



# PRESERVING OUR ARCHIVES

*Telling our  
story*



# MISHKAN

**A Forum on the Gospel and the Jewish People**

ISSUE 49 / 2006

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**Caspari Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies · Jerusalem**

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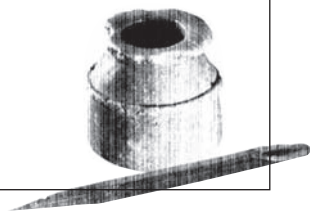
**Mishkan** is a forum for discussion, and articles included do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors.

**Mishkan** is the Hebrew word for *tabernacle* or *dwelling place* (John 1:14).

A WORD FROM THE EDITOR

# Who Destroyed What

By Kai Kjær-Hansen



In the early 1970s the Danish Israel Mission moved its office from Copenhagen to Christiansfeld, a town in the southern part of Jutland. In Copenhagen, the mission had a reading room with literature in different languages for Jewish seekers, the majority of whom came from Eastern Europe.

Some of these books and journals – a portion of them from the 19th century – are now on the shelves in a storeroom in Christiansfeld. Nothing is cataloged. Some of the books are still in the same boxes in which they were moved from Copenhagen more than 30 years ago! These are not cataloged either. They once were, but the catalog has (I believe) been lost.

Among the items to be found in the boxes are first editions of writings by Yechiel Lichtenstein, a teacher at Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig, in German and Hebrew. There are novels by Scandinavian authors – in Hebrew – and other things of interest, but they are well hidden away. Other mission organizations can probably tell a similar story.

Having read the article by archivist Bob Shuster, "Developing a Ministry Archives," in this issue of *Mishkan*, I can see what should be done. He gives a number of practical suggestions. If you don't have the resources to set up or keep up your own internal archives, try to find an outside archive which can secure the (hi)story – even if it hurts to give to others what seems like the soul of one's history!

In this issue of *Mishkan* other painful stories are told. It is one thing when our opponents destroy our archives. It is another when our own people do this, not with evil intentions but in ignorance.

A CURRENT ISSUE



# The *No* to Jewish Mission from Cologne

By Kai Kjær-Hansen

The theme of the last issue of *Mishkan* was Mark Kinzer's book *Postmissionary Messianic Judaism* (2005). Kinzer's main point – a “bilateral ecclesiology in solidarity with Israel that affirms Israel's covenant, Torah, and religious tradition” – was carefully examined by a number of people. Even after reading Kinzer's response to these articles, it is still not clear to me how Christians – for whom the book is mainly intended – will discover “God and Messiah in the midst of Israel,” nor what practical implications this has for our witness to the Jewish people today.

The responses to Kinzer's book were very different, but none of them questioned “Israel's enduring covenant and election.” Neither was that questioned in the evangelical Trinitatiskirche in Cologne during their Pentecost celebration on June 4<sup>th</sup> of this year.

What were the implications of this for the Protestant Christians gathered there?

My source is the journal *Begegnungen – Zeitschrift für Kirche und Judentum* (no. 3, 2006, pp. 1-13). In a short editorial, the editor of the magazine, Wolfgang Raupach-Rudnick, underscores the theme of the issue by quoting a declaration made in 1998 by the General Synod of the evangelical church in Austria: “Since God's covenant with his people Israel remains to the end of time because of his mercy, mission to the Jews cannot theologically be justified and must be rejected as a program for the Church.”

At the opening of the service in Cologne, participants were welcomed with these words: “What we do today is nothing new, rather it is a confirmation of the decision which has been valid in the Evangelical Church of Reinland since 1980.” This refers to the Declaration of the Reinland Synod from 1980. While that declaration kept the door open for Jewish mission (see *Mishkan*, no. 36, 2002, pp. 5-32), this door has now been closed. New or not new, the Pentecost service in Cologne and its *no* to Jewish mission is a diametrical contrast to the Jewish mission organization established in 1842 – in Cologne. At that time there was a clear yes to Jewish mission.

The theme of the service was inspired by the Great Commission in Matthew 28:16-20: “Go into all the world: Learn together with Israel – teach the world – our biblical *no* to Jewish mission.” Biblically inspired yes, but in my opinion also biblically twisted.

After the service a small delegation visited two Jewish congregations in Cologne and presented a short statement to the rabbis. The statement says that God's covenant with and promises to Israel are still valid. This is followed by a *yes* to mission, which concerns all people – and then just as strong a *no* to Jewish mission: "We understand and underline our commitment to go against any form of organized Jewish mission and hereby recognize God's special relation to his people Israel." The conclusion of the statement speaks against "our previous Jewish mission tradition," and the statement asks all evangelical churches to do the same.

It is no surprise that the Christian delegation was well received by the two synagogues in Cologne. Nor is it surprising that there were reactions to this from other Christians.

In a letter to the editor in *Idea Spektrum* (23/2006), Professor Dr. Günter R. Schmidt, Erlangen, reacts in five short points. Point 1 is, "A *no* to Jewish mission implies a new form of anti-Semitic discrimination: All should be called to Christ, only not the Jews!" In point 2, Acts 4:12 – salvation is to be found in the name of Jesus alone – is quoted, underscoring that these words were addressed not to Gentiles, but to representatives of the Jewish council. In point 3 it is said that the "*no* to Jewish mission" is the beginning of a *no* to all other mission. If Jews do not need Jesus, then why should Muslims or Buddhists? In point 4 it is maintained that this *no* to Jewish mission undermines the Christian principle of "Solus Christus" (Christ alone). Point 5 emphasizes that Jews should be met in an open and friendly way, but without diminishing the Christian gospel.

Martin Bock and Marten Marquardt, who are the main authors of the statement from June 4, 2006, responded shortly afterward with a 21-point explanation. Point 1 says: "The question of Jewish mission is linked to the question of whether rabbinic Judaism is a continuation of biblical Judaism or not." Point 2 maintains that if such a continuation is questioned, then Israel is equal to all other people and the great commission includes them – but this, according to the authors, is against Scripture. The biblical viewpoint, as the authors see it, is expressed in point 3: "Whoever accepts the continuity of biblical Israel with rabbinic Judaism must, together with Paul (Romans 9-11), admit that the Torah and the promises to Israel are still valid – also after Christ."

Of course it can happen, the authors admit, that some Jews receive the gospel or that some Christians convert to Judaism. But neither side should engage in a "systematic" mission toward the other.

In my opinion, the declaration from Cologne is an example of how, even with a biblically correct starting point – that is, Israel's enduring covenant and election – one can still end up with a theology concerning Israel which does not include God's salvation through Christ.

Regardless of how close present-day rabbinic Judaism is to "biblical Judaism," the Gospels show that Jesus came with good news for Jews. This is true also for Jews today. When the biblical texts read as they do, it is a puzzle to me that anyone dares introduce a *biblical no* to Jewish mission.







# Developing a Ministry Archive

By **Bob Shuster**

Paul, writing to Timothy, said, "This is a true saying, to be completely accepted and believed: Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. I am the worst of them, but God was merciful to me in order that Christ Jesus might show his full patience in dealing with me, the worst of sinners, as an example for all those who would later believe in him and receive eternal life."

Writing a little more than a generation after the Resurrection and perhaps a couple of decades after he met Jesus Christ on the Syrian road, did Paul have any idea how often his story would be retold, the multitudes that would hear it, the number of believers it would instruct, warn, and encourage? The stories of the Church, of individuals and groups through the centuries, have been of the greatest resources of believers in understanding Scripture, leading a Christian life, sharing their faith, and ministering to the needs of others. We are inspired by the testimonies we hear directly or indirectly from other Christians – such as the lady in the blue dress we heard speak at last week's prayer meeting, or the man telling of the revival he experienced in his church thirty years ago, or the lives of Sung Shang-chieh (John Sung) or St. Columba or Martin Luther or Samuel Marsden or Rafavavy Rasalana. Similarly, we find guidance, ideas, standards, and personal meaning in the stories of groups of Christians in denominations, individual congregations, or in a variety of types of associations brought together to witness and minister and to carry out the Great Commission.

The question of why Christian ministries should keep archives is really a small part of a larger question: Should the Church remember and draw on her history? I would submit that the answer is yes; knowing and sharing the experiences of those who have gone before is a way that we share love and wisdom with fellow believers and illustrate the patience and power of God's grace as He works among us and through us. It is a history not of easy, superficial triumphs, based on the hard parts being suppressed, but one that really does include the weaknesses and failings of believers, redeemed but still so fallible, since only thus can we truly appreciate the way Jesus makes use of the worst of sinners, that is, ourselves.



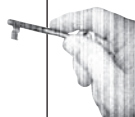
There are many particular benefits to the members of a group in a deepened knowledge of their own past. First, of course, it is a means of keeping the ministry aware of its original beliefs and purposes. It provides a measuring stick for determining how the organization has changed and how it has stayed the same, to step back and see in what direction it is moving. The files of the ministry, its archives, which in one way or another will serve as the basis of that historical knowledge, can serve the same function as the pillars that Joshua raised as silent witnesses for and to the people of Israel. The pillars were to be for the Israelites a physical reminder of the covenant they had entered into with the Lord. The archives of a ministry are a similar physical link to its original mission and the way earlier generations followed that mission in the world.

Knowledge and understanding of the ministry's past can also serve as a guide for decision-making and planning. It provides one of the standards that can be used to evaluate options, by study of what has been done previously, how it was done, and what the results were. The experience of China Inland Mission (now Overseas Missionary Fellowship) in making the decision to leave China in 1950 and then deciding to continue its work in Southeast Asia, for example, became an important event in the life of that mission, shaping the way it dealt with other crises and opportunities since then. Not only the actual experience of the missionaries and the mission leaders, but also the documents telling the story of that traumatic decision and the studies of those experiences and documents are a continuing resource for the mission as well as for other missions facing similar crises (the OMF has made those materials available to the public in archival repositories).

How does a ministry go about preserving its history? It is often the case that one person within a mission, perhaps at a low level, is vitally interested in its history and puts great effort into saving what otherwise would be lost. That is commendable, but unless a commitment to historical preservation is part of the mission's culture, unless it is a conscious decision on the part of mission leaders and is understood throughout the organization, the archives that one person gathers will probably be neglected or lost when that person leaves or retires or dies. So an ideal first step would be for the governing body of the mission to determine whether preserving the ministry's history is something that it approves, and to commission a person or persons to suggest an approach.

At this point, the mission must make a crucial decision: will its history be preserved inside or outside? That is, will the ministry set up its own internal archives, allocating staff time, space, and other resources to it, or will it try to find an outside archives that will accept the mission's archives, including future additions of inactive files. It is, of course, more convenient to have your archives close at hand and directly under your own control.

**The files of the ministry can serve the same function as the pillars that Joshua raised as silent witnesses for and to the people of Israel.**



On the other hand, there is probably no one in the ministry with archival experience (although there are several national seminars that can teach someone new to an archival position basic concepts), and it may seem more efficient to have the records kept in an existing archives where they will receive professional care and where the documents of the ministry can be studied in conjunction with those from related collections. Perhaps the ministry recruits a significant portion of its staff from a particular college, Bible school, or seminary which already has an archives. Placing its records there will be a way of strengthening its ties with the school. From the school's point of view, the archives will be educational material in which students can do research and gain a greater understanding of Christian work. Or if there is no Christian repository that the mission is in partnership with, there might be a secular school which would be interested in the archives and be willing to house it.

If the mission does decide to go to an outside agency, Christian or not, it will need to carefully work out what are the obligations of each party, to avoid misunderstandings in the future. The outside archives will almost certainly require that the ownership of the records be turned over to it. The certificate of gift that governs such a transfer should also state the mission's conditions, such as that all records or certain specific portions be closed for a period of time (five years, ten years, twenty years), or a guarantee of prompt response (with a standard of service) to requests from the mission's staff for help in the form of data, copies of photos, documents, etc. The outside archives may also require the mission to pay a sum to help with the cost of processing and maintaining the collection.

The ministry that decides to keep its own archives should not regard the program as a corner into which dusty records are shoved, but as a resource of many and varying uses for the organization. Archives will only be worth keeping if they are used, and they will only be maintained long term if they become a real part of the life of the ministry. The archivist for the mission should seek ways to let the rest of the staff, supporters of the mission, and the general public know what is available, perhaps by an archives newsletter or a page in a mission newsletter that gives samples of data, documents, images, or quotes from the ministry's history. A commitment to having the information in the archives available to be used for the planning, evaluation, encouragement, warning, training, and fellowship of the mission staff especially is key to preserving the mission's historical records.

Some basic decisions need to be made at the beginning of the archival program. The mission will need to define the purpose of the archives, what the archive will collect, who will be allowed to use the archives, and what resources will be allocated. Well thought out policies, written down and discussed by the staff before they are adopted, are the best antidote to the problems that arise when a position rotates from one untrained individual to another. "It's Your History: Guidelines for Establishing Your Mission Archives" ([www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/ema/guidelines02.htm](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/ema/guidelines02.htm)) contains brief discussions of these points, which I will quote below. For

more detailed information, the reader should consult the resources at the end of this article.

### *Mission Statement*

Approved by an agency's governing body, this document outlines the responsibilities of the archivist and the authority of the archivist to carry out its mission. The mission statement clarifies the duties of the archives to collect and house records generated by the mission agency staff. An archives must have the authority to collect records independent of their sensitivity, geographic location, or level in the hierarchy. A mission statement should reflect the goals of the mission, not just the archives. All of those with a stake in furthering the mission should be included in the policy. The mission statement should address the following concerns:

- The purpose of the archives and how it supports the mission
- The legal authority of an archives to fulfill its purpose
- The primary and secondary needs the archives should meet
- The administrative placement of the archives within in the organization

### *Collection Development Policy*

A mission's archival collection needs to be shaped according to a plan. Collection development policies:

- Outline the kinds of records to be collected
- Define the scope of collecting – whether the archives will collect the personal papers of its staff along with institutional records
- Designate an advisory committee, or similar organ, to consult in collecting records and making them accessible
- Specify the criteria for the inclusion of material in the archives
- Explain the process for discarding material from the archives

### *Access Policy*

This policy determines the conditions under which different users have access to the records. It outlines approved guidelines for a variety of potential users – administrators, staff, missionaries, or outside researchers (if applicable). While the majority of inquiries made to the archives will come from within, the agency may want to make its material available to a wider public. Whether the archives is opened to the general public or maintained strictly for internal use, it should make material as accessible as possible, without restrictions to its primary users. Personnel files and other sensitive materials may be subject to federal and state privacy legislation and will in most cases have restrictions placed upon their use. The access policy ensures that restrictions are sufficient and consistent. Reasonable caution must also be practiced in allowing outside use of material that conveys information that could jeopardize the security of missionaries or indigenous Christians. Access policies:



- Identify opened, restricted, and closed records
- Delineate the conditions of restricted material
- List the procedures for access to closed records
- State the equal access to open unrestricted material

Another aspect of access to information is the copying of documents. Most researchers, in-house and outside the organization, will want copies of something – documents, pictures, databases. Restrictions, if any, on copying of materials should be defined ahead of time and applied in a uniform, fair manner. It is common for organizations with in-house archives to allow greater access to current staff than to nonstaff, particularly for the more recent records. But the emphasis in archives policy should be to eventually make materials available on an equal basis to all. Be aware that more and more researchers, from inside and outside, will visit the archives with their own scanners, digital cameras, and camera phones, ready to take pictures of documents as well as images they might want. The mission should determine ahead of time how far it wants to control this kind of copying.

### *Staff*

The staff member who serves as archivist should receive training that enables him or her to:

- Supervise the transfer of inactive records from departments and missionaries
- Care for and arrange documents
- Maintain a simple descriptive system that facilitates use of the material by those unfamiliar with it
- Document procedures for the transfer of records into the archives, integrate records into the archives, and maintain an accurate list of material housed in the collection

The archivist you select may have little training and limited time to dedicate to this project. Still, he or she can be a valuable resource to your organization and will need the highest level of administrative support – only then can continuity be assured. Appointing a willing volunteer (perhaps a retired missionary) rather than drafting a reluctant staff person may be the best option. Any archivist's term should be at least a year. The archivist will build the team (volunteers included) that will receive, arrange, and describe documents as well as establish and implement critical policies. An advisory committee should be established, comprised of staff from each department, at least one senior administrator, and an outside archivist who can provide expert advice and link the archives to existing resources. This committee participates in establishing guidelines and policies, fund-raising, advocacy within the parent mission, and soliciting archival materials.

## Space

Adequate space must be allotted to house material that the archives has collected already, as well as material it anticipates collecting over the next five to ten years. Archival material should be stored in a secure area immune to flood and storm damage. Ideally, the material should be housed in a climate-controlled environment where temperature and humidity levels remain constant and can be monitored by the archivist. However, doubtless in most cases mission organizations will have to make do with space that is less than ideal. At the very least, vital records should be protected in a fireproof vault. Space for researchers, preferably in close proximity to the storage area, is also necessary. The area should be easily supervised and provide researchers with equipment for photocopying.

## Resources

There are a variety of books and websites that are helpful for any organization starting an archives, particularly one that has no trained archivist or archival tradition. The most useful introduction is Elizabeth Yakel's *Starting an Archives* (Society of American Archivists and the Scarecrow Press, 1994): [www.archivists.org/catalog/pubDetail.asp?objectID=241](http://www.archivists.org/catalog/pubDetail.asp?objectID=241)

This book is a little dated, since it does not deal much with electronic records or archival software programs, but it is still the best introduction for the nonarchivist to the decisions that have to be made and the first steps to take.

Another helpful manual is: *Developing and Maintaining Practical Archives: A How-To-Do-It Manual, 2nd ed.*, by Gregory Hunter (Neal-Schuman Publishers, 2003): [www.archivists.org/catalog/pubDetail.asp?objectID=217](http://www.archivists.org/catalog/pubDetail.asp?objectID=217)

There are also many websites that would be helpful, including:

The Digital Jewish Mission History Project is a collection of significant materials and publications of various kinds, rather than the unpublished records usually found in archives: [www.lcje.net/history](http://www.lcje.net/history)

The UNESCO Archival portal contains links to hundreds of archival sites around the world: [portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=5761&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=5761&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

*Rescuing the Memory of Our Peoples / Archival Manual*, by Martha L. Smalley and Rosemary Seaton (English version), grew out of the conference of the International Association of Mission Studies, and deals particularly with the value of ministry records: [www.library.yale.edu/div/archivesmanual.pdf](http://www.library.yale.edu/div/archivesmanual.pdf)

*A Heritage at Risk: The Proceedings of the Evangelical Archives Conference*, July 13-15, 1988: [www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/EAC/eactoc.html](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/EAC/eactoc.html)



This site contains rather old material, but still contains various helpful ideas on the value and use of archives for Christian organizations. See especially the guidelines and minimum standards for archives at: [www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/EAC/eac3.html](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/EAC/eac3.html)

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Consultation on Nondenominational Mission Archives (2001): [www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/Consult/consult.html](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/Consult/consult.html)

Sources of Help or Advice for Your Church or Synagogue Archives. This site contains information on many available print and online archival manuals: [www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/caw.html](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/caw.html)

Guidelines for Establishing a Mission Archives (referred to above): [www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/ema/guidelines.htm](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/ema/guidelines.htm)

Guidelines for College and University Archives. Many of the principles and practices described here would apply to any archives, although generally these guidelines envision a more formal and organized program than most Christian ministries will maintain: [www.archivists.org/governance/guidelines/cu\\_guidelines4.asp?prnt=y](http://www.archivists.org/governance/guidelines/cu_guidelines4.asp?prnt=y)

Tutorial: An Over-the-Shoulder View of an Archivist at Work: [www.getty.edu/research/conducting\\_research/standards/introarchives/table\\_index.html](http://www.getty.edu/research/conducting_research/standards/introarchives/table_index.html)

Some archival training programs for the new archivist who has to start up a program in a hurry with little or no background:

The Modern Archives Institute, two weeks long, has been offered by the National Archives of the United States since the 1930s: [www.archives.gov/preservation/modern-archives-institute/](http://www.archives.gov/preservation/modern-archives-institute/)

Another popular institute in the United States is the Georgia Archives Institute: [www.georgiaarchivesinstitute.org/](http://www.georgiaarchivesinstitute.org/)

Various training workshops are offered each year by the Society of American Archivists (USA): [www.archivists.org/prof-education/seasonal\\_schedule.asp](http://www.archivists.org/prof-education/seasonal_schedule.asp)

The Council of State Archives in the United States has a page with many useful links: [www.statearchivists.org/arc/index.htm](http://www.statearchivists.org/arc/index.htm)

# The Importance of Archives — Our Story



By **Kelvin Crombie**

One of the most extensive archives relating to Christian work among the Jewish people is in the possession of CMJ<sup>1</sup> and its Israel component, ITAC<sup>2</sup>. Until a few decades ago this same Society possessed a large collection of very valuable historical materials, but due to various reasons a large part of this valuable collection has disappeared. Thankfully, a sufficient part has been preserved, and now forms the basis of two branches of the work of CMJ in Israel, namely four heritage centers (at Christ Church, Beit Immanuel, Anglican International School [AISJ], and Beit Bracha) and the Conrad Schick Library under the covering of Alexander College.

The importance of these resources is underlined by the fact that in any given year many thousands of Israelis visit these centers. And over many years numerous Israeli scholars and students have accessed and benefited from our archives and library, either here in Israel or in the UK. Although the Conrad Schick Library & Archives is only in its infancy, already several Israeli scholars, including Professor Haim Goren and Dr. Saul Sapir, have visited and commented favorably, as well as Member of Knesset Matan Vilnai, son of Israel's guiding legend Zev Vilnai.

The following is a brief history of the establishment of these projects and the struggle to preserve these collections.

## **The Beginning of a Vision**

In 1986 Rev. Alfred Sawyer, the rector at Christ Church, asked me to become the local guide at the church. In those days hundreds of Israelis would visit Christ Church on a monthly basis. The majority of the groups were from universities and historical institutions, studying the impact of CMJ and the Protestants (including Hebrew Christians) in the development of modern Jerusalem and Israel.

My first problems in fulfilling this role were my lack of knowledge and the inadequate resources available. I first began to study by listening to the Israeli guides and professors giving their presentations at Christ

1 The Church's Ministry to the Jewish People.

2 The Israel Trust of the Anglican Church.



Church. But I knew I needed more. Here I was helped by David Pileggi, a friend in the Christ Church congregation, who introduced me to some excellent sources to read, as well as the Yad Ben Zvi Archives in Rehavia. Next, I visited the UK in September 1986, during which time I visited CMJ's major archives housed in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. When I stopped by CMJ's UK office in St. Albans, one of the staff made an off the cuff comment about a lot of "junk" in a ramshackle attic in the building.

"Junk?" I questioned. Well, to my eye, already getting a perspective on what Israelis were interested in, it was certainly not junk. It was gold! Among the materials spotted were several Conrad Schick models, a large painting of Jerusalem, thousands of old Magic Lantern glass slides, and literally hundreds of other materials.

The first artifact brought out to Jerusalem was half of a Conrad Schick model of Jerusalem – the Jaffa Gate area. The second part of this model, primarily of the Jewish Quarter, I left to be brought out at a later date

**To my eye, already getting a perspective on what Israelis were interested in, it was certainly not junk. It was gold!**

when we had room for it. At that time, I could only exhibit materials in the church, so with Alfred's permission I set up a movable display about the basic history of Christ Church, Protestantism, and the "Mission" in Jerusalem.

I can still recall the first Israeli group that visited after I had set up the model on a table. Immediately after the talk, they made for the model like bees to a honey pot. "Ah!" I thought. "Audiovisuals – what a great asset to the work!" It also helped that this model had a pull out section of the Herodian Tunnel that had been discovered by Ariele Klein in 1986 – the very same year the model was discovered in the attic! (That tunnel can now be viewed under the Beit Nicolayson Heritage Centre at Christ Church.)

Then in 1990 I was asked to become the manager of the Christ Church Guest House. Alfred Sawyer said that it would now be possible to exhibit more of the historical materials. In time, over the next few years, several more valuable artifacts were brought out from CMJ's attic, including another Conrad Schick model – of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (made upon request by the Turkish authorities) – as well as a large 1879 painting of Jerusalem. Coincidentally, about this time, David Pileggi became director of Shoresh Study Tours at Christ Church, which in time has developed into Alexander College.

I had the large Jerusalem painting shipped out, although it was still rolled up inside a wooden box. The painting was unrolled on the church floor (all 4.5 meters in length by 1.5 meters in height). An Israeli group led by Barukh Gian, an expert on photography and paintings of Jerusalem, just happened to come by Christ Church that day, and he couldn't believe what he saw. He asked for permission to write about it and some months later an article appeared in the Nature Society magazine, *Teva ve'Aretz*.

This article increased exposure among academic groups of what was on offer at Christ Church. Now word was getting around that there was

not only the church to visit, but also some interesting artifacts to see. The Restoration Department of the Israel Museum agreed to restore the painting, as they had not previously restored such a large painting. They were so impressed that they wanted to keep it for the museum. But it was destined for the wall of the not yet established Christ Church Heritage Centre.

In 1992 we opened the first museum at Christ Church, in the guest-house dining room. The *Jerusalem 1879 Panorama* painting was unveiled by the mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, with approximately two hundred guests in attendance, half of whom were local believers and the rest Israeli academics, guides, and so forth.

Throughout the years 1986–1996 David and I made periodic visits to St. Albans and between us we managed to bring out quite a few of the glass slides dating from the 1870s to 1940s. We also brought out an old Magic Lantern slide projector and had the first showing at the opening of the restored dining room in December 1990. Since then we have offered these presentations, which have proven to be very popular, to visiting Israeli groups.

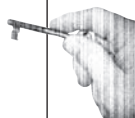
During this very same ten-year period an archival collection was slowly built up by both David and myself. So by the year 1996 we had the nucleus of an archives and museum which was available to visiting Israeli groups, individuals, academics, and students. It provided us with a very natural way of meeting and interacting with Israelis, especially with those in the academic world – a group of people one would not normally have contact with. We planned to take this vision to another level: to establish a formal archives dedicated to the study and research of evangelical Christian activity in Eretz Israel, 1799–1948.

At this point, for a variety of reasons, I was compelled to resign from my work at Christ Church and in 1996 went into “exile” back to my home country, Australia. Shortly afterwards the entire museum in the dining room was dismantled and the exhibits dispersed. Only the *Jerusalem Panorama* painting survived – perhaps only because no other place big enough was found to put it!

Then in 2000, under new leadership, it was decided to re-establish the guiding and heritage work, and I was asked by CMJ to come back. It was somewhat of a struggle to re-establish this work. But David Pileggi directed me to the nooks and crannies where he had stashed most of the archives and exhibits around Christ Church Centre. So the original museum and archival material had survived.

At about the same time, Bank Leumi, which had been leasing one of our buildings adjacent to Christ Church, suddenly gave notice that they were moving out. The senior CMJ leadership believed this building was to be used for ministry purposes, so this space was entrusted to me to establish Christ Church Heritage Centre.

**It provided us with a very natural way of meeting and interacting with Israelis, especially with those in the academic world.**



The next move was to bring more materials from St. Albans and our other historical buildings in Israel. But unfortunately, and very ironically, during this very same period a large part of the collection of “junk” hitherto stored in the attic in St. Albans was thrown out, including the second part of the 1864 Conrad Schick model of the Jewish Quarter. Yes, even at this point, when the Society finally became serious about preserving its heritage, a large and valuable part of it was lost. To say that David and I were heartbroken would be an understatement. Nevertheless, we had to accept this handicap and get on with the task ahead of us. Thank God, we often say to each other, that we managed to bring out what we did beforehand!

We had similar problems in our other centers. For example, when the Messianic congregation took over running Beit Immanuel in Jaffa in 2001, there was a new staff who not only knew nothing at all of the previous order of things, but were little interested in the British/Anglican connection. On one occasion Pedro Santos, the CMJ guide there, noticed one of the staff about to throw out some boxes of files. He stopped her, and then rang me to ask if I could come down and see if these were important. Important? I discovered that they were invaluable! This near catastrophe

**This near catastrophe was evaded, but the “culprit” did not do anything wrong, she just did not know how important the files were.**

was evaded, but the “culprit” did not do anything wrong, she just did not know how important the files were.

This is just one story of many, and highlights a problem that we had in establishing CMJ’s archives and library. Because of ongoing changes in the leadership and direction of the ministry and its branches, many records and artifacts of our rich historical heritage have been lost.

Establishing the work at the AISJ was much more difficult due to the very separate and somewhat distinct nature of that institution. Nevertheless, it was accomplished upon the arrival of a new director, Phil Billing, in 2003. Plans were made to do major reconstruction work in restoring the original reception area to benefit both the school and the work of the Heritage Centre. In December 2004 the Bet Barclay Heritage Centre was opened at the AISJ.

Throughout this time, as our facilities became more accessible to Israelis, David Pileggi and I felt it was time to begin thinking seriously about a permanent library and archives. In fact this had been part of David’s objective for many years, since becoming Director of Shores Study Tours in 1990 and subsequently establishing Alexander College.

In 2004 the Makor HaTikva School, which had been using four of our rooms, vacated Christ Church Centre and moved up to the ITAC property on Prophets Street where AISJ is also located. At this juncture David and I put in a request to restore the vacated rooms for the archives and library. CMJ agreed, and soon the Conrad Schick Library came into existence.

David is establishing this adjunct of our work along two lines: 1) to provide materials relating to a good understanding of the Jewish roots of

our faith; and 2) to focus upon the period of the nineteenth century – not only on the role of CMJ, but on other evangelical Christian work in this land, primarily but not exclusively among the Jewish population.

Our goal here is to collect as many books and materials as possible relating to Christian work in the Holy Land from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, especially up till the beginning of the Mandate period, as well as resource materials relating to Jewish Roots teaching. And despite the problems, over the years a good amount of archival material has been preserved and collected. Our goal is to bring all this material together, either in originals or copies.

### Why are Israelis Interested in This Material?

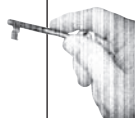
One of the most interesting facets of the ministry of CMJ is that Israelis come to visit us in our locations. What is in it for them? In brief, it is because of the strategic and important role that CMJ and other evangelical Christians have played in laying the foundation for the modernization of Jerusalem and Eretz Israel.

Almost all of the pioneer modern institutions in this land were established either by CMJ or evangelical Christian missionaries. During the first decades of Israel's existence, only a strong line of Jewish nationalist Zionism was taught in Israeli academic institutions, but in the last twenty to thirty years a change has been taking place. Many academics have begun to see that the first *aliyah* wasn't the beginning of the development of modern Israel. They are discovering a whole world hitherto hidden from them – that of Christians, primarily Protestant, from Britain, Europe, and America, who had pioneered modernization.

Interestingly, not only was CMJ the first amongst these Protestant entities, but many of those CMJ missionaries were Hebrew Christians, including a Jewish Bishop, Michael Solomon Alexander. Israeli academics are discovering that much of the emphasis of CMJ was *Restorationist* – that is to say, looking for the future restoration of Israel. That adds some spice to the pot! The previous negative stereotype of the missionary is now being challenged.

Today we are also seeing more and more Israeli believers who are becoming interested in their roots in this land. They have outgrown an early enthusiasm based on being part of something new, vibrant, and separate from a foreign, gentile, or missionary influence. The questions now being asked are: "Where did we come from?" "Who preserved the faith for us since the first and second centuries?" "Who were the pioneers of faith who re-introduced the Messianic message in Eretz Israel?"

It is our desire and vision therefore to provide as many opportunities as possible for Israelis to access our history and heritage in a non-threatening way, and for them to discover for themselves what legacy the Protestant mission has left for the posterity of Eretz Israel.



## Conclusion

This, in a nutshell, is our story. It is not a story of anything grandiose, but merely of two ordinary guys who were given a trust – to preserve as best they could the history and heritage of a 200-year-old institution. We will be the first to admit that we have blundered our way along the path and have made mistakes in the process. But despite our personal and institutional failings in this undertaking, we can honestly testify to the grace of God in helping us preserve this heritage. Israel is different from other countries in many ways, and one is that in Israel history is eaten for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. We also testify to the value and importance of retaining historical materials for use in ministry. And we at CMJ are committed to preserving them.

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# The Demolition of the Jerusalem Library in 1857



By Kai Kjær-Hansen

In this article I shall try to give a few glimpses of how to effectively demolish a mission library. It was done in Jerusalem, in June 1857, with John Nicolayson's library – eight months after his death. Is there a "villain" here?

John Nicolayson arrived in the Levant at the end of December 1825, as a missionary sent out by the London Jews Society (LJS). It was not until 1833 that he was able to take up permanent residence in Jerusalem – the first European to do so. On November 23, 1833, he brought his family and belongings from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The American missionary couple Eliza and William Thomson arrived on April 26, 1834, but as their own house was not ready, "they have taken up their abode with us for the present," Nicolayson writes.<sup>1</sup>

Among Nicolayson's possessions were also books, some belonging to him personally and some to LJS; they were placed in his "study" in the house he had rented opposite the Citadel right inside Jaffa Gate. With this the first Protestant mission library in Jerusalem was established.

My guess is that apart from the Scriptures and the writings published by LJS, there were in the library various theological books, dictionaries, contemporary guidebooks, etc. Some of these Nicolayson bought himself; others were given to him, and paid for, by LJS. If Buxtorff's *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (from 1607, reprinted at *Glasgow*, 1824) was also placed on a shelf, I do not know. A particular story is attached to this book.

During his brief stay in London in the summer of 1829, Nicolayson requested that the LJS Committee purchase Buxtorff's *Lexicon* "for the use of the Library in Palestine" – and he adds that it "might be obtained at Baynes for £ 1.10.0"! The Minutes reflect it in this way: "Resolved that the Secretaries be authorized if they see fit to purchase this Book for the Library in Palestine."<sup>2</sup>

The book was expensive. At that time it cost one hundredth of Nicolayson's yearly salary. A check of LJS's account books may ascertain

1 *Jewish Intelligence* (1835), 183.

2 *LJS Committee Minutes*, Bodleian Library, Dep. CMJ. c. 13 #396, July 28, 1829.

whether or not the book was purchased. But I would not be surprised if it was, for John Nicolayson, having arrived from Malta, was in London for a crisis meeting and was determined to give notice. The crisis was prevented, however.

And of interest for the matter we are pursuing: I wonder what was written in the books Nicolayson received through LJS: "Belonging to London Jews Society"? Or "The Palestine Mission"? Or "John Nicolayson"? Or was nothing at all written?

### **Nicolayson's Library in Danger in 1834**

The year 1834 is remembered by Nicolayson as "the calamitous year." On July 25, 1834, he wrote in a letter to the committee in London: "God's four sore punishments, earthquake, war, pestilence, and (in part) famine, have been abroad in this land, (and in part still are) since the close of the month of May."<sup>3</sup> Most of the residents in Nicolayson's house fell deadly ill during the summer months. New mother Eliza Thomson, who also resided in Nicolayson's house, died on July 22.<sup>4</sup>

The "war" that is mentioned was a rebellion in which village fellahin (peasant farmers) forced their way into Jerusalem at the end of May 1834. The city's soldiers barricaded themselves in the Citadel and waited for reinforcement from Ibrahim Pasha, who came to Jerusalem on June 7. Nicolayson's library was in the line of fire.

About the happenings on the morning of June 4, Nicolayson wrote: "The Fellahs are now all round us ... We could not catch any of their words, but heard them first hunting the fowls in the poultry-yard, and next break open the window of my study, where, besides all my books, they would find many of Mr. Thomson's things."

In the afternoon Nicolayson ventured into his study: "I found every thing overturned in the room except the books. I looked into my writing desk which was opened and found all my papers huddled up together. A little lock-up box containing all my papers of importance was gone. To remove the books which did not appear to have been touched as yet, was impossible."<sup>5</sup>

Later in the day the Fellahs returned this box with papers to Nicolayson, "pretending that they have found them in the yard, but I much suspected that they had themselves committed the robbery," Nicolayson wrote.<sup>6</sup>

On June 5, Nicolayson hired six persons as guards and wrote about his library:

3 *Monthly Intelligence* (1834), 199.

4 *Jewish Intelligence* (1834), 200; (1835), 282.

5 *Jewish Intelligence* (1835), 204–205.

6 *Jewish Intelligence* (1835), 206.



Finding that some of the books had been taken out of the study, I employed three guards in bringing the rest over to this part of the house, and stowed them all in one of our little rooms. I cannot at present tell how many may be missing, but I believe that they have only taken blank books, cutting out, I find, such parts of them as were written on. Thus they have destroyed several of my labours, on which I have been employed for years. In another room in the same part of the house a few books had been forgotten, and these they have all cut up since.<sup>7</sup>

Or, in Eliza Thomson's words in a letter to her sister in the USA: "Mr. Nicolayson obtained permission to remove his library below, but found to his great regret, that many of his most valuable books were gone, many sets broken, and many wantonly cut up for wadding for their guns. His valuable maps and engravings were ruined."<sup>8</sup>

For posterity, the most regrettable thing is that Nicolayson's maps and engravings have been lost. This was before the camera came to Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup>

However serious this attack on the library was, things could have been far worse. The majority of the books in the library were still safe after the rebellion. The "attack" on Nicolayson's – or the Mission's – library after his death was far more serious.

### The Library Torn Apart in 1857

John Nicolayson died in Jerusalem on October 6, 1856. Mrs. Jane Nicolayson was in Ireland at the time, and the estate had to be dealt with. At his death Nicolayson was a naturalised Englishman; unasked, British Consul James Finn intervened in the affair. LJS was represented by the strong personalities of Bishop Samuel Gobat and Dr. Edward Macgowan of the Jerusalem Local Committee. Without going into details, it is safe to say that there were no cordial feelings between Finn on the one hand and Gobat and Macgowan on the other.

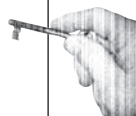
I will now briefly describe the process that led to the dispersal of the library. Who was the "villain"?

That the situation had reached a deadlock is apparent from a letter written May 23, 1857, by LJS, to the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon. This letter contains a protest against Consul Finn's intervention in the affair, as LJS

7 *Jewish Intelligence* (1835), 206–207.

8 Extract of William Thomson's journal and Eliza Thomson's letter to her sister, see *Missionary Herald* (1835), 44–53.

9 In her book *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn* (London and Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd, no date), 114–115, Elizabeth Anne Finn claims that she had made "attempts at photography," and when the LJS missionary James Graham arrived in December 1853, he "brought with him a fine photographic apparatus, which he used with excellent effect ... That was the beginning of photography in Jerusalem."



had “representatives on the spot,” namely the Local Committee, and Mrs. Nicolayson had full confidence in the Society’s treatment of the matter. A pension had been arranged for Mrs. Nicolayson “from the commencement of the quarter in which her lamented husband died ... the same means that she had enjoyed during his life time while residing, which she has done for some time, in Europe – an act, which ... has been gratefully acknowledged by her.” Moreover, the letter maintains that Mrs. Nicolayson “desired that his [Nicolayson’s] Library at Jerusalem should be presented to the Society”; as for money, “a Balance remains in favour of the Society.”<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Nicolayson in Ireland can therefore be eliminated from the suspects. LJS and the Jerusalem Local Committee were trying to prevent the sale of the books. We are thus left with Consul Finn, the son-in-law of Alexander McCaul, renowned missionary to the Jews and author of the book *The Old Paths*. Consul Finn was, as a matter of fact, intensely committed to the welfare and salvation of Israel.<sup>11</sup>

We shall pass over those matters in the account of the estate that are related to Nicolayson’s salary, his payment in advance of rent for the house he lived in, and the sale of his personal belongings, and instead focus on his library.

From May 25 to 27, 1857, the involved parties in Jerusalem were busy. They exchanged notes and letters with each other. They were in different rooms, but perhaps in the same compound – Christ Church!

*According to the Minutes of the Jerusalem Local Committee*

On May 25, the Jerusalem Local Committee read a letter from LJS Secretary Capt. Layard, dated London April 28, from which it appears that it was Consul Finn’s intention “to offer the Library of the deceased for Sale by public auction,” whereupon he would hand over the keys of the house to the Secretary. The Jerusalem Local Committee responded with the following decision:

Resolved.

That the Secretary in reference to the announced Sale, remind Mr. Consul Finn of the expressed wishes of Mrs. Nicolayson and the claims of the Society on the books left by the late Rev. J. Nicolayson, and if necessary, that he enter a protest against their being sold by public auction.<sup>12</sup>

On May 27 a letter was sent to Consul Finn, signed by the Secretary, Macgowan. It opens in this way:

10 *LJS Letter, London August 23, 1857* to the Earl of Clarendon, Bodleian Library, Dep. CMJ. c. 110.

11 See Sybil M. Jack, “James and Elizabeth Finn: Missionary Activity in Jerusalem 1848–1863,” in *Mishkan*, no. 15 (1991), 13–24.

12 *Minutes 1842–1867*, Christ Church, ITAC Archives, Jerusalem: Minutes no. 44, p. 321.

In reference to your note of the 25<sup>th</sup> Inst. in which you intimate your intention to offer the library of the late Rev. J. Nicolayson for sale by public auction, I am instructed by the Jerusalem Local Committee to remind you that in a letter to Capt. Layard under the date of 10 Dec. last, Mrs. Nicolayson states that she had written to the British Consul to hand over any books bearing her or her husband's name to the library of the Mission with the exception of those which she wishes to be selected as remembrances by friends in Jerusalem. The books without names, are, I conceive the property of the Society purchased on their account by the late Mr. Nicolayson for his own use and that of the Mission.

Macgowan next maintains that the books are important for the Mission but that they will "probably fetch little or nothing at a public Sale." And he asks, with a due regard "to Mrs. Nicolayson's expressed wishes and to the rights of the Mission," that the Consul would take the Jerusalem Local Committee's request into consideration, "and that you will be pleased either to deliver the said property over to me with the keys of the house or to refer the matter as well as that of the Salary to London to be settled between the Foreign Office and the Committee of the London Society."<sup>13</sup>

Consul Finn answered promptly, the very same day. So did the Local Committee – with a letter, no. 2 to Finn, also dated May 27:

Mr. Finn declines referring the question to the Foreign Office, and declares his intention of holding a Sale of the books on the morrow. (28<sup>th</sup> Inst.)

The Secretary writes to Mr. Consul Finn, proposing that the books be left under his charge or that of the Secretary until a legal award be made respecting them. In case of this proposal being declined, the Secretary encloses a copy of the Resolution Minute 44 protesting against the sale.

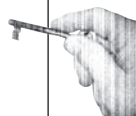
This also got a prompt response from Finn, whereupon the Committee wrote letter no. 3 to Finn – still on May 27:

Mr. Consul Finn repeats his intention of holding the Sale, but defers it to Monday the 1<sup>st</sup> June, affirming that he is acting according to the directions of his superiors. Supposing that the Secretary had given up the claim upon the books without name, he will not note down the dates and places of their printing.

The Secretary corrects the mistake of Mr. Consul Finn that he has relinquished his claim to the books without name as he [the Secretary] believed them to be the property of the Society.<sup>14</sup>

13 Ibid., Minutes no. 45, p. 322.

14 Ibid., Minutes no. 45, p. 323.



So, Consul Finn demanded that the Jerusalem Local Committee draw up a list of the books without names written in them, which they refused to do.

But all the protests of the Jerusalem Local Committee were of no avail. There is no reason to go into details. The books were put up for sale.

### **Consul Finn's Sale of Nicolayson's Books**

I shall here restrict myself to the relevant information from Arnold Blumberg's (much) abbreviated version of Consul Finn's Diary:

APRIL 6 – Sale commenced of Mr. Nicolayson's goods.

APRIL 7 – Sale continued; but by auction.

APRIL 8 – Auction renewed but no people came. This being the preparation of passover – no Jews came, of course.

APRIL 9 – Discussion as to the estate of Mr. Nicolayson of the remainder of the Quarter upon which he had entered before death – refusal to give up the house without that payment to the Consul.

APRIL 10 – Present of books to certain persons according to direction of Mr. Nicolayson –

JUNE 1 – Keys of the Nicolayson house given up to Dr. Macgowan on behalf of the London Society – and receipt taken from him for the same –

Sale of the Hebrew books in the office delayed to Monday 4<sup>th</sup> for want of sufficient competitors –

JUNE 3 – Sale of Books of Mr. Nicolayson (not Hebrew) – At 3 o'clock – adjourned to Friday 6<sup>th</sup>.

JUNE 4 – Sale of Hebrew books of Mr. Nicolayson.

JUNE 5 – Sale of General books of Mr. Nicolayson – left unfinished – till Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup>.

JUNE 13 – Final sale of Nicolayson Books.<sup>15</sup>

It remains to be investigated why Consul Finn acted as he did. That he demolished Nicolayson's – and the Jerusalem Mission's – library in Jerusalem is beyond discussion. John Nicolayson was a close friend of the consul and his wife till his death in 1856.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps his actions can best be understood in light of the power struggle between the two conflicting parties. Consul Finn won this struggle, but

<sup>15</sup> Arnold Blumberg, *Jerusalem, 1849–1858. The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Anne Finn* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1980), 256–259.

<sup>16</sup> See Elizabeth Anne Finn, no date, 142–146, 160–162.

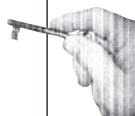
at the same time destroyed a part of Nicolayson's – and the Mission's – library.

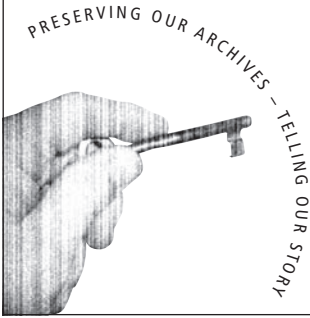
Many private libraries have since been destroyed, usually when the heirs sold the books for a song to second-hand bookshops. In these cases it would be better to pack up the library and send it to the mission, although this is not a guarantee of anything. New people in the mission do not always have an eye for the value of old books. But that is a different matter.

It might be a good idea to go through our libraries and leave instructions for the distribution of our books, so that our heirs will not have a choice.

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# The History of the Archives of the Zentralverein

By **Arnulf H. Baumann**

The Evangelical Lutheran Central Agency for Mission among Israel (Zentralverein/ZV) was founded as an umbrella organization for several regional and local Lutheran organizations in Germany in 1870 (legally in 1871), at the initiative of Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890), the well-known scholar of Old Testament and Rabbinic Studies at Leipzig University. Its history goes back even further: The Saxon Verein to 1822, the Bavarian Verein to 1849. In 1886 the Institutum Judaicum was founded in Leipzig to educate missionaries for their work in the eastern countries of Europe. After Delitzsch's death it was called Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum (IJD) in his honor.

After the installation of the Nazi regime in Germany in early 1933 – and its anti-Jewish measures which were also directed against missionary organizations – financial and other support for the ZV dwindled away very rapidly. On August 15, 1935, the Direktorium (steering committee) saw no further possibility for active work and voted to dissolve. The then Director, Otto von Harling (1866–1953), went into retirement in the countryside of Northern Germany, but maintained contact with the Jewish Christians as long as possible. There was a faint hope for continuation of the work of the IJD under the able leadership of Hans Kosmala (1903–1981) and with support from foreign mission societies. This proved futile, however, and in 1936 the IJD was closed by the Gestapo (Secret Police) and the ZV/IJD archives and library were confiscated. Kosmala then moved to Vienna, where he reorganized the IJD with the help of the Swedish Israel Mission and other foreign organizations. When the Nazis took over Austria in 1938, the IJD had to be closed down once more. Kosmala then fled to Great Britain and was able to forward his personal library there. With the beginning of World War II he was interned as a German Citizen, but freed with the assistance of British churchmen. He once again tried to restart the IJD in London, but in vain. Through contacts with British missionary organizations he was able to resume his work under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of England, until in 1951 he was called to establish the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem.

After the end of the Nazi reign, the Zentralverein was reorganized in September of 1945 at the initiative of New Testament scholar and former

assistant at the IJD Professor Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, and with the aid of von Harling. In 1948 the IJD was reorganized in Münster in Western Germany, where it was incorporated into the University in 1985 with some rights kept by the ZV.

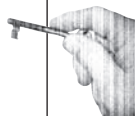
As a consequence of intensive soul-searching and under heavy pressure from the debate on "Mission" or "Dialogue," the Zentralverein changed its name in 1983 to "Zentralverein for Service and Witness to Christians and Jews," and in 2000 to "for Encounter between Christians and Jews," thus signaling that emphasis was shifted to reconciliation between – especially German – Christians and Jews in general. Contact with Messianic Jews has been upheld throughout.

### **Where to Find Sources and Archives of the ZV?**

Against the background of such a history it cannot be expected that source materials and archives are easily accessible. Indeed the absence of reliable source materials has made the ZV rather defenseless against all kinds of speculations in the years following World War II. By contrast, this exemplifies the importance of archives for historical research. There exist, however, materials of two main kinds: Printed materials and archives.

### **Printed Materials: *Saat auf Hoffnung***

Already in 1863, Delitzsch founded – together with the missionary pastor Carl Becker – "Seed of Hope," a journal "for the mission of the Church to Israel." This journal proved to be instrumental in bringing together the regional organizations in the ZV and soon became one of the leading forums of discussion on all aspects of Jewish mission and Judaism. Its articles – many by Delitzsch himself – witness to Delitzsch's position: a sincere and deep love of Israel as a nation and as individuals, coupled with antagonism against modernism among Christians and Jews; a firm stand against all kinds of anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic biases and actions, especially the blood libel; respect for biblical truths like the election of the people of Israel (Romans 9–11 is quoted quite frequently), though coupled with the conviction that Israel is under the wrath of God because of the crucifixion of Jesus ("proof text" Zech 12:10), and therefore needs salvation. The journal contains a wealth of information on Jewish Christians in past and present times, on missionary work in many countries, and on the new Hebrew translation of the New Testament. On the background of a firm Lutheran conviction it was open to similar ventures in other Christian churches. A special bond of friendship links the journal with Norway and Professor Carl Paul Caspari. It shows sympathy for the emergence of the Hebrew Christian movement and also for the rise of Zionism. Seventy two volumes were published from 1904 to 1935, under the main editorship of Otto von Harling, who through his Norwegian wife also had close connections with friends in Norway. In 1933 responsibility was transferred from the ZV to the IJD, with a new subtitle – "for religious discussion between





Christianity and Judaism” – in the hope of thus saving the journal; but with the second issue of 1935 *Saat auf Hoffnung* had to be discontinued. (An attempt by Karl Heinrich Rengstorf to revitalize it in 1950 with the subtitle “for discourse between Christianity and Judaism” had to be ended that same year because of a lack of subscribers.) Files of all 73 volumes can be found in a number of libraries, including some outside of Germany.

### **Printed Materials: *Friede Über Israel***

When in 1903 Otto von Harling took over as general secretary of the ZV, he issued a new publication called “Peace Over Israel,” following Psalm 125:5 and 128:6, and Galatians 6:16. (Supplements to *Saat auf Hoffnung* had been issued also in earlier years.) It was designed as an informational pamphlet for friends of the ZV. In December 1933 *Friede Über Israel* was prohibited, after 30 years of publication, by the state authorities. The small leaflet *Mitteilungen* (“Information”) was published, however, up to the dissolution of the ZV in 1935. In 1950 *Friede Über Israel* was started anew with volume 33, and has appeared ever since (from 2001 under the title *Begegnungen* (“Encounters”). In post-war times *Friede Über Israel* assumed the role of *Saat auf Hoffnung*, and provided a forum for theological debate and for information about all aspects of Christian Jewish relations. It is not easy to trace pre-war issues. More or less complete files are to be found at the IJD Münster and in some theological libraries like the Landeskirchliche Archiv Nürnberg or the Gustaf Dalman Institute of Greifswald University.

### **Printed Materials: Others**

In the course of time a number of books were edited by the ZV or the IJD. Among these are the *Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig*, which, among other things, informed its readers about the Rabinowitz movement in Kishinev/Bessarabia. Mention should also be made of the Festschrift for the 50th anniversary of the IJD – a desperate appeal for support from abroad – and another Festschrift from post-war times. There are many scholarly publications coming from the IJD Münster. There are also several publications on the history of the ZV, all of which may be found at the IJD Münster ([ijd@uni-muenster.de](mailto:ijd@uni-muenster.de)).

The printed materials give us a picture of the development of the work of the ZV and the IJD, especially through annual reports and many special publications. They cannot, however, give a detailed basis for historical research.

### **The IJD Library**

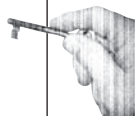
The library of the Leipzig Institute had, in the course of time, accumulated a great number of books on Rabbinic Judaism, on general theologi-

cal issues, and on modern Judaism. Already in 1936 the Gestapo inquired about the library. It was considered to be a most valuable means to “study the negative effect of Jewish mission.” It was, therefore, confiscated by the Gestapo on February 11, 1938, at the headquarters of the Leipzig Mission (to Gentiles) where it had been transferred in order to protect it. Soon thereafter, it was transferred to the Central Headquarters of the SS. (The contention that the library was transferred to the Nazi-inspired “Institute for the Study of Jewish Influence on German Church Life” of Jena University is not valid.) Where the books went after that is not clear. Some books showed up in antique shops after the War, and were bought by the new IJD at Münster. Some – which Kosmala had taken home and were brought to Great Britain together with his private library – I picked out of his library near Cheltenham, England, in 1984, and brought to Münster. About a hundred books were handed over to the library of the Berlin Institut Kirche und Judentum, now situated in Berlin Cathedral; another one hundred found their way to the library of the Theological Faculty of Leipzig University. After the war, the new IJD in Münster had to collect a totally new library, which now comprises more than 20,000 books on all aspects of Jewish religion, history, Christian Jewish relations, and Jewish missions. The greater part of this library is still owned by the ZV.

## Archives

As stated above, the library of ZV and IJD was confiscated by the Gestapo (and together with it also the archives), and neither organization could be active during the Nazi reign. Not much is known about the fate of these archives. Still, a few items survived:

- A register of baptisms in Leipzig in the years 1904–1913 (with only 15 entries) was rescued and returned to the ZV in the eighties. It is now in the archives of ZV at Hanover.
- The Minutes of the Direktorium from June 21, 1907 to August 15, 1935 have been preserved in the Leipzig Mission Archives together with files from 1920 to 1935, mainly concerning financial aspects and with some correspondence from post-war times.
- Personal files of Pastor Karl Burmester, a longtime member of the Direktorium, from 1933 to 1970, which I was able to obtain from him before his death, are now in my archive at Wolfsburg (which will eventually be transferred to the Landeskirchliche Archiv at Hanover). With just a few items, these files give an impression of the continuing close fellowship among a small circle of friends of the ZV and of other similar organizations during the dark age of the Nazi reign in Germany.
- Personal files of Hans Kosmala, containing manuscripts of articles, lectures at the IJD in Leipzig, Vienna, and London from about 1920 onwards, a number of pamphlets on topics relating to Christian Jewish relations, correspondence with British church and missionary



people, and scholarly correspondence with Christian and Jewish scholars about Kosmala's work. These were handed over to me by Kosmala's widow, Katharina, in April 1984 in England, and are now kept in Wolfsburg (also to be transferred to the Landeskirchliche Archiv).

- In the University Archives at Münster, files of the onetime Deutsche Evangelische Ausschuss für Dienst an Israel – a first attempt, since 1948, to establish contacts between Protestant Christians in Germany and Jews following the Shoah – are kept. Other materials of the post-war IJD are in the custody of Rengstorf's widow at Münster.
- The post-war ZV Archives in Hanover contain a book of minutes of the Direktorium from October 24, 1945 to October 14, 1952, and files of the minutes up to the present time, together with many other materials on the work of the ZV. These documents will also be transferred to the Landeskirchliche Archiv. It should also be mentioned that some of the regional member-Vereine of the ZV have issued publications on their post-war development, notably the Bavarian and the one in Lower Saxony.
- My personal archives concerning the publication *Friede Über Israel*, my work as a member and chairperson of the ZV, and other similar materials are kept in Wolfsburg and will be forwarded eventually to the Landeskirchliche Archiv.
- Other materials from past and present times might be gained from the existing archives of similar organizations abroad, especially in Norway, Switzerland, and Great Britain. Time has not permitted as yet a systematic search in all possible archives for such materials.

#### Author info:

Arnulf H. Baumann ( D.Min.) has served as editor of *Friede Über Israel. Zeitschrift für Kirche und Judentum*, and as chairperson of Zentralverein. He lives in retirement in Wolfsburg, Germany. [arnulfhbaumann@t-online.de](mailto:arnulfhbaumann@t-online.de)

### The Problem of ZV/IJD Archives

Because the old archives disappeared, there is great difficulty in reconstructing the development of ZV/IJD since their beginnings. Printed reports in publication do not provide sufficient substitutes. It is therefore a sad fact that in publications about this history a considerable amount of guess-work – often denigrating – on the role of ZV is to be found. Only through intensive research will it be possible to shed more light on the real course of this history, if ever. There is, however, a small hope that some day the old archives will show up in Germany, Russia, or elsewhere, maybe even in Jewish archives in which much material was collected in post-war times. I trust that this would help to improve the image of the ZV and of the past Jewish mission in general, which is at present often tinted in rather dim colors among friends of Christian Jewish dialogue.

# Building a Jewish Missions Archive Collection: A Case Study



By **Rich Robinson**

For the past several years, a team of volunteers and I have been putting together an online collection of historical documents relating to the history of Jewish missions and Jewish believers in Jesus. Eventually this will be an archive of its own. But in this article I want to focus not on this collection (located at [www.lcje.net/history](http://www.lcje.net/history)), but on how I found other archives of Jewish missions history, and how I compiled my own archives from which the online collection draws.

At one point, finding archives of Jewish missions history would have most likely meant either slogging through a comprehensive resource like the *National Union Catalog* and similar compilations, or else traveling the globe and having a look at libraries on-site.

It's entirely different now, in the Internet age. The Internet has become an archive of its own, at least for locating where information is held. The actual text of documents in libraries around the world is not generally online, though if Google and similar endeavors have their way, everything in every library that is not under copyright will eventually be online, and even copyrighted material might still be searchable.

That's not yet the reality, however, so I want to sketch out some actual ways that I have located and compiled Jewish missions archival material. In my case, my interest is broad – I'm interested in everything out there. And since Jews for Jesus maintains a research library, I'd like to build my own archival collection. It's nice to know that things can be found around the world, but I want to pull as much together here, on-site, as I can.

My experience is that of someone in the U.S. If you are elsewhere, your experience may differ.

## **The Easy Stuff First: Who Has What and Where Is It?**

### *WorldCat*

Most universities and public libraries allow access to specialized online databases. If you are on-site, you often do not even need to be a student or to hold a library card, but from off-site you do. But even from home, I can log into the website of the world catalog of choice, *WorldCat*. This catalog contains holdings from libraries worldwide and is quite compre-

hensive, though much still eludes its eye. In essence, *WorldCat* is an archive of its own. In many cases, incidentally, most libraries can obtain materials found in *WorldCat* via inter-library loan (ILL). I have heard, but can't confirm, that the *WorldCat* catalog is more extensive for librarians than for the public. But even the public version is quite large.

So here I am as I write this, sitting with [www.worldcat.org](http://www.worldcat.org) open in my browser window. On the "advanced search" page, I can choose whether I am looking for books, for periodicals (serials), or for what they are calling "archival material" and so forth, or just look in all categories.

Here I go. I choose "all formats" to get a broad range of materials. Next, I type in *Missions to Jews*, a standard subject heading, under "Keyword." In the boxes for "publication date" I type in 1700–1899 – might as well just get 18th and 19th century items for now.

The screenshot shows the WorldCat Advanced Search interface. At the top, it says "WorldCat Beta" and "Over 1 billion items in more than 10,000 libraries worldwide". Below this is a search form titled "Advanced Search" with the instruction "Enter search terms in at least one of the fields below".

The search fields are:

- Keyword:** Return items with these words appearing anywhere. Field contains "Missions to Jews".
- Title:** Return items with these words in the title. Example: "e.g. The Old Man and the Sea".
- Author:** Return items by author. Example: "e.g. Ernest Hemingway".
- ISBN or ISSN or OCLC Number:** Return item associated with the standard number. Example: "e.g. 0664830493".

Below these is a "Search" button. Underneath is a section "Limit results by (optional)" with three sub-sections:

- Language:** Return only items in the language. Dropdown menu set to "All Languages".
- Format:** Return only items in the format. Dropdown menu set to "All Formats".
- Publication Date:** Return only items published from. Field contains "1700" to "1899". Examples: "e.g. 1971" and "e.g. 1977".

The results come up immediately: 438 items! 363 are books, 63 are periodicals, the rest are in other categories. Well, that's quite a lot. Let me search again and restrict the dates further, to 1800–1850. This gives a smaller, but still large, list of 201 items, including 170 books and 24 periodicals. (There may be some repetition in these listings.)

I click on "Serials" to get the listing of just the periodicals, then on the fourth one in the list, *The Jewish Chronicle*. Here I immediately learn that the editor, apparently, is one John Lillie, and that it was published monthly from 1844 through the 1850s by the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. Furthermore, 19 libraries own the items in whole or part, and by typing in my location I can see the

listing broken out by individual libraries, in order of their proximity to me. Apparently all these holdings are in the U.S., and in most cases I can click on a link into the library to see exactly which issues they might hold. From there, I can either visit the library or see about getting copies via ILL (this is easier with books than journals or fragile items). In many cases *WorldCat* will break out separate listings for the hard copy and the microfilm versions.

I could also have searched for the name of a mission (searching under “Keyword” to allow for the mission’s name in a title, author, or subject field). I can also search for individuals, such as Hermann Warszawiak, the missionary to the Jews in New York City ca. the 1890s. Inputting *Hermann Warszawiak* (without quotes around the name, which will find Warszawiak, Hermann as well as Hermann Warszawiak) under “Keyword,” I get a manageable seven items, including one in Dutch that I was not aware of until just this moment. According to *WorldCat*, the Dutch item is only held at the Amsterdamse Universiteitsbibliotheek, with a link to the library provided. Requesting an ILL will probably not work with non-U.S. institutions, so I might have to contact them and ask what a photocopy would cost.

Alas, information sometimes goes missing. Searching for Hermann’s wife Rachel in *WorldCat* brings up a single record, *A Thrilling Story of a Remarkable Conversion*, but no libraries that have this item were found.

Some libraries will allow members to access *WorldCat* through their own online catalogs. I have noticed that accessing *WorldCat* via the San Francisco Public Library website returned a somewhat larger set of results than *WorldCat*’s own website. It may pay to try both methods if you are able to do so.

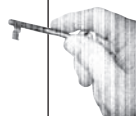
### *Other Databases*

Through my local library, I can access dozens of other databases. Some will be particularly promising: I go into the “Historical New York Times Index” which contains the actual text of articles from 1851 on – this could be a gold mine. Warszawiak is not that common a name, so let me input just the surname and see what comes up. Gold mine it is – 81 documents are returned in date order, almost all of them certainly about Hermann Warszawiak, and I can also click for a PDF that I can then save or print. (This service is also available online, for a fee, at [www.nytimes.com/archive](http://www.nytimes.com/archive).)

At a local university, though not through the public library, I can go online to find additional databases such as “Poole’s 19th century Index” and indexes to other New York newspapers. In the case of some of these databases, unlike *WorldCat*, I can not only see what’s where, but actually print out and start my own archive on Hermann Warszawiak.

### *Institutions*

If you know something about an organization or missionary, you can also turn to relevant institutions, which often have online catalogs. Knowing from books and articles that Warszawiak was a member of a



Presbyterian church, I discover that the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia maintains a website as well as having a very helpful research staff. Between their online catalog and emails to staff, I learn that among other things, a large amount of material pertaining to Warszawiak's trial before the Presbyterian Church is held at the Society and can be copied for a fee. I also search their online finding aids to discover additional materials about Jewish missions in the Presbyterian Church.

It's the same with the Lutherans. I know that Daniel Landsmann was a Jewish missionary to his own people who ministered in the Lutheran Church. Consequently, I contact the Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis and learn that they also have a file of materials on Landsmann, including photographs, that can be reproduced and mailed off. And they will scan in the photos, not just photocopy them; thanks to the digital age, I can easily get high quality photographs.

But not everything is online. So, if you have theological or university schools in your area, pay a visit and browse the shelves under Jewish missions and general missions. In this way, I discovered several volumes of collected messages given at the Student Volunteer Movement conventions in the first decade of the 20th century – and found out that for many years, there was a Jewish missions track in the SVM, and the messages are reproduced in these volumes.

### **The Harder Stuff Next: Being a Jewish Missions Private Investigator**

Finding items through *WorldCat*, newspaper indexes, or denominational archives is a great way to start, and one can also directly search library catalogs online from various institutions. I don't quite recall now, but that may well be how I discovered that Warszawiak's baptismal sermon, *Ansprache an Meine Stammesgenossen*, in German, was held at a British library, which was quite willing to send off a photocopy. It doesn't show up in *WorldCat*.

If you want to build up a local archive, that is the place to begin, by downloading files, requesting photocopies (or microfilmed copies), or borrowing material that you can then photocopy. (This is generally legal for public domain works, and in the U.S. for private research purposes – however, I am not a lawyer, so this does not constitute legal advice.)

But if you want to be more comprehensive, that's where the "fun" begins. If you think you would enjoy being a private investigator, this is the part that will give you full scope to do that. Particularly, if you are looking to research the lives of individual missionaries to the Jews, this is where you can "dig" and get information beyond the published books, mission reports, and the usual "hagiographical" biographies.

Here are some of the ways I approached building my personal archive on Hermann Warszawiak, which I think will be useful to know about for any such research. Again, this is what I found in the U.S. – you may have different resources available to you.

So, now that I have the basics on Warszawiak, where do I go to build up a fuller picture? I ought to start by gathering all I can about his life and whereabouts, and adding that into my archives. So off I go!

### *Phone Directories*

I ought to find out where Warszawiak lived, because with that information, I may well have the key to something else. In San Francisco, we are fortunate to have the Sutro Library, which holds one of the largest collections of genealogical material for non-San Franciscans west of Salt Lake City. (Through the Mormon Church's Family History Centers, however, for which there is a web site, [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org), it is equally possible to do research of this kind.) On microfilm are kept phone directories, or as they were earlier called, "city directories," for New York City in the years I am interested in, 1890 onward. Here I discover "Hermann Warszawiak" as well as "Herman Warszawiak (Rev.\*)" at a variety of addresses over nearly 30 years, with significant gaps of years when he is not listed. I make a note of them for future reference and print out the pages of the micro-filmed directories to add into my archive.

### *Censuses*

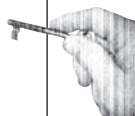
Census records for 1900, 1910, and 1930 are also available at the Sutro. Here, I discover information on Warszawiak's wife as well as their two sons, "Her. Paul" and "Jack," as they are listed. (From other material I learn that they also had daughters, one of whom is listed in one of the censuses; and from an article in the *Los Angeles Times*, which I also found in a newspaper archive online, it is confirmed that the son is named Herman Paul.) I also learn of others in the household, such as "servants," as well as the dates of birth for all, critical information to have. Printouts are made, and into the archive they go.

### *Ship Manifests*

Since the Warszawiaks were immigrants, I can't neglect the web site for Ellis Island ([www.ellisland.org](http://www.ellisland.org)). There, I register for free and then input the name Warszawiak to see when he might have come over. Though his original arrival ship is not noted – he first arrived prior to 1892, when Ellis Island began processing people – I still get a number of hits relevant to Hermann, showing travels to Europe (to bring his family over, probably), including one in 1915 that gives his street address in New York City, even though he is not listed in the city directory for that year. I can easily print out the ship manifests as images and text; for a fee I can order a (better?) copy. I can also go to [www.castlegarden.org](http://www.castlegarden.org), for Castle Garden, which processed immigrants prior to Ellis Island.

### *Back to the City Directories*

I now make an important find. From reading about Warszawiak in a book by Joseph Hoffman Cohn, I know that Warszawiak changed his name, apparently sometime in the first decade of the century, and I wonder what





it could be. Here, I make a discovery that can be attributed to serendipity or to God's providence. I think to myself that if I were changing my name (to avoid persecution of my family, the story goes), then it would be likely that I would pick something similar. Well, well. In the 1916 city directory, while searching for Warszawiak, my eye wanders over to the next page, where I find an "H. Paul Warwick" – at the identical street address given for "Hermann Warszawiak" in the 1915 ship manifest! I conclude that "Her. Paul Warszawiak" is "H. Paul Warwick," and my inference is verified later on. I note that though the name had been "changed" to Warwick, on the 1915 ship manifest it is still given as "Warszawiak."

#### *An Unexpected Source*

The *New York Times* has already informed me that Warszawiak, around 1904, joined up with John Alexander Dowie's odd organization (Dowie proclaimed himself the third "Elijah"). I would like to know why Warszawiak joined, what he did, and why he left. I am able to contact the headquarters of the church descended from Dowie's organization (today, an evangelical church), where the archivist sends me a packet of materials, including index cards showing Warszawiak's dismissal from the church, as well as the names of two daughters, Evelyn and Helen, the son Herman Paul – Jack had not yet been born – and their dismissal as well. According to the archivist, a person could be "fallen away" for an amazing variety of reasons, including skipping Sunday School too often. But into the archives this goes, as it adds to the picture of Warszawiak's life.

#### *Death Certificates*

Knowing Rachel Warszawiak's date of death (under the name Warwick) via a *New York Times* article, I log into [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). Normally this site is available on a paid basis, but at my local Family History Center run by the Mormon Church – conveniently, I discover, just a few miles from my home – I am able to log in for free. Here I can access information on death records, draft registration records, and the like – all the kinds of things one needs in researching an individual or family. I find out how to order a copy of Rachel's death certificate (image next page), which gives her father's name as apparently (the handwriting is hard to read even at full size) Israel Sendrowitz. Her cause of death is also given: "cirrhosis of the liver." In the *New York Times* article the name of the funeral home is given, from which I am able to learn the cemetery in which she is buried. In turn, that leads me to discover the date of Hermann's own death, the certificate showing his final address and cause of death ("tabes dorsalis"). If a medical examiner's number is on either certificate, the Medical Examiner's office might have even more information. I put the copies of the certificates into my archives.

#### *Draft Registration Records*

Also at [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com), information is given on obtaining U.S. Draft Registration Cards for World War I. I find out that the son Herman Paul

STATE OF NEW YORK  
Department of Health of The City of New York  
BUREAU OF RECORDS  
STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

1 PLACE OF DEATH  
BOROUGH OF Manhattan

No. 605 West-181d

Character of premises, whether temporary, private, hotel, hospital or other place, etc. Immigrants

2 FULL NAME Rachel Warwick

3 SEX Female

4 COLOR OR RACE White

5 SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED (Write full word) Married

6 DATE OF BIRTH March 1, 1869

7 AGE 52 yrs. 2 mos. 23 ds.

8 OCCUPATION (a) Trade, profession, or particular kind of work Wife  
(b) General nature of industry, business or establishment in which employed (or employer)

9 BIRTHPLACE (State or country) Poland

(2) How long in (a) How long resident in City of New York 28 yrs.

10 NAME OF FATHER Israel Sendrowitz

11 BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER (State or country) Poland

12 MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER Unknown ✓

13 BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER (State or country) Poland

14 Special information required in deaths in hospitals and institutions and in deaths of non-residents and recent residents.

Former or usual Residence } FILED

17 PLACE OF BURIAL Woodlawn

18 UNDERTAKER Frank C. Pumphill

DATE OF BURIAL May 27 1919

ADDRESS 4970 Porra Hill

15 DATE OF DEATH May 24 1919

16 I hereby certify that the foregoing particulars (Nos. 1 to 14 inclusive) are correct as near as the same can be ascertained, and I further certify that I attended the deceased from July 1918 to May 21 1919, that I last saw her alive on the 24 day of May 1919, that death occurred on the date stated above at 2:30 P.M., and that the cause of death was as follows:  
Coronary of heart

duration 3 yrs. 0 mos. 0 ds.

Contributory None

duration 0 yrs. 0 mos. 0 ds.

Witness my hand this 24 day of May 1919

Signature J. E. Bauer M. D.

Address 400 West 140th St

25-2088-15-71, 14 18

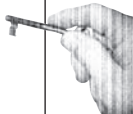
Registered No. 17730

NO UNFILED CERTIFICATE WILL BE RECEIVED

Warwick (under, I think, H. P. Warwick, as he was known in later life) was registered. I view and print a copy of the registration card online, and am gratified to see that it explicitly states that his father changed the family name from Warszawiak to Warwick "in England." For a hopefully clearer copy, I also order a reproduction of the card from the relevant government office.

### Other Leads

I could likely discover much more. For example, I know that Warszawiak's wife was from Lodz and (from her death certificate) that her father's name was Israel Sendrowitz. Now I can go online to [www.jewishgen.org](http://www.jewishgen.org) and find a wealth of information on tracking Jewish family genealogies in Poland. From the Joseph Hoffman Cohn book, I learn that in poverty and ill health, Warszawiak went to work for a group of "well-known" Jewish businessmen in their Colorado mines – surely the Guggenheim family. When Warszawiak went there and what he did remain to be discovered.



One thing I have already found out: tracing H. Paul and Jack, the two sons, through news articles, censuses, and other information, I learn to my surprise that they began one of the 20th century's best-known advertising agencies, which continued on under a variety of names until it went defunct just a few years back. Whatever information I can glean on the company goes into my archives, too.

#### *And in the Future...?*

Being able to trace the history of the sons has led me to surviving descendants of Warszawiak (the sons have since passed away). So far, they are not inclined to speak or to know very much. Could there be a collection of Warszawiak's personal letters still in the family? They too should be in the archives.

#### **Be a Sleuth**

Compiling a Jewish missions archives, whether general as I am doing, or restricted to particular organizations, countries, or individuals, is easier today than ever before. Internet resources are readily available around the world. For those who like "sleuthing," the possibility of getting information beyond what's in books or periodicals is also there and can make a valuable addition to an archive – not to mention that it can provide raw material for researching a book on an individual or organization. I'd encourage those with a bent for that to embark on the adventure.

#### **Author info:**

Rich Robinson is a Jewish believer serving with Jews for Jesus as Web Site Administrator, Research Librarian, and in the Multimedia department. His Ph.D. is from Westminster Seminary, Philadelphia, PA.  
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# Keren Ahvah Meshihit: Reproducing Material from the 19th Century



By **Miriam Berg**

Keren Ahvah Meshihit (KAM) is an Israeli organization which is devoted to Bible teaching through seminars and conferences, and to the publication of literature for the purpose of evangelism, discipleship, and personal spiritual growth.<sup>1</sup> KAM has published over 170 titles, the majority in Hebrew, but also many in Russian and English.

A special project is that of republishing works of prominent Jewish believers (as well as Christian authors) of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The project is based on the belief that these writers "had deep insights into Biblical truths, to an extent that is rarely found in our day. We believe that these 'Gems From the Dust' should again be made available, so that disciples of Christ may profit from them."

The present article will profile those books written by Jewish believers from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries which are available in English.

**David Baron** (1855–1926), co-founder of the English missionary organization The Hebrew Christian Testimony for Israel in the early 1890s.

*The Ancient Scriptures for the Modern Jew*<sup>2</sup> – "showing by the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ."

*The History of Israel: Its Spiritual Significance* – "the self-manifestation of God in the history of the Jewish people ... for the benefit of the whole of mankind."

*Rays of Messiah's Glory* – how the Tanakh demonstrates Jesus the Messiah to be the light of the Gentiles and the Glory of Israel.

*Types, Psalms and Prophecies* – a series of studies from the Holy Scriptures aimed at revealing their connection and interdependence, their literal sense and their concrete historical basis.

*Selected Writings* – a collection of writings which reflect the author's intention "to unfold connectedly whole Scriptures."

*A Divine Forecast of Jewish History.*

1 Although no official translation is given for the Hebrew name, a literal translation would be "Messianic Unity Fund." The majority of the information for this article is taken from KAM's website and literature. Books can be ordered from [www.kerenahvah.org](http://www.kerenahvah.org) or by writing to PO Box 10382, Jerusalem 91103, Israel.

2 Also available in Hebrew.

*The Shepherd of Israel and His Scattered Flock* – showing how the Word of God is fulfilled in the history of Israel.

*The History of the Ten “Lost” Tribes: Anglo-Israelism Examined* – a critical analysis of the assertions and claims of British Israelitism.

*The Visions and Prophecies of Zachariah.*

*The Servant of Jehovah* – an exposition of Isaiah 53.

**Adolph Saphir** (1831–1891), one of the founders of the Hebrew Christian Alliance in Britain (1866) and prolific author.

*Christ and the Scriptures* – “The Messiah of Israel ... is the center of the inspired record [Scripture].”

*Christ and the Church* – a study beginning with the Great Commission in Matthew 26:18–20.

*Christ and Israel* – lectures on a number of issues relating to the salvation of Israel.

*The Lord’s Prayer.*<sup>3</sup>

*Conversion* – the transition from being a lost sinner to being a saved child of God illustrated by examples from the Bible.

*The Epistle to the Hebrews – expository Lectures* (2 volumes).

*Short Writings.*

*Christ Crucified* – lectures on 1 Corinthians 2.

*The Hidden Life: Thoughts on Communion with God* – based on James 4:8.

*The Divine Unity of Scripture* – illustrating the unity of teaching in both covenants.

*Our Life-Day: Thoughts on John 9:4.*

**Alfred Edersheim** (1825–1889), one of the early members of the Hebrew Christian Alliance, well-known author, and academic scholar whose works on Jewish history are still widely used today.

*The History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus* – a description of the state of Jewish society during the first centuries.

*Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah* – an in-depth discussion of prophecy in relation to the Messiah.

*The Golden Diary* – studies in the Book of Psalms.

**E. W. Edersheim**, possibly a relative of Alfred Edersheim.

*The Laws and Polity of the Jewish Nation* – a study of the religious, social, and political structure of the Jewish people.

**A. Bernstein**, born in Poland, baptized in 1863 in London, employed by LJS initially in Jerusalem.

*Jewish Witnesses for Christ* – a comprehensive bibliography of Jewish believers from the Apostolic period to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> Also available in Hebrew.

**Rabbi Tzvi Nassi (Hirsch Prinz),** lecturer of Hebrew at Oxford University.

*The Great Mystery or How Can Three be One?*<sup>4</sup> – a study of the Trinity based on ancient Jewish sources.

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**Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey (1771–1850),** founder of the missionary societies The London Society for the Promoting of Christianity amongst the Jews (LJS) (1809), and The Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Jews in New York (1816).

*Joseph and Benjamin or The Most Important Doctrines of Messianic Faith.*

*The Divinity of the Messiah*<sup>5</sup> – an excerpt from *Joseph and Benjamin*.

**Moses Margoliouth (1818–1881),** one of the founders of the Hebrew Christian Alliance and author of historical and exegetical works.

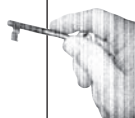
*An Exposition on the Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah* – lectures given during the Sundays of Lent, 1845.

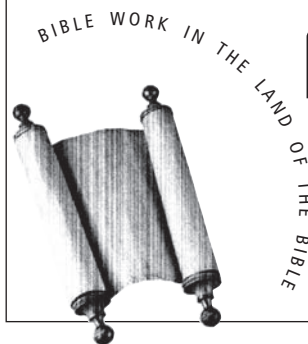
By republishing these works, KAM has made available to the modern reader literature which otherwise could only be found in libraries and archives. While the stated purpose of republishing these writings is to make these “timeless works” accessible to the modern reader, the project provides an additional benefit for the researcher interested in the history and theology of 19<sup>th</sup> century Hebrew Christianity.

In addition to the republished works, KAM also publishes works by more modern authors. Of special note is a book by Menahem Benhayim, *Jews, Gentiles and the New Testament: Alleged anti-Semitism in the New Testament*. Benhayim was a pioneer of the Messianic movement in Israel in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By preserving the above-mentioned historical material through republication and printing new books such as Benhayim’s, KAM is hopefully creating an archival resource which will serve future generations.

4 Also available in Hebrew.

5 Also available in Hebrew.





# First "Organized" Bible-work in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Jerusalem (1816-1831)

**Part V: Joseph Wolff in Jerusalem (1822)**

By Kai Kjær-Hansen

The fifth Bible-man – in our counting – to come to Jerusalem in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is Joseph Wolff, a Jesus-believing Jew; the first Jew who, in 1822, meets his brethren after the flesh with the gospel in the Holy City.

As to the distribution of Hebrew New Testaments to Jews in Jerusalem, Burckhardt (1818) had sold one, and Connor (1820) none. Parsons (1821) is silent about this matter – judging from his published journals. Tschoudy (1821) may have distributed a few Hebrew New Testaments, but not many. Although some sincere attempts had been made to introduce the issue of Jesus and Christianity to the Jews of Jerusalem, this had not been a notable success.<sup>1</sup>

This changed to some degree with Wolff in 1822 – even if his work was not an unqualified success. Several myths are linked with this visit. We shall try to kill a few of them, but myths die hard, therefore there are relatively many details in this article.

Joseph Wolff, whose father was a rabbi, was born in 1795 or 1796 near Bamberg in Bavaria. He came to London on June 1, 1819 as a Christian. Under the care of the London Jews Society (LJS) he studied at Cambridge and subsequently, for a short period, at the newly established missionary college at Stanstead, in Sussex. Against the LJS's wishes he did not finish his studies there but left, in April 1821, for the Levant. W. T. Gidney describes Wolff as "the most remarkable missionary, in many ways, that ever served in the Society's ranks, [and] who must indeed be regarded as the pioneer of its Missions in the East."<sup>2</sup> We cannot comment here on the sometimes-strained relations between Wolff and the LJS. His first journey was financed by the banker Henry Drummond, and he traveled under the superintendence of Drummond and the latter's friend John Bayford – so formally he was not an LJS missionary.

The LJS nevertheless followed Wolff's work with lively interest, sup-

<sup>1</sup> See *Mishkan*, nos. 42 (2005), 57–67; 44 (2005), 62–75; 48 (2006), 73–85.

<sup>2</sup> W. T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, From 1809 to 1908* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, 1908), 101.



ported it, and made it known to the friends of the mission through their missionary journal.<sup>3</sup>

After missionary work in Gibraltar, Malta, and Egypt, Wolff is ready to set out for Palestine in December 1821. In the course of his journey he has collected quite a few letters of introduction – from Jews and non-Jews, to Jews and non-Jews in Jerusalem. That he has to act with some caution appears from a letter to his patron, Henry Drummond, dated Cairo, December 7, 1821:

I shall, on my arrival at Jerusalem, regulate myself according to the instructions you have given me; that is, I shall lay aside for some time the Jews and Catholics, and read in the Armenian convent, the Turkish New Testament, and the writings of St. Niersus, the Augustine of Armenia. Oh, how happy should I be, if you would come to me at Jerusalem, and Mr. Bayford, and the Rev. Lewis Way. [192]

The words reveal that they have sent Wolff to Jerusalem with fear and trembling, and that they have warned him not to be too aggressive toward those who could be expected to be strongly opposed to his work as a Bible-man and maybe even try to kill him. This fear was, as we shall see, groundless.

On December 13, 1821, he leaves Alexandria in a caravan, with a certain number of hired camels [196–197].

### A Myth: 20 Camels Loaded with Bibles

The notion is still alive that Wolff, in 1821, came via the desert from Egypt to Palestine “joining a caravan with twenty hired camels loaded with

<sup>3</sup> Wolff's comprehensive journals and correspondence with his patrons were continuously published in the *Jewish Expositor*, beginning in August (1821), 311–317. These were collected in the book *Missionary Journal and Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolf [sic]. Missionary to the Jews. Written by Himself*. Revised and Edited by John Bayford, Esq. F.S.A. (London: James Duncan, 1824). It opens with a “Memoir” by Wolff – up to his arrival in London, June 1, 1819 (pp.1–65). From Bayford's Preface it appears that these journals are not merely extracts: “In preparing them for the press, the Editor has interfered but little with the original manuscripts, and no further than by the correction of the more striking errors in grammar and idiom, which indeed are very few, when it is considered that at his landing in England, Mr. Wolf was wholly unacquainted with the English language” (pp. iii–iv). In a critical review in the *Jewish Expositor* (1824), 441–444, it is nevertheless stated by the LJS: “we have our doubts whether a little more assistance from the pen of the Editor would not have made the work more acceptable to the English ear, without at all detracting from the simplicity and naiveté of the composition.” Three years later a slightly edited version appeared under the title: *Missionary Journal and Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolff [sic], Missionary to the Jews: Comprising His First Visit to Palestine in the Years 1821 & 1822. Written by Himself*. Edited and Revised by John Bayford, Esq., F.S.A. Second Edition (London: James Duncan, 1827). This is available as an e-book at [www.lcje.net](http://www.lcje.net). The present article quotes from the 1824 edition. In order to avoid a large number of notes I have inserted the page references from Wolf 1824 in square brackets in my text.





chests of Bibles and other Scriptures."<sup>4</sup> Similarly it was (still) possible to read this at the Israel Bible Society's website in September 2006: "Bible work began in the Holy Land in 1816. In 1821, Joseph Wolff, a Jewish believer, came with 20 camels loaded with Bibles."<sup>5</sup>

I think this is a myth, for reasons I will explain below.

It is true that Wolff comes from Egypt in a caravan, arriving in Gaza on December 26, and in Jaffa on December 28, 1821. He knows that his firman (travel permit) is underway from Constantinople, but it has not yet arrived. Since he carries letters from Egypt to Peter Abbot, the British consul at Acre, he decides to head north [199]. Furthermore – before going to Jerusalem – he intends to study, in the mountains of Lebanon, "the Syriac dialect of the Arabic language" [213], a plan he had already made while in Egypt [183]. On January 1, 1822, he sails past Carmel toward Lebanon. He is back in Jaffa on March 7.

#### *Early 1822: Wolff in Lebanon – without Scriptures*

About Wolff's work in Lebanon, Hopkins writes: "Calling on each of the many convents and monasteries that abounded in those parts, he sold them copies of the Scriptures and tried to expound to them his favourite prophetic passages."<sup>6</sup>

Of course he brings his own Arabic New Testament and Hebrew Bible [203, 241], both for his personal use and for conversations with people. But he does not bring Scriptures for sale. He *promises* to send Scriptures. And when he nevertheless does distribute Scriptures (a very limited number), he *buys* these in the local Bible depots.

A few examples: February 4, Wolff lists nine individuals – most of them clerics – who have *desired* Scriptures.<sup>7</sup> February 6, two Melchite priests are *promised* that Wolff will send them Scriptures [234]. February 17, Wolff gives a similar *promise* to some Greek Catholic nuns: "I promised them Bibles and New Testaments, which gave them great joy" [240].

Back in Beirut from the mountains of Lebanon, Wolff writes on February 25: "I bought six Arabic New Testaments, and six Arabic Psalters; the former at six piastres of Syria each, and the latter at two piastres each Psalter. I disposed of them in the convents afterwards" [243].

So Wolff is in Lebanon at the beginning of 1822 – as a Bible-man who is not selling Bibles. The sources also make it clear that Wolff, after his visit to Jerusalem in the spring of 1822, is in Lebanon and Syria, where he distributes Scriptures. These are made available to him through the Bible depots in these regions [316–323].

In other words, Hopkins, along with others, does not distinguish be-

4 Cf. Hugh Evan Hopkins, *Sublime Vagabond. The Life of Joseph Wolff – Missionary Extraordinary* (Worthing: Churchman Publishing, 1984), 53–54. Likewise Kelvin Crombie in *Mishkan*, no. 41 (2004), 7.

5 About the misleading year, 1816, see *Mishkan*, no. 41 (2004), 21–30.

6 Hopkins, 55.

7 *Jewish Expositor* (1822), 340. This list from Wolff's journal is omitted in both Wolf 1824 and Wolff 1827.

tween Wolff's distribution of Scriptures in these regions *prior to and after* his visit to Jerusalem in 1822.

Back to the alleged 20 camels "loaded with Bibles," brought from Egypt to the Holy Land in 1821 by Wolff: had he left their load of Bibles in Jaffa? That possibility can also be excluded.

*March 1822: Wolff in Jaffa,  
Before Going to Jerusalem – without Scriptures*

On March 7, 1822, Wolff writes in Jaffa: "was very much distressed that my Bibles from Cairo, and the firman from Constantinople had not arrived." And in a letter to his patrons, Bayford and Drummond, he writes the very same day: "I am now, alas, destitute of Bibles and Testaments; the Lord, I hope, will provide again" [245].<sup>8</sup>

But neither the missing firman nor the Scriptures prevent Wolff from going to Jerusalem; perhaps he has been informed that the firman has arrived. He arrives at Jerusalem on March 9, "At five o'clock in the evening" [247]. In Jerusalem, on March 11, he receives the long expected firman through Mr. Leutzen, a rich traveler from Stuttgart, who has just come from Bethlehem [254].

There is no question about it: Wolff comes to Jerusalem with almost no Scriptures. I say "almost" for the following reason: In Jaffa he learns that the British Consul, Antonio Damiani, at whose place he is staying, has done nothing about the 50 Arabic Psalters which the Bible Society of Malta had sent to Damiani "two years ago" – presumably at James Connor's request.<sup>9</sup> Wolff asks for permission to be put in charge of these and immediately sells three in Jaffa. In other words, Wolff, Bible-man and missionary to the Jews, comes to Jerusalem in 1822 with *fewer than 50 Arabic Psalters* in his baggage [253]. No more and no less! This should put an end to the myth about the 20 camels loaded with Bibles.<sup>10</sup>

And yet, during his stay in Jerusalem in 1822, Wolff took part in distributing approximately 1,000 copies of Scriptures – an unheard-of number compared to the previous four Bible-men. How does this add up? And to whom – Jews or non-Jews – does he distribute the majority of these 1,000 copies? We shall return to these questions below.

## Wolff in Jerusalem, 1822

Wolff spends the first two nights at the Terra Santa Catholic convent [247]. From March 11 to April 27 he stays at the Armenian convent [250]. After this time he rents a room with a Muslim, "that I may converse with the

8 In *Jewish Expositor* (1822), 348, it is rendered even stronger with an "all": "...destitute of all Bibles and Testaments."

9 See *Mishkan*, no. 44 (2005), 67, 71.

10 It goes without saying that I am annoyed by not being able to trace how and why this myth came into being.



Jews more freely" [304].<sup>11</sup> On May 11 he takes a room in the Armenian convent again, as he has fallen ill: "the house of the Turk has been too unhealthy" [316].

#### *Contact with Christians in Jerusalem*

On March 10, the day after his arrival, Wolff delivers a letter of introduction to "the patriarch of the Armenian nation who resides in his magnificent convent." During their conversation Wolff emphasizes "the necessity of peace among Christians, and made them acquainted with the intentions, labours, and progress of the Bible Society." Most interesting is what Wolff says next, because it throws some light on his perception of himself as a missionary. "I told them clearly that I came to that city not only with the intention of preaching the Gospel of Christ to the Jews, but likewise to persuade the Christians of the several denominations to enter into a correspondence with the Christians of England, on the subject of vital Christianity, and I desired the patriarch himself to give the first example" by sending a letter to Wolff's patrons. The patriarch promises to do so and offers Wolff a room in the Armenian convent [248]. Through the whole course of events Wolff has good relations with the Armenians, and several individuals are mentioned by name.

On March 12 Wolff calls on Procopius, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch's representative in Jerusalem and since 1820 the agent for BFBS in Jerusalem: "undoubtedly the most *active*, most *sincere*, and most *disinterested* promoter of the cause of the British and Foreign Bible Society in this part of the world."<sup>12</sup> The summary of the meeting concludes with the words, "Procopius promised to assist me with Bibles and New Testaments" [249].

Procopius keeps his word and can deliver; the same day Wolff begins to distribute Scriptures (see below). Throughout this period Wolff has a good relationship with Procopius and other Greek Orthodox Christians.<sup>13</sup>

Wolff's association with Catholic Christians is created through, among others, the "liberal" Anton Tolamas, even if this connection is far looser than that to the Greeks and Armenians; he has some success in selling Scriptures, also to Catholics. But at the mass on Sunday, April 28, Father Cozza bans – in the presence of 800 Catholics – Wolff and his Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments (see below) [303–304].

11 Sherman Lieber, *Mystics and Missionaries: The Jews in Palestine 1799–1840* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 163, misses the point when he maintains: "When he realized that Jews were not visiting him, he moved into a home in the Muslim quarter ..." But Wolff does not move because Jews do not visit him at all in the Armenian convent (there are several examples of this); he moves because he hopes to get in touch with *even more* Jews.

12 See *Mishkan*, nos. 44 (2005), 68–72; 48 (2006), 73–78.

13 An interesting subject for further study would be the fact that Wolff managed to maintain such good relations, though he severely criticized the Greeks and other Christians in Jerusalem, whom he even called "idolaters" – at least when he talked with Jews [264]. Cf. however what he does say on one occasion when *Christians* are present: "I passed over in silence the idolatry practised in the holy sepulchre" [289].

### *Contact with Jews in Jerusalem*

The first Jews Wolff meets in Jerusalem are Caraites; their co-religionists in Egypt have provided him with a letter of introduction. On March 12, through the dragoman (interpreter and traveler's guide) of the Armenian convent in Jerusalem, Wolff invites the Caraites Saadiah to have coffee with him.

They soon get to the subject of the Caraites' history and faith. Only three families live in Jerusalem [251]. On March 14 he meets Saadiah again, together with Rabbi Beracha, in their synagogue. "I opened the prophet Isaiah, and explained to them the xiiiith [*sic*] chapter, and said to them, that the whole chapter has no sense, if it is not applied to Jesus Christ our Lord" [252].<sup>14</sup> On March 16 the Caraites receive some Scriptures (see below). Right to the end of his visit there is a "peaceful" relationship between the Caraites and Wolff. On May 7, for example, they receive some Hebrew tracts: "As to the Caraites, I am sure they will not burn them" [315].

The same thing cannot be said about Wolff's relationship to the Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews.<sup>15</sup> This is not to disparage the sensational fact that Wolff moves among them freely and carries on many discussions and conversations with them.

On March 18, Rabbi Mose Secot, an Ashkenazi Jew, turns up while Wolff is having a meal with some travelers. He has heard that Wolff has conversed with Jews in Egypt and – on Wolff's enquiry – he agrees to teach him Hebrew and Spanish: "I shall come to you every day ... And you shall be well received by Jews in the holy city; we shall show you our colleges and our synagogues." He informs Wolff that there are 700 families of Jews in Jerusalem [256]. Later in the day, in Wolff's room, Secot took "hold of the Hebrew New Testament, and read it with great attention." Asked if he "had ever seen that book before," Secot answers, "Not only seen, but read it through with great attention when at Aleppo, in the house of a rabbi at Aleppo." He even says, "Those passages of the Old Testament cited in the New, speak undoubtedly of the Messiah" [260].

On March 20, Abraham, the son of Reuben, comes to Wolff's room with a somewhat different opinion of the Hebrew New Testament: "no Jew will ever read it" [261].

On March 21, Wolff writes, "Abraham, the son of David Iskawish Stifro, born at Sklow, and Wolf, the son of Hirsh, called on me; the first seventeen years of age, the second, twenty." Abraham Ben David claims that he has often "argued with Christians, but none of them was able to answer" – including Melchior Tschoudy, from whom he had received a Hebrew New Testament [262]. Abraham Ben David is mentioned many times in

14 Perhaps "xiiiith" is a slip of the pen for Isaiah 53, which Wolff (naturally) refers to on other occasions.

15 On the Jewish community in Jerusalem and friction between the various groups, see Lieber, 87–156.



the following, which is not so strange as he, according to Wolff, becomes the first – and only – Jew “converted” during this visit (see below).

On March 25, Secot introduces Wolff to “rabbi Solomon Ben Menahem, from Wilna, to whom I had a letter of introduction ... He received me very kindly indeed, and promised to call on me” [265].

Then, on March 26, Wolff meets Mendel Ben Baruch (Menahem Mendel), “the chief rabbi of the Polish Jews residing at Jerusalem, who is generally acknowledged, even by the Spanish Jews, as the greatest divine of this present age.” It is Abraham Ben David who brings word that Rabbi Mendel wishes to see Wolff. Mendel “excused himself for sending for me, by saying, I [Mendel] never go out, and I should therefore be very glad to see you every day in my house” [265–266]. Even if it was not every day, Wolff did meet Mendel many times.

Altogether, Wolff mentions by name more than 40 Jews with whom he discusses questions related to the Talmud, the New Testament, and Christianity. Among those who are most often mentioned, Mendel and Abraham Ben David stand out. Next follow Mose Secot, Joseph Ben Sachariah Smaria, Solomon Ben Menahem Shfiro, and Reuben Hasid. There are also references to a number of unnamed persons.

### **Reading the Scriptures and Debating with Jews**

It is for another article to describe the many debates Wolff has with various rabbis. He seems to have been in his element here and – in his own opinion – he wins practically all discussions! He rejects the Talmud in strong terms. His objective is to win Jerusalem’s Jews for Christianity, pure and simple – not the idolatry they see among the Christians in Jerusalem. But it is not only Wolff who missionizes; Rabbi Mendel and others “missionize” toward him! On May 2, Wolff writes: “Rabbi Mendel, and rabbi Isaac, from Safet, again tried to convert me to Judaism” [307]. Common to Mendel and Wolff are quite unrealistic expectations of converting – or reconverting – each other.

But Mendel has other motives for maintaining good relations with Wolff. He hopes that Wolff – through his contacts in Europe – can contribute to relieving the hardships that the Jews of Jerusalem find themselves in, partly due to financial exploitation by the Muslim government, partly because financial support from Jews in the diaspora has failed to come due to the political situation [302–303]. Mendel even uses Wolff as a kind of postman, probably in an attempt to ensure that the Muslim authorities do not become privy to the communication from Jerusalem to the European Jews. On April 24, Wolff writes: “Rabbi Mendel consigned to me several letters, to forward to rabbi Hirschel the High Priest in London” [295].

Mendel cannot, however, close his eyes to the potential danger when less-learned rabbis debate with Wolff. In addition, Wolff – both in his room and elsewhere – gets people to read the Hebrew New Testament. So while continuing his own debates with Wolff, Mendel endeavors to prevent others from seeing him. On April 17, Wolff is informed that Rabbi

Mendel "tried, with some other rabbies [*sic*], to pronounce an anathema against those, who should dare any longer to argue with me, but the majority of them declared that they would not in any case take notice of the anathema of the rabbies" [290].

An "anathema" like this only makes sense if Wolff poses a threat.<sup>16</sup> Although Mendel can hardly have heard about Abraham Ben David's confession on April 19, he may have sensed a risk that Wolff might win some over to Christianity. On April 19, Wolff writes about Abraham Ben David that he "calls on me every day, [and] confessed to-day with tears in his eyes, that he is convinced that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of the living God, and that he will now speak with his wife and mother about Christ Jesus the Lord" [294]. From April 24 he is referred to as "the converted Abraham Ben David" [296].

With this, Wolff sees the first fruit of his work in Jerusalem.

But now to Wolff's work as a Bible-man proper, i.e. a distributor of Scriptures in Jerusalem.

### Wolff's Distribution of Scriptures before April 25, 1822

In Aleppo, on August 1, 1822, Wolff writes about his distribution of Scriptures during his stay in Jerusalem: "I have distributed a thousand copies of Holy Writ at Jerusalem, which to my delight I saw read by the inhabitants of Lydda, Bethlehem, Ramla, and Jaffa" [319]. How can these figures be explained, when he came to Jerusalem with fewer than 50 Arabic Scriptures?

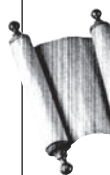
The explanation is simple. Procopius, agent for BFBS, has, as we will see, a large depot of Scriptures which he leaves to Wolff to distribute. Furthermore, on April 25, Wolff's trunks with Scriptures arrive in Jerusalem from Cairo [297].

Wolff's distribution of Scriptures in Jerusalem can thus be divided into two periods, with April 25 as the dividing line. To whom does this Bible-man to the Jews distribute Scriptures in these periods? And is the Greek monk Neophytos of Cyprus – Wolff's contemporary in Jerusalem – correct when he writes about Wolff's 1822 visit: "More than 1000 Hebrew Gospels did he distribute among them" – i.e. the Jews?<sup>17</sup>

On April 18, Wolff writes: "I called in the afternoon on the Rev. Procopius. I have partly sold, partly given gratis, the following quantity of the Holy Writ, with which Procopius has furnished me." So Wolff draws up an inventory and commits it to paper, presumably because he has now

16 Lieber, 166, rejects Wolff's assertion that this "anathema" had no effect: "but that is inconceivable, in view of the religious authority and power over the community possessed by the Jewish leadership." However, out of the approximately 20 named Jews that Wolff was in contact with before this "anathema," approximately 10 stay in contact with Wolff, and more than 20 new names are mentioned *after* the "anathema."

17 About Neophytos, see *Mishkan*, no. 48 (2006), 74–75; here quoted from Friedrich Heyer, *Kirchengeschichte des Heiligen Landes* (Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln – Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984), 173.



emptied out the stock of Scriptures which has been in Procopius' possession. However, Wolff's editors did not find that inventory interesting; instead of printing it, they write in brackets, "[Here follows an account of Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters, distributed]" [294].<sup>18</sup> What a pity!

From the information supplied by Wolff, it is, however, possible to reconstruct in outline the number of Scriptures distributed.

On March 14, Wolff writes: "I called again on Procopius; he gave me a quantity of Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic New Testaments" [252].<sup>19</sup> On the same day he sells or gives away 16 copies (13 Arabic Psalters, one Greek New Testament, two Syriac New Testaments). On March 17, Wolff gives the Arabic Psalter to his (Muslim) master in Arabic and Turkish, who "instructs me every day, two hours." Missiologically speaking, Wolff's comment in this connection makes good sense: "It would be better to leave out in the beginning of the Psalters, the inscription, 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit,' for Jews and Mussulmen [Muslims] would then more readily receive them" [255].

On March 18, Wolff presents his firman to the Muslim governor in Jerusalem. The latter, one of the judges, and one of the principal officers are given a total of 7 or 9 Bible portions [259–260]. On March 24, 49 Arabic Psalters and one Greek New Testament are given as presents to the Greek priest, Petrus Jesus [265].<sup>20</sup>

On March 31, Wolff writes: "Several Greek boys, very poor indeed, requested *Arabic* Gospels and Bibles; I was not able to comply, my trunks not having arrived from Damietta. I sold them seven Arabic Psalters for forty barras (one piastre.) I gave twenty Arabic Psalters to Moses [*sic*] Secot to sell to Christians, and ten Psalters to Isaac Ben Solomon" [278]. From this we can deduce that in Wolff's trunks, which have not yet arrived in Jerusalem, there are not only Hebrew Scriptures but also Arabic Scriptures. This is confirmed when a peasant from Bethlehem besought Wolff "to give him Arabic Psalters and Gospels." When Wolff told him that his trunks were not arrived from Damietta, "he desired me to receive his money, that I might not forget to send the books as soon as they should arrive at Jerusalem, an offer which I did not accept" [279].

With this, approximately 115 copies of Scripture (and there may have been more) have been accounted for. The most surprising thing is that Wolff gets *Jews* (who, like other agents, do business on a commission basis) involved in his Bible project to Christians. But not only that: he also involves Jews in selling Scriptures to Muslims!

These very acceptable figures for distribution of Scriptures, after less than three weeks in Jerusalem, are quite remarkably surpassed on April

18 So also *Jewish Expositor* (1822), 511; and Wolff 1827, 298.

19 Presumably also other languages, e.g. Persian; on March 18, said to be given to, among others, the Muslim governor.

20 It is not possible here to include Papas Isa (Ysa) Petros – a scholarly local Greek Orthodox priest – in my presentation, even though he, through the 1820s and until his death in 1834, is a part of the various Bible-men's history in Jerusalem as a language teacher, translator and, not least, as an important contact to the Greeks.

1. One of the explanations may be that quite a few pilgrims have now arrived in the city.<sup>21</sup>

## The Great Bible Day in Jerusalem

I leave it to Wolff to describe what must be called the Great Bible Day in Jerusalem, 1822:

*April 1.* – I gave twenty Arabic Psalters to the Jew, Abraham Ben David, to sell; he sold them in a moment to Mussulmen [Muslims], and brought me the money for them. I sold this morning, before I arose from my bed [*sic*], eighteen Arabic Psalters at ten barras a piece; two Greek New Testaments for one piastre; a Greek New Testament to a poor man for thirty-six barras; also four other Greek New Testaments for two piastres. An Armenian asked for Turkish Bibles, written in Armenian characters. Sold two Syriac New Testaments by Abraham Ben David, for two piastres. The old Greek priest, Jacobus Jerusalemitanus, requested *Persian*, Greek, and Arabic Bibles and Testaments. Several other Armenian gentlemen called for Bibles and Testaments.

It has been fortunate that I gave Arabic Psalters, and Greek and Syriac New Testaments, to Jews to sell, for they sold them to Mussulmen; and those Christians who were jealous, and did not like to see the New Testament in their hands, came to me in the Armenian convent – priests, merchants, peasants, children, poor and rich, so that more than 300 persons came at once to me, and the members of the convent desired me to give all my New Testaments and Psalters to the charge of the dragoman of the patriarch, who carried my cases of Testaments and Psalters in the public street, near the gate of the convent, and in this way I sold 150 Psalters, and fifty Greek New Testaments, in less than half an hour: besides this, I gave fifty Arabic Psalters, in the presence of Procopius, to a Greek priest, called Petrus Jesus, to give gratis to poor Greek. I was obliged to go the second time to Procopius, to supply me with 100 Greek Testaments, and the same number of Arabic Psalters, the whole of which the dragoman sold for fifty-two piastres. I got 160 piastres for the whole. [278–279]

A total of almost 500 copies of Scriptures were sold on April 1. Wolff was active in distributing at least 600 copies in less than three weeks. Impressive, even if it has to be said that Wolff was more free with Scriptures than was, for example, Levi Parsons,<sup>22</sup> and that Wolff could only do this because Procopius – BFBF's agent – had a large amount in his depot.

21 In 1822, the Orthodox churches celebrated Palm Sunday on April 7, and Easter Sunday on April 14 – dated by Wolff's and "our" Gregorian calendar.

22 Cf. *Mishkan*, no. 48 (2006), 80.





A comment on this by one of Wolff's editors in 1827 says: "Had this demand for the scriptures been the only effect of Wolff's sojourn in Jerusalem it would have been sufficient."<sup>23</sup> A statement like this needs, however, to be taken with a grain of salt, since it cannot be related to Wolff as "Missionary to the Jews." The majority of these 600 copies of Scripture were distributed among Christians, and some among Muslims.

After the Great Bible Day in Jerusalem, it seems that Wolff has emptied out Procopius' stock. On April 24 he sells three Syriac New Testaments, but these he had bought or re-bought from the above-mentioned Catholic Anton Tolamas [296].

With this, an account has been given for at least 600 of the alleged 1,000 Scriptures sold. With the uncertainty inherent in the material, it may just as well be 700. Add to this what was sold to Jews; as we shall see, it makes no major difference to the *overall* number.

#### *Distribution to Jews*

The following free distributions are mentioned:

March 16: Saadiah and two other Caraites receive a total of three Hebrew New Testaments and three Arabic Psalters [254].

April 7: Rabbi Mendel receives one Hebrew New Testament; "he did not take it readily, but as he has taken it, and promised to read it, I hope the grace of the Lord will enlighten his *prejudiced* heart" [281]. April 11: "Rabbi Mendel has not yet looked into the New Testament" [285].

April 16: Rabbi Reuben Hasid receives one Hebrew New Testament [289]. April 17: "Rabbi Reuben Hasid has declared publicly that he is reading the New Testament to examine it, and to tell me his candid opinion about it" [290].

It is also to be expected that, among others, Abraham Ben David, Wolf, the son of Hirsh, and Mose Secot have received Hebrew Testaments. Then again, we have to consider the possibility that not all Hebrew New Testaments have been mentioned. But this does not challenge the overall picture. Only one or two handfuls of Scriptures have been distributed to Jews. The above-mentioned "anathema" applies to conversations with Wolff, not the purchase of New Testaments. The obvious explanation is that only a few New Testaments have been distributed. There is no mention of Bibles (Old Testaments) in this period. This situation changed when Wolff's trunks with Scriptures arrived in Jerusalem.

#### **Distribution of non-Hebrew Scriptures after April 25, 1822**

On April 25, Wolff's long awaited trunks with Bibles and New Testaments arrive in Jerusalem. "My Bibles and Testaments arrived from Cairo" [297]. As mentioned above, the trunks hold not only Hebrew Scriptures.

On the basis of the extant material it is not possible to give a precise fig-

<sup>23</sup> In *Sketch of the Life and Journal of the Rev. J. Wolff, Missionary to Palestine and Persia* (Norwich: Jarrold and Son, 1827), 61.

ure for the non-Hebrew Scriptures distributed, but there is no doubt that distribution has taken place. On April 26, Wolff gives the first dragoman of the Armenian patriarch "the charge of selling the Bibles" – and adds that the dragoman "has employed his boy to sit the whole day with them in the streets, to sell them, and to distribute tracts among the Jews" [299]. On April 27, he writes: "Several Catholics also called on me, and many of them acknowledge that the Scripture quickens their mind and heart" [300]. On April 29, he sells "ten Italian New Testaments to the Greek convent of St. Demetrio" and gives away ten Italian tracts [303].

That Wolff has succeeded in distributing a certain number of Scriptures to *Catholics* is evidenced by Father Cozza's ban on Sunday, April 28. According to Wolff it was worded thus:

As that *man* who lately arrived at Jerusalem for the destruction of the Catholic religion, has distributed several books, I command you in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to deliver to me all the books which he has distributed, and to tell me the names of those who have bought them; and whosoever shall dare to act contrary to this order, shall be excommunicated in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. [303]

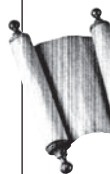
Wolff continues: "The liberal Catholic Anton Tolamas assured me that the Rev. Cozza has already had a quantity of Psalters and New Testaments delivered to him" [303–304].

Wolff may very well have distributed 100–200 non-Hebrew Scriptures, even if this can only be guesswork based on the available material. And it would seem that he soon ran out of the stock in his trunks, for on May 4 he writes: "Armenian and Greek priests called on me to-day, and desired to purchase Greek, Arabic, and Armenian Bibles and Testaments, but I was not able to comply with their wish; I therefore wrote again to John Barker, Esq. in Aleppo, and to Peter Lee, Esq. in Alexandria, to send me Bibles, Testaments, and tracts" [309].<sup>24</sup>

On May 5, Wolff writes that the Greeks and Armenians "receive the word of God with gladness and eagerness" and ask him "whether another stock of New Testaments will soon arrive" [314–315]. He still has some Greek tracts. On May 7, he can say: "I have distributed some hundred Greek tracts to-day" [315]. He concludes his journal for May 11 with the words: "I never take a walk without being entreated by Greeks, and Armenians for tracts and Bibles, and even by many of the Catholic inhabitants, in despite of the excommunication de' frati" [316].

The same thing cannot be said about the distribution of Hebrew Scriptures – from Wolff's trunks – to Jews.

24 The BFBS agent in Aleppo, Benjamin Barker, writes on June 24, 1822, "I furnished him [Wolff in Jerusalem] with a supply of Arabic Testaments and Psalters." Cf. BFBS *Nineteenth Report* (1823), 100. I dare not say whether or not they got to Jerusalem while Wolff was still there, but when the figure "1,000" is discussed, these copies sent from Barker cannot be totally ignored.



## Distribution of Hebrew Scriptures after April 25, 1822

Scriptures are distributed gratis to Jews because of their dire financial circumstances [302–303].

### *Distribution of Hebrew New Testaments*

Wolff is extremely sparing with information about the distribution of Hebrew New Testaments, probably because only a few were handed out. But then he is not given much time. As early as April 27, two days after his trunks arrived, the Jewish leaders reacted by proclaiming, in Wolff's own words, "their excommunication against the New Testament" [304].

The following details are worth mentioning: On April 29, Wolff writes that the rich Jew Joseph Ben Sachariah Smaria has received a Hebrew New Testament; "he shows me the remarks he has made upon the New Testament, which he will give me in letter" [302]. However, he returns this copy to Wolff on May 1 [305]. Also on April 29, a Spanish Jew, Jacob, receives a copy. Wolff writes on the same day that he gives the Jews Bibles and New Testaments free [302–303]. On May 4, he writes: "Several Jews called on me, and asked for New Testaments, tracts, and Bibles. – I gave them the books gratis. They read them in the streets, but the Jews from Barbary [North Africa] took them out of their hands, and burnt a great many" [309]. It is worth noticing that if Wolff's dating is accurate, this burning of New Testaments and Bibles – the *Tanach* – takes place on a Sabbath!

This calls for an explanation.

### *Distribution of Hebrew Bibles*

On April 25, the very day that Wolff's trunks with Scriptures arrive, "the young rabbi Abraham Ben David bought five Hebrew Bibles and Prophets to dispose of among our brethren the Jews" [297]. (Whether this means 5 or 10 copies is hard to determine.) But he has no success reselling these because the Bible edition is, so to speak, not kosher. In Wolff's own words:

... but as soon as they [some Sephardic Jews] observed in it (Reineccius's edition) the sign of the cross in the margin,<sup>25</sup> they thought, as none of them here are able to read the Latin notes, that the English friends put that mark on account of superstitious worship paid to the cross, and the Jews therefore became so enraged with poor Abraham, that they immediately asked how many piastres he had given for them; and having learnt that he gave fifteen piastres, they gave him fifteen floggings upon his feet. The poor fellow, therefore, came back with the Bibles to me, and I returned him the whole of his money immediately. Rabbi Solomon Ben Menahem told me, he was displeased with the ignorance of the Spanish Jews. I

25 In the books of that age – religious as well as non-religious – the "sign of the cross" was used as one of many reference symbols.

declared, however, publicly, that I would never suffer any one to be insulted whom I employed to sell my books, as every one is free to purchase them or not. [297–298]

On April 28, “several Jews” requested Hebrew Bibles. “I told them I could not give them Hebrew Bibles without permission of their high-priests.” He gets Rabbi Solomon Ben Menahem Shfiro and Rabbi Mendel to examine the copies and subsequently receives “some lines from a rabbi, in which he permits me to distribute the copies” [301].

On April 29, Rabbi Mendel asks for 6 Hebrew Bibles, which he receives free of charge. Furthermore, one copy of the Hebrew Prophets is sold to a Spanish Jew, for one piastre [302–303].

On April 30 Wolff visits Rabbi Joseph Ben Wolf. “I observed that several leaves had been torn out of the Hebrew Bible which I have presented him with. I asked the reason for it.” It is due to “an enthusiastic Jew ... on account of the crosses which are to be found in the Bible.” Wolff spends the night in the house of Rabbi Solomon Ben Menahem Shfiro. The latter claims that there are several mistakes in the Bible, e.g. in Isaiah 9:6, and he does not think the Samaritan text should be cited in the notes, “and the sign of the cross, notwithstanding the innocency of the intention, ought not to have been chosen.” He also thinks that the characters are too small and that the letter *kaf* is often used instead of the letter *beth* [304–305].

Although it is difficult to get an impression of the precise number of distributed Hebrew Scriptures – Old and New Testaments – Wolff does give one significant piece of information in his reference to the excommunication against the Hebrew New Testament on April 27. He writes, “I have given Hebrew Bibles and Testaments, and Tremellius’s Catechism, to twenty-seven rabbies.” The same day a Jewish boy is given a Hebrew Bible and Tremellius’s Catechism [304].<sup>26</sup>

The number of Hebrew Scriptures distributed before May 5 cannot be stated precisely. A conservative estimate is 50 copies – perhaps fewer; but it could also be 100 copies, or even more. Some of them are burnt. And it will get even worse, as we shall now see.

### “Every Jew Must Burn the Hebrew Bibles”

On May 5, Abraham Ben David informs Wolff that the Sephardic chief rabbis, that very morning, have “proclaimed in the synagogue, that every Jew must burn the *Hebrew Bibles*, (Reineccius’s edition), on account of the Samaritan text, and the crosses which are to be found in the notes.” In order to “prevent so great an evil,” Wolff draws up a letter to the leading rabbis “of the Spanish persuasion.” The content of the letter is as follows:

26 “Tremellius’s Catechism” is really Calvin’s Catechism, translated into Hebrew by the Jewish-born John Immanuel Tremellius in 1551.



To the Rabbies, the Princes, and the Learned!

I have learned that public orders have been given in your synagogue, that the twenty-four books, containing the Old Testament, should be committed to the flames. I desire rather to receive them back; if not, you must pay me the full price of the books, and all expenses of them, for I have given them to you to learn from, and not that they should be burnt. Woe to you shepherds of Israel, saith

JOSEPH WOLFF

P.S. The mark which you suppose is a sign of the cross, is nothing but a mark of Keri and Ketib. [309]

The letter is delivered to the Sephardic Jews by Abraham Ben David, and Wolff is immediately invited to a meeting in “the committee-house of the Spanish Jews.” Many Jews turn up, and the meeting results in a dramatic resolution.

### **The Agreement Not to Distribute Bibles**

Rabbi Meyahis, who acts as spokesman at the meeting, asks in Spanish if they can carry on the conversation in Hebrew. Wolff agrees.

Meyahis points out, according Wolff, that among the Jews in Jerusalem there are such as are “ignorant, and are not able to discern good from bad ... and therefore we must watch over them.” He points out that in the distributed Bibles there are notes from the “Samaritan Codex” and adduces Deuteronomy 5 as an example: “I have commanded you to-day upon the mount Gerizim.” “We rabbies,” says Meyahis, are the only ones who are able to distinguish between text and notes, the youth cannot do that, “and may easily be induced to believe that the law does not go out from Sion, but from mount Gerizim.” And Meyahis continues: “and with respect to the New Testament which you have distributed, you must know yourself, for you are of the seed of Israel, that it is against the law of Moses, which you yourself so highly esteem, and we are therefore determined to burn every copy of it” [310–311].

As to *Bibles* (Old Testament), Wolff refers in his response to the fact that the Bibles have been distributed “not only with the permission, but even at the desire of rabbi Mendel Menahem, the great rabbi of the Ashkenaim [*sic*].” Mendel “requested for himself three copies of the whole Bible, as well as of the editions of the Prophets and Psalters.” Three other named rabbis have followed Mendel’s example, “and the Bible does not deserve, in any case, to be burnt,” Wolff states. As to the New Testament, Wolff denies that it is perverting the Law of Moses, but then he comes up with an unexpected initiative and promise: “but as you are determined to burn them, I shall not longer make presents of them, for I have given them to be read and not to be burnt. These my sentiments I declared, after their manner, on paper.”

Rabbi Koba, in an attempt to keep the focus on the principle at stake,

interferes and says, "It is the tenet of the Talmud: 'A Torah, written by heretics, must be burnt.'" But Rabbi Meyahis is completely satisfied with the result achieved, and concludes by saying, "Let us not quarrel, but be friendly together; we will, with all our hearts, receive from the English nation, copies of our Bible, but *without notes, without comment, without any preface, and without any Latin character.*" To this Wolff replies: "And you shall receive such as you desire." Whereupon all answer: "Amen! Amen!" [311–312].

At this point Rabbi Mendel and Rabbi Joseph Ben Wolf entered the room (apparently Rabbi Mendel does leave his house when matters require it; cf. above), and "all arose from their seats." Again we will listen to Wolff:

*I. Rabbi Mendel, did you not desire me to distribute the copies of the Old Testament?*

*Rabbi Mendel: Yes.*

Morenu Meyahis and the other then explained to him the reason, as above-mentioned, for desiring me not to distribute them. He conceded to their decision, but recommended highly, the editions of the Hebrew prophets and Psalters, published by the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews – and they entreated me not to distribute New Testaments any more. I gave them my word of honour on paper, not to make presents of them or of the tracts, among the Jews in Jerusalem, any more, when I perceived that they were determined to burn every copy. But this does not prevent me lending copies of the New Testament to those who, I am sure, will not burn them. [312]

The agreement is an amazing one. If it is ignored, we will get a one-sided picture of Wolff's visit to Jerusalem in 1822. But all hope is not gone.

Already the next day, the rich rabbi Isaac Abulawfia asks, through Abraham Ben David, for Wolff to *lend* him a Hebrew New Testament, which he promises to return when he has read it. Later the same day, Wolff hears that Abulawfia is reading it "with a loud voice." When Wolff entered Abulawfia's room, the latter said, "A man like me should never burn a book, but rather read and examine it; the family of Abulawfia was known six hundred years ago in Palestine" [315].

### **Wolff Leaves Jerusalem**

On his departure from Jerusalem, Wolff has distributed, to Jews, "Some thousand tracts ... Many of them have been burnt by the rabbies" [299]. He has distributed approximately 1,000 Scriptures, the main part to Christians, some to Muslims, and some to Jews. Neophytos is certainly mistaken when he says that Wolff has distributed more than 1,000 *Hebrew* Gospels to Jews. Wolff has also recognized that he has essentially lost



the battle for distribution of Hebrew Scriptures to the Jews of Jerusalem. But he has not worked out the number of burnt Scriptures. The fact that some were torn up and burnt by the Jewish leadership has been recorded by Neophytos.<sup>27</sup> After his visit to Jerusalem at the turn of the year 1823–1824, LJS missionary William Bucknor Lewis reports that the record of the Scriptures that had been distributed to Jews, and “afterwards [were] committed to the flames,” has been kept in the Greek Orthodox convent where he stayed.<sup>28</sup> After his next visit in 1823, Wolff can ascertain that at least a few copies were not burnt (see the next article in this series).

On May 7, Wolff distributed some one hundred Greek tracts, even though he was ill: “I have been very poorly indeed today; and therefore called in an Italian surgeon, who bled me” [312–313]. His journal ends abruptly on May 11. Exactly when he left Jerusalem is difficult to say. A letter from Aleppo, dated August 2, 1822, begins with the words, “After I have remained three months at Jerusalem ...” [316]. Perhaps it is actually two months.<sup>29</sup>

## Conclusion

There is no doubt that Wolff created commotion about Jesus and Christianity among Jerusalem’s Jews. But regardless of how many or how few Hebrew Scriptures he distributed, and regardless of how many conversations he had with rabbis in the Holy City, the question remains: Were the Jews of Jerusalem “open” to the gospel? Wolff believed they were. So did his patrons and the LJS.

At the LJS’s Anniversary Meeting, on May 9, 1823, they chose – without hiding the opposition to Wolff – to concentrate on all the positive things which looked promising for future work. That Wolff “had been allowed at all to bring forward the subject of Christianity” was considered a striking fact, even though he was considered an “apostate.”<sup>30</sup> Time would show that the Jews of Jerusalem were not generally “open” to the gospel.

Other things being equal, and with respect for Wolff’s work, what Gidney writes about Wolff in Jerusalem in 1822 – “he circulated numerous copies of the Hebrew New Testament and other Christian publications”<sup>31</sup> – is close to being a myth.

Less than a year later, in 1823, Wolff is back in Jerusalem in the company of two American missionaries, Pliny Fisk and Jonas King. We will follow them in the next article in this series.

27 Cf. quotation in Heyer, 173, where Neophytos also says that the Turks (Muslims) used the Scriptures for wrapping paper when they sold spices.

28 *Jewish Expositor* (1825), 15.

29 Wolff does not say when he arrives in Beirut, but he sends a letter from that city dated June 12, 1822, cf. *Jewish Expositor* (1822), 512. This means that he must have left Jerusalem at the end of May, or maybe even earlier, as we also must consider the lessons in Samaritan he receives in Jaffa [319]. It is certainly not after “three or four months,” as supposed by Gidney, 164, nor “in July 1822,” as claimed by Lieber, 166.

30 *Jewish Expositor* (1823), 226.

31 Gidney, 104.

# Jesus of Nazareth in Zionist Thought: 1881–1945

By **Tsvi Sadan**

Tsvi Sadan submitted his doctoral thesis to the Hebrew University in February 2006, and in September 2006 it was approved. The thesis, written in Hebrew, is titled “Jesus of Nazareth in Zionist Thought: 1881–1945.” Following is the English abstract of Sadan’s research.

In 1922, R. Binyamin (Joshua Radler-Feldman), a well-known and highly respected literary critic, writing in Hebrew, noted something that the historiography on Zionism has taken little notice of: Jewish interest in Jesus. Following the publication of Joseph Klausner’s book *Jesus of Nazareth* in the same year, R. Binyamin wrote in the influential *Hashiloah*: “In these days we talk, write and show a lot of interest in Jesus. He has become fashionable, while others, no less Jews than he, are neglected and pushed aside, into a distant corner.”

This is a startling statement, R. Binyamin’s grievance being no less astonishing. According to his statement, Jesus – who just a short while ago had been “neglected” and “pushed aside” – had become a topic of discussion, while other Jewish notables, such as Hillel, Haninah ben Dosa, and other highly acclaimed personages, had lost their appeal and become peripheral. R. Binyamin’s objection was not that Jesus had become the focus of attention, but that this development was at the expense of other leading figures.

R. Binyamin’s observation of 1922 stands good not for that year alone but for the time period on which this research focuses. The present work demonstrates that while the historiography on Zionism finds little place for Jesus, debates concerning his role within the national framework of Judaism did occur during the period covered by this research, and were sometimes both fierce and intense. The hundreds, if not thousands, of letters to the editor, articles, papers, and books written by Jews in Hebrew at the time demonstrate that discussions on the subject were conducted in multiple forums – from talks around the coffee table to learned theological studies

**Why did Zionists, who fought hard to secure a future for Jews in the land of Israel, see the need to reconsider Judaism’s traditional, negative attitude toward Jesus?**



in prestigious periodicals. This circumstance raises the primary question addressed in this research: Why did Zionists, who fought hard to secure a future for Jews in the land of Israel, see the need to reconsider Judaism's traditional, negative attitude toward Jesus?

Jewish reevaluations of Jesus first began to emerge during the long process of Jewish emancipation in Europe, which created the conditions under which a growing number of Jews were exposed to the surrounding Christian culture in a way previously not possible. This exposure brought them face-to-face not only with the uglier aspects of Christian culture, but also with its more attractive aspects. And together with Jewish emancipation, there often also came a growing sense of dissatisfaction with traditional Judaism, an attitude which at times resulted in feverish efforts to build an alternative Jewish society. The shaking off of the shackles of tradition, together with a fascination with the majority Christian culture, led considerable numbers of Jews to willingly assimilate or convert to Christianity. So common did this trend become in the early years of the twentieth century that many Jews became indifferent to it.

To further our understanding of what lay behind the growing interest in Jesus, the present work focuses on a select number of intellectuals who identified themselves in one way or another with Zionism and whose attitudes toward Jesus are examined in seven chapters. The first

**The shaking off of the shackles of tradition, together with a fascination with the majority Christian culture, led considerable numbers of Jews to willingly assimilate or convert to Christianity.**

chapter constitutes an exception as it examines the prevailing attitude toward Jesus among the "Lovers of Zion," the pre-Zionist movement which emerged in Eastern Europe in 1881 in the wake of the pogroms which swept across Southern Russia.

This chapter focuses on the years 1881–1897 and examines two related issues. It looks first at the world-renowned

Lithuanian sculptor Mordehai Mark Antokolsky's attitude to Jesus, contrasting that attitude with the very different position of Joseph Rabinowitz (Bessarabia), a leading member of *Hibat Zion* until his idiosyncratic ideas on the "Jewish Jesus" cut him off from that movement. Secondly, it discusses Jewish attitudes at that time toward Christian missionary efforts, and argues that these did not necessarily correspond to what Jews thought of Jesus. Jewish attitudes toward the Christian Mission were exemplified in this case by the figures of Naphtali Hertz-Imber and Eliezer Ben Yehuda, two East European members of the "First Aliyah" who accused one another of collaboration with the English missionaries in Eretz-Yisrael.

In analyzing the view of the Jewish Mission and missionaries held by Ben Yehuda, Imber, and Rabinowitz, it becomes apparent that opposition to the Mission was not automatically linked to, or necessarily demanded, a negative attitude toward Jesus. Even an "admirer" like Rabinowitz could think ill of the Mission.

The second chapter focuses on Ahad Ha'am's reaction to Claude Montefiore's approach to Jesus as it developed through the years 1897–1911. This chapter demonstrates that it was possible in this period for one of the most prominent leaders of British Jewry to publicly express his opinion that in order for Judaism to fulfill its high calling to disseminate monotheism and Jewish ethics (theism) throughout the world, it must change its attitude to Jesus. Montefiore, who was convinced that the failure of Judaism would inevitably result in a major setback for civilization as a whole, also considered that for Judaism to survive in the modern world it must transcend nationalist boundaries and become a "Jewish Church." In order to revive Judaism, the Jewish people must return to the teaching of Israel's great prophets, of whom Jesus was but the last. For Montefiore, it was Jesus who pointed the way to the necessary reformation in Jewish life which Liberal Judaism was attempting to accomplish: A reform which would turn Jews back to the values of compassion and justice even at the cost of overlooking biblical precepts and tradition.

**For Montefiore, it was Jesus who pointed the way to the necessary reformation in Jewish life which Liberal Judaism was attempting to accomplish.**

Montefiore's approach to solving the "Jewish problem" provoked Ahad Ha'am, perhaps the most respected and revered ideologist of the *Hibat Zion* Movement. Consistent with his view that any change in the traditionally negative Jewish attitude toward Jesus would inevitably result in mass conversion, Ahad Ha'am interpreted Montefiore's suggestions as a sign that Judaism was in such great distress that its adherents were being compelled to look for ways to incorporate themselves into the society around them. To Ahad Ha'am, Montefiore's call to embrace Jesus as one of Israel's greatest prophets was merely a call for assimilation in another form. In one of his better known articles, "Judaism and the Gospels" ("*Al shtey hasipim*," 1910), in which he responded to Montefiore's ideas as expressed in the latter's *The Synoptic Gospels* of 1909, Ahad Ha'am indicated that such notions were also present in the minds of the younger generation of Eastern European Jewry, whose influence was considerable, particularly amongst the members of the "Second Aliyah." In this article he reiterated and emphasized his conviction that Judaism could in no way be reconciled with Jesus' teachings. Ahad Ha'am, this research suggests, more accurately represented the opinion of most Jews, and it was his approach which for the most part became popular.

The third chapter focuses on Shai (Shaul Yisrael) Ish Horowitz, a wealthy Jew from Belarussia who subsequently settled with his family in Berlin. Horowitz was active and influential in the struggle for the development of a nationalist culture (*tarbut*) based on the revival of the Hebrew language and the production of a modern literature in that language. The period examined, 1903–1914, was viewed as an era of crisis for the future of Judaism. It began with the Sixth Zionist Congress and the "Uganda proposal," which raised the possibility of a temporary shelter for Jews

in Africa, a scheme which tore the Zionist movement apart, pitting the "Zionists for Zion" against the "territorialists."

Horowitz, who was put on "trial" in a "Jewish court" in 1908 in consequence of his positive stand toward Jesus, was accused (and eventually acquitted) of being a missionary. In Horowitz's view, for Judaism to secure its future it had to change its negative stance with regard to this issue. As he perceived the situation, Jesus' lofty teaching, which gave preference to mercy as against the Law (*Iefanim mishurat hadin*), carried the message that the "man" within every Jew had to be freed ("man" signifying the human qualities which transcend Jewish particularism). For Horowitz, Jesus' teaching challenged Jews to open themselves up to the wider world of scholarly and scientific progress in order to advance themselves and create a better society – one less particularistic and more universalistic. As this chapter demonstrates, Horowitz's conception of Jesus' teaching as a catalyst for a kind of utopian socialism had but few adherents.

The fourth chapter examines Yoseph Haim Brenner and the commotion raised by his statement in an article in the journal *Hapoel Hatzair* (1910) that "the prophet from Nazareth" constituted part and parcel of Jewish history. This attitude toward Jesus expressed by one of the more influential "young" thinkers of the "Second Aliyah" engendered a lively discussion, known as "the Brenner episode." The cause célèbre, which drew many of the leaders of the *Yishuv* into the debate, only subsided in 1913.

Brenner began by severely criticizing what he perceived to be an obsessive preoccupation in the Hebrew periodicals with the problem of assimilation and conversion. To his mind, the obsession with the problem of *Shmad* (conversion) was merely testimony to the fact that even those committed to the Zionist vision were still captive to old and outdated Jewish beliefs – including the conviction that Jesus constituted a threat to Jewish survival. The atheist Brenner, who considered himself to be a "free Jew" in the true sense, considered that as such he was no longer under the "hypnosis" of the rabbinic tradition and could therefore treat Jesus with respect, if he so wished. As this research indicates, however, despite the support he garnered on other issues, Brenner's attempt to welcome the prophet from Nazareth into the fold was rejected, at least publicly, by most of his closest ideological peers.

**Klausner attempted to prove that Jesus was an authentic Jew whose over-zealousness for Jewish ethics swept him away on the tide of universalism.**

In the fifth chapter, the focus is on Joseph Klausner and his book *Jesus of Nazareth*. It provides evidence that Klausner considered this book, which took him almost three decades to complete, as his *magnum opus*, precisely because in it he outlined what he perceived as the definitive answer to the on-going, disturbing attraction of Jews to Jesus; disturbing in the sense that in their eyes, Christianity represented the highest form of religion. Through historical research, Klausner attempted to prove that Jesus was an au-

thentic Jew whose over-zealousness for Jewish ethics swept him away on the tide of universalism. Through this kind of scholarly approach, which interpreted Jesus as a Jew who took his Jewishness to an extreme which could only invalidate Jewish nationalism, Klausner hoped to demonstrate three central facts. Firstly, that Christianity's ethics are Jewish and hence Christianity cannot be superior to Judaism; secondly, that Christians must rise to the understanding that the Jewish rejection of Jesus is not anti-Christian but pro-Jewish; thirdly, that Zionism – or the right of Jews to govern their lives in a country of their own – does not contradict the Judaism which Jesus upheld (and Klausner devotes considerable space to overcoming the apparent contradictions in his thesis). In outlining such an approach, Klausner wished to convince both Jews and Christians that a Jewish state in the Land of Israel also meant redemption for all mankind.

Klausner's book, which was received warmly by both Jews and Christians, was an expression of the middle way he proposed. His suggestion that Jews must reject Jesus' ethical teaching only where it compromises Jewish nationalism, so that Judaism could once again be a light to the nations, appealed to many. Yet as influential as this book was, being translated into more than 12 languages, the present research draws attention to the fact that it did not represent an orchestrated Jewish effort to offer an official new Jewish approach to Jesus. *Jesus of Nazareth* represented Klausner's view, not that of Zionism in general, not to speak of Judaism's attitude toward Jesus.

The discussion then goes on, in the sixth chapter, to examine the effect a particular religious experience reported by the Lithuanian born novelist Aaron Abraham Kabak. It was apparently in response to this event that Kabak decided to write his novel, which was published under the title *The Narrow Path* (1937). This novel about the life of Jesus was considered by many to be Kabak's best work. From the completion of this book to his death in 1944, Kabak offered various explanations as to the genesis of this novel, the first of its kind in Hebrew. In so doing he attempted to solve the puzzle posed to his colleagues and friends, who sought to understand what had led this well-liked person to write a book about Jesus while simultaneously returning to a religious Jewish lifestyle.

*The Narrow Path*, Kabak argued, reflects an idea he desired to share with his readers. This notion rests on the assumption that God, through Jesus' mouth, calls man to free and to resurrect himself in order to build a better society. For Kabak, Jesus expresses best of all that change of values which enables the individual *tikun* which is a precondition for the "emendation" of society. In this chapter, I argue that Kabak portrayed Jesus as a kind of ideal "pioneer" (*halutz*). Such a figure, in his eyes, must be a person who lives as a religious Jew while striving for social reform. Such an ideal pioneer has a deep sense of mission, but he is also able to tolerate the "other." He is a farmer and also a scholar (*talmid haham*). Although Kabak's novel was warmly received, and was even required reading for high school students until the late fifties, this chapter indicates that his

understanding of Jesus, along with his religious experience, remained largely misunderstood and thus largely without influence.

The last chapter focuses on Uri Zvi Greenberg, and examines how one of the most important Hebrew poets of the twentieth century, revered by some of the Revisionist Zionists as a prophet, viewed Jesus from the period during which he served as a soldier in the First World War until the end of the Second World War. Jesus, as the research demonstrates, appears in Greenberg's poetry both before and after his move from the Labor to the Revisionist camp in 1929. For Greenberg, Jesus represents a powerful symbol of the Jewish yearning for redemption which will only take place in the Land of Israel. Jesus' complete dedication to the messianic vision – the restoration of the Jewish people to their Davidic kingdom status, along with his almost endless suffering, his morality, and his unshaken faith – constitutes for him a shining example of a person who fulfills Zionism's dream to the fullest. The quality which enables Jesus to cling without compromise to the messianic hope makes him, in Greenberg's eyes, worthy of receiving the crown of the Son of David (Messiah). For Greenberg, therefore, Jesus is an archetype of what all Jews ought to be and, as such, an example to follow.

Since Zionism for Greenberg is linked to the messianic vision, figuratively speaking he envisions the necessity of Jesus coming down from his cross and joining the *halutzim* in their effort to build Judah's kingdom for the third time. The appearance of Jesus in Greenberg's poetry (as well as in a few places in his prose) indicates that, for him, any deviation from the call to build the Third Kingdom is a sign of betrayal both of Zionism and of the messianic hope.

In summary, the present research attempts to show that discussions concerning Jesus, from the emergence of *Hibat Zion* in 1881 to the end of the Second World War, were part of a wider search within Jewish society for a paradigm shift (*shinui arahim*), and were associated with the vision of building a society in the Land of Israel which would be a light to the world.

#### Author info:

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# Can Anything Good Come Out of Nazareth?

THE MESSIANIC MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL



By **Glenn Edward Witmer**

Surrounded by bodyguards and accompanied by two of her children, the former First Lady of the United States, Rosalynn Carter, moved toward the tiny white creature cradled in the farmer's arms. A man in a turban and first-century cloak held the young lamb out to her, to stroke the fine white wool on its head. It was a gentle and memorable moment of peacefulness as we paused alongside two-thousand-year-old terraces and ancient olive trees by the Parable Walk of first-century Nazareth Village.

The lamb had special meaning beyond its tenderness in the morning air of this specially arranged VIP visit. Two years earlier, after a nighttime theft of our flock of sheep from the fold, the Carters joined others in donating money for several new pairs to restock the farm. This newborn creature was part of that offspring.

Rosalynn's husband, the former president, was in the midst of the preparations for the Palestinian elections, as the Carter Center often does to assist emerging democracies. He had been at Nazareth Village earlier, and wanted his family to come too. "It makes me feel like I'm right in a biblical setting," said Mrs. Carter as she stroked the lamb's silky forehead. "Jimmy told me how meaningful it was for him when he was here last year."

That sums up the message of Nazareth Village. Visitors walk through an authentic setting – not archaeological memories of a time past, but through a living, working environment, with "living stones" in authentic costume to represent real stories from the life and times of Jesus of Nazareth. The buildings, the stable and animals, the children playing behind the donkey and plowman, or with the sower of the seed, or shaking olives from the trees and checking for ripe pomegranates before the bulbuls steal the red and juicy fruit... It lets one imagine what it would have been like to actually be there in Jesus' boyhood hometown, two thousand years ago.

That was the longtime dream of a ninth-generation Nazarene, Dr. Nakhle Bishara, for years the medical director of the English Hospital in downtown Nazareth. He remembers as a boy being intrigued as to why so many people from all around the world would come to his little town. They all went to the Basilica of the Annunciation and heard the story of the angel Gabriel's approach to Mary with an incredible idea – that she,

as a too young and still unmarried girl, would have a role in the salvation story for all people. But the tourists soon left town, Dr. Bishara recalls. "If it was important to come and hear about the annunciation before Jesus was born, why wouldn't they want to know more about the place where he spent 90% of his life?" Why didn't somebody tell that part of his story – and about his teaching ministry which he personally announced in the Nazareth synagogue?

Why not indeed! Ten years ago the persistent dream started to become reality, as people from North American churches learned about the idea and began to imagine the potential of the vision. Many times they huddled and talked, looked at sketches and financial plans. Could it be possible? Would people come? What would it take to bring the dream to reality? The simple questions had two simple answers: land and money! That's all. Well, the backing of international churches and the commitment of a team of people would also be essential to see it through the development problems: municipal and business hurdles, fund-raising campaigns, and identifying the right professionals for the historical, cultural, and biblical information needed for authenticity.

Early on there came a discovery that seemed too coincidental not to have divine direction behind it. On the land beside the Nazareth Hospital, owned by the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society and made available for long-term use by the new Village entity, the cleanup from years of abandonment and the untamed growth of vigorous weeds began to uncover some astonishing finds: a first-century wine press hewn into the bedrock, just below the remains of ancient terraces whose foundations on solid rock had withstood the erosion of time and winter rains. Further along the bases of several watchtowers from that period were revealed. Just up the hill two first-century quarries were discovered, complete with ancient chisel marks and stone quarrying outlines where building blocks were cut and prepared for nearby structures. Here on this site, just 500 meters from the cave home of Joseph and Mary – itself now uncovered and visible under the Basilica of the Annunciation – were the ancient evidence and remains of the farming activities of the very villagers whose neighborhood had been Jesus' own playground!

Spurred on by the renewed proof of authenticity these discoveries represented, a team of experts under the direction of University of the Holy Land president and archaeologist Dr. Stephen Pfann began its work in earnest. Mark Goodman, an architectural conservator, oversaw the village transition from blueprints to brick and mortar. As a specialist in ancient construction methods and techniques, he ensured that the construction of each building mirrored the requirements that would have been true for first-century residences. These included the weaver's home, the landlord's residence, the carpentry shop, and also one of the most important projects undertaken in the Holy Land – the construction of a first-century synagogue, based on the most detailed and accurate historical findings available. The ruins at Gamla near the Sea of Galilee and the synagogue base at Masada beside the Dead Sea were two of the most useful sources

of reconstruction information. Talmudic references provided additional helpful hints as to the actual layout and use. And now the only full-sized, roofed synagogue in the world built to the best available specifications of two thousand years ago sits high on the bedrock skyline of Nazareth Village.

The crowning touch for visitors to the Village is the addition of people. This would not be a museum, even though groups begin their two-hour guided tour indoors, moving through four well-appointed exhibition rooms that lead them back in time from modern Nazareth, through the violence of the Crusades, to the Roman occupation period of Jesus' world – right into the family carpentry shop, with a youth's linen tunic hanging casually by the workbench.

Passing through a tunnel from the exhibits to the outdoor world puts visitors in the seven-acre site itself, at the start of the Parable Walk. Following this pathway leads the group through the fields of grain to the threshing floor, past vineyards and the wine press to the watchtower, along the pathways and weed patches where the sower's seeds spilled onto rocky ground. They can rest by the well where a woman draws a jug full of water. From there it's just fifty meters to the edge of the village itself with its houses pressed tightly against each other beside narrow walkways.

Underlying the whole experience is the biblical story. Guides frequently turn to the text passages where the stories are told. For the listener, hearing these familiar accounts again in such an authentic location creates a unique and profound experience that often causes eyes to moisten and voices to soften. "It's so real," whispered a woman from Sweden. "I feel as though I am back there at the time of the Holy Family." A pastor from Canada wished aloud that he had been able to do this tour years ago. "The background to the text for one's preaching is so helpful – the anecdotes from the life and times are genuine."

Tens of thousands of Galilee schoolchildren have visited Nazareth Village since its opening six years ago. The classes from Jewish and Muslim schools spend hours in a thoroughly delightful learning environment. Favorite photos in the archive include a youngster reaching tentatively for the teat of a goat to squeeze fresh milk; other children delightedly thrash at branches laden with ripe olives, then scoop them up to rush to the olive press and encourage the donkey to move a little faster around the pole that turns the heavy crushing stone. Making bread in an outdoor oven and dipping it in freshly-mixed *za'atar* and virgin oil was never like this at home. And then, with rapt attention, they hear the stories about another young Nazarene who lived in the area long ago and grew up to teach others a new way to think about living with their neighbors in a violent world, under the oppressive rule of violent foreigners. The Bible accounts become today's stories once again, and are understood in a setting that makes them alive.

The modern-day Nazarene is not yet satisfied. Dr. Bishara, a Village Board member and never-ceasing enthusiast, knows there is still so much





more to be done, more parables to illustrate on site, more construction of homes and surroundings to add to the story – like a *mikveh* (ritual bath) and a burial area with tombs to enter. Herbs and other edible plants will soon be grown near the outdoor covered dining area, to add a fresh taste for groups opting for a first-century menu at lunchtime. A rooftop area with a panoramic view of Nazareth is open for study groups to gather for discussions.

Visitors from 55 countries have already discovered Nazareth Village and have roundly applauded the site. More than once a group leader has commented, “This is one of the most appealing places to visit in the Holy Land. It was this group’s favorite stop on our tour.” From Guatemala, Finland, USA, Korea, Singapore, Holland, Scotland ... on and on the list now extends. Even during the worst of the political upsets, when tourism almost dried up, the Village remained open to receive anyone who stopped by.

No wonder those famous visitors from the state of Georgia were also enthused – and not just because they are Honorary Trustees of the site’s Board. “We were truly amazed at Nazareth Village’s high quality and archaeological integrity,” said President Carter after his visit. “Jesus’ life and teachings come alive for all who witness this recreation of first-century Nazareth.”

It couldn’t be better said – but as Philip encouraged Nathanael, “Come and see!”

For more information on Nazareth Village, see [www.nazarethvillage.com](http://www.nazarethvillage.com).

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# Be'ad Chaim — Prolife

THE MESSIANIC MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL



By **Sandy Shoshani**

Be'ad Chaim ("Prolife") is a nonprofit association whose objective is to protect the unborn child and its mother. The idea for the association began to take root in 1985, when a small group of believers learned that approximately one third of pregnancies in Israel are terminated by abortion. After much prayer, the Be'ad Chaim Association was officially recognized by the Israeli government in 1988, and the first crisis pregnancy center was opened in Jerusalem. The association now supports four different centers in the cities of Jerusalem, Kiryat Yam (Haifa area), Tiberias, and Beer Sheva. Additionally, phone counselors are available in Bat Yam (Tel-Aviv area) and in Arabic.

Our centers provide confidential hot-line services, free pregnancy tests, counseling, and assistance during the birth. After birth, we provide baby clothing, other essential supplies and, of course, emotional support. We work toward increasing our ability to give.

Beyond its assistance for pregnant women, Be'ad Chaim is dedicated to promoting the sanctity of life through education regarding the development of human life in the womb, the consequences of destroying this life both to the child and to its mother, and the necessity for purity in sexual relationships.

Our staff conducts regular pro-life outreaches in several cities, distributing tens of thousands of brochures. Our literature provides information, alternatives, and details for receiving help in times of crisis. Soldiers are a primary target group, as we know that 24% of women soldiers will become pregnant during their two years in the army and 75% of these women will choose to abort their unborn child. Messianic soldiers, knowing that the army provides two free abortions to female soldiers, help by distributing our literature to their friends or leaving it in public places on their bases. They also speak for life during basic training sessions.

Doors are also opening to take critical information into Israel's public schools. Our DVD "Window to the Womb" and our questionnaire "14 Questions that You Never Asked" will be included as part of the 8<sup>th</sup> grade biology curriculum in one school district. It is our hope that many other school districts will also include our materials, which emphasize that human life begins at conception.

Be'ad Chaim sponsors yearly conferences on the topics of Purity and Sexuality. These conferences are very popular, and hundreds of Messianic teens attend and are challenged to remain pure and abstinent until marriage. Most of the Messianic teens in Israel attend public schools, and are in an environment where they are daily confronted with worldly values of immorality that are opposed to the standards of God. Be'ad Chaim aims to give our teens the tools and support system they need to walk in godliness and righteousness.

Another aspect of our work in Be'ad Chaim is to facilitate healing and freedom for the many women who suffer from Post Abortion Syndrome. All too often, even women who have come to know the Messiah still carry the shame and grief of a past abortion. We offer seminars, support groups, and private counseling so that these hurting women will receive the forgiveness and relief that God has for them.

A women's magazine, *Beinenu* ("Between Us"), is published quarterly. This magazine promotes wholesome family values through articles and testimonies. It is published in both Hebrew and Russian, and provides a very necessary encouragement to many who have never been taught about family issues such as marital relationships, how to discipline children, spending time with God even with a busy schedule, the sanctity of all human life, and many other vital topics.

The work that Be'ad Chaim attempts to do is not always easy. Needless to say, confronting society with issues of purity, the right of the unborn to live, and the consequences of abortion – physical, emotional, and spiritual – is often not welcome. Talking about abortion makes people uncomfortable. When I was asked in early 2005 if I would consider taking the position of Jerusalem coordinator, I was quite reluctant. While I believed that taking the life of the unborn is not allowed according to God's standard, it was much easier to stay in my "comfort zone" and not confront such difficult issues. Sharing about God's love is much more pleasant than talking about the shedding of innocent blood. But as I began to read and watch films, attended a Be'ad Chaim international conference, and prayed about God's heart for the innocent and His desire for a holy people, I realized that apathy is not a commodity in the Kingdom of God. God's will for the nation of Israel cannot be accomplished without repentance. Psalm 106:37–38 says, "They sacrificed their sons and their daughters to demons. They shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and daughters, whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan, and the land was desecrated by their blood." Today's idols are not as apparent to the eye as the idols of Canaan. The idols of our society are personal convenience, career, reputation, and money, among many others, yet they are nonetheless idols to which we sacrifice our innocent babies.

I was persuaded that I needed to take an active role in this challenging work when confronted by Proverbs 24:10-12: "If you falter in times of trouble, how small is your strength! Rescue those being led away to death; hold back those staggering toward slaughter. If you say, 'But we knew nothing about this,' does not he who weighs the heart perceive it?"

Does not he who guards your life know it? Will he not repay each person according to what he has done?" From these verses, it is apparent that indifference is not an option.

Government statistics quote over 20,000 legal abortions annually. But unofficial statistics, which include private abortions, indicate double that number. Estimates have been made that since 1948, over 2 million babies have been aborted in Israel – over 150 babies each day. The population of Israel today approaches 7 million. Had those two million babies been born rather than aborted, the difficult issues of Jewish/Arab demographics would not exist.

Local Messianic conferences often speak of God's promises to the nation and the land of Israel, but sometimes exclude the need for a holy and righteous people. God calls us, as the Messianic body in the land, to be a prophetic voice to the nation, speaking his truth about the sanctity of life and God's judgment for the shedding of the blood of the innocent. The prophet Jonah heard the word of God and "ran away from the Lord." Jonah did not want to be in the unpleasant position of confrontation and possible embarrassment. But neither Jonah nor we have the option of indifference, for we are called as God's people to be "those who grieve and lament over all the detestable things that are done" (Ezekiel 9:4).

An older believer recounted sitting in a church in Germany during the Holocaust. Behind their little church were train tracks, and every Sunday morning they heard the train whistle blowing from afar and the wheels of the train rolling along the tracks. On one particular Sunday they felt very uncomfortable when they heard screams coming from the train. To their dismay, they learned that the screams were coming from Jews who had been shoved in like cattle on their way to the camps. A week later, they heard the same train whistle, and fear gripped them because they knew that the Jews would be calling out for their help as the train passed the church. They were tortured by those screams, for there was nothing that they could do to help. Because they knew exactly when the train would pass by, they decided that the only way to stop suffering from the screams was to sing. As the train rolled by, they would sing from the depths of their being. If the screams could still be heard, they would sing louder until they drowned them out. The believer who told this story has never forgotten those screams, nor has he forgotten that God has called us to action and prayer.

Recently, as I was distributing flyers in downtown Jerusalem, a young man stopped me and said, "I had an abortion." I thought that he was yet another mocker, until he explained with tears in his eyes that he and his girlfriend (now fiancée) had aborted their baby three years earlier, and neither one of them had ever gotten over their grief. We spoke at length and I urged him to phone for counseling. Be'ad Chaim believes that through early education and outreach we can prevent some of this unnecessary suffering.

Many of the local pastors partner with the work of Be'ad Chaim to stop abortion. Some have invited speakers and helped organize confer-



ences on the topic of Post Abortion Syndrome. Several congregations financially support projects or local Be'ad Chaim offices. One congregation will be preparing a new ultrasound DVD.

Be'ad Chaim would like to see more involvement of the local body in this work, primarily through intercession at corporate and congregational prayer meetings, and more involvement in the local Be'ad Chaim prayer meetings and conferences.

Many believers could participate in the distribution of literature, placing it in waiting rooms at doctor's offices and other public spots, as well as in the congregational foyer. We can speak up in the public schools, army, and communities for the right to life, and donate DVDs and literature. Be'ad Chaim spokespeople are eager to speak to youth groups, women's groups, and congregations. Congregations and individuals could sponsor a new mother by providing diapers and other basic needs. The possibilities of co-laboring with us as we take a stand for life are very broad.

We, as the local body of Messiah, are called to rescue those who are being led away to death, for God searches our hearts.

Be'ad Chaim's website is at: [www.beadchaim.org.il](http://www.beadchaim.org.il) (at this time it is only in Hebrew).

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Sandy Shoshani made Aliyah to Israel in 1979 from the USA. She and her husband Oded have seven children. She works part-time for Be'ad Chaim.

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## A Jewish Bishop in Jerusalem

Kelvin Crombie is known to readers of *Mishkan*. He could be labeled the Anglicans' Jerusalem historian. In 1991 he published *For the Love of Zion. Christian Witness and the Restoration of Israel*. This year he has followed up with a detailed study on Michael Solomon Alexander, ordained and sent by the Church of England to Jerusalem in 1841–42 as the Protestant bishop of Jerusalem. His career was cut short by his death in 1845.

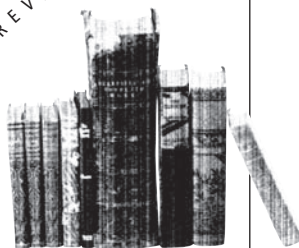
Born in 1799 in Prussia, Alexander came to faith in Jesus while he ministered in the synagogue in Plymouth. He was ordained in the Church of England, and worked in teaching and Jewish missions on the British Isles and in Europe. In 1842 he journeyed with a large entourage on board a British warship to become the first Protestant bishop in Jerusalem, being presented as the first Jewish bishop there since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. In Jerusalem he entered an already established missionary work, through which many Jewish people came to faith. Alexander was instrumental in building the first Protestant church in the Middle East – Christ Church – which would be finished in 1849.

Crombie's book is a study of the intermingling of international politics, church

politics, eschatological expectation, and Jewish mission in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is a detailed study; not every reader will explore his many footnotes with the same interest. Through the book we can follow Alexander's personal odyssey with family and coworkers. Crombie draws from a large variety of sources, often quoting them at length. This reader was moved by fascinating excerpts from his daughter's unpublished autobiography.

This book is an important scholarly work on the development of Jewish missions in Europe and Palestine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It shows how the "mission" was instrumental in bringing modern institutions (health care, schools, small-scale industry, agriculture) to Jerusalem, and thereby provoked Jewish groups to counter the mission by creating new institutions alongside the Christian ones. Thus the mission contributed substantially to the transformation and modernization of the city of Jerusalem. The Protestant initiative in this long neglected

BOOK REVIEWS



## A Jewish Bishop in Jerusalem

The life story of  
Michael Solomon Alexander

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city also provoked traditional churches to appoint their own patriarchs in Jerusalem.

We learn about 19<sup>th</sup> century Anglican "contextualization" in Jewish mission: the translation of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* into Hebrew (with Alexander as one of the translators) and the establishment of daily Hebrew worship in Jerusalem and other mission centers. Alexander was sent by the Church of England with the blessing of the Lutheran king and church of Prussia. He would be subordinate to the bishop of Canterbury "until the restoration of a Christian Jewish church, but not afterwards" (p. 84).

Is this hope for the restoration of an indigenous Jewish Christian church realized in today's mix of Messianic Jewish communities in Israel? Today's body reflects congregational patterns and a mixture of Christian backgrounds, often without clear organic links to the body of Christ worldwide. In the last two generations churches and missions have learned more about contextualization of the Gospel message, divine service, and outward ministry. We do not want to copy Episcopal matrices of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But perhaps this book will cause us to reconsider the identity and confession of Messianic Jewish bodies within the one holy universal church.

*Torleif Elgvin*

### **A Critical Dictionary to Delitzsch's Hebrew Translation of the New Testament**

Until not long ago, the New Testament was forbidden territory for most Jews. In the last few decades, however, the study of the New Testament has become an integral part of Second Temple history courses taught in institutions of higher learning in Israel. This new and welcome change has created the need for a Hebrew-Greek

dictionary. Tsvi Sadan and Liat Keren have supplied the Hebrew-speaking community with the first such tool, based on Delitzsch's 10th edition.

Franz Delitzsch's translation is one of the most widely-read modern Hebrew versions of the New Testament used in Israel at present. Despite various other modern Hebrew translations now available, Delitzsch's various editions are considered by many as the best Hebrew translation of the New Testament from the Greek original.

This new and unique dictionary includes all the Hebrew terms which Delitzsch used to translate the Greek text into modern Hebrew. Divided into two parts, it has a Greek-Hebrew section – in which all the Greek words of the New Testament are listed according to the Greek alphabet. The Hebrew-Greek section lists all of the Hebrew terms rendered in Delitzsch's translation, according to the Hebrew alphabet. The dictionary thus functions both as a Hebrew-Greek dictionary to Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the New Testament, and as a source of additional Hebrew terms with which to translate the Greek text of the New Testament into good Hebrew which will accurately reflect the meaning of the original text.

The dictionary is intended as a useful tool not only for Hebrew speakers but for all serious students of the New Testament who wish to read it in its original Greek form in relation to its modern Hebrew translation.

### **A Critical Dictionary to Delitzsch's Hebrew Translation of the New Testament**

TSVI SADAN AND LIAT KEREN  
(HILARY LE CORNU)  
ACADEMON, 2006