Chaim Yedidiah Pollak – Called Lucky

A Controversial and Challenging Jewish Believer in Jesus

MISHKAN

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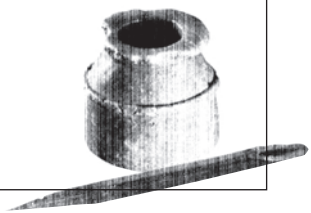
Mishkan is the Hebrew word for *tabernacle* or *dwelling place* (John 1:14).

A WORD FROM THE EDITOR



Lucky – Controversial and Challenging

By **Kai Kjær-Hansen**

I do not know of any other Jesus-believer in the past with so many names as the Galician Jew who is the theme of this issue of *Mishkan*, and whom we call Lucky. The German death notice from 1916 mentions six names: "Chajim Jedidjah (Christian Theophilus) Pollak, called Lucky." In the death notice, he is described as "a member of the original apostolic Messianic Church in Jerusalem, one who was zealous for the law of his fathers and a witness of Yeshua for Israel."

In 1923, the Lutheran clergyman Max Weidauer writes that if you wanted to know something about Lucky's life and development, you had to "pump him for information." G. M. Löwen and August Wiegand gave comprehensive descriptions of the course of Lucky's life immediately after his death. Even though these give the outlines of his life and ministry, it is still necessary to examine these sources more thoroughly, interpret them critically, and find new sources by and about Lucky.

A goal worth striving for would be an even clearer documentation of the theological and missiological similarities and differences between the four "big" Hebrew Christians around the year 1900. I am of course referring to Yechiel Lichtenstein or Herschensohn (ca. 1830–1912), Joseph Rabinowitz (1837–1899), Isaac Lichtenstein (1825–1908), and Lucky (1854–1916).

Lucky loved his people. He wanted to take Jesus into the synagogue. He was a Jesus-believing Jew and lived till the end of his life as a law-observing Jew. And he was a bitter opponent of Jewish mission.

These positions made him both controversial and challenging in his own day. Through some glimpses from his life, we will give some samples of this in this issue of *Mishkan* – beginning with Raymond Lillevik's article about Lucky in America in the 1880s.

Lucky in America

by **Raymond Lillevik**

In the 1880s, Lucky spent most of his time in the USA, where he not only got his education in Christian theology but also established a personal network. Particularly, his relations to the Seventh Day Baptists in New York would turn out to be important for him, as this church helped him to establish and run the two periodicals *Eduth l'Israel* and *The Peculiar People*. Although he returned to Eastern Europe to settle down in Galicia in 1889, he continued to keep in touch with his American network and visited the country several times until World War I.[1]

Lucky in New York

The sources differ on whether Lucky arrived in New York in 1882 or about 1880,[2] and the background for Lucky's move to America is complex. Still, Lucky's German friends G. M. Löwen and August Wiegand agree at least

1 Both the American and German sources comment on his travels to the USA, but no one specifies the number of journeys.

2 *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America: A Series of Historical Papers Written in Commemoration of the One-hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, Celebrated at Ashaway, Rhode Island, in 1902* (New Jersey: The American Sabbath Tract Society, Plainfield, 1910), 1382; G. M. Löwen, "Christian Theophilus Lucky," *Nathanael* (1917): 1–25; August Wiegand, "Chajim Jedidjah Lucky, ein gesetzestreuer Judenchrist," *Nathanael* (1917): 41–63. Both Wiegand and Löwen had known Lucky since 1889, and had cooperated closely with him in Galicia. While Löwen (himself a Jewish believer) after some time became one of Lucky's counterparts on some questions concerning Torah observance, etc., Wiegand associated himself strongly with most of Lucky's views for the rest of his life, and even operated as his spokesman at the mission conferences in Leipzig (1895) and Stockholm (1911). (See also Kai Kjær-Hansen's article "Controversy about Lucky" in this issue of *Mishkan*.) Although they both knew Lucky well, there are certain differences in their descriptions of Lucky's life, of which the (partly) contradictory conversion narratives are the most striking. Thus the time and place of Lucky's taking "Christian" names remain somewhat obscure, as do the details of his baptism.

Concerning other sources, I am indebted to Nicholas J. Kersten at the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society, who has done a lot of research on Lucky in the periodical *The Sabbath Recorder* and has given me all the relevant material. The library at Union Theological Seminary has also been very helpful with the institution's material on Lucky. Thanks to Jorge Quinonez for all his help, particularly concerning *The Peculiar People*, as well as to the librarians at the University College in Nesna.

on the main points: Accused by Jewish enemies before the Austrian authorities for being a Russian spy or an Anarchist, Lucky was expelled by the Austrian authorities and lost his legal documents.[3] Consequently, he changed his name from Chajim Wolf Jedidjah Pollak, as it appears in German sources, to Lucky,[4] and thereafter he immigrated to the USA. Whether he also took the name Christian Theophilus before or after he left Europe is not quite clear, due to the differences between Löwen's and Wiegand's narratives about his conversion and baptism.[5] Before he crossed the Atlantic, Lucky stayed for a while in Britain, where he got a very bad impression of traditional Jewish mission work, which he felt was only able to alienate Jewish believers from the Jewish nation. Löwen reports that on a few occasions, he offended some of the prominent Jewish Christians in the Church of England, among them clergyman Moses Margoliuth.[6] If this information is correct, his departure from Britain must have taken place before Margoliuth's death on February 25, 1881, probably in 1879 or 1880.[7]

Lucky stayed for a while in Britain, where he got a very bad impression of traditional Jewish mission work, which he felt was only able to alienate Jewish believers from the Jewish nation.

At the beginning of the 1880s, Lucky was not the only Galician Jew who made the decision to go to America. According to the historian Raphael Mahler,[8] more than 200,000 Galician Jews immigrated to the USA during the period 1881 to 1910. In contrast to the Jewish emigration from tsarist Russia, the majority of Galician Jews did not immigrate to escape persecution, but because of poverty and the increasing political Polonization that was taking place in Galicia. Galicia (today part of Western Ukraine) was by then under Austrian control, but the Jews were caught in the crossfire between the different national groups that fought for political power in the region, first of all the Ukrainians and Poles. This increase in the immigration rate was possible because of the disintegration of the authority of the Hasidic leaders of Galicia, who opposed immigration for religious reasons. For the Hasidim, the main reason for opposing immigration was that it would be difficult to maintain a Jewish way of life in the new homeland, but poverty as well as modern thought undermined

3 Löwen, 8; Wiegand, 50.

4 According to Löwen, 8, Lucky used different names before his immigration: Elik, Elk, Lucki (read "luzki") and Lucky (read "luck"). As editor he also used a number of pseudonyms. The Slavonic surname Lúckij, which derives from a local name, is in Ukrainian pronounced "Lúc'kyj"; see B. O. Unbegaun, *Russian Surname* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 282.

5 According to Wiegand, 46, Lucky was baptized in Belgrade by local Baptists.

6 Löwen, 11. Moses Margoliuth was himself a Jewish convert from Suwalki, in Polish Galicia. He had lived in Britain since the 1830s, and became an Anglican minister and scholar. Between 1877 and 1881, he was the vicar of Buchinghamshire. He was author of several books, and had in the 1840s started *The Star of Jacob*, a Hebrew Christian monthly periodical. Cf. Joseph Jacobs, "Moses Margoliuth," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, http://JewishEncyclopedia.com [accessed June 25, 2009].

7 However, at this time he was still in Bukowina according to Wiegand, 49.

8 Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States," *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science* (1952): 255–67.

their authority among the masses.

As a young male Jewish immigrant in New York – in 1880 Lucky was 25–26 years old – he fit perfectly with the rest of the Jewish newcomers. The vast majority of them were young men, who would eventually ask their wives or girl-friends to join them. Lucky had no such relatives and was a bachelor his whole life. Very soon after his arrival in New York, Lucky came in touch with people that would become important friends and contacts for him later, particularly during his theological studies at Union Theological Seminary (UTS). Before he began at the seminary, and perhaps during his studies as well, Lucky made his living working in a cigarette factory as a day laborer. Before he left Germany, Lucky had visited Prof. Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig. Following Delitzsch's advice,[9] he went to the missionary Daniel Landsmann (d. May 13, 1896), who was stationed in the city. Landsmann, a Jewish Christian, was born in Belorussia and had written a couple of articles for the German Jewish mission periodical *Saat auf Hoffnung*. He had become a Christian in Jerusalem and was now working for the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod. Landsmann and his German wife had no children and were happy to meet Lucky, who just about moved in with them. The relationship between Landsmann and Lucky was never easy, though. In fact, their discussions about the national identity of Jewish Christians as well as Martin Luther could become so heated that Landsmann's German wife several times had to get between Lucky and her husband. Still, they continued to be friends for years,[10] and according to Löwen, Lucky always visited or stayed with them later when he was visiting New York.[11]

Lucky Goes to Union Theological Seminary

After some time in New York, Lucky also became friends with pastor H. Pohlmann of the Lutheran Independent Church. He was from Schlesvig-Holstein and had services for emigrants from Northern Germany in "Plattdeutsch." Lucky read the Hebrew Bible together with him, and Pohlmann let him preach in his church.[12] Pastor Pohlmann seems to have been one of those who encouraged Lucky to attend UTS, possibly for training as a missionary or for church ministry. In addition, one of Lucky's old Jewish friends from Bukowina, Russbaum, now was preparing himself for Christian min-

9 *The Sabbath Recorder* (1917): 206–08.

10 Löwen, 12. The Missouri Synod began its mission work to the Jews in New York in 1883, cf. Karl Pruter, *Jewish Christians in the United States: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1987), 48. For a short biography of Landsmann, see J. de le Roi: "Daniel Landsmann," *Der Messiasbote. Ein Nachrichtenblatt der Berliner Judenmission,* (1909): 52–56. Although de le Roi writes that the year for his arrival in New York was 1889, he nevertheless states that he began his work in New York in 1883. It is not clear how long he had been in New York before this, thus obscuring Löwen's story about the encounter between Landsmann and Lucky. From 1873, he had been employed as missionary for the London Jews Society, and thereafter for the Scottish Free Church in Constantinople.

11 For example, in the autumn of 1909, to renew his American citizenship. See *The Sabbath Recorder* (1909): 690.

12 Löwen, 12.

istry in the USA.[13] In the fall of 1882, Lucky began a three-year course in Christian theology at the seminary, which at the time was one of the two most important Presbyterian institutions in the country, together with Princeton. However, both before and after the formalization of the denominational relations between UTS and the Presbyterian Church, the institution operated quite independently and was open to students of other denominations. The relaxed practice of accepting students had, however, one limit at the time: Until 1906, every student had to be a member of a Christian church.[14] Consequently, as Lucky did not become a member of the Seventh Day Baptists (SDB) until 1885, he must have belonged to another denomination when he began his studies in 1882. As Löwen believes Lucky took the name Christian Theophilus in America, he assumes Lucky was baptized by Pohlmann,[15] and probably belonged to Pohlmann's Lutheran church. As Lucky was acquainted with neo-Orthodox Lutherans in Germany as well as in New York, I assume that if he was not baptized by Pohlmann, his baptism must have taken place before he came to New York (perhaps in Belgrade).

He assumes Lucky was baptized by Pohlmann, and probably belonged to Pohlmann's Lutheran church.

In one way Lucky was an unusual Galician immigrant, as he already had an academic education. Aside from his years at the rabbinic seminars at Breslau and Berlin in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and perhaps also the Hochschule für Judentum, he had studied at the university in Berlin between 1874 and 1877. However, a diploma from UTS would not only give him further insight into the Christian faith, it could also help him to gain American citizenship as long as it helped him find a job in a church. The troubles in Austria had closed the possibility of the young Pollak returning there, but under a new name and as an American citizen, the situation would change.

Union Theological Seminary

The UTS was established in 1836, as the second Presbyterian seminary after Princeton, mainly for college graduates.[16] In the 1880s, it was still not open to women, and when Lucky began at UTS in the fall of 1882, the seminary was located at 9 University Place in New York City. At his last year, in 1884, the institution moved to its new campus at 700 Park Avenue. At the beginning of the 1880s, the institution had become sizeable and famous, and most of the teachers had been educated in Germany or

13 Ibid., 8. According to Löwen, Russbaum's grandfather was a central figure in the court of the Hasidic dynasty in Sadogara. Russbaum, who had immigrated some years before Lucky, had become a Christian shortly after his arrival and had since encouraged Lucky to follow him both practically and spiritually.

14 Robert T. Handy, *A History of Union Theological Seminary in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 112.

15 Löwen, 13.

16 Handy, 3, 14.

other places in Europe. The curriculum for the three years at Union was largely a prescribed one, and included studies in Greek and Hebrew. The classes varied between traditional European carefully prepared lectures and the method of questioning classes. Lectures were held at 11:00, 15:00, and 16:00. Once-a-week, voluntary classes were held in different oriental languages like Arabic, Assyrian, biblical Aramaic, Chaldee, and Syriac, and later Lucky's friends would describe him as exceptionally skilled in several of these languages.[17] (He had already learned Greek and Latin in Breslau and Berlin.) The academic year was divided into two semesters, with one-week periods at the end of each semester devoted to oral exams in class. Most students maintained their work for their churches and missions. Participation at prayer was mandatory and monitored. Although not large by today's standards, the student body was substantial. The enrollment in the regular three-year theological course between 1871 and 1891 averaged 126.8, and although the majority of the students were Presbyterians and Congregationalists, Lucky probably met representatives from most Protestant denominations there. However, although the student body was interdenominational, the lecturers had to belong to the Presbyterian Church.

One of the most famous teachers was Phillip Schaff (1819–1893), the Swiss church historian who taught sacred literature at the time. Although a moderate Calvinist himself, he was known for his ecumenical sympathies. Church history was taught by Professor Roswell D. Hitchcock, whose lectures Lucky seems to have followed with interest. Other teachers were T. S. Hastings in sacred rhetoric, and F. Brown in biblical philology. While G. L. Prentiss taught pastoral theology and mission work, C. A. Briggs, who has become the most famous teacher from Union in that period, was at the time responsible for the Hebrew classes. Already in the mid-1880s, Briggs had become a controversial figure among the Presbyterians for his modern views on theology. Due to his use of historical-critical methods, he was tried for heresy in the Presbyterian Church in 1891–1893, which caused a split between the church body and the seminary. At the time Lucky was at UTS, Briggs represented the seminary in the joint periodical with Princeton. As Princeton at that time represented a much more traditional view of the methods used for biblical and theological research than Briggs did, much attention was given to the question of biblical interpretation. On the latter topic, the issues revealed marked differences between the two Presbyterian institutions, as Briggs rejected the dogma of verbal inspiration and the theory of original biblical autographs. In 1888, the project came to an end due to the cooperation problems.[18]

The controversy around Briggs was, of course, noticed among the students, but as far as I know it was never mentioned explicitly either by Lucky himself or his friends from the seminary. However, *The Peculiar People* would later express skepticism toward modern ideas concerning Old Testament theology and never seems to have identified itself with modern

17 *The Sabbath Recorder* (1909): 690; and (1917): 196–97.
18 Handy, 58.

theology.[19] In fact, during his studies at the rabbinic seminary and the university in Berlin (and perhaps also the Hochschule für Judentum) during the 1870s, Lucky had already been deeply involved in the modern debate about the possibility of divine revelation and its consequences for the Torah.[20]

Lucky – A Seventh Day Baptist?

Around 1900, Lucky cooperated with the Swiss professor and Methodist preacher Ernst Ferdinand Ströter to establish a Jewish Christian colony in Palestine.[21] It is possible that they met in New York, as Ströter in the 1880s cooperated with Arno Gaebelein's New York–based Hope of Israel.[22] However, Lucky's relations to the SDB were the most significant for him in New York.

As mentioned, the sources describe the events so differently that they almost don't seem to describe the same character. One of these events is Lucky's baptism, which we have just looked at. Another obscurity is Lucky's church membership after his graduation from UTS: Did he belong to a Lutheran church or an SDB church – or both?

After three years at the seminary, on May 1, 1885, Lucky had his final exam and obtained a graduate diploma, which was the standard qualification from UTS. A couple of months later, on August 16, he was ordained

19 *The Peculiar People* (1888–1889): 67.

20 Wiegand, 44.

21 Gisle Johnson, "Vor missions kontakt med Lucky," *Missionsblad for Israel* (1923): 249; and J. Fauerholdt, "Die Ströterische Richtung in der Judenmission," *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1906): 92–99.

22 See also Yaakov Ariel, *Evangelizing the Chosen People: Missions to the Jews in America, 1880–2000* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 23. Cf. also Louis Meyer, "Protestant Missions to Jews," in *Jahrbuch der evangelischen Judenmission* [Yearbook of the Evangelical Missions among the Jews], vol. 1, ed. Hermann L. Strack (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 115. Professor Ströter – or Stroeter – founded "The Hope of Israel Mission" in 1892, together with Rev. A. C. Gaebelein in New York. After a conflict about the doctrines to be preached, they split. Ernst Ferdinand Ströter (born May 31, 1846, in Barmen, died August 29, 1922, in Zürich) was a dispensationalist in the late 1800s, and was very active in the "prophecy conference movement in America," and in that movement in America and Germany. Between 1865 and1869, he studied evangelical theology in Bonn, Tübingen, and Berlin. Later he joined the Methodist Church and immigrated to the USA in 1869. Due to his academic skills and personality, he was offered a position as professor in historical and practical theology at the Central Wesleyan College in Warrenton, Missouri. After six years he got another position in theology at the University of Denver, Colorado. In 1894, he quit his academic career and began working for the Jewish mission in the USA. In 1899, he returned to Germany and Eastern Europe to work for the mission there. He traveled much in Russia (thirteen visits), and at least three times he went to Palestine. In 1911 and 1912, he was in South Africa. In 1907, he began publishing the periodical *Das Prophetische Wort*; after his death it was continued by Heinrich Schaedel until 1937. Ströter was an independent theologian and sparked much debate. When he in 1915 publicly supported the doctrine of universal salvation, he lost much support from old sympathizers. However, according to Karl Barth, Ströter's exegesis in *Die Judenfrage und ihre göttliche Lösung, Römer 11* (1903) was "in spite of significant mistakes useful to read" ("trotz ihrer kräftigen Irrtümer nützlich zu lesen sei"; quotation from Karl Barth, *Kirchlicher Dogmatik* II, 2, 294, unknown version; http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s4/stroeter_e_f.shtml [accessed June 25, 2009]).

by the Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church in New York City by Pohlmann. He was then thirty years old.[23]

However, Lucky did not work as a pastor. According to Löwen and Wiegand, Lucky only wanted this title to get American citizenship, which was very important for him.[24] Löwen claims that Lucky had no intention at all of working for either the church or the mission societies.[25] However, this contradicts both de le Roi and the SDB sources: According to de le Roi, Lucky had become a member of the SDB and worked as a missionary for them to the Jews in Strychance, Austria, from 1885 to 1886, and to the Jews in New York City from 1886 to 1889. J. de le Roi claims he went to Galicia after being ordained by Pohlmann.[26] At this point I would usually assume the SDB[27] source is most reliable, as it describes a period shortly after Lucky became their member. Here it is said it was on October 1, 1886, that he began his work in New York under the SDB Missionary Society, a ministry that lasted until 1889. However, it is possible that Lucky was in Austria on behalf of Pohlmann's congregation between 1885 and 1886, before he began in New York. However, what is most strange is that according to the SDB articles as well as de le Roi, Lucky had become a member of the SDB shortly before he was ordained in the Lutheran congregation, and none of them seem to be bothered by it!

Lucky's relationship with the SDB was established during his studies at UTS. At the seminary, Lucky became acquainted with some SDB students who would later become significant leaders of their church, such as Rev. Ira Lee Cottrell, Rev. Earl Saunders, and later Professor and Church President William C. Daland. Daland was a Baptist who became an SDB at UTS, and would later be Lucky's editorial partner for years to come.[28]

Lucky's fascination with this little church is not difficult to understand . . . he probably felt relieved that he had come across Gentiles who celebrated Sabbath.

Löwen claims that Lucky preferred small and idealistic Christian fellowships, and therefore SDB was very interesting for him. He got along particularly well with Daland. Lucky's fascination with this little church is not difficult to understand. He was used to Jewish Christians who celebrated Sundays, and he probably felt relieved that he had come across Gentiles who celebrated the Sabbath. He attended SDB services in New York, and having sought membership for some time, was admitted to the SDB on February 14, 1885.[29] According to Löwen, Lucky must have been baptized in front of witnesses

23 *The Sabbath Recorder* (1917): 206–08; and Johannes F. A. de le Roi, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Judenmission seit Entstehung des neueren Judentums* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), 2:388.
24 Löwen, 15; Wiegand, 53.
25 Löwen, 15.
26 de le Roi, 388.
27 *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 381.
28 "Christian Theophilus Lucky," *Seventh Day Baptist Yearbook* (1917): 22–23.
29 Ibid.

from SDB before he could be ordained in their church.[30] Löwen seems to think that the SDB congregations would regard Lucky's previous baptism, whether it was in a Lutheran context or not, as alien and invalid. This, however, does not have to be the case. There are certainly examples of Baptist congregations demanding that new members be baptized in their particular context, but this phenomenon seems to have been marginal. Within the traditional Baptist decentralized church structure, these decisions would usually be a matter for the local congregations, and it is therefore difficult to verify or falsify Löwen's statement.[31]

However, the picture of Lucky's relation to the SDB and the Lutheran church in the sources gives us some problems. According to the 1917 *SDB Yearbook* (see footnote 30), Lucky was ordained both as an SDB member in February and as a Lutheran minister in August 1885. Apparently, the *Yearbook* editor did not see any difficulties in this paradox. The Lutheran congregation also seems to have been Lucky's link to the Lutheran and German Jewish mission circles, as according to SDB he was highly respected there. This helped him to be accepted in other places as well as within SDB.[32] In addition, Delitzsch had given Lucky his personal recommenda-

30 Löwen, 15. Löwen uses the phrase "es ist kein zweifel etc."

31 Adding the available information about Lucky's baptism from Wiegand, Weidauer, and Löwen, he was first baptized in Belgrade, then by Pohlmann, and finally by the Seventh Day Baptists. This is of course possible. The Norwegian missionary in Budapest Gisle Johnson on one occasion describes the consequent spiritual understanding of baptism by one of Lucky's followers. Cf. Laszló G. Terray, *Et liv i grenseland. Gisle Johnson 1870–1946: Et liv for Israel i Romania og Ungarn* (Oslo**:** Lunde Forlag, 2003), 121, 170. Max Weidauer, "Erinnerungen an Ch.Th. Lucky," *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1923): 22–23, confirms this impression. However, I find it not very probable that so many of Lucky's Lutheran and Baptist friends would accept such "serial baptism," not to mention his opponents like de le Roi or David Baron (cf. David Baron, "Messianic Judaism; or Judaizing Christianity," *The Scattered Nation* [1911]: 424), or at least leave it without any comments. I am inclined to believe that Lucky left this information in the dark on purpose, something which is commented on by several of the sources: Löwen, 13; Wiegand, 46; and Weidauer, 22–23. In other words, he either left out this information for i.e. Pohlmann, or he quite simply made up some of the stories. In any case, both Weidauer and Löwen admit that they do not know for certain.

32 There are hints that parts of the SDB seem to have had problems with trusting Lucky in the beginning, reportedly due to bad experiences with former Jewish baptism candidates/Jewish believers, see e.g. *The Sabbath Recorder* (1890): 409. The need to confirm Lucky's integrity seems sometimes to have been an issue, as SDB underlines both his reputation among the German Lutherans as well as how long he was tested before he was accepted as an SDB member in 1885. In addition, there are strange notions about his strict personal hygienic standard (e.g. Weidauer, 167). The reason for this is probably to be found in the average attitude towards Jews in general and particularly baptized Jews. The fact that many Jews who were baptized seemed not to fulfill general expectations about their later way of life was probably a painful disappointment in many mission circles, and some seem to have been eager to present Lucky as an exception. See also Ariel, 27. Several other of the sources comment upon the fact that although Lucky was poor, he was very concerned about his personal hygiene. This can of course reflect the biases about Jews in general found among many Europeans, but according to Guttry the unhygienic conditions among poor Jews in Galicia was characteristic of Galician Jewry in general: "One of the characteristics of Galician Jewry is the complete lack of hygiene and order" (Aleksander von Guttry, *Galizien: Land und Leute* [München: Georg Müller, 1916], 96). That Lucky paid much attention to hygiene could therefore perhaps be an attempt to correct this image of Jews, particularly Jews from Galicia, as well as something characteristic about himself.

tion.[33] As Lucky apparently had studied under him (which none of the European sources say anything about), he was held in high esteem by the Independent Evangelical Lutheran church of New York City,[34] and this was used as an argument for accepting him in SDB as well. For the leadership of the SDB church, Lucky must have been a very interesting character. Lucky had an exceptional memory and a network in Jewish missions due to his travels. He read and spoke several Slavic languages, French, German, English, and later Dutch (in addition to Latin and the biblical and oriental languages from UTS), which must have been tempting to use for mission efforts. It is also possible that the church found Lucky's network among the Lutherans useful for its contacts with other Protestant churches.

Lucky apparently did not only belong to two different denominations, but was ordained in one of them as well. One doesn't have to be a traditionalist with an interest in details about church doctrine to find this confusing. First of all, theological topics like baptism and observation of the Sabbath or Sunday would most probably make any combination like this impossible, especially in light of the general polemic atmosphere against most traditional churches one finds in SDB's writings from the period (the same denominational attitude can be found in some Orthodox Lutheran writings as well, for instance in the Missouri Synod or among Norwegian immigrants in the USA). What makes it even stranger is that nowhere can there be found any discussion of Lucky's peculiar denominational position. Naturally, SDB and Lutheran sources tend to emphasize their own connection with Lucky, but usually his connection to the other camp is also referred too. In the SDB sources, Lucky and *Eduth l'Israel*'s connection to Delitzsch seems in fact to have been highly valued indeed, while for de le Roi, one of Lucky's strongest critics when discussing mission strategy, his position in SDB is not regarded as a problem, at least not explicitly.[35]

In other words, Lucky's status in regard to his church membership – whether in the Lutheran church, where he gained his ordination and thereby an American passport, or in the SDB, which seems to have supported him the rest of his life – remains obscure. One must wonder whether this is how Lucky wanted it.

Eduth l'Israel and *The Peculiar People*

While details like Lucky's baptism and church membership seem to be sailing around in the fog, not much is obscure when it comes to Lucky's two journals. In fact, determination seems to be the key word. According to SDB, when he came to New York, Lucky had a wish to establish pure Hebrew Christian congregations. However, during his years in the USA, we find no traces of any concrete attempt to do so. Instead Lucky worked

33 Löwen, 11.

34 *The Sabbath Recorder* (1917): 206–08.

35 H. Friedländer (= Friedlander) and Lucky had done much harm to Christian mission work among the Jews, according to de le Roi, 389.

to fulfill a wish he had had since he became a believer: He wanted to establish a journal in Hebrew for his views on the relationship between the Jewish people and Jesus. So far he had never had the money to fulfill this aspiration, and neither had he belonged to any church where there was money available – not until he met Rev. Daland and SDB. Two years after Lucky joined the SDB, in September 1887, he and Daland sent out a prospect about the planned journal in Hebrew.[36] Here it became known that the American Sabbath Tract Society of the Seventh Day Baptists had been working on plans for a Hebrew journal the whole year Lucky had been working with SDB. It was the Tract Society that later brought in the press and the Hebrew type, and which had the responsibility for the journal until the Berlin Society took over in 1889. Reports from the SDB in the 1890s say that although the Society had no Jewish mission work, it supported Lucky with money, for instance with 100 dollars in 1891.[37]

Around 1887, Lucky had convinced the leadership of the SDB church and the Tract Society to establish *two* periodicals: One in English aimed at Christian readers, which could make them aware of the mistakes of Christian mission work among the Jewish people, and one in Hebrew aimed at Jewish readers to establish a stronghold for Jewish Christianity. The press was established in the little town of Alfred Centre, New York,[38] and the first issues of *Eduth l'Israel* were published starting in September 1888.[39] The English paper was started at the same address in April 1888, under the name *The Peculiar People*.[40] While Lucky himself was editor of *Eduth l'Israel*, *The Peculiar People* was edited by the Jewish Zevi Hermann Friedlander in cooperation with Joseph Landow.[41] However, it is clear from the beginning that *The Peculiar People* strongly identified itself with *Eduth l'Israel* and its editor.

From the beginning of 1888 to his death in November the same year, Rev. Friedlander edited *The Peculiar People* weekly, assisted by Lucky. In the first issues, Friedlander tried to establish a profile of the magazine as well as defend it from attacks. Particularly, he discussed his ambivalence

36 Löwen, 14.

37 *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 391.

38 Alfred is today a village located in the town of Alfred in Allegany County in the state of New York. At that time it was called Alfred Centre (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_(village),_New_York [accessed June 25, 2008]). According to what I read from the SDB sources, it seems that the SDB congregation in the village was one of significance for a long time, with several educational institutions belonging to the church.

39 *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 1338.

40 Ibid.

41 According to *The Peculiar People* (1889): 68, H. Friedlander (1830–1888) was born to a Jewish family in Schneidemuehl, and became a Christian in 1852. In 1863, he became a missionary for the London Jews Society. He worked for several years in Jerusalem, and founded the Artuf Colony between Jerusalem and Jaffa. On July 6, 1886, he was compelled to resign from the London Jews Society, and thereafter he had problems supporting himself and his family. According to *The Peculiar People* (1889): 61, Joseph Landow was born in 1859 in Galicia, a descendent of Rabbi Ezekiel Landow in Prague, and grew up within strictly orthodox Hasidism. In 1886, he met a Jewish Christian in Czernowitz, Bukowina, who preached the gospel to him. He went to the USA to assist with *Eduth l'Israel* and was ordained to ministry in SDB in April 1888.

to the accusation of it being a conversionist and missionary paper. As for the first, he claimed that all papers seek to "convert" their readers to their own agenda. He admitted that in this way there was a missionary purpose to the journal, but not in what he called "the evil way," that is to deceive Jews into becoming Christians in order to get paid as missionary agents. *The Peculiar People* was accused by Christian readers of not supporting the Christian mission, and not even having its own mission work. To this Friedlander's answer was that he didn't want to tell about their own mission work, as they didn't meet those "model foes who succumb to the power of our persuasion. Our stories have all no symmetrical endings – they break off at the wrong point." *The Peculiar People* instead wanted the Christian press to report about mission failures.[42] How exactly *The Peculiar People* was financed is not very clear. From its own columns, it is clear that due to the lack of subscribers the periodical suffered from a lack of money. Friedlander claimed that they could not make a Yiddish version of *The Peculiar People* until they had 1,200 subscribers for the English version. Friedlander claimed there was no rich syndicate behind them and as the editor he would neither hand out copies for free nor take advertisements. Consequently, the journal was totally dependent on subscribers.[43] This was apparently the case for *Edut l'Israel* as well. Friedlander complained that *Eduth* suffered from a lack of support from Jewish-Christians. According to Friedlander, this comparison tells much about the real situation of how many Jews became Christians compared to the mission statistics. These have been "strangely apathetic."[44] In the beginning, Lucky and the Tract Society had been promised to inherit a fortune from SDB members, Mr. Delos C. Burdick and Mrs. Hanna Burdick. This, however, never happened as it was prevented by the court.[45] *Eduth l'Israel* represented a very foreign system of thought even in mission circles, which did not give it much financial support. From its beginning the content of *Eduth l'Israel* was articles with interpretation of the festivals, defense of the Christian faith against Jewish accusations, Jewish poetry, historical studies of traces of Christianity in the synagogue, and obituaries.

He admitted that in this way there was a missionary purpose to the journal, but not in what he called "the evil way."

While *The Peculiar People* began as a weekly journal, *Eduth l'Israel* was intended to be a monthly journal. For the latter, publication would later become irregular. During the first year (1888), twelve editions came out

42 *The Peculiar People* (1888–1889): 112.

43 Ibid., (1888): 71.

44 Ibid.

45 *The Sabbath Recorder* (1917): 206–08. According to the number of occurrences in both volumes of *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America,* Burdick seems to have been a central family name within the SDB church, as there are a number of references to pastors, teachers, and lay workers with the same surname. As late as 1911, Lucky still thought it would be possible to get this money. He was then trying to establish another periodical in cooperation with Philip (or Philipp) Cohen in Johannesburg: *The Messianic Jew.* See *The Sabbath Recorder* (1911): 267 (Letter to Pastor Edwin Shaw).

from Alfred Centre with the support of the American Sabbath Tract Society. Still, at the beginning of 1889, the journals and Lucky himself met serious problems: Both Friedlander and Landow had died. Friedlander's health gradually got worse when he came to New York due to exhaustion and lack of paid work(!). Löwen seems to suggest that SDB's responsibility was for the press itself and the publications, while Friedlander and his family had to live by the success of the journal. However, this is not expressed explicitly. If this is correct, it would explain why the journal later restarted as a monthly journal with an SDB pastor as the editor. As such, the pastor would be able to live on his ordinary church salary. From the beginning it seems that *Eduth* was aimed at European as well as American Jews. In 1888, Landow had gone to Galicia as a missionary for the SDB to promote *Eduth* among European Jews, and according to *The Peculiar People*, Landow is said to have distributed both New Testaments and *Eduth* with much blessing. However, Landow died in Rumania in January 1889.[46] These events led to an abrupt halt in the publication of both journals. On June 29, 1889,[47] the same year Lucky's pamphlet "Passover Events" was published by the SDB,[48] Lucky returned to Eastern Europe and Galicia. After Lucky's return to Europe, he managed to re-establish *Edut l'Israel* in Lemberg/Lvov. In New York, Daland continued the publication of *The Peculiar People* from April 1889 until 1898. In 1894, Rev. S. S. Powell and Prof. W. C. Withford were added to the editorial staff.[49]

The Return to Europe

As with his arrival in America, the reasons for Lucky's return to Europe are similarly complex. In some of the sources, it is explained as an attempt to save *Eduth* after the death of Landow, while according to Wiegand it was due to the enthusiasm caused by the work and writings of Joseph Rabinowitz and Isaac Lichtenstein, and in particular an invitation from Wilhelm Faber in Leipzig.[50] In addition, Lucky seems to have been very eager to convince certain mission societies to change their mission strategy, which he apparently was able to do in Leipzig.[51]

Still, one question remains: Why did he leave everything that was built up in Alfred, only to do it all over again in Europe? Indeed, the SDB church had no use for the expensive equipment to print a Hebrew journal and had to get rid of it. Another possible explanation can be found in the narrative by Löwen, who tells that at the time *Eduth l'Israel* was established, a small group of young Jesus-believing Jewish men settled in Alfred Centre. Löwen does not say what they were supposed to do, but probably they

46 *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 386.
47 *The Sabbath Recorder* (1889): 652.
48 *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, 1339.
49 Ibid., 1338.
50 Wiegand, 53.
51 Letters from Franz Delitzsch, William [= Wilhelm] Faber, and Johannes Müller in *The Sabbath Recorder* (1890): 409.

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were sympathizers who wanted to stay with Lucky. Already in his years in Bukowina and Galicia, Lucky had assembled small groups of adherents, although Löwen and Wiegand disagree on whether these groups had a Christian foundation or not.[52] After all, Lucky was registered as an SDB missionary at the time. The plans for them apparently changed after a while, as the whole group left Alfred, and three of them, named Reuter, Karmen, and Japhe, returned to Galicia.[53] According to Löwen, Lucky actually sent them back so they "were not to be totally gentilized," in other words, to avoid their being assimilated into their non-Jewish surroundings. This fear was perhaps in relation to intermarriage, as according to Ariel, many of the Jewish male immigrants married non-Jewish women and settled in non-Jewish areas.[54] One of them, Reuter, from Lucky's home-town Tysmenica, later met Löwen in Berlin. "Crying like a child," Reuter was complaining of how Lucky forced him and the others to stay in the synagogue and the Jewish community, which, according to Löwen, Reuter feared would lead him away from the Christian faith.[55] Nothing is said about what later happened to these men. Lucky seems to have feared the cultural effect of the assimilation process on Jewish Christians in America, a fear that he probably shared with Joseph Rabinowitz, who after his visit to the USA about the same time strongly warned Jews against immigration.[56] It is, therefore, possible that Lucky believed that *Eduth l'Israel* would need a traditional Jewish context, with readers familiar with Jewish tradition, to acheive its purpose, and therefore sought to place it in Eastern Europe.

52 Wiegand, 49, describes them as something close to Bible study groups, while Löwen, 7, describes them as groups of students discussing Max Stirner and anarchism.

53 Löwen page only mentions these three names, without identifying them in any more detail.

54 Ariel, 45.

55 Löwen, 16. Löwen obviously felt this story was a parallel to the personal relationship between himself and Lucky, where Löwen felt Lucky overruled his (Jewish) sympathizers and their views. For my study it is also interesting to see that Lucky felt the American culture was a threat to Jewish identity, an aspect I cannot discuss here.

56 Kai Kjær-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement: The Herzl of Jewish Christianity* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, Ltd.; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 176.

On Lucky's Whereabouts in 1885–1886

by **Kai Kjær-Hansen**

In his article "Lucky in America," Raymond Lillevik has touched on the question of whether Lucky served as a missionary in Eastern Europe sometime in the mid-1880s. Without arriving at a final decision, he writes: "However, it is possible that Lucky was in Austria on behalf of Pohlmann's congregations between 1885 and 1886. . . ." In this article, I am going to produce some sources which, to my mind, unambiguously confirm this assumption.[1]

The material is found in a booklet about Jewish mission ministries at that time in New York, published in 1887 by R. Andersen, the Danish immigration pastor in New York.[2] He completed his manuscript in November 1886. In the chapter "Pastor H. Pohlmann's Israel Mission,"[3] Andersen has a long extract from an article by Pohlmann, published in *Der Freund Israels*, no. 9, 1886.[4] In this article, Pohlmann also incorporates some notices from Wilhelm Faber in Leipzig, dated May 15, 1886, in which the German theological candidate von Velsen tells of Lucky's work in Galicia. About von Velsen, it is said that he "for a long period of time" traveled with Lucky in Galicia.[5] In other words, the sources are quite close to the events. This does not mean, of course, that they cannot be subjected to critical questions. What, for example, is meant by the phrase "for a long period of time"?[6]

1 After my editorial work on Raymond Lillevik's article in June 2009, I happened to find the source in question while working in the archives of the Danish Israel Mission. Since Lillevik's article had already been prepared for printing, I have chosen to write about it in the present short article.

2 R. Andersen, *Israelsmissionen i New-York. Historisk fremstillet* (Copenhagen: Chr. Christiansen, "Bethesda," 1887).

3 Andersen, 70–75.

4 From 1880, edited by the Jewish-born Lutheran pastor P. Werder, who became a missionary to the Jews in Baltimore in 1882, for the Lutheran Zion Society for Israel; cf. Andersen, 76. It has not been possible for me to consult Pohlmann's article in German, and I wonder if Andersen reproduces Pohlmann's article *in toto.*

5 The source in question is referred to as "Private Mittheilungen aus Leipzig an die uns verbundenen Freunde der Mission unter Israel von Wm. Faber, evang. luth. Missionär unter den Juden, Leipzig. Rossstr. 16," dated May 15, 1886. It has not been possible for me to see these notices in German. The said von Velsen is identical with F. von Velsen, cf. *Nathanael* (1911): 120. In 1911, he supported Waldmann and Lucky's declaration; see the article about this in this issue of *Mishkan.*

6 In *Saat auf Hofnung* (1886): 220, it is, e.g., mentioned that Friedr. von Velsen, on behalf

Lucky's Road to Becoming a Missionary

Pohlmann begins by mentioning that he "found" Lucky "7 years ago," which is another piece of circumstantial evidence for the accuracy of Lillevik's supposition that Lucky came to America in 1879 or 1880. After they had prayed together – the place for this is not mentioned – Lucky asked Pohlmann where his church was.[7] "By God's grace," as Pohlmann puts it, he soon became aware of Lucky's capability and managed to have him admitted at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

During his studies, Lucky was characterized by Pohlmann as a faithful member "of our church, a faithful worker in our Sunday school, and faithful in his perseverance." He fought with doubts, had hardly had the bare necessities, and his brethren "according to the flesh" persecuted him. But he held on and worked toward the goal of serving the Lord. Before concluding his studies in May 1885, he had, together with others, formed "The Hebrew Publishing Society,"[8] and Lucky was going to be editor of *Eduth l'Israel*. Due to a shortage of funds, it was not possible to start with this right away. "Yet again my dear Saviour gave me a hint," Pohlmann writes. He shows Lucky a "cry for help" in a Christian magazine: "More workers among the Israelites in southern Russia were needed." Lucky "clearly understood the hint," Pohlmann writes. In the "closet" they gain certainty through prayer: They decide to initiate a mission in southern Russia or "wherever the Lord might lead, and they were not to stand idle in the marketplace long."

Lucky was characterized by Pohlmann as a faithful member "of our church, a faithful worker in our Sunday school, and faithful in his perseverance."

Lucky was ordained on August 15, 1885, by Pohlmann. Ordained to what? Not primarily to be a pastor in New York, but to be a pastor and missionary to Jews in Eastern Europe! "The day of ordination and dispatch for our missionary – August 16, 1885, in Bethanien Church – was a day of rejoicing for all," Pohlmann writes. Note Pohlmann's phrase "our missionary": Lucky is sent out by and paid by the group around Pohlmann.

Lucky as a Missionary in Galicia

The phrase "day of dispatch" shows that Lucky left New York immediately after his ordination on August 16, 1885. After three failed attempts to sta-

of the Berlin Society and together with the "Rev. Theodor Lucky," has made a *short* but blessed missionary journey through the Carpathians.

7 Pohlmann held his Lutheran services in the Methodist "Wesley Chapel" at 87 Attorney Street; at the door was this sign: "Evangelisch-lutherische Bethanien Kirche." Pohlmann himself, who was a widower, lived next to the church in no. 85. His vestments differed from those of other German pastors in New York in that he would wear the Danish pastors' ruff; cf. Andersen, 70, 74.

8 In the spring of 1885, this society published "Prospectus of the Hebrew Publishing Society," cf. *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1888): 59. It was translated into German and published in *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1886): 43–47.

tion Lucky in southern Russia, "the Lord called him to his mother country, Galicia," Pohlmann writes. He arrived there some time before Christmas 1885, and he mainly worked in Czernowitz, Strychance, and Karolowka. Although he works "quietly," Jews soon become aware of the "renegade." Pohlmann notes with satisfaction: "However quietly he worked, people soon became aware of it, for a light cannot and must not remain hidden." Already at Christmas 1885, "a whole family were baptized in the presence of many Jews." Through his sickbed, another Jew in Strychance had been "led into the sunshine of saving grace." Pohlmann continues:

> Once our worker sent us very depressing news, but later came a closely written letter, confident and warm, with a list of what Lucky terms "the elite troops," among them no fewer than four rabbis. One of them had gone 13 German miles on foot in order to talk to the "renegade," who made so many people lapse; and what happened was that he himself became a "renegade," left the superstition and unbelief and turned to the true faith.
>
> Two of these gentlemen, Dr Russbaum and Dr Taubes, were recently baptized in London, on which occasion there was a great celebration in the West End of London. May the Lord make them faithful workers in his vineyard.[9]

Referring to reports from Lucky, Pohlmann maintains that Russbaum and Taubes both left everything for Jesus' sake: "Dr Taubes has left his Jewish-noble family, house and estate, indeed even his wife and a fortune of 40,000 guilders, in order to serve his Lord in poverty." It is furthermore said that among the first baptized Jews are "Mr M.W. and Miss M.G.," who have also left everything and "are now here in New York, where they often come to the Lord's house."

Pohlmann goes on: "When Lucky sent me the report about the celebration in London, he also wrote that he again had 12 Jews to be prepared for baptism. Right now he is going back to London and then to New York and, God willing, back to the hard work in Galicia." The words can be construed as if Lucky was first in London in connection with Russbaum's and Taubes' baptisms, then returned to Galicia, after which he went to London again – maybe in connection with further baptisms of Jews – and then on to New York.

The passage quoted from F. von Velsen mentions both openness and opposition to the gospel. Some Jews "have waylaid Lucky outside the town, assaulted and beaten him so that for a long time he was unable to use his left arm." It is also said that the laws of the country and two

Some Jews "have waylaid Lucky outside the town, assaulted and beaten him so that for a long time he was unable to use his left arm."

9 I dare not speculate on which denomination or mission society Lucky attached himself to in the West End of London.

groups of adversaries, Jews and Roman Catholics, have prevented Lucky from "establishing a station and a congregation." The work proper is "to save souls and spread light, and once many have been won, the formation of a congregation will go of itself." And then it comes: "Until that time, the majority must be referred to go where they can publicly confess their Saviour of the world" – meaning leave Eastern Europe and go to the western world. I am inclined to think that Lucky *at this time* would have agreed with this.

Lucky Immediately After His Return to New York

Andersen claims that Lucky came to New York together with Taubes. But when? No precise date is mentioned, but it must be before Yom Kippur in 1886. (In 1886, Tishri 10 fell on October 9.)

In other words, according to Pohlmann and Andersen, Lucky was not in New York during the period from about mid-August 1885 to sometime before Yom Kippur 1886.

According to Andersen, Lucky and Taubes[10] worked with Pohlmann after their arrival in New York. Saturday afternoon they spoke in the church on Attorney Street, and on Sunday Taubes tried to speak in various churches. This created a stir, and he was attacked in the Jewish press, especially the *Jüdische Zeitung*. P. Werber was in New York in connection with Yom Kippur 1886, and assisted with the meetings held by Landsmann[11] and Pohlmann. Exactly what happened is not mentioned by Andersen, but he makes it clear that the connection between Pohlmann and Taubes was interrupted after Yom Kippur.[12]

The last thing Andersen writes about Lucky is that after Yom Kippur he continued his cooperation with Pohlmann and tried to publish a "Christian-Hebrew magazine; so far he has not succeeded. If it is to be through the Jewish mission in New York, through speaking or through work for Israel somewhere else, has not yet been decided. May the Lord also lead that so that it will be to his glory." Perhaps Andersen was not fully up-to-date about Lucky's whereabouts in New York in October 1886, and his affiliation with the Seventh Day Baptists – a question which Raymond Lillevik discusses in his article.

10 Andersen, 73, calls him "Dr Joseph Paulus Becker Taubes," the son of the chief rabbi in Romania who served as a rabbi at a synagogue in Chernowitz; he was twenty-seven years old and abandoned a considerable fortune when he came to faith in Jesus. The copy that I have in my hands has a pencil-written note added: "a fraud." An earlier reader seems to know more about Taubes' later career than I do.

11 About Daniel Landsmann, see R. Lillevik's article "Lucky in America."

12 Andersen suggests that the young Taubes, who was "yet young in Christianity," perhaps ought to have prepared himself better for the pastor's service rather than immediately appear in public. And he continues: "There are many renunciations for the proselyte but there are also many dangers and temptations that the new convert may succumb to." I wonder if Taubes succumbed to such a temptation.

Lucky Did What He Later Fought Against

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Andersen's booklet thus fills out a gap in our knowledge about Lucky's whereabouts in 1885–1886. But more important than this is the picture Pohlmann draws in his article of Lucky as a missionary. The prevailing view that Lucky was *never* employed in the service of the Jewish mission has now been dealt a severe blow.

If there is just a grain of truth in Pohlmann's description, the following may be said: Lucky was an emissary – albeit only for a short period – of a Jewish mission society. As such he was a paid missionary. He was involved in direct missionary work among Jews in Galicia. Jews who came to faith in Jesus were led to baptism, sometimes publicly in Galicia, at other times in London. He shares the responsibility for baptized Jews leaving their environment in Galicia to go to America.[13]

On the basis of these sources, it is tempting to conclude that in 1885–1886 in Galicia, Lucky did those things which, on his return from America to Galicia in 1889, he fought against!

The factors and individuals in America that caused Lucky's "conversion" – from direct Jewish mission to indirect mission and from being a paid missionary to the Jews to opposing paid missionaries – have not yet been identified. This question is worth closer scrutiny.

13 Cf. R. Lillevik's reflections on this at the end of his article "Lucky in America," in this issue of *Mishkan.*

CHAIM YEDIDIAH POLLAK – CALLED LUCKY

Lucky and the Leipzig Program

by **Kai Kjær-Hansen**

Having lived in America during most of the 1880s, Lucky is back in Europe in the summer of 1889, where he immediately takes up his "mission work" – but not as in 1885–1886 with "direct" mission among his brethren according to the flesh in Galicia, as we saw in the previous article. Now he is focused mainly on "mission" among the Christian candidates educated at the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig, pleading for "indirect" mission to Jews through diaspora mission – i.e. through the building of living evangelical congregations in predominantly Catholic Eastern Europe. At the same time, he is working for a new beginning for the Hebrew journal *Eduth l'Israel* in Galicia. But this cannot be done without money – an embarrassing issue for Lucky.[1]

Lucky, Wiegand, and Zöckler

In the autumn of 1889, Lucky is on a journey with Johannes Müller, mission secretary of the Leipzig-based Jewish mission "The German Central Agency." The journey takes them to Kishinev – Joseph Rabinowitz's town.[2] Here they met August Wiegand and Max Meissner, who in connection with their stay at the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig had also chosen Kishinev as the object of their study tour. In Kishinev Lucky introduces his program to Wiegand, and the two go back to Stanislau, where plans are made for Wiegand's future work. Having concluded his studies in Leipzig, he is to return to Stanislau and engage in "indirect" Jewish mission through diaspora ministry.[3]

And that is what happened. In April 1890, Wiegand is back in Stanislau, engaged by the Danish Israel Mission. The stay is a short one. Wiegand persuades his friend Theodor Zöckler to fill in for him in the spring of 1891,[4]

1 About this and about how Lucky got money to live on, see my "Controversy about Lucky" in this issue of *Mishkan*.

2 Cf. *Le Réveil d'Israel* (1889): 174.

3 Cf. Lillie Zöckler, *Gott Hört Gebet. Das Leben Theodor Zöckler* (Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag, 1951), 10–18.

4 Wiegand had shared lodgings with Lucky in Stanislau, and Zöckler does the same. Cf. Lillie Zöckler, 14–15, 18.

and from the beginning of 1892, after his exams, Zöckler takes up diaspora mission in Stanislau, also engaged by the Danish Israel Mission.[5]

With this Lucky had made two friends for life.[6] Wiegand, who was living in Germany, functioned as his spokesman, and Zöckler, his close friend, was in Stanislau.[7] This could cause some problems for Lucky, who did not want to be associated with Jewish missions societies; some interesting notes from 1893–1894 have survived.

In the German magazine *Nathanael*, H. L. Strack wrote in 1893 that Zöckler and his diaspora work were supported by the Danish Israel Mission and that Lucky had worked "in connection and in mutual understanding" with Zöckler until the spring [1893].[8] Lucky objects to this in a letter to Strack, fearing that the note might be read as if he is a mission worker. Strack does not share that fear but prints, nevertheless, the following statement by Lucky: "As to employment I am in no way connected to the organization in question [the Danish Israel Mission]. Pastor Zöckler is an intimate friend and adviser of mine; the same as I am to him. Our friendship is . . . not supported by the Danish Israel Mission. It is of a purely private nature."[9]

Why Lucky reacts in this way, and is unable to regard Strack's note as an unimportant matter, will appear from the following sketch of the so-called Leipzig program or "new method." Lucky became the principal architect behind this new mission strategy.

From about 1890, the Jewish mission societies are fiercely attacked and criticized for their mission practice. The criticism comes mainly from people who are, or have been, attached to the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig. These people are "pious" and want the best for Israel as to salvation. Often the ammunition is provided by Lucky, while spokesmen for the criticism are Gentiles. It is no exaggeration to say that Lucky spends more time "missionizing" among Gentiles than among his own Jewish people, whom he loved so dearly. Few, if any, have fought against Jewish mission like Lucky.

The Leipzig Program – A Brief Sketch

The Leipzig program, or "new method," deserves a paper of its own, but here is an attempt at a brief sketch.

The Leipzig program is a mission strategy that confronted the traditional organized Jewish mission work, which was quick to offer interested Jews

5 Cf. my introductory comments in the article "Mrs. Petra Volf's 'Reminiscences about Lucky'" in this issue of *Mishkan*.

6 I cannot here go into a discussion of Zöckler's opinion of direct Jewish mission carried out by others. He seems to have a more balanced view than Lucky.

7 Zöckler built up a large evangelical diaspora congregation in Stanislau, saw revivals, established schools, and built other "institutes." A number of his reports were printed in *Saat auf Hoffnung.* Cf. also A. Wiegand, *Von Theodor Zöcklers Leben und Dienst* (Leipzig: Verlag des Centralvorstandes der Evangelischen Gustav Adolf-Stiftung, 1926).

8 *Nathanael* (1893): 184. On Lucky's whereabouts in 1893, Strack writes that Lucky "has now returned to North America."

9 *Nathanael* (1894): 64. In this note Strack mentions that Lucky is back in Stanislau, Galicia, after having been to America for the second time.

baptism, education in a proselyte home, and sometimes money so they could travel to Western Europe. In its most radical formulation, the Leipzig program said that no one of Jewish descent should be a paid missionary to the Jews. The use of paid Jewish missionaries was, it was said, counterproductive when witnessing to Jews. The traditional mission was criticized for de-nationalizing Jews who came to faith in Jesus. In Western Europe, there was no need for special missionaries to the Jews, Jewish mission, or special training for people to reach Jewish people with the gospel. This was for the churches to do.

Talmudic Jews were the primary target, and the majority of those lived in Eastern Europe. So missionary candidates should first of all have training that could help them to meet Eastern European Orthodox Jews. But not even in Eastern Europe should they engage in direct mission. The first task of a missionary to the Jews was to work for the formation of living, evangelical Christian congregations, in contrast to the Roman Catholic and Greek/Russian Orthodox churches; this would generate interest among Jews. The vision was to fight anti-Semitism and to call forth love for Israel in these "Gentile Christian" congregations. In other words, a missionary to the Jews should work from such a "diaspora mission," associating with, for example, congregations in the German colonies and making them ardent and zealous for the cause of Israel. The motivating factor was the salvation of all Israel at some future time. The few Jews who accepted the gospel were seen as a prerequisite for this future.

In other words, a missionary to the Jews should work from such a "diaspora mission," associating with . . . congregations in the German colonies and making them ardent and zealous for the cause of Israel.

Even if a discussion about these things might be justified, the Leipzig program was often presented in an unreasonably polemical tone. About the mission carried out until then, Johannes Müller, mission secretary for "The German Central Agency," stated that it was not a question of a few mistakes but of a wrong principle. The earlier mission is, Müller claims, characterized by "proselytizing" [*proselytenmacherei*] and is of an "anti-Semitic" nature. The mission's proselytes are "scum" [*ausschuss*] and they deserve the Jewish term of abuse *meschummadim* – for apostates they are, having "lapsed from their people, its past, present and future." The earlier mission was only directed at individuals, not the Jewish people as such. It is among Eastern European Jews who have retained a Jewish faith that the gospel has a future.[10]

Gustaf Dalman reacts sharply against this "new method" in the article "Falsche Wege" ("False Roads").[11] He argues, among other things, that it

10 Cf. e.g. Johannes Müller's articles in *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1890): 156–68; (1891): 7–12; and (1891): 65–77.

11 Published anonymously in *Nathanael* (1891): 161–81, but Dalman is the author; cf. the information about this in Reinar Dobert, ed., *Zeugnis für Zion* (Erlangen: Evang.-Luth. Zentralverein für Mission unter Israel; 1971), 44, note 96. Cf. also *Nathanael* (1893): 47.

is not for the degree of Jewish national feeling to determine where Jewish mission should be carried out. Besides, when Joseph Rabinowitz received the gospel, it was not as an Orthodox Jew but as a Reform Jew. If the new method were implemented in Eastern Europe, it would mean the closing down of a large number of stations. Dalman agrees that the "proselytes" should not be unnecessarily alienated from their surroundings. The principle of baptized Jews remaining in their surroundings is basically a good one, but often they lose their livelihood when they come to faith. Therefore they need to be helped, since not all Christians are intended for martyrdom. And when Wiegand argues that only the missionary who awakens Jewish national consciousness is a (true) missionary,[12] this meets with strong contradiction from Dalman. Faith in Jesus is more important than national feeling. The Jew who comes to faith remains a son of Israel, but much more important is that he is a child of God, Dalman says.

The Jew who comes to faith remains a son of Israel, but much more important is that he is a child of God.

Wiegand also puts forward a scathing criticism of the earlier mission practice – passed on by W. Hadorn.[13] Wiegand is quoted as saying that the Jewish mission is sick from top to toe. About the forty-seven functioning Jewish mission societies, he says that this is "47 too many." The mission has created a gap between itself and Judaism. Far too much money is spent on proselytes. These are most often the worst Jews, and when pious Jews observe them and their business-like relationship to the mission, they distance themselves from the gospel. According to Wiegand, the Jewish mission in Galicia is the biggest obstacle to Jews being converted. There is no result to show. Besides, he believes that it is impossible to missionize among Reform Jews. Christian doctrines need to be toned down; no Jew will accept the doctrine of the Trinity, etc.

G. M. Löwen, the Berlin Society's Jewish missionary, does certainly not agree with that and replies sharply, saying that the gap between Judaism and Christianity has not been caused by the Jewish mission, it was already in existence. The mission societies do not have too much money, and there are strict rules for the spending of money on proselytes. He denies that the missions can show no results; he also denies that there ought not to be mission work among Reform Jews, and he can prove that there are famous

Oskar Skarsaune mistakenly assumes that Dalman is an *advocate* of the Leipzig program in *"Israels Venner". Norsk arbeid for Israelsmisjonen 1844–1930* (Oslo: Luther Forlag, 1994), 183–84.

12 A. Wiegand, "Zumitten Israels," *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1890): 150.

13 Cf. W. Hadorn, "Eine kritische Stimme über die Judenmission, nach einem mündlischen Bericht des galizischen Judenmissionars A.W.," *Baseler Kirchenfreund*, no. 25 (December 9, 1892). Hadorn's article is thus based on a private conversation with Wiegand. In *Nathanael* (1893): 126–27, Wiegand contends that much of what he said in that conversation was ill-considered and that one does not in a private conversation have the same reservations as one would if it was meant for publication. He moreover thinks that Hadorn has misunderstood him on several points.

Jews who believe in the Trinity.[14]

After the publication of Löwen's article, Wiegand returns with his criticism: Through their Christianization, Jewish mission proselytes are denationalized. He maintains that the Eastern European Jews who come to faith must remain in their respective countries and be independent of the mission.[15]

No One Against Living Christian Congregations

This is not the place to arbitrate between the conflicting parties. Each has an important concern. The literary feud shows that something important was at stake, theologically and missiologically, but it also shows how difficult it was for them to speak together and make concessions and avoid generalizations on the basis of isolated cases of, for example, proselytes' and Jewish missionaries' moral flaws.[16] Even though history does show examples of the establishment of living evangelical diaspora congregations, modeled on the Leipzig program, which attracted Jews, this "indirect" mission did not give the desired results. The accusation against the "direct" mission for its lack of results hit those who argued for "indirect" mission as a boomerang – perhaps even with double force.

Naturally, no one involved in Jewish mission at that time could have anything against living Christian congregations that emphasized love for the Jewish people. All those involved in Jewish mission at that time looked forward to the future, when Israel *as a people* would come to faith in Jesus. A crucial question for opponents of the Leipzig program was whether it was enough, here and now, to *prepare* oneself for that time; they did not think it was. Some of the Leipzig program's people seem to have been so intent on that future that they failed their responsibility to meet the Jews of their own time, in a "direct" manner, with the gospel. With some justification, the opponents of the Leipzig program could ask its advocates if it was more important to them that Jews who came to believe in Jesus retain their connection with Judaism rather

Some of the Leipzig program's people seem to have been so intent on that future that they failed their responsibility to meet the Jews of their own time, in a "direct" manner, with the gospel.

14 W. G. Löwen, "Zur Abwehr wider eine neue Verunglimpfung der Judenmission," *Nathanael* (1893): 33–50.

15 A. Wiegand, "Eine kritische Stimme über die Judenmission," *Nathanael* (1893): 150–56. The article is accompanied by critical notes where Hermann L. Strack, who is an opponent of the new method, makes his opinion known.

16 The Swedish Israel Mission had, e.g., a situation in the late 1880s when the wife of the proselyte home's leader ran away with a proselyte; after some time she returned to her husband, who then left his post. In 1900, the Jewish missionary Paulus Wolff was found to have submitted a report about his work in Krakow that appeared to be an exact translated copy of a section from "The British Workman," May 1873; he resigned but was re-employed for service a few years later. Cf. Lars Edvardsson, *Kyrka och Judendom* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976), 56–57.

than identifying with the Christian church through baptism.

To sum up regarding the Leipzig program: Struggle against all mission humbug. No direct Jewish mission and no paid Jewish missionaries, and for the Jesus-believing Jew, no national breach with his Jewishness. And an unresolved attitude about how Jews who came to faith in Jesus should relate to the Christian church.

Lucky won quite a few Germans and some Danes, Norwegians, and others who had been at the Institutum Judaicum over to his side. It should, however, be mentioned that not all advocates of the Leipzig program were as pronounced in their views and mission practice as Lucky was.[17]

For those who were born Jewish, who were then paid missionaries to the Jews and who worked energetically and faithfully to reach other Jews with the gospel in a "direct" way, Lucky was not, to say the least, a pleasant name. We will examine this in more detail in "Controversy about Lucky."

17 Mission secretary P. Anacker contributes with an interesting picture of how Lucky was "used" in "The German Central Agency" ("Meine Reise nach Galizien," *Saat auf Hoffnung* [1899]: 78–92). Lucky accompanies Anacker on his journey early in 1899, participates in a mission conference in Stanislau, even gives some talks himself, becomes engaged in a passionate discussion in Romania with Hebrew Christians who do not share his views on observing the law, and explains the difference between the Old and New Testaments to a couple of non-believing Jews.

CHAIM YEDIDIAH POLLAK – CALLED LUCKY

Mrs. Petra Volf's "Reminiscences about Lucky" (1917)

Introduction

by Kai Kjær-Hansen

Mrs. Petra Volf's "Reminiscences about Lucky"[1] gives a beautiful picture of the close relationship there could be between Lucky and Christian "missionaries" who, in the main, agreed with his program. Her reminiscences are from the years 1905 to 1912, thus shedding light on Lucky and his work in the later years of his life.

Lucky gives a hand in the small and beleaguered evangelical diaspora congregations in Galicia. He preaches and teaches, and advises in difficult situations in these congregations. He is introduced to and takes care of seeking Jews, cares about the "missionaries'" families, and does not mind celebrating Christmas in Christian surroundings – matters not to be forgotten when the picture of Lucky, the law-observing – and challenging – Jesus-believing Jew is painted.[2]

In October 1905, Mrs. Volf and her husband, Pastor Stefan Volf, were sent by the Danish Israel Mission (DIM) to Przmysel, which at that time was the third largest town in Galicia and had a sizable Jewish population. Many of Stefan Volf's letters and postcards to the DIM leadership are preserved in the Mission's archives in Christiansfeld, Denmark. Even if the Volf family had a close relationship to Lucky – at least according to Petra Volf's reminiscences – it is a fact that Stefan Volf writes practically nothing about Lucky in his numerous letters to DIM, and certainly not after the turn of the year 1906–1907. Why? Does Petra Volf exaggerate the family's positive relations with Lucky and his relations with them? The answer is no! A brief explana-

1 After Lucky's death, Mrs. Petra Volf first wrote a eulogy for him in *Israelsmissionen* (1917): 4–9, the Danish Israel Mission's magazine. Apart from a few personal comments, it is largely a translation of Theodor Zöckler's eulogy in "Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt für Galizien und Bukowina," no. 24, December 15, 1916, according to H. L. Strack, *Nathanael* (1917): 64. (In passing, I assume that there may be important information on Lucky's whereabouts in this magazine which other sources do not have.) Zöckler's eulogy, "Christian Theophilus Lucky," was also printed in *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1917): 2–8. On her "Reminiscences," see note 27 below.

2 Lucky's fellowship with the Volf family shows his fundamental faith fellowship with Gentile Christians – something that should be emphasized regardless of what one might think of his view of direct mission to Jews.

tion without many details will be given here.

The Danish Israel Mission, Stefan Volf, and Lucky

The Danish Israel Mission was founded in 1885. Almost from the very beginning, it was involved in matters which in one way or another had to do with Lucky. DIM's first missionaries were the Germans August Wiegand and Theodor Zöckler,[3] probably the two Christians who were closest to Lucky, whom he had encouraged to take up a work in Galicia. Personally, Lucky did not in any way want to be associated with DIM.[4]

In early October 1905, DIM's first *Danish* missionaries were sent out, namely Irenius Fauerholdt and Stefan Volf; the former was to work in Romania and Volf in Galicia.

Already before Stefan Volf was employed, he had heard about and been captivated by Theodor Zöckler's diaspora work in Stanislau, through his father, Rudolf Volf, clergyman and member of DIM's board. From October 1, 1904, till the summer of 1905, he studied at the Institutum Judaicum/Delitzschianum in Leipzig. It was then he made a two-week tour to Stanislau in April 1905, where he met Zöckler, who very characteristically sent him on to Lucky.[5] Back in Denmark, Volf thanks the board and announces that his stay in Leipzig was very rewarding, but the stay in Galicia "may" have been "even more important" for his future work.[6]

The board could have no objections to Volf's visit to Zöckler for the journey had been made "at the board's request," according to Petra Volf.[7] The board, therefore, knew that their new Jewish-missionary in Przmysel was sympathetic to the so-called indirect mission to Jews, though they can hardly have envisaged that Volf would be so consistent in his view as was the case.

Before long it came to an open conflict between Stefan Volf and DIM's board. First, in the beginning of 1906, an article by him in DIM's organ describes his first impressions of Przmysel and of Zöckler's work. By way of conclusion, he underlines the importance of prayer for the evangelical

3 Wiegand's work in Stanislau was to be of short duration. He begins in April 1890, and hands in his resignation in June 1891, but is in Germany from the turn of the year 1890–1891. From approximately February 1 to the summer of 1891, Zöckler fills in for him. After the completion of his studies, Zöckler is back in Stanislau in February 1892, paid by DIM. This employment lasted till 1902, when the German diaspora missionary Gustav Adolf-Stiftung "took over" responsibility for him. DIM continued for many years to support Zöckler's work with considerable amounts of money.

4 Cf. my article "Lucky and the Leipzig Program" in this issue of *Mishkan.*

5 Max Weidauer, e.g., said that he first met Lucky in 1898, at Zöckler's place, cf. *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1923): 9. The same thing was true of, e.g., the Norwegian missionary Gisle Johnson in 1903; cf. *Missionsblad for Israel* (1923): 225.

6 S. Volf to A. S. Poulsen, August 25, 1905, Storehedinge [Denmark], DIM's archives.

7 Petra Volf, 1945, 98 (see note 27). DIM's generally positive attitude to Zöckler's work can also be seen from, e.g., the preface of a booklet by him in Danish in which A. S. Poulsen, DIM's chairman who had visited Stanislau in the autumn of 1898, warmly recommends this work to the friends of the mission; cf. Th. Zöckler, *Israelsmissionens Vilkaar. Beretning fra Den Danske Israelsmissionsstation i Galizien* (Copenhagen: Karl Schønbergs Boghandel, 1889).

church in Galicia, so that it, instead of being "an almost dead church may become a mission church, which is conscious of its responsibility to Jews and Catholics, and which may become the salt and light in this country."[8]

He underlines the importance of prayer, for the evangelical church in Galicia, so that it, instead of being "an almost dead church may become a mission church, which is conscious of its responsibility to Jews and Catholics."

The choice of the word "mission church" might lead some readers to believe that Volf advocated direct mission, which is not the case. This also becomes clear with Volf's next move, which is to translate an article written by Max Weidauer,[9] Zöckler's co-worker in the diaspora work, who argues for the indirect mission method. In the introduction to this article, Volf writes that "he himself could have written the same."[10] The editor does not like that. He writes in a comment that "naturally" Volf does not agree in all Weidauer's views, although he shares his views in the main. The editor concludes: "I need hardly mention that which Pastor Volf himself has accentuated, namely that this article only deals with the situation in Galicia and not in Romania."[11] The editor might have added, as we shall see, "and does not deal with the work in Copenhagen."

At DIM's annual meeting at the end of April, incidentally the first in its history, the question of direct or indirect mission is discussed. Frederik Torm, the Mission's first secretary, is reported to have said that "we agreed not exclusively to follow the Zöckler method but also hoped to initiate direct mission work." Another board member, the clergyman Ferdinand Munck, seems to be not entirely happy with Torm's words; Munck is reported to have said that "the aim is to arrive at the most direct work among the Jews." He also refers to the recently adopted statutes for DIM and to the fact that the two missionaries, Fauerholdt and Volf, on their employment were given a document that said that direct Jewish mission was the main task for both men.[12]

I have to refrain from giving a detailed description of DIM's attitude to direct and indirect mission here. During the autumn and winter of 1906–1907, the relationship between the Mission and Stefan Volf is tried severely. Volf had an article about Joseph Rabinowitz published in *Missionsbudet*, another Danish mission magazine, in the autumn of 1906.[13] The main source for Volf's article is a long essay by Heinrich Lhotzky[14] on Rabinowitz,

8 Stefan Volf, "Den evangeliske Kirke i Galicien," *Israelsmissionen* (1906): 35–39.

9 Max Weidauer, "Israelsmission," *Israelsmissionen* (1906): 57–63, 67–71. The main heading clearly shows what it is about: "Why should the Israel Mission be concerned with the evangelical church in Galicia?"

10 Ibid., 54–55.

11 Ibid., 71.

12 Ibid., 55. Munck had been a student at the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig 1888–1889.

13 Stefan Volf, "Josef Rabinowitsch. Et livsbillede," *Missionsbudet* (1906): 137–40, 150–52, 155–58.

14 H. Lhotzky, Professor Franz Delitzsch's former private secretary, attended Rabinowitz's baptism in Berlin in 1885, and viewed the movement around Rabinowitz as "a sign of

which had appeared in 1904; Volf follows it uncritically.[15] This is not the place to deal in detail with Volf's generalizing criticism of Rabinowitz and the earlier practiced mission.[16] It follows the points outlined in the article "Lucky and the Leipzig Program." About his former teacher, "the old rabbi [Yechiel] Lichtenstein in Leipzig," he writes that he "always" said: "It is true that the Christians do not know as much Hebrew as Jews. But as missionaries to the Jews they have the great advantage of not usually being frauds."[17] Suffice it to mention that Volf's statement that "absolutely the greatest obstacle to the conversion of Israel is the mission to Israel" made a great commotion in Denmark.[18]

DIM's board was now forced to make its position clear, for some people saw Volf's article as an attack on the Mission's Jewish-born missionary Philemon Petri, who was involved in *direct* mission in Copenhagen. It appears from DIM's minutes of the October 19, 1906, meeting that the board is of the opinion that Volf's statements have been damaging and "caused Missionary Petri much sadness and concern." The minutes show that Petri has written in a letter to the board that his work would be "impossible" if Volf was allowed to write as he had done. The board, therefore, decided to send a letter to Stefan Volf in which it deplored his judgment on Jewish mission and "demanded that for some time to come he did not publish anything about Jewish mission which had not first been submitted to the board."[19]

The board's wish that Volf withdraw his generalizing assertions about the work of the Jewish missions was not fulfilled, however. Volf does make a brief statement in the first issue of *Missionsbudet* in 1907, but he does *not* withdraw his views in this article. He only says that it is a "misunderstanding" when some have seen his articles as an attack on Jewish missionary Philemon Petri, and he regrets if any have felt hurt.[20]

In other words, Volf is muzzled. He can write all he wants about his own work with indirect mission in Przmysel, but he cannot not publicly argue against those who go in for direct mission. The minutes from the meeting on October 19, 1906, also show that the board requested one of the editors of *Missionsbudet* "not to publish the continuation of Volf's articles." This wish was complied with.

the time." Later he changed his mind. See Kai Kjær-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement* (Edinburgh and Grand Rapids: The Handsel Press and Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995); cf. index: "Lhotzky."

15 H. Lhotzky, *Eine Judengeschichte aus unsern Tagen*, in *Blätter zur Pflege persönlichen Lebens*, vol. 7, ed. J. Müller (Leipzig: Verlag der Grünen Blätter, 1904), 110–56.

16 See Kjær-Hansen, 160–70, where the financial aspect of Rabinowtz's work is discussed and where the picture painted by Lhotzky and Volf is criticized.

17 *Missionsbudet* (1906): 151.

18 Not just inside DIM, but also widely in church circles in Denmark. One of the editors of *Missionsbudet* expresses, in a subsequent article, his disappointment at and criticism of Volf's account, which he finds far too generalizing; cf. *Missionsbudet* (1906): 177–79.

19 Cf. DIM's Minute Book 1902–1932; in DIM's archives.

20 *Missionsbudet* (1907): 3.

The Danish Israel Mission, Emil Clausen, and Lucky

This was not the last time DIM's board had to decide on matters in some way related to Lucky. Volf's successor in Przmysel in 1912, the Danish clergyman Emil Clausen, complains in letters to the board in 1914 about what he sees as Lucky's attempt to "poach" souls with whom he is in contact. The following shows that Clausen has a very different relationship to Lucky than did his predecessor. In the two quotations, Clausen is referring to a certain Eichler, with whom he has established contact in Przmysel.

> Poor Eichler has been closely associated with Luckyanism, and Lucky has sent me 12 pages of self-justification because of my attack on him. The other day I tried to speak seriously to his [Eichler's] heart and conscience, showing him that his national pride and contempt of baptism would eventually kill his love of Jesus – it went on for hours. The fruit was that he, humble and dear as before, came back to us. But it is as if Satan is pulling at him these days and has found a good breach in the above-mentioned feeling of haughtiness. It is sorely hard, but I am convinced that the Lord will triumph completely. Here in Przmysel there is sadly enough no work for him that he as a baptized person can perform.[21]

Less than two weeks later, Clausen writes again:

> Eichler needs particularly much intercession about clarification and consolidation these days; I have received (in two stages) 20 pages of auto-apology from Lucky about his innocence in E's anxiety and have in a lovingly firm manner asked him to follow Romans 15:20. Schønberger is hardly mistaken in his Leipzig votum: "Lucky treibt Maulwurfsarbeit" ["Lucky works like a mole"]; I may have underestimated his influence. Now he is visiting Chernowitz and Przmysel, I believe, rather like a spy and poacher of our young Nathanaels."[22]

DIM's secretary, Professor Torm, writes to Zöckler about this matter but finds little understanding. Zöckler has discussed this thoroughly with Lucky, who regards all of Galicia, indeed the whole world, as his field of activity. As to the matter in question, Jews have far more confidence in the Jew Lucky than in Christians, according to Zöckler, who goes on: "You cannot expect Lucky, when such a young man comes to him, simply to turn him down with the words: 'What have I to do with you? You belong to Pastor Clausen.'" However, Zöckler ends his letter on an irenic note, with the comment that even though many years' experience have taught him that Clausen's method is not possible for himself, still Clausen's work in Przmysel is valued. Zöckler has the opinion that even though the methods differ,

21 E. Clausen to F. Torm, April 14, 1914, Przmysel, DIM's archives.
22 Idem., April 27, 1914, Przmysel, DIM's archives.

both will "somehow be blessed by God."[23]

Who was right and who was wrong? I will not judge in this. However, Clausen's letters do give a striking impression of the tensions between Lucky and "missionaries" in Galicia.

From another point of view, Zöckler's letter is also interesting, namely on the question of Lucky's financial support. In his introduction, he writes that Lucky is completely independent of him. It is true that Lucky receives board and lodgings at Paulinum[24] in Stanislau, but according to Zöckler, this is because Lucky is available to instruct the candidates. If this is compared to an earlier letter from Zöckler, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that DIM supported Lucky financially – although in an *indirect* way.

In an earlier letter to DIM, dated January 1912, Zöckler mentions that DIM, in 1911, only supported his work with 1,000 mark and not with the usual annual amount of 2,000 mark. He asks that this amount be sent to him and explains that it will contribute to "support" [*erhalten*] the four or five candidates at Paulinum "besides Lucky."[25]

The importance of the addition "besides Lucky" can hardly be exaggerated. I assume that Lucky would have protested vigorously if he had seen Zöckler's letter. For the generally known picture of Lucky as a man who, financially speaking, was totally independent of Jewish mission societies (a picture to which he had himself contributed), is developing cracks – an issue I shall return to in the article "Controversy about Lucky." Therefore, it is no wonder that the Jewish-born Jewish missionaries at that time who were paid by mission societies saw a measure of hypocrisy in this: If money to provide for Lucky was not paid to him *directly* but only *indirectly*, then he had no problem with it. It is my opinion that DIM, through their financial support of Zöckler's diaspora work, helped to support Lucky financially and knew what they were doing. And that Lucky also knew, although he did not want to admit it.

It is no wonder that the Jewish-born Jewish missionaries at that time saw a measure of hypocrisy in this.

Petra Volf does not deal with such problems in her reminiscences about Lucky, which follow below. When she writes about Wiegand, Zöckler, and Lucky in 1945, I think her remark is spot-on: "Lucky made plans, and the others carried them out."[26] Her reminiscences about Lucky give us a sympathetic insight into the kind of plans Lucky made for Stefans Volf's work, and how he helped him.

23 T. Zöckler to F. Torm, June 10, 1914, Stanislau, DIM's archives.

24 Paulinum was a theological seminary in Stanislau, established by Zöckler in 1908, offering theological candidates instruction at university level and practical experience with a view to their future work.

25 T. Zöckler to F. Torm, January 15, 1912, Stanislau, DIM's archives.

26 Petra Volf, 1945, 101.

Reminiscences about Lucky

by Mrs. Petra Volf (1917)[27]

In the year 1905 I arrived at Przmysel in Galicia with my husband, Pastor Stefan Volf. The seven years[28] that the Lord granted us there have enriched my life. We had many friends there, among them the dear brother Lucky. How many good hours we spent with him in Galicia!

He visited us quite often, and when he came he would allow himself to be persuaded to stay with us 3–4 weeks. He did so willingly, and I suppose it was partly because my husband so well understood his thoughts about Hebrew Christianity, and partly because my husband asked advice and guidance from Lucky in his missionary ministry.

"His Eminence from Stanislau"

We cannot thank Pastor Zöckler in Stanislau enough for bringing us together in so cordial a friendship. The board of the Danish Israel Mission had sent my husband to Stanislau for a couple of weeks[29] so that he could be briefed about the missionary work in Galicia by Pastor Zöckler. The latter at once took my husband to Mr. Lucky with the words: "No one around here can brief you so well about the work in Galicia as he can!" For a fortnight, practically each day from morning till night, Lucky would instruct my husband in his mission ideas and his Hebrew Christian theories, and Lucky managed to make my husband enthusiastic about his ideas.[30]

In the winter or spring of 1906, Lucky visited us for the first time in Przmysel. How he helped my husband to find the evangelical Christians in Przmysel, and how happy he was when he could invite these to meetings in our home! For years services and pastoral care among the evangelicals in Przmysel had been sadly neglected. Often Lucky would hold the meetings himself; a lady who often attended these meetings constantly referred to him as "His Eminence from Stanislau"!

Little by little a small group of believers would gather and have Bible studies in our home. Lucky felt at home in the little community, and we

27 Petra Volf's reminiscences about Lucky, printed here, have been translated into English by Birger Petterson from her article "Nogle Erindringer om Lucky," *Israelsmissionen* (1917): 53–58. Cf. also Petra Volf, "Mindeblade om Pastor Stefan Johannes Volf" in *Hjemliv og Trosliv*, vol. 13, Emil Steenvinkel (Copenhagen: Lohses Forlag, 1945), 92–118. Here is, among other things, a picture of the old Lucky on page 99. (Cf. the two portraits of Lucky at the beginning of *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1917). In my notes, I include a few things from these reminiscences of Petra Volf from 1945. The subheadings are mine.

28 Not quite precise. For Stefan Volf, it was "only" to be six years, as he died suddenly, after a few days' sickness, on October 21, 1911. Petra Volf stayed in Przmysel through the winter, where she gave lessons. She returned to Denmark in April 1912, having been in Przmysel for roughly six and one half years.

29 At Easter 1905, cf. above. Petra Volf and two children were also with Stefan Volf in Leipzig while he was studying there. Cf. Petra Volf, 1945, 97.

30 Cf. Petra Volf, 1945, 101: "During the fortnight my husband was with the Zöcklers, several hours each day were spent with Lucky, with whom he had rich conversations, which later on became a help for him in his work among Jews."

were very pleased to have him among us. What wonderful Bible talks we had! We would ask, and he would answer. What a pleasure it was when he explained Bible passages that were difficult to understand for me or others among us. A Jewish person's background makes him so much more qualified to do this than us non-Jews!

Quite often some young Jews would come to my husband to talk with him about Christianity out of interest, curiosity, or for other reasons. If that happened while Lucky was our guest, my husband would also let Lucky talk to them, and he was very thorough. For hours he would sit talking to them, questioning them, advising them, etc. He was severe and serious with these young men, but he loved them because they belonged to his own people, and he would not tolerate disparaging remarks from us goyim about a Jew; if that happened he would immediately defend that person.

Lucky and Housewives

In our daily dealings he was a both pleasant and interesting guest. At first he was certainly suspicious of the housewife, for he would only eat vegetarian food (so as to avoid pork), and at the table he would sometimes question me thoroughly about the preparation of the meal and ask inquisitorially, "So there is no fat in this? Are you quite sure? Did you prepare it yourself? Oh, sometimes housewives have deceived me grossly!" etc.[31] Quite often I had such similar scenes with him, but I could not take offence by his peculiarities; we loved him much too dearly for that. He was very friendly to our children; he could not play with them but he smiled so kindly that they loved him. The name of our second eldest daughter is Esther, and it was touching to hear the strange, mild, loving tone in which he always pronounced the same name as his beloved mother bore.

He followed my children with a living interest and love right to the end.[32] Thus he writes in a letter: "May the Lord in his mercy grant that all your children may grow up and give glory to his name; in Denmark they will be brought up and educated that they may some time become involved in an evangelical ministry in Galicia!" I would not mind if this should be a prophetic word.[33]

31 Something similar is affirmed by Max Weidauer, *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1923): 12. The Norwegian missionary Gisle Johnson tells about the good relationship that existed between Lucky and his mother, *Missionsblad for Israel* (1923): 248.

32 According to Petra Volf, Lucky's friendship with her and her children lasted till his death: "How faithfully he wrote letters to us after I had returned from Galicia [i.e. to Denmark]; he seldom forgot our birthdays but sent us rich letters with wishes for the Lord's blessings on my children. He was godfather to our two eldest sons and probably a faithful intercessor for them. With his death we lost one of our best friends" (*Israelsmissionen* [1917]: 8-9).

33 This was not to happen. However, after the son Rudolf had completed his theological studies, he spent about a year with Zöckler. Cf. Petra Volf, 1945, 105.

Lucky and Christmas Celebrations, 1911

Lucky took my husband's death in the autumn of 1911 greatly to heart;[34] he was not in Galicia then, but he came to our house shortly after from a journey in Germany and proved also in those days to be a faithful friend. That year he spent Christmas with us; he as well as other dear friends down there wanted to do everything they could so that the children and I should not feel lonely in the Christmas season; and what lovely hours we spent together during that Christmas. A little girl died just then of scarlet fever and diphtheria.[35] Her parents, who were evangelical Poles, were very close to Lucky as well as to us. Due to the contagious disease the family were separated in the Christmas season in the way that the mother and a maid were alone in the house where the dead child was lying. I shall never forget that Christmas Eve. First we gathered in my house around our Christmas tree. Lucky read the gospel, we sang Christmas hymns, gave presents to each other and shared the Christmas joy. But during it all we could not help thinking of the dear family who just before Christmas had lost their little girl and who could not even be together in those difficult hours. We so much wanted to take some Christmas joy to them. So we set off, a small group of six persons headed by Mr. Lucky, with a small Christmas tree and the rain pouring down through the streets of Przmysel, across the San bridge, out into the suburb of Zasania. First to the house where the two isolated women were, through the large garden, to the glass door of the kitchen, we dared not venture inside, and then we began to sing a well-known German Christmas hymn. . . .

No sooner had we begun than our dear friend and her maid came to the glass door and joined in from the other side of the door; really a wonderful Christmas service that evening in front of the engineer Koziel's house. We were eight persons from four different nationalities, but all sincerely united in our faith in him, the Savior of all the world. And how Lucky with all his heart took part in all of it! We went on to see the father who was celebrating a quiet, sad Christmas at the lit Christmas tree with the three children he still had.

We were eight persons from four different nationalities, but all sincerely united in our faith in him, the Savior of all the world.

I still have many memories about Lucky from those same days, for example how he sang with us all our Danish Christmas hymns; I think it was

34 A collection was made among DIM's friends for a gravestone, which was set up a year after Stefan Volf's death. Mrs. Petra Volf had, as she says, chosen her husband's favorite Scripture to be put on the gravestone, namely Romans 1:16: "I am not ashamed of the gospel. . . ." Cf. Petra Volf, 1945, 118; and *Israelsmissionen* (1912): 164–65.

35 The nine-year-old girl, daughter of engineer Koziel, died on Christmas Eve. Petra Volf writes, "For a couple of years, my husband had been her teacher of religion, and it was probably due to her that he was as fluent in Polish as he was. For the Koziels and me it has been a comfort and joy that we could place the graves of our two loved ones next to each other" (*Israelsmissionen* [1912]: 58). Koziel supported Stefan Volf during conflicts in the congregation; cf. note 39 below.

because he wanted to be a Dane to us Danish, and it was amazing how well he understood them; he had an unusual gift for languages.[36]

On the day after Christmas, in the evening, Lucky administered the Lord's Supper to our little house church; we spent about one hour together, and we had hardly finished when there was a knock on our street door, and in came Mr. Rose,[37] a missionary candidate from America, and our dear friend Pastor Sikora from Stanislau.[38] Lucky received them with the following greeting: "I am glad that Satan did not send you five minutes earlier!" Both guests looked rather astonished at that greeting, but Lucky hastened to add: "We have just celebrated the Lord's Supper, and you know that when the children of God want a quiet time, Satan often tries to disrupt it!"

Organizing Evangelical Services

It was also Lucky who organized the evangelical services in Przmysel this winter; it had become very difficult to hold these after my husband's death.[39] For a very long time Przmysel-Joraslau had had no evangelical pastor. A pastor in a neighboring town attended to the duties of the church, but he could only hold a service in Przmysel once a month; my husband had held services on the other Sundays. The leaders of the church had considered what could be done to have a service each Sunday. At a church meeting where Lucky was present this matter was dealt with. Someone suggested that the members of the church leadership should take turns holding a "reading service" in the following way: "First we sing a hymn, then a sermon is read aloud, and we finish with a hymn!" Now Lucky asked if he, although he was only a guest, might make a suggestion. They gladly permitted him that. He then said approximately the following: There is in the evangelical church in Przmysel a young gentleman who has served five years in the Salvation Army in Germany; if you ask him to lead your services, you need not only have hymns and a sermon; the services can also begin and end with prayer, for Mr. Ferdinand Sommer[40] can pray!" Lucky's suggestion was accepted, and Sommer now held the evangelical services in Przmysel all that winter. (During the siege of Przmysel 1914–1915, Sommer

36 Lucky spoke thirteen languages, according to Zöckler's wife. Cf. Lillie Zöckler, *Gott Hört Gebet. Das Leben Theodor Zöckler* (Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag, 1951), 13.

37 I have no information on Mr. Rose and his relationship to Lucky.

38 Sikora was Polish evangelical and Zöckler's curate in Stanislau. Due to Zöckler's illness, Sikora spoke on his behalf at Stefan Volf's funeral in Przmysel, October 24, 1911. Also the Mennonite pastor Heinrich Pauls of Lemberg spoke at the funeral and conveyed a special word of thanks from "the little Hebrew Christian congregation in Lemberg." Cf. *Israelsmissionen* (1911): 165; and Petra Volf, 1945, 116. Pauls is signatory to Lucky and Waldmann's declaration of May 1911.

39 On an earlier occasion, Zöckler and Lucky had also stepped in. The evangelical pastor Rücklich in Jaroslav, who was responsible for the congregation in Przmysel, had fallen ill. According to Petra Volf, he had neglected the congregation in Przmysel. It is in this connection she mentions that Zöckler sent "Mr. Lucky to our help." Cf. Petra Volf, 1945, 103.

40 Yet another person who may be relevant when Lucky's history is written.

was appointed evangelical army chaplain in Przmysel. He is now a Russian prisoner of war in Astrachan, from where he has informed me that he has had the great pleasure to be allowed to hold services for the evangelical soldiers in his prisoner-of-war camp.)

Lucky – Our Faithful Friend

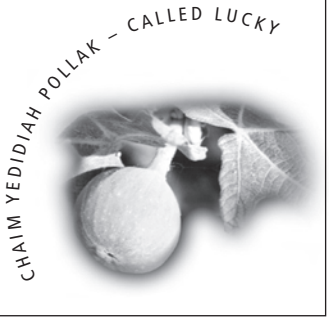
When the time came that I had to leave Przmysel with my children,[41] Lucky again spent some time with us: he thus always proved to be our faithful friend, and our friendship lasted till his death. His letters from these last war years when, against his will, he had to spend a long time in Holland are filled with longing and homesickness. The last cards[42] I received from him had been dictated to a nurse and sent from a hospital in Chemnitz.[43] He still hoped to come back to his beloved Stanislau, but first he was going to visit me in Copenhagen. Yet the Lord had a different plan. Shortly after this, the Lord called him home. The news of his death affected me painfully, but for Lucky's own sake we must thank the Lord who has now led the weary wanderer home to eternal rest and glory, and also thank the Lord for giving us in Lucky such a faithful friend, whose memory we shall keep in grateful remembrance.

41 Spring 1912. The Volfs had six children.

42 Lucky's letters and postcards to Mrs. Petra Volf appear not to have been placed in DIM's archives and have (probably and regrettably) been lost for posterity. In April 1952, Petra Volf celebrated her eightieth birthday; cf. *Israelsmissionen* (1952): 108. She died not long after.

43 This may be a slip of the memory. Lucky died on November 24, 1916, in the Protestant nursing house Eben-Ezer in Steglitz near Berlin, and was buried on November 27, in the *Jewish* graveyard in Plau in Mecklenburg, the town where Pastor August Wiegand served as Lutheran clergyman. I have to leave the particulars, questions, and reflections in this connection.

Lucky and Waldmann's "Declaration of Law-observing Hebrew Christians"



Introduction to the Declaration

by Kai Kjær-Hansen

Ch. Th. Lucky and Alexander Waldmann's declaration from 1911, reproduced below, has seldom – if ever – been included in contemporary discussions about Messianic Jews' relationship to their people and the law – a fact that in itself is sufficient reason to republish it here.[1] The declaration is dated the end of May 1911, and is occasioned by the fact that the subject of "the so-called Ebionitism in the Jewish Mission and the Hebrew Christian national movement" was to be treated at the upcoming Eighth International Jewish Missionary Conference in Stockholm, Sweden, June 7–9 of that same year.[2] The four-page declaration, which is entitled "Friede über Israel," was brought to Stockholm and distributed among the participants by the Lutheran pastor August Wiegand.[3] In the autumn of 1889, Wiegand had been convinced of the truth of Lucky's ideas, and at conferences and in numerous articles, he served as Lucky's mouthpiece.[4]

Introduction to the Declaration

In the introduction, it is mentioned that with the topic "Ebionitism in the

1 Reactions to the declaration at the Eighth International Jewish Missionary Conference in Stockholm, in 1911, will be dealt with in my article "Controversy about Lucky" in this issue of *Mishkan*.

2 Cf. Hermann L. Strack, ed., *Jahrbuch der evangelischen Judenmission* [Yearbook of the Evangelical Missions among the Jews], vol. 2 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), 15.

3 A copy has been preserved in the Danish Israel Mission's archives. Shortly afterward, the declaration was published by Wiegand with the heading "Die Erklärung gesetzestreuer Judenchristen," cf. August Wiegand, "Die 8. Internationale Konferenz für Judenmission in Stockholm 1911," *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1911): 106–23. After Wiegand's report of the conference (pp. 106–16) comes the declaration: first an introduction (pp. 116–17), then the declaration itself (117–22), and lastly a list of individuals who support the declaration (pp. 122–23).

4 What part Wiegand may have played in connection with the drawing up of the declaration is an unclarified question. The possibility that he is the author of a draft or that he, at the very least, put his fingerprints on the final wording cannot be excluded. However that may be, in 1917, Wiegand admitted that when he presented the declaration in Stockholm in 1911, he did not express Lucky's "innermost thoughts"; see my "Controversy about Lucky" in this issue of *Mishkan*.

Jewish Mission," the planners behind the Stockholm conference apparently allude to "das Messianische Judentum," i.e. Messianic Judaism – a term that Philipp Cohen had "recently" used.[5] There are also references to similar efforts by Israel Pick and Joseph Rabinowitz and to Professor Franz Delitzsch's support for the latter.

The authors of the declaration feared that in Stockholm an attempt would be made to stamp out these ideas "under the old heresy name Ebionitism." Although the content of the papers to be delivered at the conference in Stockholm was not known at the time the declaration was drawn up, they wanted to lodge a sharp protest against the potential use of the term "Ebionitism" for Messianic Judaism.

The Declaration in English Translation

The conference book, edited by Hermann L. Strack in 1913,[6] contains an English translation. The English version of the declaration, however, leaves out four elaborating sections printed in brevier in the German original after sections 3, 5, 6, and 7. After 5, 6, and 7, the content of the original elaborating sections is reproduced with a short note in English in brackets. In the present republication of the declaration, these parentheses are kept – even though it is the subsequent sections in brevier that belong to the German original.[7]

Conclusion and Signatories

By way of conclusion, it is mentioned that the declaration was drawn up, at the end of May 1911, on behalf of the "judenchristliche Vereinigung," i.e. "the Hebrew Christian movement in Galicia" by Ch. Th. Lucky, "Hebrew writer," Stanislau, and Alexander Waldmann, LL.D., of the inland revenue department, Lemberg.

This is followed by a statement of support from "gesetzesfreien Völkerchristen," i.e. law-free Gentile Christians, for those brethren in Israel's camp who are faithful to their people and law. Their cause should be supported, it is said, because it is 1) biblically justified – also according to the New Testament; 2) a precondition for and the most direct way to the restoration of a Christ-believing Israel, which the promises speak about; and 3) it has very good prospects despite all apparent difficulties. The law-free Gentile Christians are Dr. Fr. Heman (university professor and secretary in the Basel Mission), E. F. Stroeter (professor and editor of "Das Prophetische Wort"[8]

5 In a note in the declaration, there is a reference to Philipp Cohen's book, *The Hebrew Christian and His National Continuity* (London: Marshall Brothers), and the German translation of it: *Das hebräische Volkstum der Judenchristen* (Kommission des Traktathauses in Bremen). The declaration, however, does not use the term "Messianic Jew/Judaism," but rather the German term "Judenchristen," which in English is rendered "Hebrew Christian." In the quotation by Zahn under item 5, "Jewish Christianity" is retained.

6 Strack, 15–18.

7 I am indebted to Professor David Dowdey, Pepperdine University, Malibu, California, for his translation in 2009 of the four elaborating notes from German into English.

8 The relationship between Stroeter (Ströter) and Lucky needs closer study. Ströter's book *Die Judenfrage und ihre göttlische Lösung nach Römer Kapitel 11* (Kassel: Ernst Röttger,

in Wernigerode), and A. Wiegand (Lutheran clergyman in Plau, Mecklenburg).

Then comes a list of nineteen signatories.[9] Among them are two who endorse only the first three sections in the declaration, namely Otto von Harling, clergyman, Secretary of the Lutheran Central Agency for Jewish Mission, Leipzig; and Clodius, clergyman in Camin, treasurer of the Agency for Jewish Mission in Mecklenburg. This list may provide a clue for those who might wish to deal in more detail with Lucky's relationships.[10]

Finally, it is mentioned that those who wish to endorse this declaration can do so on application to Dr. Waldmann, Professor Stroeter, or Pastor Wiegand.

And now to the declaration itself – without notes.

The Declaration of Law-observing Hebrew Christians

(1) We declare that we believe in the Divine Revelation as borne witness to in the Old and New Testaments, and that we hold that faith in its fullness and integrity. We believe in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, the Son of Man, the Son of David; especially do we also believe that we can only be saved through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts xv,11), and not by works of the Law.

(2) We declare that we see no means of grace or salvation in the ordinance of circumcision, but merely the ancient and outward sign of the Covenant which God once made with Abraham and his seed after him, and in whose spiritual blessing all nations are accepted in Christ. We know that it confers no religious advantage upon us, for in Christ there is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision. But as children of Abraham after the flesh we retain the bodily mark of the old Covenant, as it is written in Genesis xvii,13, "And my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant."

(3) We declare that we believe it right, even now that we with our people are scattered among the nations, to adhere, as far as possible, both ourselves and our families, to the observance of the Sabbath, the Jewish feasts, and the Jewish dietary laws. We desire to adhere to the ancient customs of our people, which have been hallowed anew by Jesus as long as He dwelt on this earth.

1903) was criticized by, among others, P. L. Anacker, "Zu Prof. Ströters 'Judenfrage,'" *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1904): 33–39. According to Anacker, Ströter misinterprets Romans 11 because he does not stress mission to Israel but rather the people of Israel's future mission to the nations. The main concern for Paul is, according to Anacker, Israel's salvation through faith in Jesus. Cf. similar criticism by A. Wiegand, "Ist Professor Ströters Auslegung von Röm. 11,26 schriftgemäss," *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1904): 39–50. I wonder what Lucky thought of such considerations?

9 Thus in the original. In Wiegand's publication of the declaration in *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1911): 123, Theodor Zöckler, Lucky's close confidant, appears as the twentieth – presumably because he had been "forgotten" in the original list.

10 Names from this list which are mentioned in articles in this issue of *Mishkan* are L. Anacker, O. von Harling, H. Pauls, H. Schwabedissen, F. von Velsen, S. Volf, M. Weidauer, and T. Zöckler.

> When the observance of the Law was not possible for some of us who in earlier years formally joined other national churches and thereby lost the firm support of their kinsmen also in these points, then they consider this law-free position as something temporary and seek to make possible a closer connection to the people's law-observing tradition. When others, on the other hand, attach themselves more closely to the Talmudic tradition, this happens without the exaggerations of one-sided fanatics, without contradiction to the gospel and only in the spirit of the great rabbinic-Talmudic thinkers (Rishonim) in order not to lose the spiritual contact with the broad Talmudic masses of our still Christ-unbelieving people, especially in Galicia: in short, in the spirit of Jesus' words in Matth. xxiii, 2–3. Yet, these internal questions are of relatively little consequence and do not invalidate the fundamental unity of our movement.

(4) We declare that we do this out of loyalty to our nation, in the conviction that in so doing we establish our continuity with the law-observing primitive Hebrew Christian community at Jerusalem, and in the hope of laying the foundations of a new Christian community in Israel. For however many of our Jewish brethren have already accepted the Lord Jesus Christ in true faith, they and their descendants have disappeared among the other Christian peoples, and in so doing have benefited the other nations, but have not benefited their own, being lost to it. But if any nation may justifiably persist within the Christian Church, then it is surely Israel concerning which God Himself has said in connection with the promise of the *new* covenant, "If those ordinances depart from before me . . . then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me for ever (Jer. xxxi, 36).

5) We justify this our loyalty to our nation and to the Law in opposition to the prevailing practice by an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, especially to the Apostle Paul (Acts xxi, 21–25; Ephes. ii, 18–22; Gal. iii, 24).

> Paul who, according to Acts xxi, 21–25, was far from alienating the Jews who were living among the Greeks from their people and from the law of Moses, as far as he himself was concerned kept the Law. Paul protested in the strongest possible way when someone wanted to force a Greek like Titus to be circumcised. However, in the single incident when he, the childless one, was offered the opportunity to have a descendent of the Jewish people circumcised, namely Timothy, he did it. Paul's ecclesiastical ideal was not that everything should be uniform; he particularly warns the thriving Roman congregation against exalting itself above poor Israel and neglecting it. Rather he wanted the coexistence of a law-observing Hebrew Christianity and a law-free gentile Christianity, which on the basis of the one shared faith uphold, encourage and inspire each other, just as husband and wife in Christ are equal before God and yet not identical in their natural state, but within the Christian congregation are called to mutual encouragement, support, and inspiration. Ephes. ii, 18–22. Gal. iii, 24.

(6) We would oppose . . . the short-sighted policy of some workers among the Jews [and we declare our agreement with] the far-seeing statesmanship of many ecclesiastics and of the foreign missionaries who advocate the inception of indigenous national Churches among all peoples (*e.g.* Bishop Gore, of Oxford, Dr. J. Campbell Gibson, of Swatow, China).

> At the World Missions Conference in Edinburgh last year, Bishop Gore of Birmingham emphasized, with general approval, that the mission schools among the Gentiles foster a national way of thinking and nourish such distinctive understanding of the Christian truth that is appropriate for each country and its people. And the China missionary Gibson von Swatau assured the attending Asians of the sympathy of the conference with their efforts for their nation and a national church. And concerning the Jews, the Anglican Bishop Popham Blyth of Jerusalem declared: "A Jew cannot be incorporated into any general form of Christianity. In the communion of the holy catholic church there will always be Jews and non-Jews alongside each other, just as there are Latin, Greek, American and every sort of other branches of the true vine in distinctive diversity. And once the Jew recognizes his future in Christ, he will pour it into the moulds of his national liturgies, rites, and ceremonies; not into ours, rather into his own, which we can no more prevent him doing than he would be permitted to force them upon us." And the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America declared: "The church does not require that Hebrew Christians forsake their people; they have moreover the right by virtue of the freedom with which Christ has freed them to receive their sons in the covenant of Abraham and to observe other ancestral customs and ceremonies of the fathers which are not cancelled by Christ and the early church, provided that it is maintained that neither Jew nor non-Jew can be justified by works of the law, but only through the merit of Christ." Against, the Jewish Mission Secretary Rev. Gidney declared: "The formation of a special Hebrew Christian church is in every respect out of place and undesirable, and for three reasons: it is neither scriptural, nor necessary, nor promising; the New Testament knows of only one church in which there is neither Jew nor gentile. (We ask: Why is there then a national Church of England?)

(7) We would refer those whose biased judgment would revive the ancient heresy label of Ebionitism to the more mature verdict of the more recent scientific research in early Church history and theology (*e.g.* Theodor Zahn, Commentary on St. Mark, 2nd German edition, p. 218).

> Dr. Theodor Zahn in Erlangen writes in his famous commentary on Matthew (2nd edition, p. 218): "Jewish Christianity held onto circumcision, Sabbath, and similar matters as is demonstrated in history, just as they recognized without jealousy or resentment the law-free gentile church founded by Paul. Most of the very short-sighted and un-

justified verdicts of the gentile church teachers should not prevent us from recognizing that these Jewish Christian congregations had the word and example of Jesus on their side when they held onto the Law. Only in this way were they able to preserve their national identity; it was a natural consequence of their faith in a future conversion and restoration of their nation that they saw this as their duty. In this they were in agreement not only with Jesus (Matth. xxiii, 39; cf. xix, 28), but also with Paul (Rom. xi, 13–32). The question cannot be further pursued here whether without this hope the faith in a complete fulfillment of the promises contained in Matth. v, 18 can be maintained. This question is appropriate since the Old Testament law was given to a people." So Dr. h. Prof. Zahn is of the opinion that only through a law-observing Israel can the future of Matth. v, 18 be fulfilled.

(8) It is far from us to condemn those of our Hebrew Christians brethren who take a different path from ours and have been made sure of that path in the sight of their Lord and Redeemer. Some, however, have perhaps chosen that path because they knew of no other or thought no other was practicable. However that may be, we remember the Pauline word, "Who art thou that thou judgest another man's servant? Unto his own master he standeth or falleth" (Romans xiv, 4). But we demand for ourselves the same recognition of our Scriptural rights in Christ Jesus.

(9) We would therefore urgently request that as according to Acts xv, the law-observing Hebrew Christian community of Jerusalem recognised the exemption of gentile Christians from the Law – a resolution upon which the whole subsequent development of gentile Christianity turns, and which therefore determined the course of Church history – so the honorable International Conference for Jewish Missions in Stockholm, in which the various evangelical national Churches are represented, might now, in its turn, explicitly recognise the liberty of Hebrew Christians towards the Law and their right to its observance. In so doing it would reach out a friendly hand to our still feeble movement, and strengthen and refresh many an individual Hebrew Christian who is struggling against the current of prejudices.

(10) We are convinced that such a recognition would make a deep impression upon our still unbelieving nation also, which just at the present movement, in the Zionistic movement, is struggling for a healthy revival of its national consciousness. Surely Joseph Rabinowitz was right when he called unto our people, telling them that the key to the Holy Land is in the hand of our Brother Jesus! Let us then make it easier for our people to recognise this Jesus as their promised Messiah. Of course, none of us either could or would remove that offence, which not only the Jew but every natural man finds in the Cross of Christ. Only in the Cross can man, whether he be Jew or gentile, come to the new birth in the Holy Ghost and to the new life in God. What we want removed is the offence which our people cannot but take when they see that a Jew must apparently cease to be a Jew in order to declare himself a disciple of Him whom the inscription

on the Cross designated truly as the King of the Jews. We plead for the removal of the offence that a Jew is apparently asked to break the Law in order to follow Him who said, "I am come, not to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matth. v, 17–19).

Controversy about Lucky

– Reflections in Light of the Stockholm Conference in 1911

by **Kai Kjær-Hansen**

In this article, we will examine how Lucky and Waldmann's declaration of May 1911 was received at the so-called Eighth International Jewish Missionary Conference in Stockholm, June 1911. This will be done in the light of the two papers at the conference that dealt with so-called Neo-Ebionitism. As it is my opinion that the declaration on the whole is in Joseph Rabinowitz's spirit, I am surprised at the rather cold reception it got. I shall try to give an explanation of this. My guess is that the conference did not so much object to the declaration as to Lucky himself and what he *otherwise* stood for, matters that were not mentioned in the declaration. So what did Lucky stand for and what did he really mean?

When Lucky returns to Europe from America in the summer of 1889, Joseph Rabinowitz and the movement around him in Kishinev are known by all who were then involved in Jewish mission. Lucky visited Kishinev in the autumn of 1889, as we have seen in the article "Lucky and the Leipzig Program."[1] The two of them must have had quite a lot to talk about: Jewish mission and money, for example. The scenario is: The guest, Lucky, who fights against paid Jewish-missionaries (who paid his travel expenses?) meets Rabinowitz, a Jesus-believing Jew financially supported by Jewish mission societies.

If Lucky had attended one of Rabinowitz's Sabbath services, seen him drive to the prayer-hall, and afterwards turn on the samovar in his home and light a cigarette – all on a Sabbath – it is easy to imagine that this could cause a certain exchange of views.[2]

It is interesting to note that at the conference in Stockholm Rabinowitz is used positively, both by those who are *for* Lucky and by those who are *against* him. Therefore, to make it easier to follow the argument, I will provide a brief sketch of Rabinowitz's program and adherence to Jewish customs.

1 I must admit that I am annoyed that I have practically no information about this meeting or the personal relationship between Lucky and Rabinowitz afterwards.

2 Cf. Kai Kjær-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement* (Edinburgh and Grand Rapids: The Handsel Press and Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 149.

Rabinowitz's Adherence to Jewish Customs

With a few exceptions, the general view before Rabinowitz was that a Jew who "converted" to Christianity ceased to be a Jew. Rabinowitz dismissed that idea. He also protested against the idea that it was legalism if a Jesus-believing Jew wanted to retain Jewish customs. He stubbornly maintained that his faith in Jesus had not turned him into an ex-Jew, that his Jewish identity had not been drowned in baptism, and that a Jesus-believing Jew has freedom to live in a Jewish manner. He insisted to Gentile Christians that it was not a sin to continue to be a Jew after one had come to believe in Jesus as the Messiah.

He insisted to Gentile Christians that it was not a sin to continue to be a Jew after one had come to believe in Jesus as the Messiah.

Already at a conference in March 1884, in Kishinev, there were Gentile Christians representing Western Jewish mission societies, who voiced their misgivings about Rabinowitz smuggling the law in through the back door.

He had indicated that he and others similarly disposed wanted to observe Jewish customs inherited from the fathers, in so far as these do not clash with the spirit of Christianity. From a *religious* point of view, he and his adherents believe that the law has been fulfilled completely by the Messiah. But from a *patriotic* point of view, they want to observe the law, in so far as nationality and circumstances make it possible.

This gave rise to a debate about circumcision and the Sabbath. The Gentile Christians were worried that Rabinowitz might want to observe these commandments – not just for national but also for religious reasons. Therefore, they asked Rabinowitz if a Hebrew Christian who does not circumcise his child commits a sin. Rabinowitz answered, "He does not commit a sin, but he alienates himself from his own Jewish people." He gave a similar answer to the question of whether a Hebrew Christian who does not observe the Sabbath commits a sin.[3]

Franz Delitzsch, Gustav Dalman, and Hermann L. Strack all defended Rabinowitz when he came under attack.[4] Pastor Faltin in Kishinev and others found "Judaistic elements" in his theology and accused him of "Ebionitism."[5] Regarding Rabinowitz's observance of circumcision, the Sabbath, Jewish feasts, etc., Delitzsch cherished the hope that Rabinowitz, with his Pauline attitude, would finally draw the Pauline conclusion and abandon this view.[6] This did not happen, but Delitzsch's disapproval is not so strong that he cannot rejoice in Rabinowitz's work. He knew that Rabinowitz's doctrine of justification was in agreement with the Bible and the Reformation Fathers, and that was the crucial point for Delitzsch.

In this connection, it must also be mentioned that at an early stage Rabi-

3 Ibid., 55–56.
4 Ibid., 126–42.
5 Ibid., 142.
6 Ibid., 112–13.

nowitz makes Romans 10:4 one of his keys: "The Messiah is the end of the law." This is evident in his sermons, and it is evidenced by the Torah scroll in Rabinowitz's house of prayer – at least in the period 1885–1890, until he acquired his new building, Somerville Memorial Hall. The Torah scroll bore this very inscription in Hebrew.[7]

With Rabinowitz we thus have a Hebrew Christian leader who is a member of the universal church without belonging to a denomination; his baptism is publicly known; he wants to retain Jewish customs in order not to alienate himself from his people; he forms a congregation; he is not especially interested in others' mission methods; and he is not particularly enterprising regarding evangelistic outreach, which is not due to a program or a mission strategy but to his personality. In his last years, however, he had plans for railway evangelization: to have a railway coach built and travel around Russia, run the coach into a siding at various stations, and hold meetings and distribute New Testaments at places where the gospel was not otherwise being preached to Jews. The project was never realized, but it shows that Rabinowitz wanted to carry out "direct" mission.[8]

"Ebionitism" at the Jewish Missionary Conference, Stockholm 1911

Professor Hermann L. Strack is responsible for the report from the conference in Stockholm in 1911.[9] In the invitation to the conference, the conference committee had informed participants about the "considerations upon which the selection of the subjects allotted to the various readers of papers was based."[10] Concerning the last two papers about "Ebionitism," it is said:

> With the newly-awakened national consciousness of the Jews, animated and fed by the Zionistic movement, the old demand for a Hebrew-Christian type of Christianity once more becomes actual. The subject has been discussed repeatedly also in our International Conferences, and no understanding could be arrived at. The Hebrew-Christian movement is beset with a dual peril. On the one hand, there is the danger of emphasizing the national at the cost of the Christian element; on the other hand, a disparagement of Confessional theology is likely to lead to a new Ebionitism. It follows that the Mission to the Jews can only approach the demand for a Hebrew Christian Church with extreme caution. But we do not think that this justifies a refusal on our part to re-open the discussion.[11]

7 Ibid., 74, 108, 146.
8 Ibid., 198–200.
9 Cf. Hermann L. Strack, ed., *Jahrbuch der evangelischen Judenmission* [Yearbook of the Evangelical Missions among the Jews], vol. 2, (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913).
10 Ibid., 5.
11 Ibid., 6–7.

With this the conference leadership have made their position clear: they have indicated the perils but not the challenges; however, they are not going to prevent a re-opening of the issue. At the conference in Leipzig in 1895, this issue had been dealt with by the Lutheran clergyman August Wiegand. His theme, "What is the right relation of Hebrew Christians to the law?" was really aimed at Rabinowitz, who had cancelled his participation.[12] Professor Gustav Dalman read out some passages from a publication by Rabinowitz, in which he maintains that any Jew who believes in Jesus Christ is completely free as regards the law, "free from the heavy slave service according to the old essence of the letter."[13] The headlines, or theses, of Wiegand's paper in 1895 are as follows:

1. From the point of view of the New Testament, the Hebrew Christian has complete freedom whether or not to observe the Jewish law.
2. Voluntary observance of the Jewish law is recommended to the Hebrew Christian, especially if he is engaged in Jewish missions – from the point of view of love for his yet unbelieving tribesmen.
3. Voluntary observance of the Jewish law is recommended to him – in the light of the hope for a future church in Israel.[14]

They did not come to an agreement in Leipzig in 1895. What a pity that Rabinowitz was not present. And correspondingly, what a pity that Lucky was not present in 1911. It cannot be inessential to ask: Why does Lucky leave it to Wiegand to speak for him?[15] It is a fact that Wiegand's paper subsequently led to sharp exchanges of views in German mission journals, particularly *Saat auf Hoffnung* and *Nathanael*.

Let us now turn to the conference in Stockholm in 1911, and see how things develop there. As already mentioned, two papers were presented on so-called "Ebionitism."

The choice of the two speakers to deal with this topic seems to be very well-considered: C. T. Lipshytz from the Barbican Mission to the Jews in London, himself a Hebrew Christian, speaks *against* the new Ebionitism. T. Lindagen, a Gentile Christian and leader of the Swedish Israel Mission, speaks *for* it, and advises that the value-laden word "Ebionitism" be avoided in the discussion.[16]

12 Rabinowitz declined on the grounds that his health was not up to it. I wonder if another reason was that Pastor Faltin from Kishinev – the relationship between those two was very tense – had also been invited and asked to speak on the subject "Should the mission work towards the establishment of Hebrew Christian congregations?" Cf. Kjær-Hansen, 177–78.

13 Namely Rabinowitz's publication in Yiddish: *Was ist a Jsra'el ben b'rith chadasha* (Kishinev: 1894). I have not personally been able to consult it. The ending is rendered in a German translation by G. Dalman, "Josef Rabinowitz und sein Werk," *Nathanael* (1895): 129–35. A few passages also appear in A. Wiegand, "Joseph Rabinowitsch," *Saat auf Hoffnun* (1904): 72–73.

14 A. Wiegand, "Die Stellung des Judenchristen zum Gesetz," *Nathanael* (1895): 110–28.

15 As far as I can see, Lucky did not participate at all in the international conferences in Leipzig (1895), Cologne (1900), London (1903), or Amsterdam (1906).

16 Cf. Strack, 79.

Lipshytz's Contribution at the Conference in Stockholm

Lipshytz's theme is "The Relation of Christianity to the National Consciousness of the Jews." He does not deny that there is "a revived Jewish consciousness," but over against this is something which is more important, namely "a Christian doctrine, or system of teaching, which is independent of any particular national consciousness." The "present age, or dispensation, is that of the Church of Christ. However much the Jews may desire to live under the law of Moses, they cannot as a people actually do it," he argues. Besides, the Jewish national consciousness is "the consciousness of a nation which still rejects Christ." And "if we preach to the Jews we must say: 'Follow Christ; confess Him; leave the traditions of the elders; and take the consequences.'"[17]

What does Lipshytz include in "the tradition of the elders"? Circumcision, for example? Lipshytz gives the answer in a story: In 1893 he had a son, and as a Hebrew Christian he was inclined to believe "that a following of racial practice in this matter would inspire the respect and confidence of Jewish brethren." His wife agrees, "though, of course, there was no thought of ceremonial action, simply acquiescence in the custom of the people," he emphasizes.

What happened in the end? We will let Lipshytz tell his story:

> All arrangements [as regards the circumcision] were made, when, one day, a Jew asked me "if I believed in the Torah." In reply, I said "Yes." The man continued: "Have you had circumcised your son?" "I was about to have my son circumcised," I said; "but," I continued, after a moment's reflection, "here and now, to prove that my confidence is not in things of the flesh, that is, in things of the Law, I resolved to do nothing of this kind." The man was astonished, and as he listened with eagerness, I said: "What would you say, if I had my son circumcised? Would you not say that the missionary preaches the Gospel, but practises the Law? In a word, he is an hypocrite?" "Yes," replied the Jew, "I should not believe in your sincerity." Thereupon I abandoned the idea of having the boy circumcised. I refused to put a stumbling-block before my people. No man shall say that I preach Christ and follow Moses. "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation" (Gal. vi, 15). "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing," says the great Apostle. "For I testify to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole Law." His relation is legal, not Evangelical – he follows Moses, not Christ.[18]

So Lipshytz, Jewish-born and circumcised, rejects circumcision for Hebrew Christians. In his opinion, it is an attack on the uniqueness of Christ with all

17 Ibid., 72–74.
18 Ibid., 76.

that this involves. It was not so for Joseph Rabinowitz. The following passage, where Lipshytz refers to Rabinowitz, is therefore interesting:

> There is, I repeat, nothing new in the desire of Israel to stand apart; but this assuredly means a contempt of the teaching of the Apostle Paul, who declared that, alike in regard to sin and privilege, "there is no difference" between Jew and Gentile in the present dispensation, which is not an age of peoples but of persons, not of crowds but of individuals. For us, the missionaries, to cultivate Rabbinism is to neglect the duty of winning the Jews from the traditions of men, and of bringing them into definite association with the great Teacher as followers, disciples, brethren. Joseph Rabinowitz discovered this. The Jews suspected him while he spoke of "Christ our Brother." When, however, he was baptized, and stood apart for the love of Christ, everyone knew what he meant, and he was rightly regarded as a Christian out-and-out.[19]

That Lipshytz has the Leipzig program – and Lucky – at the back of his mind is not difficult to see. Rabinowitz would agree with him not to "cultivate Rabbinism." Rabinowitz also admits that things do go "slowly" in his congregation[20] – which means that observance of circumcision, the Sabbath, and the Jewish feasts has *not* had the result that Jews flood into his congregation in large numbers. But Rabinowitz would, in my opinion, have objected strongly to the use Lipshytz makes of his name. If he had been alive, I suppose that Rabinowitz might have said something like this:

> Lipshytz, you have just spoken, as a believer in Jesus, about your *no* to circumcision; this is your opinion. As for me, I have always believed that there is freedom to do this in faith in Jesus. So, next time you speak about these things and use my name, please make this clear. Whatever other Jews may think of my identity – and I agree: many Jews consider me a Christian Protestant – I do not see myself as an ex-Jew. Under the existing political conditions I have done what I could. I was baptized and made no secret of it. If the authorities had granted their permission, I would have baptized the members of the congregation so they would belong to the universal church without becoming ex-Jews. But as for me, it is still important to identify with my Jewish people – in the name of Christian freedom – through circumcision, the Sabbath, and the Jewish feasts. In the name of Jesus, of course!

So when Lipshytz points out that Rabinowitz's views, and practice, have *not* really resulted in a new attitude among Jewish people to faith in Jesus,

19 Ibid., 76–77.

20 To representatives from the Norwegian Israel Mission who visited him in Kishinev in 1892, Rabinowitz said that they should greet the mission supporters in Norway: "Tell them that God has a great ministry with Israel, but it is going slowly, slowly." Cf. Kjær-Hansen, 150.

he is right. But Lipshytz appears weak when he uses Rabinowitz's name to support his own views without, at the same time, making it clear that Rabinowitz, unlike Lipshytz, has no problem combining faith in Jesus with circumcision, etc.

Lindhagen's Contribution at the Conference in Stockholm

Lindhagen's theme is "Is there Ebionitism in the Jewish Mission?"[21] He begins by going back to Wiegand's paper in Leipzig in 1895, and the treatment of the subject at the subsequent conferences in Cologne (1900), London (1903), and Amsterdam (1906), where the subject, if not directly discussed, was nevertheless implied. Recent literary contributions are also mentioned, for example, the journal *The Messianic Jew*, edited by Rev. Phil. Cohen in South Africa.[22]

Again and again, Lindhagen emphasizes that Hebrew Christians have *freedom* to observe the Jewish customs. And he has been busy looking up quotations that validate that the so-called "Neo-Ebionites" are not as wrong and dangerous as some would make them out to be.

He thus draws attention to some words by Dr. Alexander Waldmann, one of the authors of the declaration reprinted in the previous article, who distinguishes between a "minimum" observance (e.g. circumcision, the Sabbath, and the Jewish feasts) and a "maximum" observance ("which, *inter alia*, includes the dietary laws"). For Waldmann both forms are legitimate. "Whether the minimum or maximum be observed will partly depend upon the type of Judaism in which the respective individual was trained from childhood or to which he belonged during most of his life." In this way, Waldmann has somehow relativized the question in that he does not argue from the Scriptures but recognizes that different forms of Jewish observance may be relevant. But no matter what, observance of the old customs needs to be filled with new *content*, which Waldmann also makes clear with the following words:

> But although this minimum or maximum is to be observed primarily from a national point of view, it is none the less true that the underlying idea is to fill these old forms with a new content. Thus, for instance, the feast of Passover should be combined with the Lord's Supper, the feast of Weeks with Whitsuntide, the feast of Chanukka with Christmas, the reading of the Law on the Sabbath with the reading of the Gospel.[23]

Seen in isolation, it is difficult for me to imagine that Rabinowitz, and those who supported him in his lifetime, would not be able to go along

21 Cf. Strack, 78–84.

22 Ibid., 78–79. Even though it took some time, Cohen's and other people's designation "Messianic Jew" for "Hebrew Christian" has become generally accepted and is now the most widely used term for Jewish believers in Jesus.

23 Ibid., 80.

with this understanding.

As for Lucky, Lindhagen also has a quotation which places him in a favorable light. He calls attention to a pronouncement by Lucky made "at a Jewish Christian Conference in Stanislau, August, 1903."[24] Lucky is quoted as saying the following:

> I do not demand from my fellow-believers the complete and strict observance of all Jewish customs at any price. Here is a brother who says, "We live in exile and are not our own masters, and though I would like to keep the entire ceremonial law, and all the more because I am a disciple of Jesus, I cannot do it. I am a soldier and must eat barrack fare. I must rest on Sunday and work on the Sabbath for the sake of my daily bread." Well, he is my brother nevertheless. I do not judge his conscience, nor is he to let me be a conscience to him in the matter of meats, or of the Sabbath, all of which are only a shadow of that of which we have the substance in Christ. On the other hand, another says, "Because I believe in Christ therefore I give up the Sabbath." Well, he is not less acceptable to God on that account, and I do not despise him for it nor condemn him. But I am sorry for him, and it hurts me to the depth of my heart because he too is a child of Israel and should help us to build up the walls of Jerusalem.[25]

Again, it is my contention that, seen *in isolation*, Rabinowitz might – perhaps with a slight change of vocabulary and added clarifications – be able to agree with the *substance* of this quotation.

Lindhagen also mentions Rabinowitz's name. Having cited a number of New Testament passages, Lindhagen says:

> It follows therefore that men like Israel Pick, the two Lichtensteins in Leipzig and Budapest, Joseph Rabinowitz, Mark Levy, and the Hebrew Christians mentioned above [Alexander Waldmann, Lucky, Cohen, etc.] occupy Scriptural ground, as do also many others in all parts of the world who seek to re-establish their connection with Israel by the observance of circumcision, the Sabbath and the feasts.[26]

Lindhagen cannot be reproached for referring to the mentioned persons as a *group* and as advocates of the view he contends, but that only goes for the "observance of circumcision, the Sabbath and the feasts," etc. The weakness of Lindhagen's argument is that he dare not distinguish between

24 Max Weidauer, "Erinnungen an Ch. Th. Lucky," *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1923): 20, lists the names of the participants in this conference: Ströter, Lucky, a Hebrew Christian from Warsaw, a Jewish-missionary from Braila, Zöckler, Wiegand, Pastor Opdenhoff, and Weidauer himself. The question of a law-observing Hebrew Christian congregation was discussed at the conference, Weidauer says, adding: "But the result was negative, equal to nil."

25 Cf. Strack, 80–81. This same statement by Lucky appears in a paraphrased form in A. Wiegand, "Joseph Rabinowitsch," 79.

26 Ibid., 82–83.

these persons and, for example, discuss their divergent views of baptism – should baptism be a private matter or should it be publicly known? – or Lucky's view of mission and criticism of paid missionaries, etc. (see below). In the hall in Stockholm, there are at least four Hebrew Christians who have all been to the Swedish Israel Mission's proselyte home; in 1911, they are all paid and active missionaries and have, through pamphlets, spread the knowledge of Rabinowitz's movement.[27] So Lindhagen dare not link voluntary observance of the law with the question of mission, evangelism, and strategy.

More about this later, when an attempt will be made to explain why mission societies and their leaders, who earlier to a large extent had supported Rabinowitz, do not now, in 1911, wish to support ideas that are very similar to those Rabinowitz had maintained. This is the crux of the matter.

But first to the declaration that was brought to Stockholm by Wiegand.

A Declaration Is Brought to Stockholm

Wiegand comes to Stockholm from Plau in Mecklenburg, Germany, with one thing in mind, namely to convey the declaration "Die Erklärung gesetzestreuer Judenchristen," as the original German title is, to the conference in Stockholm.[28]

Wiegand is aware of the conditions at the meeting in Stockholm. He knows that he has only five minutes at his disposal and that there will be no subsequent discussion. The day before, he placed copies of the document on the benches in the conference room. On the previous day, Lipshytz and Lindhagen addressed the conference, also without subsequent discussion, and after that it is Wiegand's turn. First, he hands over the document so that it will be included as an official document in the conference protocol. He next spends his five minutes on point 8 (printed in the previous article), and declares it would be far from the authors of the declaration to condemn those proselytes of Israel who take the path of assimilation. He also has time to turn to Lipshytz. Of course the latter has freedom to think what he likes, but Wiegand cannot help but find it peculiar that Lipshytz, on the question of circumcision, should have made himself dependent on a "christ-ungläubigen Jude" – a "Christ-unbelieving Jew."[29]

Christologically and soteriologically, it is difficult to criticize this declaration. As to observance of Jewish customs, the arguments are based on the New Testament principle of liberty. And it is said explicitly that they do *not* condemn brethren who take a different stand. Again, Rabinowitz's name is used as an argument in the introduction to the declaration.

27 In Swedish service: Philippus Gordon, I. N. Schapira, Paulus Wolff; in Danish service: Philemon Petri. Gordon and Wolff had made Rabinowitz's work known through pamphlets; Wolff, e.g., cooperated with Rabinowitz in 1896; cf. Kjær-Hansen, 158.

28 None of the signatories of the declaration are present, not even Otto von Harling from the Institutum Delitzschianum in Leipzig, who had declared his support of the declaration's first three points. See the previous article.

29 Cf. Wiegand in *Saat auf Hoffnung* (1911): 114.

The Conference's Response to the Question of So-called "Ebionitism"

Lucky and Waldmann – and Wiegand – did not achieve recognition from "the honorable International Conference for Jewish Missions in Stockholm" concerning "the liberty of Hebrew Christians towards the Law and their right to its observance." So there is no genuine "re-opening" of the question as announced in the invitation, since they avoided – or prevented – a discussion about it.

The explanation given for this is rather tragicomic. In the official report from the conference, printed immediately *before* the document, it is said:

> Revs. *C.T. Lipshytz* and *Th. Lindhagen* addressed the Conference on the so-called Ebionitism in the Jewish Mission and the Hebrew Christian national movement. . . . The great majority of those present were of the opinion that every member of the Conference had arrived at his own settled conviction regarding this matter, and that a discussion would in no way affect it.[30]

And immediately *after* the document it is said:

> It emerged from private expressions of opinion that almost all of those present agreed with the writer of the first paper [Lipshytz]. One is justified in thinking it very significant that only a very few Hebrew Christians approve the aims and efforts advocated in above Declaration. Almost all of them desire to enter wholly and fully into the membership of the "Gentile Christian" Evangelical Churches. At any rate, it is no part of the function of the Jewish Mission to support separatist endeavours. If it is the will of God that Hebrew Christians should form a close community, He will give them the power to do it without Gentile Christian help when the time for it comes.[31]

But a little door is nevertheless left ajar: circumstances may change sometime in the future. But right now "the Jewish Mission" is not going to "support separatist endeavours."

I could stop at this point, but I will not – for things do not make sense to me! I can understand that they said that an international conference like this has no business issuing a "recognition" as requested – and especially not when several major member organizations were not represented at the conference.[32] I can understand that the majority, for their own part, wish to maintain "membership of the 'Gentile Christian' Evangelical Churches." That was the way it was! But I *cannot* understand why those present, and

30 Cf. Strack, 15.
31 Ibid., 18.
32 In the report, it is said that "we missed representatives of the Scottish Churches, of the British Society, and of the Leipzig, Cologne, and other societies." Ibid., 7.

the conference as such, could not show more consideration for those Hebrew Christians who chose *voluntarily* to observe Jewish customs.[33]

As I have argued above, this declaration is, seen *in isolation*, in Rabinowitz's spirit. The scenario is the following: In the hall in Stockholm are, as hinted above, a number of individuals who since the mid-1880s and till Rabinowitz's death in 1899 have personally or through their organizations supported him and his cause theologically and financially, and who through countless articles in their respective organs have expressed their delight at what he stood for. Why can they no longer support a Rabinowitz-like cause?

It may be presumed that, for example, the Danish delegation, among whom were two Hebrew Christians and the chairman, Professor Frederik Torm, would have supported a Rabinowitz-like cause. If Torm had brought his own little book with him, published two years earlier, he might have read aloud from it. In it he writes the following about Rabinowitz's observance of "national customs":

> Christian friends of the mission had no objections as long as it was emphasized that circumcision or observance of the Sabbath could not be a *Christian obligation* for a Jew who was converted to Christianity. Rabinowitz fully concurred with this. . . .[34]

Then what about the other delegates? I will mention a few examples.

Louis Meyer, from the Chicago Hebrew Mission, would probably have voted against it. He might have expressed his support of Rabinowitz, but it would be a Rabinowitz molded in Meyer's own image. For Meyer seems to believe that there is a difference between the early Rabinowitz, who "for a time . . . clung to circumcision and the observance of the Jewish Sabbath," and the slightly later Rabinowitz, who through baptism "became a member of the Church of Christ" and "taught the deity of Christ, justification by faith alone, baptism for the remission of sins, and the resurrection."[35] There is no doubt that Rabinowitz underwent a theological development after his journey to Palestine in 1882, when he came to faith, till the time when he began his public services in 1885.[36] But Meyer's assertion that Rabinowitz only "for a time" "clung to circumcision," etc. – and that he *then* taught "justification by faith alone," etc., *without* continued insistence on circumcision, etc. – does not hold.

What about Samuel Hinds Wilkinson from the Mildmay Mission? What would he have said if there had been a discussion in Stockholm, and how

33 The conference issues a "Resolution," but the question of Ebionitism is not mentioned at all. The theme of this "Resolution" is the previous year's World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910); in this "Resolution" there is criticism of the fact that evangelism to Jews was not sufficiently considered in Edinburgh. Ibid., 19–21.

34 Frederik Torm, *Fortællinger af Israelsmissionens Historie* (Copenhagen: De forenede Bogtrykkerier i Aarhus, 1909), 72.

35 Louis Meyer, *Eminent Hebrew Christians of the Nineteenth Century: Brief Biographical Sketches*, ed. David A. Rausch (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1983), 93.

36 Cf. Kjær-Hansen, 41–116.

would he have voted? His father, John Wilkinson, the founder of the Mildmay Mission, had been a strong supporter of Rabinowitz. I have no certain knowledge of whether father and son saw eye to eye on this matter. But in Stockholm, Samuel Hinds Wilkinson might have had the proofread manuscript of the Mildmay Mission's magazine *Trusting and Toiling* with him; this was due for publication a few days later (under the date June 15, 1911), and he might have referred to the front-page article entitled "Circumcision or Christ: The Messianic Movement," written by D. M. Panton.

If one yields to a *voluntary* observance of the law, the uniqueness of Christ is not only at stake but lost.

As the title indicates, there is *no* "both . . . and" in this article. It is "either . . . or." If one yields even to a *voluntary* observance of the law, the uniqueness of Christ is not only at stake but lost. Panton writes:

> Hebrew Christians, says Mr. Mark Levy, are free to admit their male children into the covenant of Abraham, by circumcision, "provided it is clearly understood that neither Jew nor Gentile can be saved by works of the Law." This is an excellent proviso: but Paul pronounces the coupling of circumcision and grace as by the very nature of the Law totally invalid and fratricidal. For Christ either did everything, or He did nothing: if He obeyed the whole Law for me, it is an insult to supplement that obedience; and if He obeyed it only partially I must obey the whole."[37]

So even if we cannot rule out the possibility that some individuals and organizations, in 1911, have changed their opinion of Rabinowitz's program, and the principle of freedom, this cannot explain the conference's lukewarm attitude to the declaration Wiegand had conveyed on behalf of Lucky and Waldmann. There seems to be something between the lines, something that is not stated explicitly.

But what?

In looking for an answer, I ask myself: If they had treated the question *historically*, asking themselves if they were still willing to express their support of a Rabinowitz-like program – his *theology of freedom* regarding Jewish customs and his insistence that Jesus-believing Jews are not ex-Jews and that they have a right to organize themselves in Hebrew Christian congregations as a part of the universal Church of Christ/Messiah – then I do not doubt that the *majority* at the conference would have voted "yes."

Such a vote would *have* to result in a "yes." A "no" would mean that all that the majority's organizations had stood for in the period from about 1885 to 1899 – and still were standing for – was wrong and really a mistake.

37 D. M. Panton, "Circumcision or Christ: The Messianic Movement," *Trusting and Toiling on Israel's Behalf* (1911): 82.

So again, how can the somewhat lukewarm attitude at the Stockholm conference be explained? Professor Strack may be able to help us understand.

Decisions on Declarations Are Not Made in a Historical Vacuum

Professor Strack had supported Rabinowitz in the mid-1880s together with Delitzsch (see above). They had hoped that Rabinowitz's *voluntary* observance of Jewish customs would eventually came to an end. Strack may have changed his mind when he realized that this would not happen. But this does not seem to be the case. In 1912, he publishes Lipshytz's paper in German and provides it with a preface. In this preface, he endorses the establishment of Hebrew Christian congregations by Hebrew Christians in places where they are numerous; he also approves of the use of Hebrew in their services and the practice of other peculiarities [*besonderheiten*]. Strack has no difficulty understanding things like that. But when it becomes a *demand* [*forderung*] on Hebrew Christians that they must observe the Sabbath, the Jewish feasts, the Jewish dietary laws, and "even have their newborn sons circumcised," he objects vigorously. Christ is the end of the law. If you *demand* [*verlangen*] such observance from Hebrew Christians, the death of Christ will become null and void, and one person will exalt himself over the other – according to Strack.[38]

Perhaps these words provide us with a key to understanding why the Stockholm conference was not particularly interested in taking a stand on the declaration submitted by Wiegand. They had seen what this was all about. Formally, Lucky and Waldmann were behind the declaration, a declaration which as far as *content* was concerned argued from the principle of freedom regarding the observance of Jewish customs. But they knew better. They knew that at least Lucky *wanted* and *demanded* more than that which Wiegand submitted in Waldmann's and Lucky's names.

I will conclude by trying to show it probable that Strack and others who had earlier endorsed Rabinowitz's *voluntary* observance of certain Jewish customs have not in any essential way changed their minds. But Lucky – what he stands for, what he has said earlier, and what he has practiced – has blocked an affirmation of the declaration which was presented in his name.

Let me spell it out: At the conference, people are well aware that the declaration is *not* an expression of what Lucky really believes and practices; they also know that something is hidden behind the document's words about *voluntary* observance.

Decisions on declarations and requests for approval are never made in a historical vacuum. This is also the case with the Stockholm conference's attitude to Lucky and Waldmann's declaration. They know more about Lucky

38 Christlieb T. Lipshytz, *Der Ebionitismus in der Judenmission* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912); Strack's preface, pp. 3–4.

than what is expressed in the declaration.

Are there historical sources that can validate this claim?

Lucky and His Mission – And the Money of the Mission

Lucky wanted, as was already said, to have nothing to do with organized Jewish mission. He does not want to be paid by the mission either. But what you decide for yourself is one thing; if what you decide for yourself becomes a model for what others in a mission program should do, it is another. If "those others" do not follow this model, they may then become suspicious. It would be no wonder if paid Jewish missionaries felt that Lucky, as regards the question of money, had double standards.

It is not easy to be consistent, not even for a Lucky. In the light of history, he is not quite "kosher," as emerges from the following story.

Back from America in 1889, Lucky plans to publish the periodical *Eduth l'Israel* in Europe. He approaches the Jewish-born G. M. Löwen, employed as a missionary in the Berlin Society, and asks Löwen to be in charge of the publication. Lucky assures him that he will be doing most of the work. But, says Löwen, without money such a project is not feasible. "Does that mean that your Society will not help?" Lucky retorts. And Löwen continues: "What? Should a mission society support a work which is hostile to organized mission work?"[39] Eventually, the new *Eduth l'Israel* did get published, not least owing to a recommendation from the then leader of the Berlin Society, Heinrich Schwabedissen.[40] It is decided that Löwen should be the formal editor responsible to the Berlin Society, that Lucky should write most of the material, and that the rights should belong to the Berlin Society. And not least, through talks with Lucky and Schwabedissen in 1889 and 1890 in Berlin, it is made clear that "of course" the new *Eduth l'Israel* would not contain attacks on Jewish mission nor be used as a mouthpiece for Lucky's idiosyncratic ideas about Hebrew Christianity. The object is "only" to proclaim the gospel for Jews in a way that is relevant and objective.[41]

The first issue appeared in May 1890. In the preface, Lucky writes in enthusiastic terms about the "rebirth" of *Eduth l'Israel*, which strictly speaking is no longer *his* journal but now belongs to and is paid for by the Berlin Society.[42]

This alliance – one is tempted to say "of course" – did not last long. The Berlin Society held that they had kept their part of the deal and that Lucky had not kept his.[43] *Eduth l'Israel* was closed down about two years later.[44] Löwen, who had been sent to Lemberg to edit the journal, returned to

39 G. M. Löwen, "Christian Theophilus Lucky," *Nathanael* (1917): 18.
40 In 1911, one of the signatories of Lucky and Waldman's declaration.
41 Cf. R. Bieling, *Die Juden vornehmlich* (Berlin: The Berlin Society, 1913), 82.
42 Ibid., 85–86, which has an extract of the preface in German translation and information about the kind of articles that will appear in the subsequent issues.
43 Cf. Bieling, 86–87.
44 Ibid., 86.

Berlin and finished the double issue, no. 8–9, without Lucky's help.[45]

According to Löwen, there were both personal and religious reasons for his formal resignation as editor. Lucky had required of him that he should live in the same way as himself, namely as a law-observing Jew who lives by rabbinical law, something Löwen was neither able nor willing to do.[46]

How Lucky fended for himself without getting money for his work is quite a riddle. The clergyman Max Weidauer, who supported Lucky's cause, says that Lucky lived in poverty and never begged. But where did he get money, for example, for his many journeys? Without money he could not get on the train in Stanislau to go to Chicago, Weidauer notes. He often stayed at friends' houses and had his meals there. Weidauer's comment on Lucky seems to be spot-on: He believed that he was the most undemanding person, but in demanding something special for himself he was indeed demanding. He also believed that he was the most independent person, but really he was very dependent on other people, Weidauer claims.[47]

All sources agree that Lucky lived in poverty, which there is no reason to question. He did not line his own pockets. But many sources reveal that he traveled a lot. Again, where did the money come from?[48]

In his last years, Lucky lived free of charge at the theological seminary Paulinum in Stanislau, where, in return, he taught the theological candidates. Paulinum was, as we have seen, in part supported financially by the Danish Israel Mission.[49]

This was all very well, but paid Jewish missionaries in the service of the mission could ask, with some right, what the difference really was between them and him regarding money and material support. They received "direct" payment for their direct mission work; Lucky lived, at times, on "indirect" support for his work.

What Did Lucky Really Want?

When Wiegand, as spokesman for Lucky, presents the question of Jesus-believers' attitude to the law, verbally and in writing, he stresses the *freedom* to keep the law, the *freedom* that the gospel gives. But the question is if this freedom did not, for Lucky, imply an obligation. When he worked closely together with Jewish-born Jesus-believers, he seems to have demanded that they live like him.

But what did Lucky really want? Wiegand helps us to answer that question. In 1917, shortly after Lucky's death, Wiegand says as follows:

45 Cf. Löwen, 21, who also mentioned that the work had given him a nervous breakdown. Lucky tried again, in 1907, to publish a journal, *Ha-Eduth*. According to Löwen, 22–23, seven or eight issues appeared. I have no information on who backed this publication financially.

46 Löwen, 18.

47 Max Weidauer, 12.

48 Or, to ask a radical question: Did he somewhere have financial resources on which he could draw?

49 Cf. my introductory remarks to the article about Mrs. Petra Volf's reminiscences in this issue of *Mishkan*.

> It should not be concealed, however, that what was presented in Lucky's name in Leipzig [1895] and Stockholm [1911] did not really express his *innermost thoughts*. What he wished and wanted was, at bottom, not a group of Jewish Christians who were faithful to the Law inside the gentile church but a *congregation of Jews who were faithful to Jesus inside the synagogue*. That is what he worked for in the end and he almost regretted that he spent so much time and energy on the German candidates instead of dedicating himself completely to the internal Jewish work. His Jewish followers should therefore remain in the synagogue and also commit themselves to the rabbinical interpretation of the Law to the extent that it was recognized in the synagogue. Consequently they should only differ from the other Jews in regard to faith in Jesus."[50]

I can see no reason why this information should not be an adequate expression of Lucky's "innermost thoughts." The words belong to Wiegand, the man who for more than twenty-five years had been Lucky's mouthpiece. In this way, he is really saying that in his struggle for Lucky's cause he has only *partially* given expression to Lucky's views. The passage can be read as a kind of "confession": I, Wiegand, fought for Lucky's cause, which I still do! But I *played down* what he really meant. "What he wished and wanted was, at bottom. . . ."

Even though Wiegand does not say this in plain words until 1917, I assume that at least some of the participants at the conference in Stockholm in 1911 were well aware of what Lucky *really* wanted, namely "a congregation of Jews who were faithful to Jesus inside the synagogue."

Lucky really wanted . . . a "congregation of Jews who were faithful to Jesus inside the synagogue."

In other words, saying yes to a declaration drawn up in Lucky's name could be construed as a yes to Lucky's "innermost thoughts." In Stockholm they were, quite understandably, not willing to give their support to something like this. Basically, such an idea was, and is, in my opinion, an illusion. One thing is what you yourself as a Hebrew Christian would like, another is what the other side, the synagogue, wants. Of course the synagogue will not let itself be defined by a Jesus-believing Jew; it defines itself, and defines itself in relation to Jesus. And of course the synagogue has a right to do this!

I have no clear picture of how Lucky and his few disciples worshipped in the synagogue. Jakób Jocz tells that on a visit to Lemberg, he had occasion to personally meet a few of Lucky's former disciples. About these he says: "Some of Theophi Lucky's *Chassidim*, who used to attend faithfully the Synagogue Services, made it a practice, at the end of each prayer, to utter under their breath: 'Beshem Yeshua Hamashiach Adonenu,'" i.e. in

50 A. Wiegand, "Chajim Jedidjah Lucky, ein gesetzestreuer Judenchrist," *Nathanael* (1917): 60.

the name of Yeshua the Messiah our Lord.[51] As I see it, there can be no two opinions on such a situation being untenable for a Jesus-believing Jew in the long run.[52]

Löwen, who despite some tensions between himself and Lucky kept up a friendly, lifelong correspondence with him, supports Wiegand's description of Lucky's "innermost thoughts" and practice. Löwen writes in 1917:

> Lucky's exaggerated love of his Jewish people destroyed, unfortunately, what he had laboriously achieved. He led the souls to Christ and then drove them back into the synagogue, the same synagogue where they daily recite Moses Maimonides' confession which consciously defames Christ as an idol."[53]

And yet these are not Löwen's last words about Lucky. There is another side to the matter, a tricky one.

Was Lucky Moving Away from His Ideals in His Last Years?

Löwen provides important information about Lucky's standpoints in 1911 and 1913. He says that Lucky, who is seriously ill, visits him in Vienna, where he has come to consult a doctor. Let us not go into the question of who has given Lucky money for this journey and consultation. More important is what Löwen has to say. He writes about their meeting in 1911:

> Lucky's head had turned white, his speech soft and mild: only seldom did a sharp word leave his mouth about missionaries or mission societies. When that happened, he hastened to apologize: "None of us are righteous, we are all fallible humans and there is something good in all."[54]

Is it the illness that has weakened Lucky's fighting spirit, or are his words an expression of self-reflection and genuine self-criticism? Or is it Löwen who speaks in an obituary-like style? These questions are not unimportant for a present-day assessment of Lucky's cause.

According to Löwen, Lucky is in Vienna again in August 1913, in connection with a Zionist conference. He stays with Löwen. Both attend the conference.

Lucky had seen Löwen in conversation with some Zionists. Löwen says this about the ensuing conversation between them:

51 Jakób Jocz, *The Jewish People and Jesus Christ: A Study in the Controversy between Church and Synagogue* (1949; repr., London: SPCK, 1954), 406 note 339; 335 note 233.

52 Jocz furthermore claims: "After his [Lucky's] death a few of his disciples joined the Protestant Church; others lapsed to Judaism." Ibid., 256.

53 Löwen, 16.

54 Ibid., 24.

> "I [Lucky] have had quarrels with people, also with you, for the sake of the Jews, and today they are your friends. How foolish I have been! Any mission society would have taken me in their service if I had wanted it; I might have lived a normal life like you. Why did I despise that? I was a fool!"
>
> I [Löwen] wanted to change his mind to less gloomy thoughts and brought him into my nearby accommodation. As we were drinking a friendly cup of tea, he had some very kind words for my literary work. That touched me so much that I put my left arm around him and pressed him against me: "We might have been standing like this twenty years ago, my dear Lechem" (that is what he had called me since we first met), and his and my eyes were moist.
>
> When we said goodbye to each other – this was the last time, for we did not see each other again – Lucky was again so cordial that I was encouraged by it for many days.[55]

One cannot but rejoice that two Jesus-believing Jews, men who have been unable to cooperate and who have had totally different views on goals and means in Jewish missions, in this way become reconciled. But, as hinted above, perhaps there is too much "obituary" about Löwen's description.[56]

But for the overall objective we pursue, these last accounts, from Wiegand and Löwen, pose a challenge. Continued research will have to uncover if the accounts and our interpretation of them hold. But *if* there is some truth in them, *if* they adequately express Lucky's views at the end of his life, it is not possible today to refer to Lucky's program without considering that he at last seems to have regretted what he had stood for, and that he dissociated himself from a part of his own program.

If it was known at the Stockholm conference that Lucky had begun to moderate his views as to mission strategy (cf. his words "None of us are righteous, we are all fallible humans and there is something good in all"), then there is no doubt that it would have been nice for those Jewish missionaries who were employed in the mission's service, those he had earlier attacked so fiercely. I doubt, however, that this in itself would have changed the decision at the conference not to give the seal of approval to the document submitted in his name.

Lucky's "name" and "innermost thoughts," what he until then had stood for, blocked approval of the submitted declaration, which seen *in isolation* was in Rabinowitz's spirit and therefore might have been accepted by the majority of the delegates at the conference in Stockholm in 1911.

In other words, it was not so much the *content* of Lucky and Waldmann's declaration they dissociated themselves from as Lucky the *person* and what he stood for and was known for.

55 Ibid., 24–25.

56 The Danish clergyman in Przmysel, Emil Clausen, did not see it like that in 1914; on the contrary, see the end of my introduction to the article on Mrs. Petra Volf's reminiscences about Lucky in this issue of *Mishkan.*

For just as theology is not practiced in a historical vacuum, so decisions about a declaration are also not made in a historical vacuum.

Concluding Remarks

Of course the Stockholm conference in 1911, could not – nor did it want to – prevent Hebrew Christian congregations being established, particularly in Eastern Europe and more or less modeled on Rabinowitz's principles, or Hebrew Christians forming loose associations, often in connection with existing missions and churches. This story will not be told here, nor will we deal with the story that led to what seems to be a most natural thing today: that Jesus-believing Jews practice circumcision and keep the Sabbath and the Jewish feasts, in the name of Jesus. I venture the assertion that practically all Jewish mission societies *today* would be able to give their seal of approval to the main concern of Lucky and Waldmann's declaration of 1911.

This does not mean, however, that there are not tensions between Jewish missions and some Messianic Jews even today. A few groups in the Messianic movement today want to distance themselves from the Christian church and Gentile Christian missionaries; they seem to believe that Jesus-believing Jews are *obliged* to observe the law and are critical of "direct" mission, and in some cases are willing to open the door a crack for the view that Jews who have not accepted the gospel of Jesus are nevertheless included in his salvation.[57]

The continued discussion of these important issues could, in my opinion, take this quotation by Professor Frederik Torm as their point of departure:

> The New Testament neither orders nor forbids the Hebrew Christian to live according to the law of Moses. He who wants to either order or forbid that must do so on his own responsibility; he has not been authorized to it by the Lord.[58]

57 See *Mishkan* 53 (2007), with excerpts from papers from the Borough Park Symposium, New York, October 8–10, 2007. Similar themes and discussions are treated in the journal *Kesher* 22 (2008), published by the Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations.

58 Torm, 75.

Reflections on Hindrances to Jewish Evangelism

by **Michael L. Brown**

One of the truest signs of spiritual vitality in the life of a believer is a burning desire to share the good news of Yeshua with everyone who is willing to hear the message. We have found the pearl of great price, and our greatest joy is to introduce him to others. Our hearts beat to make Yeshua known, and our hearts break for those who do not know him. We are convinced that they are lost, knowing that outside of him, there is no salvation. Sometimes the burden can be crushing, but no amount of rationalizing can mitigate the pain, since we really do believe that people are perishing without the Lord.

Why then is this burden lacking today in all too many Messianic Jews? I believe there are several key elements that have diluted our passion for Jewish evangelism.

An Emphasis on Judaism More Than on Messianic

As a result of our desire to be one with our people, or out of love for our traditions, or out of a desire to demonstrate that we are still Jewish, or out of the belief that we are the continuation of Judaism rather than Christianity, we have unwittingly put our emphasis in the wrong place. It is Yeshua himself who must be central – in the life and power of the Spirit – and everything we do must be subservient to that grand purpose. As Paul wrote to the Colossians, "Also he is head of the Body, the Messianic Community – he is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, so that he might hold first place in everything. For it pleased God to have his full being live in his Son" (Col 1:18–19, JNT). Yeshua must have the preeminence! He must "hold first place in everything."

As a result of our desire to be one with our people . . . or out of the belief that we are the continuation of Judaism rather than Christianity, we have unwittingly put our emphasis in the wrong place.

Jewishness is not our distinctive (especially in Israel). Messianic Jewish halakhah or Messianic Jewish liturgy is not what ultimately sets us apart. It is Yeshua, worshiped and adored and preached and proclaimed, who sets us apart, and he, not Torah or Israel or Shabbat, must be our primary

focus. (I am not saying that Yeshua is in conflict with Torah or Israel or Shabbat – God forbid! – but rather that he must be the focal point of all we do and say.)

When Paul went to the Gentile Corinthians, he determined that he "would forget everything except Yeshua the Messiah, and even him only as someone who had been executed on a stake as a criminal" (1 Cor 2:2, JNT). This was his starting point and, ultimately, his ending point (see Phil 3:7–14). But this was not only the strategy for reaching the Gentiles. It was also Peter's strategy when preaching to our people on Shavu'ot: "Therefore, let the whole house of Isra'el know beyond doubt that God has made him both Lord and Messiah – this Yeshua, whom you executed on a stake!" (Acts 2:36, JNT; this continued to be the central theme of the preaching in Acts; see, e.g., Acts 3:12–26; 5:30–32; 13:26–39; 20:21).

To the extent that Yeshua is our primary focus in life and ministry, we will desire to make him known to our people, recognizing that they are lost without him. To the extent that other interests take priority over him – no matter how worthy those interests may be – we will fail to evangelize effectively, not to mention the fact that the evangelism we do will be less effective, since the central core of our proclamation will be missing.

Uncertainty about Whether Our People Are Really Lost without Yeshua

When the Lord brought me to himself at the end of 1971, there were a few things that became abundantly clear very quickly. One was that I could say with assurance, "I once was lost but now am found"; the other was that I could say with equal assurance that my friends and family were still lost. To be sure, in those early years, I was often lacking in wisdom and tact (to say the least), but I really longed to see all my loved ones and friends come into this wonderful new life that I was experiencing. And whenever I met a Jew, all the more did I want to tell him or her the good news (the more religious they were, the better). I couldn't wait to share my own story with them and ask them, "Do you know about Jesus our Messiah?"

Over the course of time, as I spent hours talking with more and more *frum* Jews, I realized that they were also deeply committed to God – unlike the members of the Conservative Jewish synagogue in which I was bar mitzvahed, where the religious commitment was quite nominal. Still, it was totally clear to me that both of us could not be right, and on some very memorable occasions, while reading through the prayers of the Siddur, my heart would break for our people. They were so near and yet so far!

While reading through the prayers of the Siddur, my heart would break for our people. They were so near and yet so far!

Today, however, many of us are not so sure that we can say our people are lost without Yeshua. Some teachers have introduced the Messianic Jewish version of the wider hope of salvation, while others have spoken of

Yeshua's mystical presence within Judaism and the people of Israel. Others have put their emphasis on Torah obedience, and since none are more zealous for the Torah (albeit through the lens of the Oral Torah) than traditional Jews, how then can they be "lost"?

To be sure, none of us knows the fate of every Jew who has died since the days of Yeshua, and most of us hold out hope that somehow our deceased loved ones who heard about Yeshua got right with God before they died. I have even had Messianic Jewish friends quote Matthew 10:40 to me with regard to their departed moms or dads: "He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives the one who sent me" (NIV). That is to say, since our parents received *us* as believers in Jesus, it is as if they received *him*. Would to God this were true!

It is one thing, however, to refuse to be dogmatic about the eternal fate of every Jew who apparently died without explicit faith in Yeshua as Messiah or to hold out hope that we will see our parents in the world to come. It is another thing to turn this into doctrine, since the overwhelming testimony of the New Covenant Scriptures is that our people are perishing because they have not bowed before our Messiah and King. That alone explains Paul's words in Romans 9: "My grief is so great, the pain in my heart so constant, that I could wish myself actually under God's curse and separated from the Messiah, if it would help my brothers, my own flesh and blood, the people of Isra'el!" (Rom 9:2–4, JNT). Because our people, the people of Israel, were separated from the Messiah and cut off from full fellowship with God, Paul's pain was almost unbearable.

Sadly, the situation of our people has not changed on a national level since then, and therefore we should also cry out for the redemption of our people – individually and nationally – with broken hearts before our Father.

Belief in the Validity of the Oral Torah

This may seem like an odd subject in an article on hindrances to Jewish evangelism, but it should be touched on briefly. Simply stated, if the Oral Torah is authentic – meaning, that it was given on some level to Moses by the Lord and then passed on to us through the traditional Jewish leadership – then it is not we who hold the key to interpretation of the Scriptures by the Spirit, it is the traditional rabbis. And it is not we who can teach them the way of salvation, but they who can teach us.

Simply stated, if the Oral Torah is authentic . . . then it is not we who hold the key to interpretation of the Scriptures by the Spirit, it is the traditional rabbis.

Of course, on some level I am oversimplifying things here, since we all accept that there were many good traditions which were handed down through the generations and we believe that both past and present rabbinic leaders have many important insights into the Word of God and the things of God. (For a full treatment of the question of the Oral Law from

a Messianic Jewish perspective, see Michael L. Brown, *Answering Jewish Objections to Jesus: Vol. 5, Traditional Jewish Objections*, forthcoming.) Once we grant, however, that there is an authoritative Oral Torah, we put ourselves in a place of subservience (or, as some would even advocate, submission) to those Jews who have been following the Oral Law all their lives, and consciously or not, we lose our boldness and confidence in the Lord.

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I personally believe that Yeshua introduced a Messianic, Holy Spirit approach to the Torah, but that is a subject for another discussion (see Michael L. Brown, *Answering Jewish Objections to Jesus: Vol. 4, New Testament Objections*). Suffice it to say that it is the attitude of our hearts that is at question here more than the particular way in which we relate to Torah. In other words, do we really believe that in Yeshua and in him alone we have a new and better way, a unique and definitive connection to God, and an extraordinary place of forgiveness and cleansing and empowerment unknown to all Jews outside of Yeshua? Do we really believe this, or are we enamored by the traditions of our people to the point that we buy into their distinctive more than ours?

In writing all this, I do not question any individual among us, nor do I claim to know the motivations of anyone's heart. And I have intentionally not cited other books or authors in these reflections, since I am speaking in generalities rather than pointing fingers at people. I would only ask that each of you reading this article would take the time to examine your own life, to look back to times when sharing Yeshua was your meat and drink, and to ask yourself if anything has changed for the worse within you in terms of being a vibrant witness for him. Ultimately, we can judge the tree by the fruit it bears.

How Christian Is Christian Zionism?

*– An Update on Its Uneasy Interaction with Jewish Missions and Evangelism**

by **David Brickner**

The theme of our conference, "Jewish Evangelism Against All Odds," establishes an appropriate context for a discussion of Christian Zionism's impact on Jewish evangelism today. It is indeed an odd thing that something so seemingly positive towards the Jewish people and so apparently Christian on its face would, in fact, be at odds with Jewish evangelism. That is the contention of this paper. Let me unpack it a bit further.

Christian Zionism, as it is expressed today, dilutes the gospel message by offering comfort apart from Christ. Furthermore, it diverts gospel resources, in terms of people and funding, which could be channeled toward Jewish evangelism. And it also discourages evangelical Christians from witnessing to their Jewish friends.

Much has been written of late, both pro and con, regarding Christian Zionism, and it is not the purpose of this paper to rehash all those arguments. Just last year *Mishkan* published issue 55 on the subject "Israel, the Land, and Christian Zionism," and I commend it to all of you for its current critique. My purpose here is to provide an update on recent trends within Christian Zionism and their impact on Jewish evangelism in North America.

It is helpful to set the current situation in context by providing some definitions and a brief overview. Christian Zionism is the belief that the return of the Jewish people to the Holy Land and the establishment of the modern State of Israel is the fulfillment of God's purposes and Bible prophecy, and that it is a Christian duty to support and provide aid and comfort to the nation of Israel as well as to help encourage Jewish immigration to Israel from around the world.

Early Christian Zionism

Historically, Christian Zionism was not antithetical to Jewish evangelism. In its nascent form Christian Zionism, known as Restorationism, inextricably linked the hope of Israel's physical restoration with that of her spiritual

* This article was presented as a paper at the annual meeting of the Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism North America, Phoenix, AZ, March 2–4, 2009.

restoration in Christ. The history of Restorationism, which I will call biblical Christian Zionism, has been well documented. As scholar Paul Merkley has said,

> Christian Zionism is not the creation of 19th century freelance theologians. Its ultimate source is mainstream Protestant theology of the 16th and 17th centuries, renewed in Anglican circles in England in the late 18th century and appearing as a significant emphasis in the preaching of the great revival and subsequent revivals which produced the mainstream evangelical churches of the 19th century in the United States. Christian Zionists adhere to a wide range of hermeneutic schools and belong to churches all across the spectrum.[1]

As far back as 1560, one can find comments in the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible on Romans 11:26 that Paul "showeth that the time shall come that the whole nation of the Jews, though not everyone particularly, shall be joined to the church of Christ." John Ross documents quite a bit of this historical background in his 1990 *Mishkan* article "Beyond Zionism: Evangelical Responsibility to Israel," citing in particular Michael Pragai's *Faith and Fulfillment: Christians and the Return to the Promised Land* as well as Ian Murray's *The Puritan Hope*.[2]

More recently Stephen Sizer, whose criticism of Christian Zionism is deeply flawed, has nevertheless developed good historical material on nineteenth century biblical Christian Zionists who supported Jewish evangelism.

In fact, Sizer points to the first evidence, it would seem, of a shift from biblical Christian Zionism to what I will call political Christian Zionism in the influence of the Reverend William Hechler, a son of London Jews Society (LJS) missionaries who became an acquaintance of Theodore Herzl while serving as chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. Writes Sizer:

> Although sympathetic to the evangelistic ministry of the LJS, Hechler's advocacy and diplomacy marked a radical shift in Christian Zionism away from the views of Way and Simeon who saw restoration to the land as a consequence of Jewish conversion to Christianity.[3]

Sizer quotes from an 1898 letter from Hechler to a missionary in Jerusalem:

> Of course dear colleague you look for the conversion of the Jews, but the times are changing rapidly, and it is important for us to look

1 Paul C. Merkley, "Christian Zionism 101," *Think-Israel*, January–February 2007, http://www.think-israel.org/merkley.christianzionism.html [accessed June 18, 2009]. Merkley is Professor Emeritus of History at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

2 John S. Ross, "Beyond Zionism: Evangelical Responsibility to Israel," *Mishkan* 12 (1990): 8–27.

3 Stephen Sizer, *Christian Zionism: Road-map to Armageddon?* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2004), 76. Page numbers refer to a pre-publication PDF version.

> further and higher. We are now entering, thanks to the Zionist Movement, into Israel's Messianic age. Thus it is not a matter these days of opening all the doors of your churches to the Jews, but rather of opening the gates of their homeland, and of sustaining them in their work of clearing the land and irrigating it and bringing water to it. All of this, dear colleague, is messianic work; all of this the breath of the Holy Spirit announces.[4]

Sizer's overall assessment of Christian Zionism seems to be based on a visceral antagonism to and mischaracterization of dispensationalism. While there is no doubt that dispensationalism in America provided a significant platform for the development of Christian Zionism, it hardly served as its only theological proponent, and indeed if properly understood would provide an appropriate corrective to the rise of political Christian Zionism. Nevertheless, the dispensationlist movement gave birth to the most prominent of biblical Christian Zionists, William E. Blackstone. The well-known Blackstone Memorial Petition of 1891 called for the U.S. to facilitate the restoration of Jewish people to the land of Israel and was influential in garnering American political support for the establishment of the State of Israel.

Having said all this, it is very hard to find among the restorationists of the nineteenth century and the early biblical Christian Zionists of the twentieth century any who separated their desire to see the Jewish people back in the land of Israel from their fervent desire to see Jewish people embrace Jesus as Messiah. It is only after the establishment of the State of Israel, and especially after the recapture of Jerusalem in 1967, that we begin to see the rise of a political Christian Zionism that divorced itself from Jewish evangelism.

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Christian Zionism in Recent Times

Political Christian Zionism really came into its own in North America, and was best represented early on by two organizations: Bridges for Peace and the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem, founded in 1976 and 1980 respectively. Both of these groups called upon Christians to support Israel as their biblical responsibility before God. Sadly, both organizations disavowed Jewish evangelism as well. These facts have been well documented, not only by Sizer, but in issues 12 (1990) and 55 (2008) of *Mishkan* as well as in a cogent paper on the Christian Embassy given at the 1985 LCJE North America conference by Harold Sevener, then president of the

4 Ibid.

American Board of Missions to the Jews.[5]

Bridges for Peace and the International Christian Embassy continue their activities to this day, and have expanded significantly around the world. Bridges for Peace, long led by Clarence Wagner, is now under the direction of Rebecca Brimmer, who is their international president and CEO. According to their IRS form 990 on GuideStar, their 2007 budget was just over $4,500,000, of which $3,000,000 was used for assistance to Jewish immigrants and $944,000 for the producing of television programs, prayer and teaching letters, and other periodicals. The International Christian Embassy Jerusalem's 2007 reporting included $1,700,000 in donations here in the U.S., of which $472,000 was spent on their educational programs teaching Christians about the Jewish roots of their faith and the biblical significance of Israel, $231,000 on their Feast of Tabernacles program in Jerusalem, $198,000 for the programs of their main branch in Jerusalem, and $117,000 for general assistance for the needs of children, elderly, disabled, lone soldiers, new immigrants, and needy families. Malcolm Hedding, an Assemblies of God ordained minister from South Africa, is the current executive director. Susan Michael is the USA director.

I've provided this detailed financial information to demonstrate that while these two organizations have been by far the best-known and most prominent Christian Zionist organizations in the latter part of the twentieth century, the fact is that the landscape of Christian Zionism has changed significantly in North America. This century has seen the rise of two powerful organizations whose influence far outstrips that of Bridges for Peace and the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem. They are the most sophisticated, financially powerful, and prominent Christian Zionist organizations today. They, more effectively than their forebears in the '80s and '90s, have diluted the gospel message, diverted gospel resources, and discouraged evangelicals from witnessing to their Jewish friends. In fact, unbelieving Jewish men run both organizations.

They . . . have diluted the gospel message, diverted gospel resources, and discouraged evangelicals from witnessing to their Jewish friends.

International Fellowship of Christians and Jews

Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein is the founder and president of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews (IFCJ). He received his Orthodox rabbinic ordination from Yeshiva University. In 2007, the IFCJ received total revenues of over $78,000,000, most of which is funneled to relief agencies like the United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish Agency, where Eckstein serves on the Boards of Directors. Eckstein's annual salary was reported to be

5 Harold A. Sevener, "The Christian Embassy: A Viewpoint of a Jewish Mission" (paper presented at the annual meeting of Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism North America, Dallas, TX, April 9–12, 1985).

over $824,000 in *Haaretz*.[6] Yet in a recent *Christianity Today* (*CT*) feature article, "The Ultimate Kibitzer," Eckstein claimed that his annual salary was $400,000. *CT* did mention that IFCJ contributed another $400,000 into a pension fund on Eckstein's behalf, so perhaps that explains the discrepancy. That same *CT* article indicated that IFCJ has 800,000 donors today, 98% of whom are Christians.[7]

It is interesting to note that Eckstein does seem to have unusual access to the pages of *CT*, the premier U.S. evangelical Christian magazine. And this feature article in particular couldn't have been more positive if his own publicist had written it.

Recently appointed as goodwill ambassador for Israel, Rabbi Eckstein is also an unofficial advisor to the Prime Minister and works with Keren Hayesod, which is a quasi-governmental agency that serves as Israel's liaison to evangelical Christian communities throughout the world. Despite the fact that Rabbi Eckstein is an Orthodox rabbi, his organization is prominent in shaping Christian attitudes toward Israel and the Jewish people. Sadly, the majority of his donors, who are evangelical Christians, may be unaware that Rabbi Eckstein is not a believer in Jesus or that the moneys he funnels to Jewish organizations are not given in Jesus' name. At the same time, a significant number of Christians do understand that he is not a Christian, yet continue to give because of the quality of his educational programs.

One pastor pointed out to me that he supports Rabbi Eckstein because of his *On Wings of Eagles* program. This program offers education to churches and individuals on subjects ranging from anti-Semitism to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Rabbi Eckstein's instruction to Christians and churches, however, is not limited to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict or issues of anti-Semitism. In his book *What Christians Should Know about Jews and Judaism*, as well as in other printed material, he attacks Messianic Jews as "Judaizers" and suggests that "the rejection of Jesus as Messiah is the key to Jewish survival." At a local rally in support of Israel hosted by Raytown First Baptist Church in the Kansas City area, Rabbi Eckstein stated, "The Jewish community and evangelicals are to cooperate whenever possible . . . but if they (evangelicals) are involved in targeted missions toward Jews, like Jews for Jesus, we won't work with them."[8]

He attacks Messianic Jews as "Judaizers" and suggests that "the rejection of Jesus as Messiah is the key to Jewish survival."

6 Anshel Pfeffer, "Jewish-Christian NPO paid exec $824,000 salary," Haaretz.com, October 5, 2008, http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1026008.html [accessed June 18, 2009].

7 John W. Kennedy, "The Ultimate Kibitzer: Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein Wants Jews to Trust Evangelicals, and Evangelicals to Love Israel," *Christianity Today* (February 2009).

8 Rick Hellman, "Rabbi reassures Jews about evangelicals," *Kansas City Jewish Chronicle,* February 17, 2006.

Christians United For Israel

A second organization competing for Christian Zionist affections is the more recently formed Christians United for Israel (CUFI). Though headlined by well-known charismatic pastor and preacher John Hagee, CUFI's executive director is David Brog, an unbelieving Jewish attorney who served in various positions in the Senate, including chief of staff to Senator Arlen Specter. Brog, author of *Standing with Israel: Why Christians Support the Jewish State*,[9] has been quite plain about CUFI's rejection of evangelism. In an interview with Kathryn Jean Lopez on Belief.net, he states,

> The important question is this: is evangelical support for Israel merely a tool in the effort to convert Jews? Is this merely some scheme to soften up the Jews so that they can better sell Jesus to them? And the answer to this question is absolutely not. If anything, the opposite is true. I and others who have worked with Christians in support of Israel all report that no one has ever tried to convert us. In fact, Christians who support Israel tend to know more Jews and to understand their sensitivities better than Christians who do not. Thus, they have learned that Jews find "Jesus talk" offensive, and they tend to leave it out of the dialogue.[10]

He even went so far as to say, "While there is no evidence that the Christian-Jewish alliance in support of Israel [aka CUFI] facilitates the conversion of Jews, there is evidence that the alliance actually works to *impede* efforts to convert Jews.[11]

Brog made it clear in an interview in the *Washington Jewish Week* that "all Christians United for Israel events are strictly non-conversionary and . . . the group will have no Jewish converts as speakers at events or on the organization's Board."[12] Brog went on to say, "The group tells people that if you cannot put aside your desire to share the gospel with Jews, there's the door."[13]

Of course this would be expected policy coming from any organization run by unbelieving Jews. The fact that the organization states that it is Christian, yet excludes fellow Jewish Christians from participation, is both racist and unchristian. Tuvya Zaretsky tells the story of having been invited apparently accidentally to a program sponsored by CUFI and the Israel Christian Nexxus, a pro-Israel lobby group. When he called to confirm participation, Patricia Johnson, who was working on the event, told him that

9 David Brog, *Standing with Israel: Why Christians Support the Jewish State* (Lake Mary: Frontline Publishers, 2006).

10 Kathryn Jean Lopez, "Jews & Evangelicals Together: Why Some Christians Are So Pro-Israel," http://www.beliefnet.com/Faiths/Judaism/2006/05/Jews-Evangelicals-Together-Why-Some-Christians-Are-So-Pro-Israel.aspx [accessed June 18, 2009].

11 Brog, 188–89.

12 Eric Fingerhut, "Educating on Evangelicals," *Washington Jewish Week,* July 5, 2007.

13 Ibid.

he was invited by accident, and because he was a Jewish believer in Jesus was not welcome. Said Zaretsky,

> Somehow these Christians do not realize that if they want to bless Israel, they must extend that blessing to all of Israel – including those within the Body of Messiah and those who still need to be introduced to Him.[14]

Sadly, it is not just that Jewish believers are not welcome in CUFI. Neither is the gospel. And not just because of the Jewish unbelievers. The well-known figurehead of CUFI – and perhaps the most prominently known Christian Zionist today – is John Hagee. Hagee's profile, I would dare say, is larger than that of the late Jerry Falwell or Pat Robertson in this regard. I know of no instance where either Pat Robertson or Jerry Falwell renounced evangelism to the Jewish people despite one story in the *Jerusalem Post* to the contrary, which Falwell repudiated. In his new volume, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism*, Stephen Spector documents some instances where both Robertson and Falwell strongly advocate evangelizing Jewish people.[15]

But Hagee has made numerous statements strongly advocating the opposite. Here are a few:

> "I'm not trying to convert the Jewish people to the Christian faith," he said. . . . In fact trying to convert Jews is a "waste of time," he said. "The Jewish person who has his roots in Judaism is not going to convert to Christianity. There's no form of Christian evangelism that has failed so miserably as evangelizing the Jewish people. They (already) have a faith structure." . . . Everyone else, whether Buddhist or Baha'i, needs to believe in Jesus, he says. But not Jews. Jews already have a covenant with God that has never been replaced by Christianity, he says.
>
> "The Jewish people have a relationship to God through the law of God as given through Moses," Hagee said. "I believe that every Gentile person can only come to God through the cross of Christ. I believe that every Jewish person who lives in the light of the Torah, which is the word of God, has a relationship with God and will come to redemption."[16]

In one of Hagee's latest books, *In Defense of Israel: The Bible's Mandate for Supporting the Jewish State* (2007), he contends that the Jewish people

14 "Jewish Believers 'Dis-Invited' from Dialogue with John Hagee," *Jews for Jesus Realtime*, June 15, 2006, http://www.jewsforjesus.org/publications/realtime/36/know [accessed June 18, 2009].

15 Stephen Spector, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 118.

16 Julia Duin, "San Antonio fundamentalist battles anti-Semitism," *Houston Chronicle*, April 30, 1988.

as a whole did not reject Jesus as Messiah. Jesus did not come to earth to be the Messiah. Jesus refused by word and deed to be the Messiah. And the Jews cannot be blamed for not accepting what was never offered. As Michael Brown notes in his critique of the book,

> Although Pastor Hagee has consistently stated that he does not teach Dual Covenant theology referring to the false concept that Jews can be saved outside of faith in Jesus, his new teaching certainly aids and abets that error. After all if "the Jews did not reject Jesus as Messiah" (as stated in bold print in his book) and if "Jesus refused by word and deed to be the Messiah" (be it the "reigning Messiah" or not), then, not only can it be said that "the Jews [in Jesus' day] cannot be blamed for not accepting what was never offered" but that the Jews in any day cannot be blamed for not accepting Y'shua.[17]

To his credit, when confronted with the serious problems of the assertions in his book, and at the insistence of Steve Strang his publisher and the Reverend Jack Hayford, John Hagee apparently agreed to a revision for the second edition. Michael Brown was also involved in that revision. However, at this point I do not know if another edition has actually been published, and there's certainly been no recall of the 2007 edition.

Unfortunately, it's not easy to tell what the scope of resources is behind the CUFI group. They have not filed a form 990 with the IRS. Hagee's Global Evangelism Television Inc. does have filings, but only as recently as 2004. At that time they had an annual income of over $10,000,000, and Hagee's compensation from the company was $500,000 a year. Of course the 18,000-member church that he pastors, Cornerstone, is separate from the television ministry. One presumes that he receives a salary from the church, as well as whatever royalties his more than a dozen books provide.

Christians United for Israel, as I said, has not registered any financial information, although news articles can give us an indication. In October 2007, according to the *Jewish News Weekly*, CUFI raised $8,500,000 for Israeli causes at Hagee's "Night to Honor Israel" event.[18] If you look on the CUFI Web site you will see several "Night to Honor Israel" events scheduled each month.

CUFI does identify its regional directors, some of whom are well-known political Christian Zionists. One of the better known is Robert Stearns of Robert Stearns International Incorporated, doing business as Eagles' Wings Ministries. Stearns' organization is best known for organizing the Day of Prayer for the Peace of Jerusalem. It reported income of $2,800,000 for the year 2007, and states its purpose is to "promote the message of Christian-

17 Michael L. Brown, "Is There Serious Error in the New Book, *In Defense of Israel*?" ICN Ministries, http://www.icnministries.org/israel/defenseIsrael.htm [accessed June 19, 2009].

18 "Evangelicals raise $8.5 million for Israel," *The Jewish News Weekly*, San Francisco, October 26, 2007.

ity." However, Eagles' Wings Ministries does not encourage prayer for the *salvation* of Israel, the only true hope for peace.

Hear it from a rabbi's lips: Rabbi Clifford Kulwin related his encounter with Stearns at a "Night to Honor Israel" rally in Cranford, New Jersey, in September 2007, saying, "His [Stearns'] remarks could not have been more blunt: 'Let's talk about the 600-pound gorilla in the room. I am not here to convert you.'"

"[Stearns'] remarks could not have been more blunt: 'Let's talk about the 600-pound gorilla in the room. I am not here to convert you.'"

Kulwin went on to say how Stearns further assured his Jewish audience: "He [Stearns] explained that Evangelicals view Christians and Jews alike as having a specific role in God's plan. Besides, he simply has 'too much respect' for the Jewish people ever to suggest that any individual Jew should become something else."[19]

I got to know Robert Stearns a bit more last year, in connection with the publication of "The Gospel and the Jewish People, an Evangelical Statement." This statement, sponsored by the World Evangelical Alliance, received the endorsement of scores of well-known Christian leaders including Chuck Colson, R. T. Kendall, and John Piper. Before the statement was actually published and made available to the public, I received a call from Dr. Geoff Tunnicliffe, the International Director of the World Evangelical Alliance. He was in a bit of a panic due to the fact that WEA offices in Canada and the U.S. were being flooded with e-mails and phone calls protesting the release of the statement, which hadn't even been published yet. He wanted my advice as to what to do. It was readily apparent that one of the Christian leaders who had been approached in advance to sign the statement had made it known what the WEA was about to do, and was organizing the e-mail and phone-in campaign.

I asked Dr. Tunnicliffe to send me a sampling of some of the e-mails they had received. As we started to Google the names he sent, we began to see a common thread. They were all in one way or another connected to Robert Stearns and his organization Eagles' Wings. I called Robert Stearns to ask him, on behalf of Tunnicliffe, what he was up to and why. He initially denied any involvement in orchestrating the protest. Soon afterward I was provided with evidence to the contrary, an e-mail that was being sent from Stearns' assistant, Joel James, marked "urgent." The e-mail included a copy of the WEA statement, calling it "culturally insensitive, reckless and counterproductive." The letter went on to say,

> We are urging concerned friends to contact the offices of the WEA and request in the strongest of terms that they do not publish the statement due to its inflammatory nature. We hope that you will consider similar action as quickly as possible. It is our request that each

19 Clifford M. Kulwin, "A rabbi comes to terms with a Christian Zionist," *New Jersey Jewish News*, March 27, 2008.

> ministry or individual make their comments on their own behalf and not in the name of Robert Stearns or Eagles' Wings.

When I called Robert Stearns back to confront him with the evidence, he admitted to "making a few phone calls and sending out a few e-mails." Thankfully, Geoff Tunnicliffe and the World Evangelical Alliance were not cowed. When I notified Tunnicliffe that we had learned that Robert Stearns' organization was behind the campaign to quash the ad, he wrote the following to Stearns and myself:

> I want to make you aware of a couple of recent conversations that I believe reinforce the need for the full-page ads. I had a recent meeting with the Israeli Ambassador in Washington. One of his senior staff told me that some prominent evangelical leaders told the Ambassador they would not evangelize Jews. Whether the leaders made this statement is true, Israeli government officials certainly have that opinion. A few weeks later I was in Israel where I met for quiet diplomatic meetings in the Prime Minister's home and Senior Staff with Foreign Affairs. My purpose was two fold: to communicate our support for the State of Israel but also raise the concerns of the treatment of evangelicals (I include Messianic believers in this category) in Israel and the Palestinian Authority. As you know evangelicals have a second class status to other Christian groups. During the course of discussions I was told once again that evangelical leaders had committed not to evangelize Jewish people.
>
> We strongly feel that these kinds of statements made by some prominent evangelical leaders go against the heart of the worldwide evangelical movement. These kinds of statements are leading to confusion and misunderstandings both in the Church and in the Jewish community.
>
> Our preference is to approach most issues in a quiet diplomatic way. Given the incorrect perceptions within the Jewish community there was no way to do this without going public.[20]

We can all be grateful for the willingness of men like Geoff Tunnicliffe and others who signed that statement to take a public stand. But to this very day, they do so not only despite the disdain of Jewish leaders and organizations like the Anti-Defamation League, but also and most specifically against the wishes of political Christian Zionist leaders. By the way, one of the letters of protest that the WEA received was from Susan Michael, who is the Executive Director of the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem, USA branch.

20 Geoff Tunnicliffe to Robert Stearns and David Brickner, April 1, 2008.

Conclusion

It's evident that the stakes have been raised in the conflict between political Christian Zionism and Jewish evangelism. Whereas in its earlier expressions (Bridges for Peace and the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem) there was a benign neglect of the biblical responsibility to share the gospel with Jewish people, in this first decade of the twenty-first century, neglect has turned into antagonism and a not-so-subtle opposition. The question, "How should we respond?" remains for us as individuals and organizations committed to Jewish evangelism. The following are a few suggestions and perhaps the wisdom of this group will provide many more.

1. We must engage political Christian Zionist leaders to the best of our ability and seek to persuade them at the very least not to oppose direct Jewish evangelism. Even if they themselves choose not to engage in it, they must see the rightness of ceasing their opposition to the proclamation of the gospel to our people and they must stop instructing their Christian constituency to refrain from sharing the gospel with their Jewish friends.
2. We should also challenge these political Christian Zionist organizations to be more transparent in stating that they do not evangelize Jewish people and oppose those who do. Despite some of their public statements to that effect, most who support them are not fully aware of their stance, nor are they aware of the unbeliever status of Yechiel Eckstein or David Brog or of the manner in which their funds are being used.
3. We should make it our business to inform influencers of the Christian public such as *Christianity Today*, *Charisma*, *World Magazine*, and others that Eckstein, Brog, and other organizational leaders oppose the proclamation of the gospel. I want to commend *The Messianic Times* for its piece on Eckstein this past year. Would that mainstream Christian publications follow suit.
4. It might be even more helpful to encourage those not directly involved in our field to make their voices heard. A letter I was copied on from a Peter Benson to *Christianity Today* last August reads:

> Do you realize that the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, whom you are running advertisements for, is an anti-missionary organization that directly opposes Messianic Jewish evangelism around the world and in Israel. I strongly protest the ads you are running for this organization. Messianic Jewish believers around the world are spreading the word about Yeshua haMeshiach (Jesus Christ) being the Messiah of the world, and of the Jews. They are strongly opposed to IFCJ. Please be more discriminating about who you allow

to run advertisements.[21]

5. We can also be proactive in alerting churches who host CUFI events as to some of what I've outlined in this paper. A visit to the events section on the CUFI Web site will reveal upcoming pastors' luncheons and CUFI rallies in cities across the country. Sponsoring churches are also listed, some of which would want to be better informed.
6. We need to avoid the temptation of competing for funds with these groups by reactively tailoring our own ministry and message to take advantage of the obvious generosity of those who support Christian Zionist causes. I'm not saying that we shouldn't try and gain the support of those individuals, but we need to guard our own integrity and protect our own focus of ministry on evangelism. I have noticed a trend in some Jewish evangelistic ministries toward promoting relief work and mercy ministry almost to the exclusion of evangelism. These groups are not our competition, they have become our opposition.

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Recently, I was at a gathering of mission leaders from across North America. A well-known missiologist pointed out that an increasing percentage of Christian giving is being diverted from direct missions to mercy ministries. His admonition was that we needed to find ways to tie our missions work to mercy ministries; otherwise, we might miss out on the gravy train of Christian giving in the coming years. Does anybody see a problem with that kind of approach? I can understand the need to develop alternative approaches to mission in countries with restricted access. But when the freedom to proclaim the gospel directly and openly is there and we invest a lot of our energy in mercy ministry simply because we expect that Christians will more generously support such efforts, we undermine the integrity of our witness. Moishe Rosen's aphorism still stands: "It's easier to raise money than it is to be worthy of it."

21 Peter F. Benson to *Christianity Today* and blind copied to jfj@jewsforjesus.org, e-mail, August 14, 2008.

The Rabbi as a Surrogate Priest

reviewed by **Richard A. Robinson**

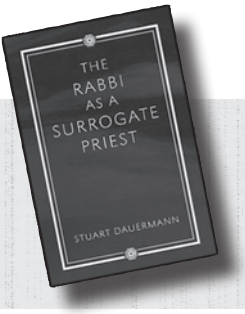
Stuart Dauermann is well-known in the Messianic movement as founder of Hashivenu and senior scholar with the Messianic Jewish Theological Institute. As such, he is an advocate of the new paradigm articulated by Mark Kinzer in his *PostMissionary Messianic Judaism* (Brazos Press, 2005). Among the hallmarks of this new paradigm – its "Pittsburgh Platform,"[1] as it were – is included the call for Messianic Jews to find their primary social location among the larger Jewish community rather than in the church, and the divine mandate laid upon Messianic Jews to continue to follow the Torah of Moses, with appropriate input from tradition, as part of God's continuing covenant with Israel.[2]

This volume represents the author's dissertation at Fuller Theological Seminary, some fourteen years in the making while he also served (and continues to serve) as rabbi at Ahavat Zion Messianic Synagogue in Beverly Hills, California. It has not been altered for publication.

The basic premise of the dissertation is that the role of the rabbi, be it in mainstream Judaism or Messianic Judaism, whether hundreds of years ago or today, has taken over and transformed the very same functions that belonged to the priests and Levites of pre-70 CE. In this exploration, the author seeks to address four audiences (p. 10): the wider Jewish world, the Messianic Jewish world, the church, and the general culture. To the first, he will show the legitimacy of his model as authentically rabbinic; to the second, that is it biblical and practical; to the third, that it reflects unique concerns not addressed by evangelical exegesis; and to the fourth, that it is intelligible. This will be accomplished by integrating biblical material on the priesthood and Israel's vocation with historical material on

1 The famous 1885 statement of principles adopted by Reform Judaism at a conference held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

2 Interaction with Kinzer's work can be found in *Mishkan* 48 (2006) and *Kesher* 20 (2006).



The Rabbi as a Surrogate Priest
Stuart Dauermann
Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009, xi+457 pp., $52.00, paper.

the rabbinate, ending with a "reality check" as it were through the use of surveys of three congregations. All this will then have application to Messianic Jewish leadership, who work from a set of theological presuppositions that keep the people of Israel and their covenantal responsibilities front and center.

Summary

Chapter 1 gives an overview of the idea of Israel as a kingdom of priests in the Older Testament (the author's term). Chapter 2 then turns to the Newer Testament (his term again), deliberately distancing itself from evangelical exegesis and advocating for alternative readings of 1 Peter, Hebrews, and Revelation – readings which underscore that Israel as a nation remains a nation of priests to this day. The author contrasts evangelical statements with how a Messianic Jewish hermeneutic would treat the same passages.

Chapter 3 then explores in detail the functions performed by priests in the Older Testament and the Second Temple period. The chapter is largely a summary of the work of Richard Nelson, treating the priesthood anthropologically and in terms of the categories of holy, clean, profane, and unclean. Far more than just officiators at sacrifices, the priests held a wide variety of roles subsumed under the three categories of Word, Administration, and Ritual/Sacrificial.

Chapters 4 through 7 give an overview of the history of the rabbinate with particular attention paid to the roles and functions of rabbis. Chapter 4 covers Israel and Babylon, drawing on the work of several scholars, and is quite fascinating in the discussion of how the rabbis took over the roles of priest, prophet, and king as well (the "three crowns" of Judaism), deliberately shoring up their power by predicating the superiority of the crown of Torah. In essence, the Pharisees come across as "spin doctors" of history. From this period also comes the development of the idea that Torah and Torah study are ways of salvation. Torah scholarship becomes a surrogate for cultic ritual.

Chapter 5 covers the European diaspora from the fall of Rome to the late nineteenth century, while chapters 6 and 7 are devoted to developments in America. Finally, chapter 8 describes surveys taken among two Messianic congregations and a Reform congregation to ascertain how lay people responded to the idea of rabbis as surrogate priests. Based on perceived roles of the rabbi, the surveys were found to corroborate the findings of the earlier chapters. A summary in chapter 9 rounds out the main text. There then follow seven appendices, among which are included transcripts of the surveys and interviews, and also an extended comparison in chart form of evangelical exegesis vis-à-vis Messianic Jewish theology.

Evaluation

Given the length and wide range of the dissertation, I can only focus on certain larger issues. The first thing to be said is that the sections on the priesthood in the Older Testament and the historical development of the rabbinate are superb. Many who read through these sections will come away with enriched understandings of both the biblical priesthood and Jewish history. The author has done a fine job in integrating these two areas of study.

In addition, there are areas where I either raise some concerns or else note items that suggest the need for ongoing discussion. Again, these are selected from a larger range of such issues.

The Depiction of Evangelical Theology

The author frequently speaks of the evangelical "consensus" as one of supersessionism. At one point, though, he gives a passing nod to dispensationalism as a theological perspective that is eroding the tradition

of supersessionism (p. 120), yet no effort is made to interact with dispensational readings of the texts chosen nor with other non-supersessionist evangelical readings. Rather, the evangelical church is itself "exegeted" solely through the lens of supersessionism. This raises a variety of issues.

"Consensus" readings. It is arguable whether the "consensus" readings are really consensus readings at all – especially here in America, with its multitude of dispensational Christians. This is not to deny the well-documented development of supersessionist theologies throughout church history, but it is to insist on nuance and on alternatives where they exist.

The term supersessionism*. Supersessionism* is an umbrella term susceptible to several interpretations, as the chart on page 59 shows (drawing in points 1–3 on the work of R. Kendall Soulen). As a result, it is not clear to me that every quote deemed to be supersessionist is actually so in the sense that the author uses it, that is, denying the identity of Israel as a/the continuing people of God. In some cases, this would need to be deduced from a consideration of the overall theology of a commentator, rather than from a particular quote. Equally, especially in the modern American context in which the author writes, it is not clear that all supersessionist readings inevitably lead down the path of anti-Semitism (p. 97).

Attitude toward evangelical theology. Evangelical theology and exegesis come in for harsh, sometimes intemperate, criticism couched in strong, adversarial language. Indeed, the author advocates a "hermeneutic of suspicion" toward evangelical exegesis (p. 11), and starkly contrasts it with examples of Messianic Jewish exegesis. The result is that this reader, at least, comes away hearing that evangelicals have nothing to say to Messianic Jews. Given that the author's studies were at an evangelical institution, Fuller Theological Seminary, I would like to think that his comments are reserved for evangelical theology *concerning Israel*, rather than an overall assessment – but even so, they could and should be substantially moderated. It is unfortunate that the language used appears to close the door to dialogue with evangelicals; I am hopeful that is not his intention.

Methodological Issues

The term presupposition. Messianic Jewish theology begins from a series of presuppositions, e.g. the "affirmation of Israel's enduring covenantal vocation . . . as a central presupposition for all theological reflection" (p. 388). I would rather call these principles than presuppositions, for using the term *presupposition* can imply that these points are beyond discussion, whereas in fact they need to be vigorously discussed.

Canon and appropriation of biblical teaching. A second methodological issue concerns hermeneutics and the biblical text. Though hidden in a chart in appendix E, this issue informs in part the discussion in chapter 2. It is the author's view that just as various evangelical streams tend to focus on different parts of the New Testament canon, so Messianic Jews should focus on Matthew, James, John, Hebrews, Luke, and Acts. They will "be sensitive to communal pressures to orient to a Pauline canonical center." This latter choice is "inappropriate to Messianic Jewish concerns, since Paul's writings are contextualized theology for different and Gentile contexts" (p. 391). This raises several issues. First, the validity of the idea of a "canonical center": at an extreme, a part of the Bible becomes in essence a "canon within the canon." Second, the way that believers, Jewish or Gentile, are to appropriate the teaching of Scripture. For example, in chapter 2, the author takes issue with commentators who fail to understand the centrality of the people of Israel in the book of Hebrews and speak in terms of the recipients as though only generic human beings were in view. What needs to be talked about is

the trajectory from the original setting to the contemporary one, across not only time but people groups. I am sympathetic to the author's concerns about marginalizing the people of Israel in Christian thought; I am equally concerned lest the voice of God be truncated as it speaks to the full body of believers. Exegetical methodology and even publishers' considerations enter in here too; when commentators immediately jump to applying Hebrews to *all* believers, this may not simply reflect a supersessionist perspective. It could equally be because the editors constrained space and asked the writer to major on application, or because the commentator is adopting a canonical-critical perspective rather than a historical or social-rhetorical one. Taken to an extreme, the view adopted by the author could suggest restricting the audiences of different parts of the Newer Testament to only particular groups. There is a path from historical understanding to appropriation by all of God's people, and we must beware of cutting off the branch at either end.

Specific Points

Here I mention three issues as examples of the sorts of conversation that can ensue.

An exegetical issue. The author follows Charles Anderson in his understanding that for Hebrews, only the priestly, cultic law has changed – but not the rest of Torah. Here we need to talk about whether separating out aspects of the Torah in that way would have been meaningful to any Jewish group of the first century (just as it is widely agreed that separating the law into moral, civil, and ceremonial aspects, with some retained and some not, would not reflect first-century Jewish thinking). It is true that Judaism transmuted the priestly element of the law into other modes of behavior, but that appears to be quite different from what Anderson is saying.

A theological-practical issue. *Contextualization* is said to be an inappropriate category for Messianic Jews. The Jewish people are already near to God; in proclaiming the gospel we are seeking to draw them nearer. Yet can we so quickly dispose of the concept? Even among Jews, the first- (and earlier) century context is something substantially different from today's Jewish context. It is instructive that the Orthodox Jewish organization Aish HaTorah attempts, in essence, to contextualize Orthodox Judaism for the non-observant through its Discovery Seminars. There are numerous Jewish subcultures where the horizons between communicator and the one communicated to need to be fused.

A historical issue. The surrogate priesthood of the rabbinate is described as emerging historically from power politics and self-arrogation of the roles of the priests by the rabbis. That may well be the case. But if it is, it is not clear why a modern Messianic rabbi would wish to see himself in such a role, walking in the footsteps of spin doctors and power politicians who usurped priestly roles. Moreover, the view of the rise of the rabbinate as power politics would seem to undermine Kinzer's view that rabbinic Judaism represents the voice of the Jewish people. It rather appears, on this reconstruction, to represent the voice of a power elite who muscled their way into dominance. Related to this, the offices described in the New Testament do not come in for discussion. Yet these offices of pastor, overseer, shepherd, and so on derive from the Judaism of the time. How do these connect with the idea that a Messianic leader should be a rabbi and not something else? This remains unasked but would be a fruitful topic to explore.

The individual vis-à-vis the community. The author's contention is that the priesthood of the Jewish people as a whole has not been addressed in traditional evangelical exegesis because of the influence of supersessionism. Curiously, rather than extrapolate that point out, the focus of

the dissertation is on *the rabbi* (that is, an individual) as priest. The argument is made that supersessionists have replaced Israel's priestly role with the church's priestly role, but the outworking of the priesthood of all Israel largely disappears from the material as the focus turns to the individual rabbi. It would have been beneficial to the author's dissertation to hear more about how the two spheres of the individual and the communal coinhere (appendix E does help in this regard).

Although this review has spent more time on concerns and questions, there is no doubt that *The Rabbi as Surrogate Priest* is useful for the large amount of stimulating material on the priesthood, priestly roles, and the history of the rabbinate. It will certainly enrich not only historical understanding but theological appreciation of leadership in ancient Israel and in the modern rabbinate. Along the way, there are stimulating suggestions of additional areas for study, e.g., what then was the role of the prophet and how did it interface with the priestly functions?

In addition, *The Rabbi as Surrogate Priest* raises a large number of significant issues of exegesis and hermeneutics that should be discussed by Messianic Jews, by evangelical Christians, and by others. Regrettably, the tone frequently adopted (especially in chapter 2) and the failure to nuance the variety of evangelical viewpoints threatens to cut off that very conversation with potential evangelical partners. Nevertheless, I hope that at the end of the day, the dissertation does stimulate mutual discussion and conversation. As with many dissertations, this one could profitably be reworked for more popular consumption. Appendix E could in fact be developed into a book in itself, and it is to be hoped that the author will at some point do so.

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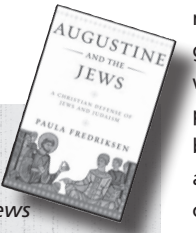
by **Andrew Barron**



Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism*. New York: Doubleday, 2008, xxiii+488 pp., $35.00, paper.

The eighteenth century Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn noted about Jewish survival, ". . . apart from Augustine's 'lovely brainwave, we would have been exterminated long ago.'" The brainwave Mendelssohn refers to is seen in Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 59 in *City of God* 18:46: "Slay them not, lest they forget your law; scatter them by your might." Accordingly, Augustine urged, the Jews were to be left alone. Fredriksen argues that this "witness doctrine" on the special status of Jews was unique and original to him.

Augustine and the Jews traces the social and intellectual forces that led to the development of Christian anti-Judaism. Fredriksen thoroughly demonstrates for her readers how and why Augustine challenged this tradition. She enthusiastically draws us into the life, times, and thought of Augustine. She also focuses on a period of creativity as Augustine deals with Manichaean opponents. Fredriksen proposes that Augustine was right to ban paganism and coerce heretics. She points out Augustine's argument that the source of ancient Jewish Scripture and current Jewish practice was the very same as the source of the New Testament and of the church – God himself.

Augustine is loved and hated by many people. In urging that Jews be left alone, he created (as another reviewer puts it), "a warped, creepy kind of sufferance, a little like keeping someone chained to the radiator instead of doing him in." I personally enjoyed Fredriksen's ardency in all things Augustine. He was, after all, probably the most influential Christian thinker after the gospel writers and St. Paul. It is to him that we owe such doctrines as original sin and predestination. Yet he has traditionally been unpopular with those concerned about Christian treatment of Jews over the centuries.

Fredriksen admits that it is still hard to pin down Augustine. For example, on page 353, she asks, "Can we move beyond the rhetoric to see a measure of social reality? Is there any way to know how Augustine thought and felt, not about rhetorical Jews, but about his actual Jewish contemporaries?" Perhaps he liked Jews in general but no Jew in particular. There would be a measure of sadism in allowing Jews to survive as the fulfillment of a theological construct, but not to thrive or to be allowed to prosper.

In sum, this book is a good resource. It should provoke more substantial thinking and writing on an issue that is needed in the communities which yearn for Jewish people to shift traditional paradigms of Jesus. So often, the issue of Christ amongst Jews has been viewed as part of the problem, not the solution. Perhaps Fredriksen's approach towards Augustine's historical contribution takes us one step closer toward mutual understanding.

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Rong-Hua Jefferson Lin, *Is St. Paul a Jewish Deviant or a Reformer of Judaism? The Clash of Jewish Identity and Christian Identity in Asia Minor.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2009, vii+207 pp., $109.95, hardback.

by **Richard A. Robinson**

This readable and compact dissertation addresses the question "Why did Paul maintain his allegiance to the Jewish community while fulfilling his role as apostle to the Gentiles?" (p. i). That he *did* maintain his allegiance is clear from his receiving the synagogue's thirty-nine lashes on several occasions, which Paul could have avoided by severing himself entirely from the synagogue.

Lin is an adjunct professor at Christian Leadership Institute in Sunnyvale, California, as well as at Harvest Seminary in Milpitas, California. His Ph.D. in New Testament is from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Forth Worth, Texas. The book primarily uses a social and historical approach, embracing deviance theory and looking at Paul through a social-science grid, providing a perspective that has proven useful in many respects but has not often been popularized for the lay person. Of note, Lin (seemingly similar to Mark Nanos though independent of him[1]) views Paul's Gentile communities as being both law-free and also, in the initial phases of Paul's ministry, within the synagogue. In other words, Paul hoped to incorporate Gentiles, on a law-free basis, into the existing Jewish community structures. However, Paul came to change his missionary strategy in Ephesus. Whereas Paul sought to bring his Gentile converts into or adjacent to the synagogue in Corinth, from Ephesus on he established congregations that were separate from the synagogue. This all raises its own set of questions, but there is tremendous heuristic value in viewing Paul through this grid.

Essentially, then, Paul hoped to "reform Judaism in terms of the entrance requirements of common Judaism so that the Jews would accept Law-free Gentiles into their synagogues" (p. 165). Ultimately, though, Paul met opposition from the Jewish community – largely for social reasons. (Lin says little about opposition to the idea that Jesus was being proclaimed as Messiah, though he does speak about the variety of messianic expectations in the Judaism of the time.)

By way of summary, Lin addresses issues of Jewish identity in the diaspora (chapter 1), then moves on to describing how Paul's theology and praxis compared with that of the Jewish community at large (chapter 2), particularly regarding the election of Israel and the salvation of the Gentiles; messianic expectation; observance of the law (all matters of theology); and proselytism (praxis).

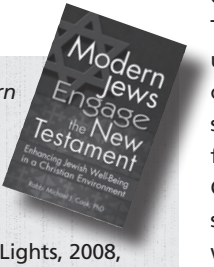
The third chapter examines the role of Abraham in the common Jewish perspective vis-à-vis Paul's perspective in order to highlight how the theme of being an "heir of Abraham" acted within Paul's view to "establish a superordinate identity for both Jews and Gentiles" (p. 117).

Finally, chapter 4 concerns how Jewish and Christian identities "clashed" using Asia Minor as a test case, utilizing deviance theory and discussions of assimilation to show how the growth of a Christian identity

1 Per private e-mail communication with the author.

would end up being problematic for the Jewish community, since "if there was an influx into the Jewish community of Gentile Christians who were not observing the law, then the Jewish identity would be diluted. This, in turn, would result in the loss of civic privileges for the observance of the law and threaten the existence of the Diaspora communities" (p. 155). Hence, the rise of Jewish opposition to Paul's message. The conclusion addresses the twin views of Paul as a deviant, or as a reformer of Judaism.

It's a fascinating dissertation, and in many ways a work still in progress as the author intends to continue developing his views and the questions they raise. Those who attend or order messages from the Evangelical Theological Society can be on the lookout for the author's future papers.



Michael J. Cook, *Modern Jews Engage the New Testament: Enhancing Jewish Well-Being in a Christian Environment*. Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights, 2008, xxiv+374 pp., $29.99, hardback.

Cook teaches at Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. Specifically, his area is Judaeo-Christian studies, and his affiliation is Reform Judaism. HUC-JIR, Reform's rabbinical seminary, is according to Cook the first such seminary to require training in the New Testament. It is high time, Cook believes, that Jews stop being intentionally ignorant of the New Testament and come to learn what it's all about. In contrast to the high value Jews place on knowledge in other areas of study, we are woefully ignorant of the New Testament and therefore cannot formulate a proper response when confronted with questions from or about Christians. New Testament study will enable Jews to feel empowered rather than tongue-tied in dealing with texts that have contributed to anti-Semitism and ill feeling towards Jews.

What Cook attempts to teach is not so much the content of the New Testament as what he calls "Gospel Dynamics." This is Cook's phrase to explain how the New Testament gospels came to be in their present form. And specifically, to explain why the New Testament is anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish.

To those versed in gospel criticism, what Cook does is nothing new. He follows the precepts of modern form- and tradition-criticism, though in fact he ends up with a much more minimalist view than many. The gospels, he tells us, are not really interested in history but in theology – the by-now-old false antithesis that has become a hallmark of much – too much! – biblical criticism. The real, historical, Jewish Jesus is basically unrecoverable; the gospels rework the story of his life to meet the needs of a community several decades, even generations, removed from the original. For instance, though Christianity had been considered a Jewish sect early on, by the time the gospels were written Christians were afraid of Rome and afraid of being associated with the Jewish people – who had just unsuccessfully waged a failed rebellion against Rome. So what did the gospel writers do? They switched the blame for Jesus' death from Rome to the Jews, thereby in effect pacifying any Romans who would hear or read the Christian message.

Cook is a minimalist regarding the historicity of the New Testament and a maximalist regarding the presence of anti-Judaism in its pages. It is not clear how teaching Jews to read the New Testament in his way will "enhance Jewish well-being." When confronted with claims that Jesus is the Messiah, are Jews to respond that we can't know much about Jesus because the gospels are anti-Judaic after-the-fact productions?

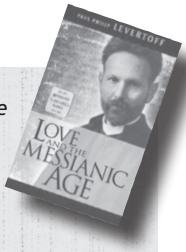
This is as much head-in-the-sand as the willful ignorance of the New Testament that Cook decries, for it seems to say that Cook's view settles the question of New Testament historicity once and for all. Or when confronted by anti-Semitic canards that Cook finds derive from the New Testament, are Jews to say that it was all invented after Jesus' time? Will it lessen the problem of anti-Semitism for Jews to realize that it doesn't go back to Jesus?

Interestingly, the chapter on "Neutralizing Missionary Encroachment" draws little on Cook's handling of the gospels, other than to state that Jewish believers in Jesus are really following what he calls "Configuration B" (his term for Pauline Christianity, vs. "Configuration A," which is the original Jesus movement).

Sprinkled with somewhat difficult-to-follow charts throughout, the book self-consciously has a broad audience in mind, so that Cook includes a chart on which chapters would be best for which groups and situations. Whether the book will spark the revolution that he hopes for is doubtful. It is too tendentious, too extreme in its minimalism. And its "enhancement" of "Jewish well-being" comes at the expense of *isolating* Jews from the New Testament – for the gospels can be written off as unhistorical, anti-Jewish, and in their present form unconnected with the Jewish people – rather than *engaging* Jews with it as both history and sacred Scripture for Christians. In this regard, Cook is to be contrasted with Michael Kogan's *Opening the Covenant*, which is far more sympathetic to Christian theology and Scripture, even if he also downplays the importance of historicity and truth claims.

A companion booklet bringing the various charts together under one cover, *Companion Figures: A Visual Aid for Teaching*, is available from the publisher (42 pp.).

I have been and will continue to examine *Modern Jews Engage the New Testament* in some detail at http://canarsieline.blogspot.com.



Paul Philip Levertoff, *Love and the Messianic Age*. Messianic Luminaries Series. 1923; repr. Marshfield, MO: Vine of David, 2009, 87 pp., $22.00, hardback.

Toby Janicki, Brian Reed, and D. Thomas Lancaster, *Study Guide and Commentary*. Marshfield, MO: Vine of David, 2009, 175 pp., $18.00, spiral-bound.

In this attractively presented volume, Vine of David – an imprint/project of First Fruits of Zion – kicks off their "Messianic Luminaries" series, presenting selected writings of Jewish believers of previous generations. Paul Levertoff (1878–1954) was raised in Hasidic circles in Europe, a descendant of Schneur Zalman of Liady, the founder of Chabad Hasidism. As a believer Levertoff straddled the worlds of denominational Christianity (he was an ordained Anglican clergyman) and Judaism, particularly in its Hasidic variety. Among English readers, Levertoff is probably best known for being one of the translators of the five-volume English rendering of the *Zohar* published by Soncino Press.

Love and the Messianic Age (*LMA*) is a short book, abstracted by Levertoff from a much longer work. In it he describes the Hasidic/Jewish mystical view of the love of God, at the end tying that together with the Gospel of John, which he considered quite congruent to Hasidism, indeed mystical, in its outlook. A short biography by Jorge Quiñónez opens the book before we come to Levertoff's text, and a bibliography of works by Levertoff, also by Quiñónez,

rounds it out; included also by Levertoff are two poems by seventeenth century poet George Herbert of the "Metaphysical" school of poetry.

LMA by itself can prove dense and impenetrable, if lyrical and poetic. Helpfully available with the main volume is a longer *Study Guide and Commentary* (*SGC*). The preface of *SGC* begins with a brief treatment of the history of Hasidism and an overview of the *Zohar*, including Levertoff's role in its English translation. Careful delineation is made between accepting Hasidism/Kabbalah in all its teachings and utilizing it for helpful material and for "a wealth of amazing parallels to the thought and theology of the apostolic writers" (p. 17), parallels which were instrumental in Levertoff's own journey to faith. Finally, there is a section on "Christianity and the Zohar," including one fascinating citation from scholar Yehudah Liebes who suggests Christian influence on Judaism (an increasingly common theme, by the way, in Jewish-Christian studies these days) may be responsible for the affinities to be found between Christianity and the *Zohar*. The preface is a fine piece of writing that opens doors into a "Messianic Jewish" mindset far removed from that of twenty-first century readers. Levertoff, we are told in summation, "does not assume that the *Zohar* or any of the Chasidic and rabbinic sources he quotes are authoritative or should be received unquestioned by believers. Instead, he uses them to paint the broad landscape of Jewish mysticism for his readers. He does this in order to show us that the gospels are part of the same landscape of literature" (p. 21).

The bulk of *SGC* then follows with expositions of Levertoff's book, broken rabbinic-commentary style into quotes from Levertoff followed by the explications. The expositions are much longer than the sentences they explicate, but for someone to whom Hasidic modes of thought are new, these are necessary, and all the more in view of the terseness of Levertoff's original. Often additional Hasidic writings are cited in the explanations.

One example must suffice. Levertoff writes, "However, it is possible 'to keep all the commandments and yet be far from God'" (p. 43 of *LMA*). The commentary in *SGC* runs as follows:

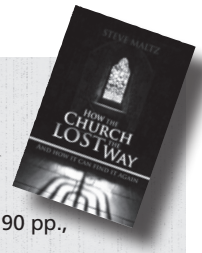
> According to an axiom of the Sages, it is possible to be an apostate with the permission of the Torah. That means it is possible to keep the external commandments and maintain religious appearances while one's heart remains unredeemed. This man becomes "a savor of death unto death" and submits himself to "the law of sin and death," abiding only by the letter of the Torah which kills and leads to separation from HaShem, God forbid. Since this man becomes a part of "the ministry of death" and "the ministry of condemnation," the Torah has become to him a "deadly poison" (*sam mavet*). "This poison can be cured only by the 'salt' of the spirit of God." Our Master says, "Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace with one another." (*SGC*, p. 60, Hebrew font of *sam mavet* omitted)

Footnotes to the New Testament allusions evident in this paragraph are included as well.

Three appendices round out the volume. The first, "The Exalted Rebbe," makes up for Levertoff's surprising silence on the concept of the *tzaddik* in Hasidism, a concept with numerous parallels to the role of Yeshua. The second appendix, "Sketches of the Chasidic World," contains three short pieces on Hasidism and/or its relation to Christianity, two by other Jewish believers, the third by Levertoff. The last appendix is "Primary Sources Used by Levertoff," providing a quick "Cliff Notes" approach to the numerous Hasidic and other writings that

Levertoff utilizes. A bibliography of mostly secondary sources ends the volume.

This is a marvelous window into a lost world inhabited by Jewish believers of the past, and may well provide insights into how the world of the gospel and the world of Hasidism can intersect today. The publisher is to be commended for making this available; the book flap promises additional forthcoming writings from Levertoff.



Steve Maltz, *How the Church Lost the Way and How It Can Find It Again*. Ilford, UK: Saffron Planet, 2009, 190 pp., £8.99, paper.

I wish Steve Maltz had started his book with the third section instead of ending with it. Maltz, a UK-based web consultant, has written a number of books on Messianic Jewish and related issues. His heart is certainly in the right place, and this is seen especially in part three, which calls for balance on the part of Jews and Gentiles within the body of believers in order to realize Paul's vision of "One New Man."

But first, there are parts one and two! The first part, entitled "Wisdom," deals with what Maltz describes as the infiltration of Greek thought, especially Platonic dualism, into the church. Plato's "Soul = Good, Body = Bad" is a kind of mantra that has run through church history, according to Maltz, bringing doctrinal division, overanalysis, and nonbiblical forms of worship in its wake. It is the least satisfactory part of the book, because it is far too reductionistic – and also because, until readers get to part three, they may find themselves inclining to condemnation of the church rather than the balance articulated in the final section!

The fact is that while Platonic dualism has clearly influenced the church, so have many other things. Starkly dividing out "Greek" from "Hebraic" thinking has been shown not to be a very tenable way of analyzing things, inasmuch as first-century Judaism and the New Testament environment were strongly "Hellenized" (though not necessarily Platonically "dualized"), and the book of Hebrews itself shows affinity with Philonic thought. Moreover, as Oskar Skarsaune's recent *In the Shadow of the Temple* (InterVarsity Press) and other works have demonstrated, there is much Jewishness to be found in the development of Christian doctrine in the early centuries.

Part two, "Signs," explores the Jewishness of the gospel. Here, in contrast to Platonism, "Soul = Good, Body = Good." Fair enough, if what is meant is that this is a biblical emphasis. But to peg the Greek mindset on the church at large (striving for knowledge about God) against a lost Hebraic mindset (knowing God) just gives the wrong impression: after all, the Puritans were all about knowing God, and J. I. Packer's contemporary classic *Knowing God* is hardly Greek in Maltz's terms, even though it is at once intensely worshipful *and* philosophically doctrinal. And let's not forget the many mystics in church history who sought to know God in the most intimate ways.

The second section is a bit rambling in choice of topics, as Maltz acknowledges (p. 169). He covers Jewish hermeneutics, not always very accurately (p. 79: the New Testament uses a method called *remez* in the form of allegory when it describes Jesus as the Lamb of God or as the Good Shepherd – but these are metaphors, not allegories; p. 81: Hillel's Seven Rules are placed in the category of *drash* or *midrash* – if anything, they are more in line with historical-grammatical interpretation). Then he covers the Jewish holidays, Jewish home life, the nature of God as personal (and like Aslan, "not tame"), and biblical Hebrew. A potpourri indeed!

And so we at last come to part three, "Balance," the section that would have done well to come first. Maltz warns against Jewish and Gentile believers reacting on either side of the fence. While the church should recover its Jewish roots, the solution is not simply to eliminate everything in the current church. Rather, the church must seek to remove obstacles to Jewish acceptance of the gospel, and perhaps might experiment with more "Jewish" modes, like trying mutual sharing in place of the sermon. He ends with salutary warnings concerning the dangers, whether in Messianic fellowships or churches, in which true love for Jewish people is not shown but rather, Gentile Christians engage in Jewish things as a "selfish exercise, carried out just for personal blessing" (p. 179). On the other side, Jewish or Messianic fellowships must be Christocentric, not ethnocentric.

Maltz writes in a breezy, casual style, and seems to quite enjoy being the iconoclast and engaging in the occasional self-described "rant" (p. 69). His practical instincts serve him well in the last part, and he is right to point to deficiencies in much of the modern church, in its worship, its idea of community, and its failure to appreciate the Jewishness of its faith (though Maltz might say, its *original* faith). In pinning so much on Platonism, however, he puts the philosopher under "a yoke that neither he nor the church fathers have been able to bear" (with apologies to Acts 15:10!). Surely there is an enormous amount of good done by the church that stems directly from its biblical roots, while deficiencies can be chalked up to a multitude of causes.

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