he strikes the actor Goldwater for tampering with his lines: "Action is greater than thought. Action is the greatest thing in the world."²⁴

Zangwill continues his examination of the options to ghetto life for the Jew in his Ghetto Tragedies. Themes similar to those found in Ghetto Comedies recur here; Zangwill emphasizes once again that any offense against reason can only result in decadence and death for Jews and Judaism. "Satan Mekatrig" and "They That Walk In Darkness" underwrite Zangwill's conviction that conversion or total assimilation--both offenses against reason--are untenable options to ghetto life; neither can effect a "whole" Jew.

Grinwitz, in the allegorical "Satan Mekatrig," typifies the post-emancipation Jew torn between tradition, symbolized by his wife, and assimilation, symbolized by the devil. Frightened by shattering thunder that pierces the synagogue, Grinwitz accidentally drops the Torah scroll. Angry over the admonition from the community leaders

that such calamities result not from fear but from impiety, Grinwitz leaves the superstition of the synagogue and welcomes the devil's warm friendship and advice:

Listen to Him no more; give not up the seventh day to idleness when your Lord worketh his lightnings thereon. Blind yourselves no longer over old-fashioned pages, dusty and dreary. Rise up against Him and His law, for He is moved with mirth at your mummeries...What hath He done for His chosen people for their centuries of anguish and martyrdom? It is for His plaything that He hath chosen you... Rouse yourselves, and be free men. Waste your lives neither for God nor man. Or, if you will, worship the Christ, whose ministers will pour gold upon you. Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow ye die.²⁵

Grinwitz is comforted by his new ally. He finds happiness in free thought and socialism. But he begins to have misgivings when his wife, discovering his hiding place, struggles violently with the devil for her husband's soul. Physically and spiritually weakened, Grinwitz is torn between the two. His wife having frightened off the devil, Grinwitz, now clutching their new-born infant, utters the Shema and falls dead. Clearly, then, to Zangwill the road to apostasy is also the road to extinction.

In another story, "They That Walk In Darkness," Brum, a Jewish child prodigy, goes blind just before attaining the age of Bar Mitzvah. Through diligent effort, he memorizes the Scriptural and prophetic portions, reciting them before a congregation on his thirteenth birthday. Brum's mother, unable to face the fact of her son's blindness, continues to consult the best English and Continental physicians; none of them can offer her any hope for her son's sight. Finally, after exhausting all other sources, she learns from her Christian maid of a great healer in Rome. Following a long and

uncomfortable journey to Rome, she places her ailing son in a hotel and goes to arrange an audience with the Pope. The next day she takes Brum to the "Great Physician's home." They are seated in a small room with many other people. Just as the door opens, she has Brum kneel on the floor; when the Pope enters, the child falls forward, dead.

Brum's mother in "They That Walk In Darkness," Grinwitz in "Satan Mekatrig," Peloni in "Noah's Ark," Isaac Levinsky in "To Die In Jerusalem," and Demetrius in "The Diary Of A Meshummad," have all been found guilty and sentenced to suffer for possessing the tragic flaw of either too much of the wrong kind of belief or not enough of the right kind.

In Children of the Ghetto, Ghetto Comedies and Ghetto Tragedies, Zangwill touches only incidentally on the themes revolving about the discord between Hebraism and Hellenism, between ghetto life and assimilation, between the Jewish and the secular. It is only in Dreamers of the Ghetto that he gives himself over to a complete investigation of these forces as they affect ghetto life, and to seeking some harmony between them.²⁶ Zangwill's ultimate goal, as we have noticed earlier, was to draw the Hebraism of the Jews into harmony with the Hellenism of the Western world. All of the figures in Dreamers of the Ghetto, a series of fictionalized biographical sketches from the middle ages to Zangwill's own day, are "rebels who are unable to find peace either inside or outside the ghetto."²⁷ All these rebels were men who gained entry into the world beyond the ghetto; and, in doing so, hoped to bring about a synthesis of the two worlds. The dream of these historic rebels,

we learn, is of "the first emancipation," and Zangwill makes it clear in the subtitle of the book that it is "a dream which has not come true."²⁸ These dreamers failed to succeed in their linking of Hebraism with Hellenism. To discover why, we must examine several of the dreamers and their dreams. Only then shall we discover what Zangwill set out to establish in this work.

In "A Child of the Ghetto," the prelude to Dreamers of the Ghetto, Zangwill holds that, owing to the lure, the beauty, the excitement, and the excellence of the world beyond the ghetto, anyone who goes beyond the ken of ghetto life never can return completely. Like Esther Ansell, the "Child of the Ghetto" undergoes a conflict:

There were two things in the ghetto that had a strange attraction for the child: one was a large marble slab on the wall near the house, which he gradually made out to be a decree that Jews converted to Christianity should never return to the ghetto nor consort with its inhabitants, under penalty of the cord...; the other was a marble figure of a beautiful girl with falling draperies that lay on the extreme wall of the ghetto surveying it with serene eyes.²⁹

On Yom Kippur afternoon, the "child," weary and exhausted from prayer and the fast, leaves the synagogue to relax for a short while. He wanders beyond the ghetto gates and discovers the beauty of Venice and the secular world. Returning to the synagogue, he

could not shake off the thought of the gay piazza and the wonderful church where other people prayed other prayers. For something larger had come into his life, a sense of a vaster universe without, and its spaciousness and strangeness filled his soul with a nameless trouble and a vague unrest. He was no longer a child of the Ghetto.³⁰

Zangwill makes it quite clear, in this prelude, that the dream of reconciling the Jewish heart and the pagan soul has always been doomed to failure. That it has never been successful in the past is the explicit theme of Dreamers of the Ghetto. But can the dream be successful? It seems that the answer lies hidden in the accounts of the dreamers and their dreams; and it may be ultimately identical with Zangwill's own experience.

In "Uriel Acosta," a young Portuguese nobleman Gabriel Acosta accidentally discovers his Jewish background when he unwittingly betrays his friend to the Inquisition. Plagued by his own guilt, Acosta begins to study Judaism under the tutelage of his friend who finally escapes the death penalty and is released. Acosta convinces his mother and family to leave Portugal for Amsterdam where they can openly profess their faith. Through the years, Gabriel, now Uriel, becomes disenchanted with the ceremonialism of rabbinic Judaism. In place of ceremony, he hopes for a "pure Judaism" devoted to "God and Reason." For his heretical views, Acosta is placed under the ban by the Amsterdam community. He is shunned by Jew and gentile alike. After years of living in isolation, years spent in fear of attack by local roughs, Uriel returns to the synagogue and the herem is lifted. One day, he meets his old friend and teacher from Portugal. He and his daughter are now living in Amsterdam. Uriel falls in love with the daughter, and hopes to marry her. But when Uriel bares his heart to his dearest friends, they, too, are amazed and terrified by his heretical ideas. Acosta backslides into his old ways, becomes a recluse, and

once again is excommunicated. To add insult to injury, Uriel's own brother marries the friend's daughter. When Uriel's brother begins stealing his property, which he cannot protect through the Bet Din, Acosta decides to commit murder. At the allotted time, Uriel cannot pull the trigger on his brother. Instead, he turns the pistol on himself.

Acosta becomes, for Zangwill, the symbol of one who could live neither alone nor with the Judaism or the Christianity of his day. His loneliness, a constant nagging to cope with his Jewishness in a significant way, was only another type of death. Acosta's alternative, an option which gave him release from his inner anxieties, as well as from the outer pressure of Amsterdam Jewry to conform to their norms, was suicide.

In "The Master of The Name," Zangwill pictures the founder of Hasidism, the Baal Shem, as leading a revolt among the Jews of Eastern Europe against the casuistry and pilpul of rabbinic Judaism. The Baal Shem believed it was the strictness of rabbinic law that hampered communion with God. In the districts of the Carpathian mountains, the Baal Shem led a brilliant campaign "to replace 'strictness of conscience' with 'spontaneity of conscience' by denouncing the old teachers as misleading and ungodly."³¹ Hasidism developed into a widely followed Jewish movement in Eastern Europe during the Baal Shem's lifetime. But it did not survive. The Master's dream failed, according to Zangwill, when his followers spoiled the essence of the movement. Had the Baal Shem's successors not abandoned the ideal of Hebraism, had the Tsaddikim not turned it into a cult of pure "spontan-

eity," it might have maintained its potency. In his person, the Baal Shem might have synthesized successfully Hebraism and Hellenism. But, like unstable elements joined with other unstable elements, the union was too delicate to be maintained or transmitted.

Zangwill felt that the Baal Shem was not the only one who might have combined the elements of Hebraism and Hellenism. In "Maimon the Fool and Nathan the Wise," he hints at another individual who came close to achieving the ideal. The focal point of Zangwill's story of Solomon Maimon and Moses Mendelssohn occurs when the former visits the latter's Berlin home. Zangwill sees these two men as symbols of the two opposing forces that form the basis of Dreamers of the Ghetto: "Maimon, who sought scientific truth, the Hebraist; Mendelssohn, whose disciples had chosen as their motto, 'To love the beautiful, to desire the good, to do the best,' the Hellenist."³²

The chief rule in Maimon's life had been that "Pure Reason alone must rule." Following his early years of tutoring Talmud, traveling and begging, Maimon abandoned his religion for the study of medicine and philosophy. Now, years later, lying on his deathbed while a Christian minister tries to bring him salvation, Maimon concentrates on his own thoughts:

Too late he realized that the passion for Truth had destroyed him. Knowledge alone was not sufficient for life. The will and the emotions demanded their nutriment and exercise as well as the intellect.³³

He remembers how he doubted Mendelssohn's program to be "a Jew among Germans and a German among Jews," and set out devoting himself to

Reason:

Mendelssohn with his ordered scheme of harmonious living, with his equal grasp of thought and life, sanely balanced betwixt philosophy and letters, learning and business, according so much to Hellenism, yet not losing hold of Hebraism, and adjusting with equal mind the claims of the Ghetto and the claims of Culture. Mendelssohn shone before Maimon's dying eyes as indeed the Wise.³⁴

Maimon, the man of reason, despite his achievement, failed to find peace for himself, or for his people, except in a last remorseless insight in which he and Mendelssohn were "at one in the common irony of human history."³⁵ Perhaps it was Mendelssohn, whom, in the final analysis, Zangwill sees as less the Dreamer. During his own lifetime, Mendelssohn embodied the spirit of Hebraism and Hellenism, "adjusting with equal mind the claims of the Ghetto and the claims of Culture." Ultimately, however, Mendelssohn's dream also failed: only two of his children remained Jewish; of the four others, two became Protestant, two Catholic.³⁶

Zangwill's final comment on the conflict between ghetto life and assimilation comes in "Chad Gadya," the concluding story in Dreamers of the Ghetto. This is the account of a young man who returns home suddenly from Vienna and the feverish life of the European capitals to the Venetian ghetto just as the Passover Seder is in progress. During the Seder, his mind reflects on his life and work:

The three thousand years of belief could not be shaken off... but he could not have the God of his fathers--and his own God was distant and dubious, and nothing that modern science had taught him was yet registered in his organism.³⁷

The man of "Chad Gadya" was caught in a terrible dilemma. Because he was a product of the modern world--nourished on the breast of

science--he could not have the God of his fathers.. Yet it was a cold, meaningless and unresponsive world without that God. Out of the feeling of helplessness and despair, he reached an awesome decision: he walked silently out of the house, toward the canal, and drowned himself. The end of the man in "Chad Gadya" symbolized for Zangwill the failure of the "first emancipation" and of a "dream that has not come true."³⁸

Zangwill clearly believes that no one among the dreamers of the first emancipation was able to strike a suitable balance between the two worlds of Hebraism and Hellenism. Mendelssohn and the Baal Shem were moving in the right direction, but their dreams failed. The fault, perhaps, was not their own. Zangwill feels that the two worlds can be reconciled only by striking a careful balance between Hebraism and Hellenism. To do so requires great intellectual and spiritual effort. Too many of Zangwill's heroes are driven to choose between being themselves and being Jews. That, for Zangwill, was the tragedy of ghetto life and the "first emancipation." It is true that he wanted escape from the ghetto, but not from the Jewish people; "strictness of conscience" must be tempered with "spontaneity of conscience." Emancipation was indeed possible without the disintegration of the Jew, but the opportunity fell on those Jews, like Zangwill, living in a freer and more spacious age. Zangwill saw himself, perhaps, as striking such a harmonious balance through his education, his works, his interests, and his marriage. This "second emancipation" would combine the elements of Jewish peoplehood--as a nationality on its own ancestral soil--Jewish culture, and Jewish religion.

Chapter IV

English Judaism

Central to the problem of Jewish identity in the Western world was the Jewish religion. Many viewed Judaism as the main obstacle blocking a complete and harmonious balance between Hebraism and Hellenism. In his earliest and most significant essay, "English Judaism," Zangwill, in addition to outlining many themes which he treats artistically in later works, concentrates on the Jewish religion. This essay, published in 1889 in the Jewish Quarterly Review, examines the questions "What is Judaism?" and "where is it going?" Answers to these questions were of key importance in a period raging with the struggle between science and religion, a struggle in which science seemed to fare much better than religion. In the light of the assaults undertaken by science, English Jewry demanded "some solution to counteract the compromises and opiates swallowed by the many."¹ Zangwill, hoping to clarify the issues, points out the significance of revelation in religion's present struggle:

the first thing to require of a man who presumes to answer the question, "what is Judaism?" is his attitude toward the dogma of revelation. For, as this century is witnessing the decay of supernatural Christianity, so it is witnessing the decay of supernatural Judaism....²

Zangwill clearly understood that the basis of traditional Judaism lay

in the revealed religion of the Hebrew Bible. Once that belief in an authoritative and infallible revelation is sapped, orthodox religion loses its claim to ultimate truth and authority. All normative tradition--whether orthodox Judaism, orthodox Christianity, or orthodox Islam--must share in the general crash.³

Zangwill concludes that both "Biblical" or liberal Judaism and "Rabbinical" or traditional Judaism have had their day.⁴ Both have subtracted or added to religion without making the necessary essential changes. Basically liberalism is no different than orthodoxy. While it is no longer bound to legalism and ceremonialism, it remains tied to the "supernatural" and caught up in an orthodoxy of its own. One of Zangwill's many voices, the modernist Orthodox rabbi Strelitski, in Children of the Ghetto, states his subjective estimation of liberal Judaism:

That fossil, so proud of its petty reforms half a century ago, that it has stood still ever since to admire them! It is a synagogue for snobs--who never go there.⁵

Like the early reformers, those who abandon Rabbinical Judaism ultimately will abandon Biblical Judaism.

Like many of his characters in Dreamers of the Ghetto, Zangwill refused to entangle himself in the legalism and ceremonialism comprising the body of traditional Jewish law. Many of his characters share his dislike of rabbinism, refusing to confront the chaos of minute details and superstition.

Zangwill expresses these sentiments in Children of the Ghetto through the "voice" of David Brandon, a young South African who falls in love with the daughter of Reb Shemuel. At a party, David speaks to

Hannah about her father's religion:

It's absurd to expect a man to go without meat when he's traveling up country, just because it hasn't been killed with a knife instead of a pole-axe. Besides don't we know well enough that the folks who are most particular about those sort of things don't mind swindling and setting their houses on fire [for insurance purpose], and all manner of abominations? I wouldn't be a Christian for the world, but I should like to see a little more common-sense introduced into our religion; it ought to be more up to date. If I ever marry I should like my wife to be a girl who wouldn't want to keep anything but the higher parts of Judaism. Not out of laziness, mind you, but out of conviction.⁶

Sometime later, David and Hannah express their intention to marry to Reb Shemuel. During their conversation, Reb Shemuel discovers that the marriage is prohibited by talmudic law: a Levite, Hannah, cannot marry a Cohen, David. Following a long and bitter argument with the rabbi, Hannah and David agree to be married secretly at Liverpool and then to set sail for America. Hannah confesses:

I have always been sick to death with this eternal ceremony, this endless coil of laws winding round us and cramping our lives at every turn; and now it has become too oppressive to be borne any longer. Why should we let it ruin our lives? And why, if we determine to break with it, shall we pretend to keep it?

When the time comes to meet David, Hannah finds herself unable to leave the Passover supper. Rather than seek her own happiness, she determines to remain a loyal daughter to her parents. Once again Zangwill shows the real tragedy of ghetto life: that so many must choose between being themselves and being Jews.

Zangwill finds fault not only with East End orthodox religion and liberalism, he finds the religious hypocrisy of West London's middle and upper classes equally distasteful. During the course of

a Christmass dinner-party at the Goldsmiths, the home into which Esther Ansell was "adopted," the conversation turns to the Anglo-Jewish community and the anonymous novel Mordechai Josephs. Supporting the theme of Esther's pseudonymous work, Sidney Graham maintains that the synagogue is

simply a financial system to which the doctrines of Judaism happen to be tacked on. How many of the councillors believe in their Established Religion? Why, the very beadles of their synagogues are prone to surreptitious shrimps and unobtrusive oysters! Then take that institution for supplying kosher meat. I am sure there are lots of its Committee who never inquire into the necrologies of their own chops and steaks, and who regard kitchen Judaism as obsolete. But, all the same, they look after the finances with almost fanatical zeal. Finance fascinates them. Long after Judaism has ceased to exist, excellent gentlemen will be found regulating its finances.⁸

Sidney's cynicism continues throughout the evening. Before the meal concludes, he has expressed his opinion that English Jews kept the forms of orthodoxy in public, but were too shrewd to practice them in private; that "the Rabbinate declared its intention of dying for Judaism only as a way of living by it; that the body politic was dead and rotten with hypocrisy, though the augurs said it was alive and well."⁹

Following his explicit criticism of Judaism and English Jewry, Zangwill continues with a presentation of the views making up the dilemma of religion in the late-Victorian world. It is Raphael Leon, in Children of the Ghetto, who sees Judaism as a religion of tradition; and Rabbi Strelitski, who pleads for innovation. If Strelitski's arguments, in his conversation with Leon, seem to gain the upper hand, it is not difficult to discern that these are the

author's own sentiments:

How can Judaism--and it alone--escape going through the fire of modern skepticism, from which, if religion emerge at all, it will emerge without its dross?...Orthodoxy is inextricably entangled with ritual observance; and ceremonial religion is of the ancient world, not the modern.¹⁰

Strelitski, giving expression to his creator's thinking, calls for Judaism to take into account the latest developments in scientific thought. He also calls for Judaism to become an enlarged religion, one universally acceptable:

The world is looking for a broad simple faith that shall look on science as its friend and reason as its inspirer....Now, for the first time in history, is the hour of Judaism. Only it must enlarge itself; its platform must be all inclusive. Judaism is but a specialized form of Hebraism; even if Jews stick to their own special historical and ritual ceremonies, it is only Hebraism--the pure spiritual kernel--that they can offer the world.¹¹

Zangwill rejects Matthew Arnold's use of "Hebraism" as a static definition and a misconception of the true essence of Judaism. Zangwill, no doubt, would agree that Arnold's "strictness of conscience" definition aptly describes the legalistic structure of Rabbinic-Orthodox Judaism. But, because Orthodoxy is only one of many Jewish systems, Arnold's analysis fails to include those Jewish systems possessing different external forms and spiritual kernels. Thus, the Judaism that Strelitski and Zangwill would offer the world is substantially different from both Orthodoxy and Liberalism. To Zangwill's mind, both Orthodoxy and Liberalism, being essentially different systems expressing elements of Hebraism, have had their day. Liberalism, while claiming to be a modernized form of Orthodoxy, actually never quits the realm of the supernatural. Both of

these styles of Judaism are anachronistic in a new age and eventually will be abandoned:

The cloak that could not be torn off by the tempest of Christianity and Persecution bids fair to be thrown off under the sunshine of Rationalism and Tolerance.¹²

In "Hebrew, Jew, and Israelite," published in 1892, Zangwill makes it clear that the essence of Judaism remains within its spiritual kernel, Hebraism--though this spiritual kernel is not to be understood as the Hebraism of Matthew Arnold. The ideals of Zangwill's Hebraism have already found their way into the blood stream of Western culture. Every civilized human being aspires to truth and justice, the ideals of the Hebrew prophets. While various Jewish dogmas and essences have been emphasized throughout the ages, Zangwill finds that the true Hebraism--the aspirations, the pursuit of prophetic ideals--has remained the same. Zangwill regards Judaism

as the reduction to practice of Hebrew ideals, an attempt to realize the perfect society, in accordance with a sagacious statecraft, and I by no means look on Jewish ideals as played out. Judaism grapples honestly and wisely with many social problems. It is a sociological system, a way of living, the physical and moral interblent, which is far from being a failure, and which contains much besides sanitation and meat inspection which Jewish thinkers might well press upon the attention of the modern world.¹³

Zangwill is convinced that Judaism has much to offer the world and humanity. To this end, he speaks often of "Natural Judaism," a religion which he first proposes in his article "English Judaism." Zangwill tells us relatively little of the exact nature of "Natural Judaism." However, we may deduce that it sublimates much spiritual sentiment while comprising the ideas of those who maintain that Judaism

consists mainly in "its practical methods of consolidating racial unity, or promoting the well-being, of course moral as well as material, of the social organism."¹⁴ What Zangwill apparently means by "Natural Judaism" corresponds, in some degree, to Arnold's definition of culture: a harmonious development and expansion of the powers of intellect, love of beauty, and moral conduct.

Zangwill's "Natural Judaism" in no way minimizes the differences between Judaism and Christianity. Neither Jews nor Judaism would ever be able to yield to Christianity. Zangwill concedes, though, that there will be a struggle between the creeds:

the real struggle of the future lies between...
the scientific morality of Moses and the emotional
morality of Christ; and a compromise between the
religious provisions for moral geniuses, and those
for moral dullards will perhaps form the religion
of the future.¹⁵

Zangwill wastes no words in expressing his conviction regarding which of these two ethical systems is historically the more moral. He is equally clear regarding the nature of the religion of the future. Thus, as early as 1898 in "English Judaism," Zangwill hints at a wedding of the "scientific morality of Moses" with the "emotional morality of Christ." It is a theme which Zangwill translates into artistic terms throughout the rest of his career. This is frequently the source, coupled with his own intermarriage, of the love and marriage between Jew and Christian which occurs repeatedly in his works. It is also a theme which Zangwill carries into his vision for the future of mankind. In our final chapter, we shall once again turn our attention to Zangwill's religious outlook; his concept of the "next religion."

Chapter V

Zionism and Territorialism

Zangwill's thought gives vivid expression to the post-Emancipation Jewish dilemma: the choice between the "free world" and the ghetto. Out of this dilemma, Zangwill discovers two alternatives. The first blends the East with the West, the Jew with the Gentile, Hebraism with Hellenism. His second option to the modern Jewish dilemma is the Zionist Territorial solution. Zangwill proposes a place where as many Jews as possible could live together as Jews on their own soil and under their own government. While Zangwill's thoughts regarding Jewish nationalism develop and change through the years of his career, the progression is fascinating both from a biographical and a historical standpoint.

It is certain that Zangwill was aware of the idea of Jewish nationalism before his first major work was published. In Children of the Ghetto, first published in 1892, he devotes an entire chapter to the "Holy Land League." This East End organization bears considerable resemblance to the Russian Chovevei Zion movement of the 1880's.¹ Throughout the novel the members of the "Holy Land League" discuss many of the controversial points of view on early Zionism. Both Joseph Strelitski, as a young rabbinical student, and Melchiselek Pinchas, the ghetto poet, appear in several places in the novel to

weigh the positive and negative aspects of Zionism. At one point, Strelitski almost anticipates Herzl's Judenstaat when, in a speech before the "Holy Land League," he proclaims, "Give us back our country; this alone will solve the Jewish problem..."²

It is not altogether surprising, then, that when Herzl, armed with a letter of introduction from Max Nordau, arrived at Zangwill's home in London on November 21, 1895, he hoped to find a kindred spirit in Zangwill.³ Zangwill afterwards reported that the stranger had knocked on the door and said, "I am Dr. Herzl. Help me to build the Jewish State."⁴ Herzl had come to England for three days and, in that time, wanted Zangwill to collect a representative audience from Anglo-Jewry to hear his program. Two days later, Zangwill found himself presiding over a meeting of the "Maccabeans" where "the unknown Hungarian--dropped from the skies--gave the world the first exposition of his scheme in an eloquent mixture of German, French, and English."⁵

Herzl and Zangwill did not agree on every issue relating to Zionism; yet they were enough in agreement to enable Zangwill to immerse himself almost entirely in the movement. Herzl's Zionism did not arise out of any sharp sense of a unique association binding the Jewish people to the land of Palestine; his Zionism was produced by anti-Semitism, what Heine called the Judenschmerz.⁶ Zangwill was, at least, in partial agreement.⁷ He felt that

the deepest reason of Anti-Semitism...is simply that the word "Jew" exists. Nothing gratifies the mob more than to get a simple name to account for a complex phenomenon, and the word "Jew" is always at hand to explain the never-absent maladies of the body politic; a word, moreover, already admirably surcharged with

historic hatred, bigotry, and repugnance.⁸

To Zangwill's thinking, there was no doubt that the establishment of a Jewish state would undermine the existence of Judenschmerz.

The outward manifestations of anti-Semitism actually concerned Herzl and Zangwill more than its latent existence. Both men were moved deeply by the oppressed masses of Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient; they agreed that a refuge had to be found as quickly as possible. In an 1899 speech entitled "Zionism," Zangwill objectively examines Herzl's program for finding that refuge. He compares Herzl to the American Major Mordecai M. Noah, the self-styled "Governor and Judge of Israel" who begot the still-born Ararat--a place of refuge for the Jews--on the Niagara River in 1825, and whose story is told in "Noah's Ark," a chapter in Ghetto Comedies. Like Major Noah, Herzl began with the dream of a Jewish state anywhere, so long as it brought Jewish independence and freedom from persecution. Like Noah, Zangwill points out, Herzl "soon realized that the magnetism of Palestine was too great to be resisted, and as a practical statesman he enlisted on his side the immense force of this sentiment."⁹

Zangwill was in complete accord with Herzl's opposition to the continuation of Chovevei Zionist immigration into Palestine. According to Zangwill, such immigration failed to achieve any international recognition of the Jewish presence in Ottoman Palestine and, in addition, it drove up the price of land, making Herzl's negotiations more difficult.¹⁰ Zangwill, along with Herzl, was a "political Zionist," one who believed that "Palestine must belong to the

Jews before they go there."¹¹ Among Russian Zionists, men like Weizmann and Menahem Ussishkin--influenced greatly by the Chibbat Zion movement--placed little faith in Herzl's diplomatic Zionism. Calling themselves "practical Zionists," they preferred "to concentrate on the day to day construction of a Jewish community in Palestine, and on an equally steady program of Zionist education throughout the world."¹²

Zangwill pointed out that conditions were not favorable for any plan of migration to Palestine save the Herzlian. Much of the country was waterless and treeless; some parts were humid and malaria-ridden; the Ottoman political rule was backward and corrupt; and land tenure in a country of Christian and Moslem fanatics would be at best insecure.¹³ The very idea of the Jewish state reestablished in Palestine was a noble one, but

to promote further Jewish immigration into Palestine with no such object [as the establishment of legal rights] is simply criminal. The Chovevei Zion--an organization for slowly and prosaically colonizing Palestine with Jews--possesses neither the ideal nor the pretext of the practical...The only legitimate sphere of this association's activities is the pauper Jewish population already established in Palestine....Jerusalem may still fulfill its function of a spiritual and scholarly centre for Judaism...but for colonization, minus a political idea, go anywhere but to Palestine.¹⁴

Although Zangwill worked for the establishment of a Jewish state, a place of refuge for persecuted Russian Jewry, he could foresee no immediate solution.

Herzl and Zangwill agreed on the necessity of territorial independence. They disagreed, however, on the ultimate purpose of Zionism. Herzl saw no solution to the problem of Judenschmerz save through the Jew's return to his own nation and his own soil. The

gradual progress of mankind toward tolerance would never allow the Jew to live at peace in Christendom.¹⁵ Zangwill, however, did not totally agree. Zangwill saw far greater potential in mankind.

While there was a need for a territorial refuge for Jews who lived in lands yet clouded by fear and superstition, Zangwill's concern was not one of preserving Jews as an entity, but rather as the "medium and missionary for the ultimate unification of mankind" and the creation of a righteous social order.¹⁶ To Zangwill, the purpose of Zionism was the spiritual idea that gaining territorial status for the Jew would awaken the world to brotherhood. Those Jews, living in the free and enlightened countries of the diaspora, should remain there to become centers of righteousness, asserting their ideals in civic and national life. But the persecuted masses should migrate to a place of refuge. There they would live together in a Jewish state,

in which morality stands higher and crime lower, in which social problems are better solved, in which woman's rights are equal to man's, in which poverty and wealth are not so terribly divided, in which the simple life is the universal ideal; let them light this beacon fire upon Zion's hill, or East Africa's plateau, and they will do more for the Jewish mission than in twenty centuries of pulpit talking.¹⁷

The East African plateau, which Zangwill mentions above, alludes to the "Uganda Plan." Sometimes known as the "East Africa Offer," the Uganda (actually, Kenya) plan played a key role in the Sixth Zionist Congress held at Basle.¹⁸ Herzl, convinced that if the persecuted Jewish masses had to wait for Palestine, any place was better for waiting in than Russia, had examined the possibilities of establishing a Nachtsyl, a temporary colony. El Arish was too small,

and access to the Sinai was denied by Egypt. Finally, Herzl proposed the Uganda plan offered by England. When Herzl's supporters won the vote to send a committee to report on the possibilities of colonization, the defeated minority left the Congress.¹⁹ Herzl spent the following eight months attempting to negotiate with the Ottoman Sultan for Palestine, and to placate the followers of Ussishkin who, when they walked out of the Congress, presented him with an ultimatum to renounce forever the consideration of any territory other than Palestine.²⁰ The responsibilities of his position and the split in the movement weighed heavily on Herzl; on July 3, 1904, he died of heart failure.

At the Seventh Zionist Congress, held in August, 1905, the Uganda plan came to a head. Ussishkin and the opponents of the plan were determined to reject it. When the vote was cast, the Herzlian Zionists, led by Zangwill, were soundly defeated.²¹ Chibbat Zion--small settlement in Palestine under Ottoman rule with few or no Jewish political rights--became the official Zionist platform. Zangwill seceded from the movement.

The Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905 was the last Zangwill attended. Along with several others, he founded and became president of the Jewish Territorial Organization, known as the ITO. Leaving it to the Zionist movement to develop the Palestine colonies, Zangwill was inclined to turn elsewhere for a provisional refuge. For Zangwill, any territory under a Jewish flag would become a rallying point for Zionism, a training school in self-government and agriculture for a time when Palestine was obtainable.²² Hence, the aim of the ITO was

that of acquiring a large tract of territory for the purpose of founding a temporary home of Jewish refuge. The ITO expressed concern regarding only the present needs of the oppressed Jewish masses. Zangwill felt that the matter was urgent; he saw the increasing streams of emigrants from Russia, as well as the possibility of the West closing its gates to these masses.²³ In his study of Zangwill, Maurice Wohlgernter points out three ideals envisaged in the ITO program: an autonomous Jewish government; a nation whose morality was grounded in the Jewish faith; and an ideal society which would improve the moral condition of mankind while fulfilling the mission of Israel.²⁴ As an autonomous territory, this asylum would provide the Jews with experience in self-government before stepping into Palestine. Living in their own society, freed from all the fears of diaspora life, the Jews would be able to concentrate on improving Judaism. Zangwill seemed to believe that once Judaism was no longer subject to external pressure, the dynamic of change and growth would begin to work from within. As an offshoot of this internal growth in Judaism, Zangwill saw in the new territory with its new religion a model to convince the world to pursue justice and righteousness for all people.

Zangwill, at the head of the ITO, worked long and hard to discover and procure a suitable territory. When the East Africa offer met defeat at the Seventh Zionist Congress, Zangwill was convinced that the best lands suitable for Jewish colonization were in North Africa. The territories there were half-populated; the climate was temperate, and the land fertile. But here, too,

like everywhere else, Zangwill met failure. The ITO had considered Sinai, Mesopotamia, the United States, Cyprus, Canada, and the Argentine; all of them offered no solution to the problem of obtaining a territory. The only alternative was to continue the search.

During his years as President of the ITO, especially following his secession from the Zionist organization, Zangwill was accused by Zionist leaders of treason to their cause and to the Jewish people.²⁵ Zangwill, however, would never admit to a betrayal of Zionism. Even following his creation of the ITO, he still called himself a Zionist, and he saw no contradiction in doing so. He maintained that one could be a Territorialist and a Zionist at the same time. For Zangwill, Territorialism aimed only at immediate relief, while Zionism strove for the complete solution to the Jewish problem by the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine.²⁶

If Zangwill still considered himself a true Zionist we might reasonably question why he left the Zionist movement at all. It must be remembered that first and foremost Zangwill was not just a Jew, but an English Jew. It was the British government's offer of "Uganda" that the Ussishkin faction found utterly at fault; Zangwill and the Herzlian Zionists, however, lauded England's generosity. Zangwill was as proud of being an Englishman as he was of being Jewish; he did not take the Congress' rejection and its criticism of his government's offer lightly. This, in itself, may or may not have been sufficient to prompt Zangwill's defection. Wohlgelernter provides an additional explanation which may have played a role in Zangwill's decision: with the rise to power of the Fast European Zionists, led by Ussishkin, the movement may have

taken on too much the air of the ghetto for Zangwill.²⁷ "Judaeo-German jargon," and the ghetto-life associated with it, at which he poked fun in several of his earlier works, symbolized for Zangwill the illegitimacy and foreignness which are the sad marks of the pariah. Ideologically the old Yiddish "jargon" represented for Zangwill the past which had to be overcome before "culture" could be achieved. Zangwill seems to have made no commitment to the language to be spoken, though obviously, it would not be Yiddish. By "culture," he seems to have had in mind a synthesis of Hebraism and Hellenism, a synthesis amounting to "Westernization." Psychologically, there may be a trace of simple shame or self-hate in Zangwill's defection as well as in some of his earlier works.

Even though Zangwill did leave the Zionist movement, he did not become an anti-Zionist, nor did he dissociate himself from the Zionist cause. It is true that he was more concerned with the immediate problem of a refuge for Russian Jewry than with the long-range plan, fraught with every conceivable difficulty, to create the Jewish state in Palestine; nevertheless, he always defended Zionism against its opponents. Zangwill perceived a certain amount of insincerity in the typical anti-Zionist arguments:

anti-Zionism may disguise itself in philosophy, wrap itself in religion, but at bottom it is the Marrano habit in us that has become second nature; it is the yellow badge we wore for ages that is still stamped on our souls; it is the timidity and self-distrust born of centuries of persecution; it is the prisoner hugging his chains.²⁸

The anti-Zionists, according to Zangwill, were too deeply involved in their own rationalizations to understand the true nature of their

self-destructive tendencies.

In a 1905 issue of the Jewish Quarterly Review, Zangwill responded to an earlier article by a noted English anti-Zionist, Lucien Wolf. In "The Zionist Peril," Wolf had taken Zionism to task on three counts. First, he pointed out what he considered the false postulates of Zionism: that Judaism was decaying, emancipation was a fraud, and assimilation an ethnic impossibility. Second, Wolf claimed that the Jews were no race at all, but merely represented a religion. Third, he borrowed Mendelssohn's theory of the Jewish mission to prove that Jews had to remain in the diaspora as an ethical example to the nations.²⁹ To Wolf's first contention, Zangwill points out that Judaism is indeed decaying, and that emancipation, if not a fraud, is not wholly an actuality. Regarding the "ethnic impossibility of assimilation," Zangwill fears it is only too possible. And therein lies one of the most valid arguments for Zionism. Zangwill further maintains that Israel is the scattered remains of what once was a people possessed of a common land, rulers, literature, and religion. The two threads of territory and religion have become entangled over a period of many generations. Nonetheless, Zangwill points out, it is perfectly legitimate today to cut away one thread or the other: we are heirs to the past, not its slaves. What Wolf had done, however, was not legitimate: he had totally denied the past.³⁰ Zangwill agrees that the Jewish mission is the Mendelssohnian mission, but he believes that the Jews may "convince through character" in a state as well as in the diaspora. A state, Zangwill asserts, carries infinitely more conviction than

isolated individuals:

It takes a nation to show an example to the nations.
A nation which is superior in every way to the others...
will soon have the rest of the world seeking to follow
suit.³¹

Hence, Zangwill sees no opposition between "Zionism" and the "Mendelssohnian mission;" nor can he understand why Wolf, having been shown the error of his reasoning, does not join the Zionist ranks.

While remaining deeply interested in the progress of the Zionist movement, Zangwill continued with the work of the ITO. In 1907, after the failure of his attempts to find a territory in East Africa, Cyrenaica, and Angola, Zangwill established, with the help of Jacob H. Schiff, an emigration route to Galveston, Texas, known as "The Galveston Plan."³² The scheme was to divert many of the immigrant Russian Jews away from the congested East Coast to the West where conditions for their employment and assimilation into American culture were deemed better.

For diverting immigration away from Palestine, the ITO was bitterly censured. But even if Palestine were secured for the Jews, with a famine raging there and the economy sagging, Zangwill felt that the ITO best served Zionism through the Galveston project. Under the circumstances, Palestine could no more receive immigrants than any other form of ITOland.³³ The Galveston project temporarily solved the immigration problem, but Zangwill considered it only the second-best solution to an ITO colony. In America, the ITO could at least find refuge for the immigrants, but it could not arrange an autonomous government, exclusive Jewish culture and religion, or even full Jewish equality.³⁴ The hope in Zangwill's heart pushed

him on to continue his exhausting search for a suitable and obtainable tract of land.

Zangwill and the ITO continued to search the world without result. They found several suitable territories, but were unable to obtain the necessary charter conditions for autonomy and rights to large mass immigration.³⁵ The progress toward securing a territory was slowed almost to a standstill by the various committee investigations, reports, and negotiations. Everywhere, in all his political dealings, Zangwill met anti-Semitism. By 1913, he had lost all confidence in achieving the ITO goal.³⁶

When Zangwill visited Palestine in 1914, Turkey was on the verge of war, by the side of Germany and Austria, with Britain, France, and Russia. Observing the political and economic situation in Palestine, Zangwill saw a ray of hope--"if Britain took Palestine, she could make no greater stroke of policy than to call in the Jews to regenerate it for her."³⁷ And once again, on November 2, 1917, Zangwill's hopes were raised by the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. At that time Zangwill's praise of England was as great as it had been when the Uganda plan was offered. Subsequent history, however, began to cast shadows of doubt upon Zangwill's mind: was Britain's Declaration really sincere? When the Palestine Mandate was allotted to Great Britain by the League of Nations in April 1920, the original Balfour Declaration had been emasculated to an ineffectual document by a series of White Papers issued in order to placate the opposing Arabs. Wohlgelernter points out that "Even Zangwill, the Englishman, accused the British government of duplicity, saying that 'we should have heard

little of "'the Jewish National Home'" had not Palestine subserved British political aims. World Jewry became a pauper beneficiary of her idealism.'³⁸ Zangwill was deeply saddened by the course of events.

Years earlier, when Zangwill had left the Zionist movement, he felt certain that it would not last; its goals could not be fulfilled. The movement seemed to be a dream which disregarded the reality of the homeless refugees. But the movement grew. With the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, and later, with the Mandate for Palestine, Zionism became the dominant movement in Jewish life.³⁹ And the ITO, the still-born child of Zangwill's productive middle years, which only imitated the philanthropic work of other Jewish organizations, died. The ITO was officially disbanded in 1925, a year before Zangwill's death. The failure of the ITO to meet its goal perhaps accounts for some of Zangwill's later bitterness and disillusionment. For a period the prospect of Palestine seemed hopeful, but following the series of British White Papers, Zangwill considered political Zionism a fiasco. The Zionist organization, he thought, was incapable of achieving even what had once been offered by the British in East Africa, a British crown colony, nor could it realize its appointed task: to secure economic control of Palestine with the right to regulate immigration.⁴⁰

In October, 1923, before a capacity audience at Carnegie Hall, Zangwill delivered his famous speech, "Watchman, What of the Night?" He criticized Weizmann's leadership of the Zionist movement and the first high commissioner of Palestine, Herbert Samuel. Zangwill

accused them both of taking the line of least resistance in opposing the British curtailment of immigration into Palestine. To Zangwill, neither Weizmann nor Samuel were outspoken enough in opposing Britain's steadily increasing sympathetic attitude toward the Arab Nationalist outcry against "Jewish inundation" of Palestine. Zangwill's criticism was not directed solely against Zionist leadership; he also attacked the military administration of Palestine as well as Britain's Foreign Office for becoming more and more conciliatory toward Arab opinion.⁴¹ To Zangwill's mind, it was against these foes that the Zionist leaders should direct their efforts. However, since Zionism showed little evidence of progress, and none of victory, in the area of practical politics, Zangwill felt justified in declaring that "Political Zionism is dead!"⁴² In an attempt to calm the brewing storm, Rabbi Stephen Wise, who sat in the chair that night at Carnegie Hall, commented:

Zangwill criticised, not as an anti-Zionist, but as a Zionist of Zionists, as a Herzlian Zionist. As far as Zangwill has any quarrel, it is not with the fundamental ideals and principles of Zionism, but with the policies of the present Zionist leadership with respect to which there may be honest differences of opinion. In one word, Zangwill's protest is against minimum, not maximum Zionism, for Zangwill is a maximum Zionist.⁴³ Zionist he has long been; as Zionist we claim him.

But the storm raised by Zangwill's speech was not to be calmed so easily. For several years Zionists could not forgive or forget what they considered a second betrayal of the Jewish people.

Part Three

THE WORLD OF ZANGWILL: FUTURE

Chapter VI

The Melting Pot and The Next Religion

Zangwill gradually came to realize that neither political Zionism nor Territorialism would ever achieve his ideal of universal human brotherhood. He now turned to America, the one country where, he hoped, because of its democratic structure, its values, and its liberal immigration policy, the barriers between all people would be wiped out through love and mercy.¹

In 1909, Zangwill wrote The Melting Pot. The play tells the story of David Quixano, a Russian-Jewish violinist whose family had been killed during the Kishinev massacre. Now living in America, David meets and falls in love with a beautiful social worker, Vera Revendal. When he learns that her father, Baron Revendal, had inspired the Kishinev massacre, David can no longer allow himself to love Vera. Finally, inspired by his faith in America as "the melting pot," David allows his hate and desire for vengeance to melt away. In honor of the new hope David has discovered in his vision of America, he writes his "Great American Symphony."

In The Melting Pot, Zangwill voices a hope shared by many immigrants who found themselves transplanted in the New World. Wohlgelehrter points out that the hope was one of America as a giant crucible which would "wash away all race differences and vendettas and

purge human beings of hate and vengeance and bad blood, and recreate them free, fearless, and truthful."² Zangwill expresses this theme symbolically in his concept of "the melting pot."

Wohlgelernter points out that Zangwill, in his zeal to promote the amalgamation of all peoples in the melting pot idea, does not show much understanding of several basic factors contradicting his theory. First, many theoreticians have maintained that Americanization depends not so much upon the obliteration of group self-consciousness but rather on a "cultural pluralism," a federation of cultures. Second, Zangwill assumes that the modern Jew in America will no longer resist the temptations of assimilation. Here Zangwill fails to realize that new immigrants would not be so quick to abandon those early associations which satisfied their emotional and social needs. Nor did Zangwill foresee a time between the world wars when the next generation would be ready to abandon their characteristic "Jewishness" for the melting pot idea, only to find that the majority American sentiment had shifted to a rejection of the ideals of brotherhood and immigration.³

Zangwill, in propounding his theory of the melting pot, actually retreats from an earlier position. Half of his adult life had been devoted to the quest for a Jewish state through which he hoped to inspire the world to peace and brotherhood.. Following his many disappointments and frustrations, Zangwill points out that, "were the landlessness of the Jews the only obstacle to universal peace, I should be the first to waive their claim."⁴ However, rather than waiving the claim, Zangwill merely moved on to find new

hope in the melting pot idea. No longer could he rely on the development of a new moral order in a non-existent Jewish state.

In The Melting Pot, Zangwill relies on an already existing state to bring about this new moral order. The idea of the crucible is primarily an appeal for a universal society with freedom of belief, conscience, and practice for each and every citizen. Such an understanding, however, does not come from a comprehension of "the melting pot" thesis alone. Just as Zangwill relied on a revitalized Jewish religion of the Jewish state to inspire the world to human brotherhood, so he relies on an ideal religion to underwrite the values of his ideal state: the America of the future.

As early as 1889, in his Jewish Quarterly Review article on "English Judaism," Zangwill voiced his interest in the ultimate unification of mankind by means of certain common religious ideals.⁵ It was not until 1891, however, when he was writing Children of the Ghetto, that he began toying with the idea of a "new religion."

In Children of the Ghetto, the cynic Sidney Graham expresses the author's feelings regarding religious dogma. Sidney is represented as believing that the new religion should have only one commandment, "Enjoy Thyself."⁶ And not only Sidney, but another mouthpiece in that novel calls for a new religion. Joseph Strelitski, the renegade orthodox rabbi, points out to Raphael Leon, the Oxford dilettante:

The formula of the religion of the future will be a Jewish formula--Character, not Creed. The provincial period of Judaism is over, though even its Dark Ages are still lingering on in England. It must become cosmic, universal.⁷

When Strelitski leaves the rabbinate and sets sail for America, he

expresses his author's hopes for the religion of the future in the land of the future:

Cannot we be a conscious force, making for nobler ends? Could we not, for instance, be the link of federation among the nations, acting everywhere in favor of peace? Could we not be the centre of new sociologic movements in each country, as a few American Jews have been the centre of the Ethical Culture movement?⁸

Like his creator, Strelitski was a born idealist; his ideas appear to have gone full circle from the years of his youth when he wanted the Jews to return to Palestine to his later pronouncements in favor of a Universal Judaism. Strelitski, no doubt, echos Zangwill's own sentiment when he finds a relationship between American Reform and his idea of a Universal Judaism.

Clearly, then, for Zangwill universal religion in general, and universal Judaism in particular, became the means through which social peace and harmony among men could be achieved. To Zangwill an ideal society must be matched with an ideal religion. If, in The Melting Pot, Zangwill sees hope in the land of the future, he finds the future itself guaranteed by the religion of the future.

During his later years, Zangwill felt a pressing need to discover the "next religion." His biographer, Joseph Leftwich, mentions that Zangwill expressed hope in parts of The Voice of Jerusalem "that there might come a fusion or federation between the Liberal Synagogue and the Church, or what is more practicable, between ex-Jews and ex-Christians."⁹

The "next religion" which Zangwill sought was not something he came upon easily. He was well aware of the difficulties involved

in restructuring one of man's most basic needs: the religious expression. Zangwill clearly perceived what was involved in moving mankind's religious epistemology from the supernatural to the natural. All the complexities of the issue were in Zangwill's mind when he wrote: "All your new Judaisms will never appeal like the old, with all its imperfections. It is beautiful--that child-like faith in the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night."¹⁰

Following "The Position of Judaism," a non-definitive article on the type of religion he envisages, Zangwill published The Next Religion in 1912.¹¹ In this play, Zangwill appeals for a society that would offer freedom of conscience to all those who accepted the postulates of "natural religion."

The story of The Next Religion deals with the struggle of the Reverend Stephen Trane, no longer able to believe the truths of traditional Christianity, who leaves his country parsonage for London to found "the next religion." With the help of his one disciple, Stephen finally publishes The Next Religion, a treatise expounding his concept of religion. Stephen's father-in-law, an Anglican bishop, buys up all the copies for the purpose of destroying them. However, one copy reaches and inspires Stephen's friend, a wealthy manufacturer, who contributes several million pounds to fulfill Stephen's dream. Years later, at the dedication of the temple of the next religion, Stephen's son, Wilfred, is killed by a crazed Christian fanatic. Accepting his son's death with dignity, Stephen maintains that "by our own labor we may shape this revolving wilderness into a world of peace and perfection."¹²

In The Next Religion, Stephen Trane discovers that he is not really a "Christian." He wants a wider and larger religion; he seeks what all honest men are finding--the religion that accepts scientific truths. Though Stephen is a Christian and Zangwill was a Jew, most of what Stephen feels is what Zangwill felt. According to Leftwich, "science seduced them both from the faith of their pious fathers."¹³

The Next Religion, like his earlier statements on the future religion, reveals very little of what actually constitutes "the next religion." Despite the lack of any systematic theology, Zangwill's disbelief in the supernatural, in immortality, and in a salaried clergy become increasingly clear. The true nature of Zangwill's "next religion," according to Wohlgelernter, is to be found in the stage directions to Act III.¹⁴ Zangwill instructs that the temple of the "next religion" will contain stained glass windows revealing "the faces of Mazzini, Emerson, and Swinburne, who appear like saints."¹⁵

Wohlgelernter notes that something in the life of each of these "saints" prompted Zangwill to canonize them in the temple of the "next religion." In Mazzini it was the Italian rebel who refused to accept a world filled with evil: "the individual must show a willingness to be consumed under the burden of his message." In Emerson, it was the belief that if a man's nature is just and ethical, then he is not only religious, but partakes of God as well. In Swinburne, it was the poet's intensive worship of the beautiful and the sensuous.¹⁶

One of Zangwill's life-long dreams was to unite Hebraism and Hellenism. It becomes clear that out of the essential humanistic

dedication to reality of Mazzini and Emerson, and the romantic inspiration of Swinburne, Zangwill reveals that the components of "the next religion" are reality and imagination; scientific truth and poetic inspiration; Hebraism and Hellenism.

In a 1912 issue of the London Bookman, Zangwill indicated that of all Dickens' works the one that influenced him most was A Christmas Carol.¹⁷ Wohlgelernter suggests that at the heart of Zangwill's The Next Religion rests Dickens' philosophy:

People like Scrooge, the personification of economic man, must awaken to the memory of the ties that bind them with the rest of mankind. When brotherhood, preached by Mazzini, Emerson, and Swinburne, and reason and love, found in Judaism and Christianity, will form in union, the next religion, then man--every man, even Scrooge--converting to it, will sense a radiant joy in the world around him. Man will laugh and that, as Dickens says of Scrooge, will be "quite enough for him."¹⁸

Afterword

Israel Zangwill was a Victorian Jew, a post-Emancipation man produced by two great civilizations, the English and the Jewish. Much in Zangwill's life and canon can be understood only in light of his Victorian English background. Maurice Wohlgelernter's study of Zangwill is devoted primarily to an analysis of certain ideas and emotions Zangwill shared with other Victorians. Upon reading Wohlgelernter's work, one must concur that Zangwill was indeed a very "British" Englishman. Nor has Zangwill's Jewishness ever been contested. In his biography of Zangwill, Joseph Leftwich maintains that "Judaism qua religion" was most important for Zangwill.¹ Of course, Zangwill considered himself a Jew socially and also ethnically, but the spiritual aspect was of major significance for him.

The experience of Zangwill, a Jew living in England after the Emancipation, suggests much about the interests and conflicts of other post-Emancipation Jews. Many of Zangwill's concerns grew out of an interaction between his life and background--influenced by his various experiences and emotions--and the impact current history made on him personally. Zangwill was stirred greatly by the massive defections from Jewishness and Judaism caused by the crumbling ghetto walls and the clash between science and religion. His leadership in the search for a Jewish homeland reveals a deep emotional involvement in the persecutions and subsequent migrations of East European Jewry. But Zangwill was also concerned with other

matters such as literature, philosophy, pacifism, and women's suffrage. Much of his life's work reflects his interest in things secular as well as Jewish. However, unlike some of his contemporaries who found the dichotomy between "secular" and "Jewish" much too wide to be bridged, to Zangwill's mind, only a combination of the two could produce a thoroughly modern Jew. To Zangwill, both were integral parts of the whole Jew's being. Rather than totally eradicate one part of his being at the expense of the other, Zangwill sought successfully to effect a personality completely oriented to both the Jewish and the secular worlds. In Zangwill, emotional ties to Jews and Judaism combined with secular interests and education to produce a man who exemplified the best of both worlds.

As a literary artist and a quasi-politician, Zangwill envisioned his endeavors primarily in terms of social setting and purpose. Art, society, morality, and religion remained matters of concern to Zangwill throughout his career. To Zangwill, the satisfaction gained from his participation in these many issues was not in itself sufficient justification for his interest and involvement. Rather Zangwill saw purpose and ethical principle as the central concerns of his life and work; everything was weighed according to its service or harm to mankind. Zangwill's quest for the ideal, for truth and beauty, for the perfection of the world, is indeed the real achievement of his career. Life, the world about him, and the potential for perfection were the objects of his life-long study; people, politics, and literature were his tools in attempting to build a bridge between the real and the ideal.

As a Jew and an Englishman--one who had moved out of the myopic world of ghetto-life into the wider horizons of post-Emancipation West European society--Zangwill himself symbolizes and fulfills his expectations of the Jewish community as a religiously oriented body intimately involved with the world at large and actively engaged in the perfection of man and his world.

NOTES

Introductory Note

¹John Gross, "Zangwill in Retrospect," Commentary, (Dec., 1964), 55.

²Zangwill not only proposed a universal religion but what was tantamount to a new religion. Of course, he was not unique in doing so. Among his contemporaries doing the same were Tolstoy, Bahauallah, and Felix Adler.

The World of Late-Victorian Jewry

Chapter I. England and Her Jews

¹Margolis and Marx, History of the Jewish People, p.391.

²Ibid., p.493.

³Frank Montague Modder, The Jew in the Literature of England, p.237.

⁴Howard Morley Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, p.494.

⁵I. Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life, p.309.

⁶Sachar, p.495.

⁷C. Russell and H.S. Lewis, A Study of Racial Characteristics and Present-Day Conditions, p.12.

⁸Sachar, p.495.

⁹Russell and Lewis, p.4.

¹⁰Sachar, p.496.

¹¹Russell and Lewis, p.8.

¹²Ibid., p.9.

Chapter II. Zangwill's Life and Canon

¹Joseph Leftwich, Israel Zangwill, pp.57,75,77.

²Ibid., pp.77,89.

³Israel Zangwill, Children of the Ghetto, p.66.

⁴Cecil Roth, History of the Jews in England, p.225. Cf. also pp.246-247.

⁵Leftwich, p.77.

⁶Ibid., p.90.

⁷Harry Schneidermann, "Israel Zangwill," American Jewish Yearbook (1926), pp.141-142.

⁸Maurice Wohlgelemerter, Israel Zangwill: A Study, p.32.

⁹Leftwich, pp.28, 35.

¹⁰Schneidermann, p.123.

¹¹Leftwich, pp.62-63.

¹²Gross, p.54.

¹³Leftwich, p.43.

¹⁴Modder, pp.341-343.

¹⁵Israel Zangwill, Dreamers of the Ghetto, p.iv.

¹⁶Wohlgelemerter, p.37.

¹⁷Edgar Bernstein, "The Jewish Dickens: Israel Zangwill On His Centennial," Jewish Digest, IX (Jan., 1964), 9-11.

¹⁸Leftwich, p.88.

¹⁹Wohlgelemerter, p.40.

²⁰Leftwich, p.103.

²¹Children of the Ghetto, p.247.

²²Wohlgelemerter, p.261.

²³Ibid., p.43.

²⁴Leftwich, p.121.

²⁵Ibid., pp.95,96,281,296.

The World of Zangwill: Present

Chapter III. Jewish Identity in the Modern World

¹Michael Meyer, The Origins of the Modern Jew, p.15.

²Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, p.113.

³ Wohlgelernter, p.21. See also above, Chapter II, pp.2-3, for a discussion of the two conflicting traditions of the Zangwill home.

⁴ Gross, p.56.

⁵ Leftwich, p.130.

⁶ Wohlgelernter, p.22.

⁷ Israel Zangwill, "Hebrew, Jew and Israelite," Speeches, Articles and Letters of Israel Zangwill, ed. Maurice Simon, p.36.

⁸ Gross, p.54.

⁹ I am indebted to my friend and classmate, Mel Silverman, who has allowed me to read his excellent paper and sensitive study of "Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto," p.6.

¹⁰ Children of the Ghetto, p.247.

¹¹ Silverman, p.7.

¹² Children of the Ghetto, p.258.

¹³ Meyer, pp.85-114.

¹⁴ Children of the Ghetto, p.256.

¹⁵ Silverman, p.11.

¹⁶ Children of the Ghetto, p.320.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp.320-321.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.488.

¹⁹ Silverman, p.16.

²⁰ Children of the Ghetto, p.343.

²¹ Silverman, p.19.

²² Wohlgelernter, p.83.

²³ Ibid., p.80.

²⁴ Israel Zangwill, Ghetto Comedies, p.332.

²⁵ Israel Zangwill, Ghetto Tragedies, p.74.

²⁶ Wohlgelernter, p.92.

- ²⁷Gross, p.55.
- ²⁸Dreamers of the Ghetto, p.ii.
- ²⁹Ibid., p.12.
- ³⁰Ibid., p.20.
- ³¹Wohlgelernter, p.109.
- ³²Ibid., p.113.
- ³³Dreamers of the Ghetto, p.331.
- ³⁴Ibid., p.332.
- ³⁵Ibid., p.334.
- ³⁶Meyer, p.101.
- ³⁷Dreamers of the Ghetto, p.503.
- ³⁸Wohlgelernter, p.124.

Chapter IV. English Judaism

- ¹Wohlgelernter, p.265.
- ²Israel Zangwill, "English Judaism: A Criticism and Classification," Jewish Quarterly Review, I (July, 1889), 386.
- ³Ibid., p.384.
- ⁴Ibid., p.387.
- ⁵Children of the Ghetto, p.384.
- ⁶Ibid., p.139.
- ⁷Ibid., p.304.
- ⁸Ibid., p.324.
- ⁹Ibid., p.331.
- ¹⁰Ibid., p.510.
- ¹¹Ibid., p.513.
- ¹²"English Judaism," p.399.

¹³"Hebrew, Jew and Israelite," p.35.

¹⁴"English Judaism," p.394.

¹⁵Ibid., p.403.

Chapter V. Zionism and Territorialism

¹Wohlgelernter, p.146.

²Children of the Ghetto, p.188.

³Wohlgelernter, p.145.

⁴Leftwich, p.86.

⁵Zangwill, "Zionism," in Speeches, p.156. "The Maccabeans," an international society to which Zangwill belonged, met to discuss matters of Jewish interest, particularly the conflict between Hebraism and Hellenism. Its members included such Jewish intellectuals and leaders as Sir Phillip Magnus, Dr. Felix Adler, Frederick Cowen, Israel Abrahams, and Claude Montefiore.

⁶According to Wohlgelernter, p.135, Zangwill felt, in "Dreamers of the Congress," that anti-Semitism produced only a second-rate Zionism rather than a pure Zionism of the heart.

⁷"Zionism," p.152.

⁸Ibid., p.154.

⁹Ibid., p.157.

¹⁰Ibid., p.159.

¹¹Leftwich, p.187.

¹²Sachar, pp.276-277.

¹³"Zionism," p.160.

¹⁴Ibid., p.164.

¹⁵Wohlgelernter, p.150.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Zangwill, "The East Africa Offer," in Speeches, p.204.

¹⁸In African Zion, Robert G. Weisbord points out that it

was actually not Uganda Joseph Chamberlain, Britain's colonial secretary in 1902, offered the Zionists. The offer to the Zionists involved territory which was part of the East Africa Protectorate, corresponding today to a portion of Kenya. Because of a lack of East African geographical knowledge among both the Zionists and some of the Colonial Office officials, Chamberlain's offer was erroneously interpreted by many as referring to Uganda in British East Africa.

¹⁹Zangwill, "The Sixth Zionist Congress," in Speeches, p.187.

²⁰Wohlgelernter, p.161.

²¹Ibid., p.162.

²²"The East Africa Offer," p.212.

²³Zangwill, "What is the TIO?" in Speeches, p.232.

²⁴Wohlgelernter, p.168.

²⁵Leftwich, p.183.

²⁶Ibid., p.195.

²⁷Wohlgelernter, p.163.

²⁸"The East Africa Offer," p.202.

²⁹Lucien Wolf, "The Zionist Peril," Jewish Quarterly Review, XVII (1905), 404,406.

³⁰Zangwill, "Mr. Lucien Wolf on 'The Zionist Peril,'" Jewish Quarterly Review, XVII (1905), 404,406.

³¹Ibid., p.423.

³²Consult American Jewish Archives Box No. 2364 for a collection of correspondence between Zangwill and Schiff regarding the Galveston project and other matters.

³³Zangwill, "A Land of Refuge," in Speeches, p.258.

³⁴Ibid., p.259.

³⁵Leftwich, p.228.

³⁶Ibid., p.234.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Wohlgelernter, p.172.

- ³⁹Bernstein, p.11.
⁴⁰Wohlgelernter, p.172.
⁴¹Ibid., p.173.
⁴²Ibid.
⁴³Leftwich, p.183.

The World of Zangwill: Future

Chapter VI. The Melting Pot and The Next Religion

- ¹Wohlgelernter, p.174.
²Ibid., p.178.
³Ibid., pp.182-186.
⁴Leftwich, p.149.
⁵"English Judaism," pp.402-403.
⁶Leftwich, p.282.
⁷Children of the Ghetto, p.514.
⁸Ibid., p.517.
⁹Leftwich, p.280.
¹⁰Ibid., p.291.
¹¹"The Position of Judaism" originally appeared in The North American Review, and was incorporated later into The Voice of Jerusalem.
¹²Zangwill, The Next Religion, p.189.
¹³Leftwich, p.276.
¹⁴Wohlgelernter, p.277.
¹⁵The Next Religion, p.144.
¹⁶Wohlgelernter, pp.277-278.

¹⁷Zangwill, "On First Reading Dickens," Bookman, XLI (Feb., 1912), 252. See also Wohlgelernter, p. 280.

¹⁸Wohlgelernter, p. 281.

Afterword

¹Leftwich, p. 265.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

I. Works by Zangwill

Books and Plays

- The Celebrates' Club. New York: Macmillan Co., 1905.
- Children of the Ghetto. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1906.
- Dreamers of the Ghetto. New York: Harper & Bros., 1898.
- Ghetto Comedies. New York: Macmillan Co., 1907.
- Ghetto Tragedies. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1908.
- The King of Schnorrers, ed. and with introd. essay, "Jewish Humor," by Bernard I. Schilling. Hamden: Shoe String Press, 1953.
- The Mantle of Elijah. New York: Harper & Bros., 1900.
- The Master. New York: Harper & Bros., 1895.
- The Melting Pot. New York: Macmillan Co., 1914.
- Merely Mary Ann. New York: Macmillan Co., 1904.
- The Next Religion. New York: Macmillan Co., 1912.
- Plaster Saints. New York: Macmillan Co., 1915.
- The Premier and the Painter. New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1896.
- Speeches, Articles, and Letters, ed. Maurice Simon. London: Soncino Press, 1937.
- The Voice of Jerusalem. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921.
- The War God. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921.
- We Moderns. London: William Heinemann, 1925.

Selected Articles

- "English Judaism: A Criticism and Classification," Jewish Quarterly Review, I (July, 1889), 376-408.

"Mr. Lucien Wolf on 'The Zionist Peril,'" Jewish Quarterly Review, XVII (April, 1905), 397-425.

"On First Reading Dickens," Bookman, XLI (Feb., 1912), 252.

"The Position of Judaism," North American Review, CLX (April, 1895), 425-439.

Watchman, What of the Night? (American Jewish Congress Pamphlet) New York, 1923.

II. Selected Works About Zangwill

Bernstein, Edgar. "The Jewish Dickens: Israel Zangwill on His Centennial," Jewish Digest, IX (Jan., 1964), 9-11.

Gross, John. "Zangwill in Retrospect," Commentary, XXXVIII (Dec., 1964), 54-57.

Leftwich, Joseph. Israel Zangwill. London: Camelot Press, 1957.

Modder, Frank Montague. The Jew in the Literature of England. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1939.

Phillipson, David. The Jew in English Literature. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1927.

Sacher, Harry. "Zangwill, Eternal Jew and Rebel," Jewish Digest, IX (Jan., 1964), 1-4.

Schneidermann, Harry. "Israel Zangwill," American Jewish Yearbook, XXIX (1926), 141-142.

Silverman, Mel. "Israel Zangwill's Children of the Ghetto." Unpublished Essay, 1970.

Wohlgelernter, Maurice. Israel Zangwill: A Study. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964.

Zangwill, Ayrton I. "My Father--Israel Zangwill," Jewish Digest, IX (Jan., 1964), 4.

III. Other Works Consulted

Arnold, Matthew. Culture and Anarchy. New York: Macmillan Co., 1875.

Elbogen, Ismar. A Century of Jewish Life. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1960.

Margolis M.L., and Marx, A. A History of the Jewish People. New York: Macmillan Co., 1875.

Meyer, Michael. The Origins of The Modern Jew: Jewish Identity and European Culture in Germany: 1749-1824. Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1967.

Roth, Cecil. History of the Jews in England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941.

Russell, C., and Lewis, H.S. The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Characteristics and Present-Day Conditions. New York: Crowell & Co., 1901.

Sachar, Howard Morley. The Course of Modern Jewish History. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1958.

Weisbord, Robert G. African Zion. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1968.

Wolf, Lucien. "The Zionist Peril," Jewish Quarterly Review, XVII (Oct., 1905), 1-25.