

Franz Kobler

"The Vision Was There.

A History of the British Movement for the Restoration of the
Jews to Palestine"

London, 1956

Preface

Britain, Zionism, and the Creation of the State of Israel

A Brit-Am On-Line Re-Publication

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Brit-Am Note:

Brit-Am Movement of the Ten Tribes has proven that the Lost Ten Tribes are to be found in the British Isles and Western Europe and in Overseas regions (North America, Australia, New Zealand, etc) that emerged from them. Descendants of Israelite who lost knowledge of their ancestry may also be found in other areas but these are the regions wherein the Ten Tribes were destined to give expression to their Israelite identity.

We have been able to approximately equate certain regions with specific Tribal Groups. This has been facilitated from indications in Biblical Prophecy, ancient Tribal names, and Tribal characteristics alongside other factors.

The British Isles and related areas are the domain of Joseph.

Joseph helped Judah re-instate himself as a recognized polity on the national scene.

The State of Israel owes its existence to Britain and the

USA despite attempts by retrograde elements in both Britain and America to harm Israel.

The descendants of Joseph are to be found throughout the Ten Tribe regions but are especially concentrated amongst English-speaking peoples.

Helping the State of Israel come into existence was part of the task of Joseph and what in overall terms Joseph did.

The work by Franz Kobler, "The Vision Was There. A History of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine" London, 1956, was originally published by the World Jewish Congress.

This book shows the ideological trends in British Thought that gave rise to the Restoration Movement and resulted in the British Mandate over Palestine from which emerged the State of Israel.

This is an extremely important aspect of British History. It is also part of Jewish History.

And it is connected to Brit-Am beliefs, researches, and research findings.

The world deserves to know about it.

"The Vision Was There" by Franz Kobler is possibly the best book ever written on the subject.

It is now out of print and seems to be virtually unobtainable apart from a few copies in major libraries.

We have therefore reproduced it as it was written and are making it freely available.

We hope as many people as possible will take advantage of this offer.

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Preface

Britain, Zionism, and the Creation of the State of Israel

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Preface

THE establishment of the State of Israel may be rightly looked upon as the greatest collective achievement of the Jewish people in the history of the Diaspora. There is, however, a non-Jewish element hidden in the Restoration of Israel. The ideal of the Jewish people has in fact for centuries been shared, cherished and pursued by large sections of the nations amidst whom Jews have lived. Among them, the British people holds the outstanding place. Nowhere more than in Britain has the idea of the Restoration of the Jews been developed into a doctrine and become the object of a movement extending over more than three centuries. Only in Britain the leading spokesmen of many, generations have been inspired by the vision of a revived Israel. Only there the creation of a Jewish National Home has been a serious and almost continuous political issue which was finally translated into reality.

Today, the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews has been clouded by the still fresh memories of the 1939 White Paper and of the many, anti-Zionist acts of British Governments which, at a time when millions of Jews were being exterminated in the Nazi death camps, persisted in closing almost completely the doors of the Jewish National Home to Jewish refugees and which, even after the end of the war when the remnants of European Jewry tried to reach the shores of the Land of Israel, upheld the restrictions of immigration.

The time has come to tell the full story of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews. Only a

comprehensive study tracing the Movement from its origins through all its historical stages and cultural ramifications can reveal how deeply the idea of Israel's Restoration is rooted in the fundamentals of the Commonwealth, how inseparable it is from the character and history of the British nation -in spite of a temporary abandonment. Moreover, only such an account of the spiritual and political efforts which constitute the Movement will do justice to a unique, and yet widely unknown, chapter of British history. In fact, although the Movement for the Restoration of the Jews, extending in an uninterrupted continuity over more than three centuries, and attracting such English luminaries as John Milton, Isaac Newton, David Hartley, Joseph Priestley, Lord Shaftesbury and George Eliot, has left distinct traces in English history, English historians have paid scant attention to the tradition, the literary monuments and political implications of the Movement.

Even among those who have taken notice of the Movement there exists a tendency to belittle its significance by referring to its records as to a sequence of eccentric theological tracts or isolated political projects. Recent historians and political writers on modern Jewish history failed to dispel this misconception. Thirty-six years have passed since Nahum Sokolow made the first and so far the only attempt to survey the whole tradition of the Restoration idea in his *History of Zionism* (1919). He treated, however, the advocates of the Restoration idea as forerunners of modern Zionism without paying much attention to the theological implications, the historical background of the authors and their relations to contemporary spiritual trends. On the other hand, Albert M. Hyamson in his *British Projects for the Restoration of the Jews* (1917) concentrated mainly on specific political schemes proposed during the nineteenth century. Also important subsequent research, particularly by N. M. Gelber and Cecil Roth, did little to alter the fundamental outlook on the subject. Although these studies have considerably enlarged our knowledge regarding non-Jewish pre-Zionist activities, no attempt has been made to collate their results in an integrated history of the Movement or to exhaust the sources listed in Cecil Roth's all-embracing *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*. Instead of being viewed as an independent historical phenomenon, the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews continued to be treated as a forerunner of Zionism or to be actually identified with it.

The present book is an attempt to perform the task, long overdue, of re-writing the history of the movement as an integral part of British religious, social and political history forming a parallel, not an annex, of the histories of Jewish Messianism and Zionism. The British Movement for the

Restoration of Israel is in fact one of the rare instances of the continuous interest shown by one nation in the destiny of another people. Its specific historical significance lies in the recognition of Israel's Restoration as an organic part of British political ideals. An historical study dealing with the subject needs to show how this recognition has grown from a sectarian theological doctrine to a vision and a political goal of the leaders of the nation. Whether the Movement was concerned mainly with propagating the belief in a fulfilment of the Biblical prophecies related to the national revival of Israel coupled with the apocalyptic expectations of the Second Advent of Jesus and a miraculous conversion of the Jewish people, or whether after the abandonment of the conversionist tendency, it aimed principally at furthering the national aspirations of the Jewish people-it retained the character of a genuine religious, humanitarian and political trend within British history.

Neither the purpose nor the scope of this study permitted the inclusion in the narrative of more than occasional glimpses of similar efforts made by other, particularly the French and American, nations. The simultaneous Jewish Messianic, pre-Zionist and Zionist movements have been rather relegated to the background and presented only in so far as they were related to the Movement as analogous, often surprisingly parallel, trends, influencing the Movement or being influenced by it and reacting to the calls of its advocates. Only a clear, distinction drawn between Zionism and the Restoration Movement can do justice to the parts played by both forces, in the unique historical drama which preceded the realization of their common vision.

The term Zionism is used in this book only, to designate the modern Jewish renaissance movement. The specific character of the Movement for the Restoration of the Jews and of the Doctrine which forms its basis can be denoted correctly by no other than this traditional term. In the pre-sent account, the word Restoration (with a capital "R") always means: Restoration of the Jews. Accordingly, the expressions "Restoration Doctrine" and "Restoration Movement" or simply "Doctrine" and "Movement", stand for the Doctrine on the Restoration of the Jews, and the Movement for the Restoration of the Jews, while the advocacy and the advocates of the Doctrine have been sometimes indicated by "Restorationism" and "Restorationists".

The present study is, for a considerable part, an abridged and adapted version of a much more elaborate manuscript

completed in London in the years 1941-44 For the promotion of this work I am greatly indebted to Mr. Berl Locker, Chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem, formerly head of the Information Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, London. In the almost endless task of exploring the hoard of millenarian and kindred literature in the British Museum and in other libraries, I was fortunate in having the invaluable assistance of my wife and tireless helpmate, Dora Kohler. I also owe warm thanks to Mrs. I. V. Slichter for preparing the first translation of the original German manuscript into English.

Franz Kobler
San Francisco,
January 1956.

INTRODUCTION

THE connection of the people of Israel with the Land of Israel goes back to the very origins of the Hebrews. The idea of this inseparable bond permeates the Scriptures. From Abraham's calling to the speeches of the last Prophets. Canaan is the goal of the people delivered from Egyptian bondage; Zion the hope of the captives in Babylon. There is no other space on earth into- which the Jewish genius projected its Messianic daydreams. "For out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem ."

No tyranny that swayed the land, no new happiness attained by the people in other countries, have been able to sever the link between the Jewish people and its land: On the contrary, it grew ever stronger, supported by memories and venerable rites, by prayers, teaching and poetry; and developed into an historical power; revolt after revolt flared up, kindled by the flame of the great love. Such darings were doomed, yet the hope of the return could not die.

As the centuries went by, thousands upon thousands of Jews from all the corners of the Diaspora found their way to the country which, though desolate, was still the Promised Land. Cruel persecutions added a powerful impulse to the spiritual longing. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, and later from Portugal, carried waves of immigration into the ancient homeland. Soon afterwards appeared David Reubeni, who proposed to the Pope and to the King of Portugal to raise an army for the re-conquest of the Land of Israel. He and his enthusiastic follower, Solomon Molko, had to pay with their lives for their Messianic dreams; their eccentric deeds were only a prelude to the Messianic activities and movements which, on an unprecedented scale, followed in the seventeenth century.

At that juncture Jewish Messianism was joined by an analogous and yet different spiritual current of Christian origin, flowing in the same direction. For the restoration of the Holy Land and, particularly, of Jerusalem to their former and even more splendid glory, constitutes also an essential part of the Christian eschatology as developed by the founders of the Church. Their principal expectations, based chiefly on the Book of Daniel and on the Revelation of St. John, were the return of Jesus ("The Second Coming of Christ") and his victorious struggle against the Antichrist whose fall would lead to the Millennium, the heavenly kingdom of peace bound to last a thousand years and to be followed by the Last Judgment (Rev. xx). The Christian fathers -Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian,

Lactantius, and others- imagined these events as impending, with the Holy Land and Jerusalem, the latter miraculously rebuilt, as their setting. Although the national revival of the Jewish people did not enter into the theories of the early Fathers, their vision -for which the terms Chiliasm or Millenarianism have been coined- shows a character similar to that of Jewish Messianism.

Origen, in the third century, was one of the first authors who opposed these expectations. He branded them as the views of those who "believing in Christ, understood the Divine Scripture in a sort of Jewish sense". The most radical change of the millennial hope was, however, caused by St. Augustine at the beginning of the fifth century. In his famous book *De Civitate Dei* he created the doctrine according to which the Church itself embodies the millennial Kingdom of God. Gradually, as Augustine's views became predominant, Millenarianism ceased to be a significant feature of Christian theology.

But the disappointment of later generations, after a thousand years of the Christian era, led to a revival of the millenarian ideas. In the twelfth century the Italian monk Joachim of Fioris was the first prominent protagonist of this trend whose followers regarded the establishment of the Millennium as imminent. Beliefs of this kind lay at the core of the Hussite and Anabaptist movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They also influenced the German and Swiss Reformation. Calvin, in particular, with his inclination towards the Old Testament and Theocracy (or rather "Bibliocracy") established a strong link with Millenarianism.

It was, however, not on the Continent but in the British Isles that the new millenarian ideas came to full fruition. There, after the break with Rome under Henry VIII, the Church had lost her place as the only religious guide of the English people, a place which was taken by another spiritual power: the Bible. In the words of John Richard Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, "England became the people of a book and that book was the Bible". This statement was confirmed in our own day by G. M. Trevelyan: ". . . *though Shakespeare may be, in the retrospect, the greatest glory of his age, he was not in his own day its greatest influence. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the book of books for Englishmen was already the Bible.*" With its faith rooted in the Holy Writ, the eyes of England began to turn towards the establishment of the Kingdom of God or, as it were termed alternatively, the Kingdom of Christ, an aim to be realized by and within England. These views were accepted by leading English Protestants and became current during the second part of the sixteenth century. The England of rising

Puritanism was powerfully drawn to the marvellous story of the ascent of the Hebrew people from slavery to freedom and of its struggle for the Promised Land. The fighters for the Kingdom of God saw themselves treading a similar road, and began to identify themselves with Israel. The sacred promises and the prophecies were applied by the English to themselves. Zion became the symbol of their own national future.

It is true that the millennial hope of establishing another theocracy on British soil seems to be far removed from the original millenarian idea of a glorious earthly Zion to be built in the Holy Land. In Puritanism there was, however, from the outset a tendency to literal interpretation of Scripture closely linked with purely spiritual aspects. What later developed into the doctrine of special radical sects, such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, was already present in the teaching of many Puritans during the first stages of the movement. To them, as to the early Christians, there appeared the vision of a Zion which was to take the place of Rome and bear out the Biblical prophecies by becoming the heart of a kingdom of peace and justice. The profound faith of the Puritans in the Word of God enjoined moreover the acceptance of all the promises explicitly and unmistakably relating to the Jews, as contained in numerous passages of the Scriptures and the New Testament. Thus the Puritan millenarians created a particular Christian-Jewish Messianism, the doctrine of the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine.

That this development took place in a country where almost no professing Jews had been seen for centuries, in consequence of their expulsion in 1290, may be regarded as one of history's strangest paradoxes. And yet the contemporary Jewish world was by no means without influence on the emergence of the British doctrine concerning the future of the Jewish people. The fundamental changes inside Christianity coincided with the utter destruction of the flourishing Jewish settlements on the Iberian Peninsula and the resulting widespread migration of Jews. The tremendous impulse given by this upheaval to Jewish Messianism culminated in a re-interpretation of the Messianic conceptions by the great masters of the Kabbalah. These events profoundly influenced Christian thought in England as elsewhere. The drawing-together of the English and the Jewish peoples was hastened still further by the flight of Portuguese Neo-Christians. The Marrano communities founded in Tudor England by these victims of persecution were the first pioneers of the Jewish resettlement in Great Britain. A strange mixture of esteem and mistrust, admiration and hatred is the characteristic of the relationship of English society with this "underground" Jewish colony, an attitude reflected in numerous allusions to the Jews

by contemporary authors. Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* and, above all, Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* provide ample evidence that during the same period when the "ancient people of God" became the model for the English nation, the contemporary Jews aroused acute attention.

While professing Jews remained barred from Britain, intensive Hebrew studies, travels, and correspondence paved the way for a more intimate approach to them. Converted Jewish scholars, such as John Immanuel Tremellius and Philip Ferdinandus, helped the great English Hebraists to educate the generation which created the Authorized Version of the Bible (in 1611) and contributed to the spreading of rabbinical wisdom. It was from this stock also that the first outstanding advocates of the Restoration of the Jews originated.

PART ONE

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT

I. PIONEERS AND MARTYRS

THE earliest literary reflections on the Restoration of the Jews can be found as far back in English literature as the great Franciscans, Duns Scotus and William of Occam, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The teaching of John Wycliffe, the champion of Reformation, contains ideas to be developed later in the Doctrine. But the question of the Restoration of the Jews did not become a subject of special theological inquiries in England until the last decades of the Elizabethan era.

In 1585 Francis Kett, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, published a tract, *The glorious and beautiful Garland of Man's Glorification* containing the godly misterie of heavenly Jerusalem, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Three years later, Edmund Scambler, Bishop of Norwich, summoned Kett to his court and charged him with heresy. Under the Articles of Heretical Pravity, Kett was alleged to be a millenarian who maintained that Jesus and the Apostles were then in Judaea gathering there God's people and that the faithful must go to Jerusalem. In Kett's view Christ was "not God but a good man who suffered once for the world", and will "be made God after his second resurrection". Kett was condemned to death and burnt alive on January 14, 1589.

In Kett's unitarianism the element tending to a Restoration of the Jews can be clearly discerned. That the gathering of God's people was understood literally to mean Israel becomes perfectly clear from a Latin tract published in 1590 by the prominent scholar Andrew Willet under the title *De Universali and Novissima Judaeorum Vocatione*. Willet foretold and advocated the general conversion of the Jews in the sense of Paul's prophecy in Romans xi, but rejected the idea that they could regain the earthly government in their own country. He explicitly criticised Kett for his belief in Israel's return and even compared him to Solomon Molko, "that infamous man" who had "indulged in the heresy of the belief in the return of the Israelites too much" and having "proclaimed himself King Solomon, suffered due punishment for such a great blasphemy". Willet found that Francis Kett was "by a most just sentence condemned to death by fire and flames" for a similar heresy.

Willet's tract must be regarded as the first known document

in which the Restoration of the Jews was dealt with at length by an English author. But soon it was to become apparent that neither Kett's execution nor Willet's arguments were able to suppress the new belief. The strongest impulse in this direction came from the outstanding theologian Thomas Brightman (1562-1607) who, by the directness of his approach to the central point of the question, may indeed be regarded as the father of the British Doctrine of the Restoration of the Jews. His mystical work *Apoclypsis Apocalypseos* was published posthumously in Latin in Basle in the year 1609; its first English edition, entitled *A Revelation of the Revelation*, appeared in Amsterdam in 1615.

The main subject of Brightman's work was the overthrow of the Antichrist whom he identified with papal Rome. This event was to be followed by the destruction of the Turks and by the "Calling of the Jews" who would become a Christian nation but would also return to Palestine, thus restoring their kingdom. "Shall they return to Jerusalem again?" Brightman asks. "There is nothing more certain: the prophets do everywhere confirm it and beat upon it." Brightman based his argument on Revelation xvi, 12, where the sixth Angel, pouring out his vial, dries the river Euphrates that the way of the Kings of the Orient might be prepared. He declared the Jews themselves identical with the Kings of the Orient and the drying up of the Euphrates as a providential, analogy to the miracle at the Red Sea. This interpretation became a widely held tenet of the Restoration doctrine. Like the early Christian father Lactantius, Brightman predicted that "the whole East shall be in obedience and subjection unto the Jews, so that this people are not called kings unworthily". Brightman gives exact calculations, based mostly on the Book of Daniel, of the time when the apocalyptic event would happen. The year 1650 was regarded by him as the beginning of the apocalyptic period expected to last until 1695. Brightman also dealt with all these questions in another work, *A most comfortable Exposition of the last and difficult part of the Prophecies of Daniel -wherein the restoring of the Jews and their calling to the faith of Christ, after the overthrow of their last enemies, is set forth in lively colours. . .*, published in 1614 in Latin and in 1635 in an English translation. This book, being chiefly meant for the Jews, was based exclusively on Daniel and the Song of Songs.

One of the first followers of Brightman was Giles Fletcher (1549-1611), an eminent Elizabethan who served as "a faithful agent" of Queen Elizabeth I at the court of Ivan the Terrible. One of the fruits of his stay in Russia was a treatise devoted to the question of the Lost Tribes of Israel, published sixty years after his death, under the title *Essay upon some probable*

grounds that the present Tartars near the Caspian Sea, are the Posterity of the ten tribes of Israel.

Fletcher gives many reasons for his assumption, that the Tartars bordering on the territories near the Caspian Sea may be the posterity of the Ten Tribes of Israel and did not - hesitate to identify the rediscovered Tribes with the "Kings of the Orient". He attributed the title "Kings of the Orient" to the Ten Tribes only, to whom would fall the privilege of re-establishing the Kingdom in the Holy Land. The scattered children of Judah and Benjamin would, however, by the example of those other Tribes, be encouraged to leave their various domiciles for Judaea, and without other nations placing obstacles in their way. Fletcher's essay has certain striking similarities with a curious contemporary print, News from Rome, translated from Italian into English, that spoke of an Hebrew people, so far unknown, coming from the Caspian Mountains to recover the Land of Promise.

The theologian Thomas Draxe, another of Brightman's contemporaries, in *The World's Resurrection or the, Calling, of the Jews -A familiar Commentary upon' the eleventh Chapter of Saint Paul to the Romans (1608)*, considered it "as a marvellous work of God, not without mystery, that the Jews dispersed in all countries, should still continue such a distinct and unconfounded nation, and so constant in the keeping of their laws, rites and ceremonies". For Draxe, too, conversion was the essence, of that mysterious event termed "Calling of the Jews", but he did not reject the idea of Israel's earthly restoration. In a later work, *An Alarm to the Last Judgment (1615)*, Draxe spoke even more explicitly of the earthly restoration. There is no doubt that he, in the meantime, had accepted more readily the ideas of Brightman's Revelation of Revelation.

Soon afterwards the work of another outstanding Elizabethan appeared which was destined to give a powerful impetus to the development of the Restoration Doctrine. The title of this work was *The World's Great Restauration, or the Calling of the Jews, and (with them) of all the Nations and Kings of the earth, to the faith of Christ*. It appeared anonymously in 1621 and was dedicated, in Hebrew and English, "to Judah and the Children of Israel that joined with him, and to Joseph (the valiant tribe of Ephraim) and all the House of Israel that joined with him".

Unlike Brightman and Draxe, the author of this book, who remained anonymous for a time, was a layman and writer. Born in 1558, Sir Henry Finch, Serjeant-at-law, enjoyed so great a repute in the field of jurisprudence that Francis Bacon chose

him as collaborator in his attempt at codifying the statute laws. Finch was also many times Member of Parliament for Canterbury and St. Albans. In the Introduction to the book the publisher, William Gouge, himself a well-known scholar and preacher, praised Finch as a man "who bath dived deeper into the mysteries than I can do", emphasising particularly "his great understanding of the Hebrew tongue".

The image of a rebuilt New Jerusalem had already been painted by Finch in an earlier book, *An Explanation of the Song of Solomon*, called *Canticles*, published in 1615. But in *The World's Great Restauration* he went into great detail concerning a "full restauration of the Jews". While basing his assumptions on an interpretation which betrays a trained legal mind, there is no doubt that Thomas Brightman was Finch's teacher in the art of Scriptural interpretation. What lent a distinctive character to Finch's predictions was the blend of religion and politics expressed by him in the vision' of the restored Jewish Commonwealth. A perfect theocracy, the ideal of the epoch, is here visualised and projected into a redeemed Land of Israel. "They shall live in safety and continue to stay there for ever. The land shall be more fertile than it was, the country more populous than before, there shall be no separation of the Ten Tribes from the other two, but all make an entire kingdom and a most flourishing Commonwealth."

Finch's apocalyptic vision reaches its climax in the Epistle Dedicatory which bears out the basic conversionist tendency of the book, praise and blame of the Jews being put in acutely contrasting juxtaposition. Finch makes the alleged offence committed against Jesus responsible for the calamities which have befallen the Jews during the dispersion, but he predicts a great change which is about to be performed by the Lord:

Out of thee shall come gems and precious stones shining above the Topaze. Ezraes, Nehemies, Mordecaes, builders of a better Temple than that which thou bast doated upon so long.. . All the gentiles shall bring their glory into thy empire, and fall down before thee. . . .

Thus Finch's book culminated in a sublime millenarian vision: it aroused hopes of an imminent upheaval, the completeness of which could surely not go further than did this imaginary raising of the most helpless of peoples to glory and boundless power crowned by the redemption of mankind. This was indeed a revolutionary book. Small wonder that it provoked violent opposition in the period of absolutism in Church and State. James I was then king of England and the persecution of the Calvinists was in full swing. There were among the persecuted sectarians also John Traske and his

followers who advocated a strict observance of the Sabbath. On the Continent of Europe, the defeat of Frederick, King of Bohemia and son-in-law of James I, had just happened. In the war which was to last thirty years, the Catholic Empire with Spain's assistance was advancing. This meant incidentally that the bulwark against Turkey was gathering strength. Finch's prediction that the end of Turkey was near at hand, was perhaps more than a guess. The religious as well as the political implications of Finch's book were realised by the witty and well-read scholar on the throne who himself was an author of various theological works. A clash between the visionary lawyer and "the wisest fool in Christendom" was inevitable.

The King took the book of the Serjeant-at-law, whose anonymity was soon pierced, as a personal libel. There was no doubt that he, too, was meant to be included among the Gentile kings of the earth who would bow down before the ruler of the Jewish kingdom: Finch and his publisher were thrown into gaol in March 1621. Finch, then 63 years of age, was examined before the High Commission and released several weeks later, having disclaimed "the opinion which His Majesty thinks is asserted in his book", and after an apology "for having written so unadvisedly". Gouge, too was forced to eat humble pie before his release was granted. Finch (and James I) died in 1625, and the following year saw the birth of Sabbatai Zevi.

The appearance of *The World's Great Restauration* was marked not only by the arrest of its originators but also by a striking reaction in Parliament, in the pulpit and at Oxford University. In the course of a debate in 1621 on a parliamentary Bill concerning the Sabbath, the alteration of the name "Sabbath" to "Lord's Day" was proposed and agreed, because -as Sir Edward Coke put it- "Many were inclined to Judaism and dream that the Jews shall have regiment and that kings must lay down their crowns to their feet". The Church, too, reacted strongly. William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury, himself preached against Finch, heaping biting sarcasm on the book and its author. John Prideaux, professor of theology at Oxford, in a Latin Discourse on the Calling of the Jews delivered at the university in 1621, roundly denounced Jewish restoration as part of a scheme aimed at Jewish supremacy.

But at the same time some remarkable signs indicated that Laud and Prideaux were quite mistaken in assuming that the new Doctrine had been killed by their denunciation. Joseph Mede or Mead (1586-1638), after Brightman's death the most celebrated champion of millenarianism, did not conceal his agreement with the ideas expressed by Sir Henry Finch. There are unmistakable references to the Restoration of the Jews in

Mede's own writings, especially in the *Clavis Apocalyptica*, which was to become a text-book of millenarianism. A striking trace of the ideas developed by Finch may also be found in Francis Bacon's *Nova Atlantis* (English version 1629). Bacon, perhaps in token of sympathy with his esteemed former collaborator, even alluded to Finch's vision in his story of the Jews living in Bensalem, told by a Jew named Joabin, a merchant of Bensalem: *"And for the country of Bensalem this man would make no end of commending it, being desirous by tradition among the Jews there to have it believed that the people thereof were of the generation of Abraham by another son, whom they call Nachoran; ...and that when the Messiah should come, and sit on his throne at Jerusalem, the King of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other Kings should keep a great distance"*.

This reflection of the Restoration idea in one of the greatest literary documents of the epoch is an indication that it had taken root in the spiritual life of England. The work of the first English advocates of the Restoration doctrine was completed. It was done by men who had been born in the Elizabethan era. Although the greater part of the pertinent literary documents appeared during the reign of James I, the Golden Age of England was really the cradle of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine.

II. MESSIAHS AND PROPHETS IN THE GREAT REBELLION

The unfortunate experiences of Francis Kett, Finch and others had taught the followers of their teaching discretion. The hour for a revival of the Restoration Movement struck only in 1640, the year in which the Great Rebellion was set in motion. The then dead pioneers of the Restoration idea gained the posthumous support of a new generation. Above all, Thomas Brightman's works were reprinted, and even a special tract, with the portrait of the "man bright in prophecy", was published in 1641. In this it was shown "how all that which Mr. Brightman has foretold has been fulfilled and is yet fulfilling". The historian of the epoch, Thomas Fuller, refers to this development when, in his *Pisgah Sight of Palestine* (1650) he speaks of those *"protestant divines who concur with the modern Jews in their belief that they shall be restored to a flourishing Commonwealth in Canaan"*. He also alluded to Sir Henry Finch as the author who *"so enlarged the future amplitude of the Jewish state (sic) that thereby he occasioned a confining to himself"*.

But Finch's ordeal could no longer deter his disciples. Originally confined to individual scholars, the anticipation of a Restoration of the Jews became an increasingly general notion in England in the forties of the seventeenth century. The most provocative expression of the Restoration idea was sounded by the Fifth Monarchy Men who looked forward to the establishment of a new World Monarchy. One of the founders and principal leaders of the Fifth Monarchy Men, John Archer, became a protagonist of the idea. The rise of the Kingdom, which Archer, in his book *The personal reign of Christ upon earth* (1642), predicted for 1666 -expected by many to be a year of miracles ("anus mirabilis") -would, in his view, be preceded by the deliverance of the Israelites in 1650 or 1656: *"The cities of the Tribes shall be built again, especially Jerusalem, which shall be the most eminent City then in the World...."* In *The Land of Promise and the Covenant thereof*, an anonymous writer appealed to *"those that teach a deliverance of the Jews of all countries to the Land of Canaan"*; Robert Maton in a manifesto, *Israel's Redemption*, emphatically restated his faith in "the Jews' miraculous conversion and their return into their own Land". Other outstanding spokesmen of the Restoration idea were the renowned learned divines, Nathaniel Holmes and James Durham, and also Henry Jessey, Baptist and founder of the earliest Welsh Church, who in *The Glory of Judah and Israel* paid enthusiastic tribute to the Jewish people, and was the first to collect funds for needy Palestinian Jews in Great Britain.

Between the vision of a restored Jerusalem as the heart of the world and a purely spiritual Zion there were many shades and nuances whose various meanings overlapped, so that it is often difficult to distinguish between them. Oliver Cromwell himself, for example, spoke of the prophecies "that He will bring His people again from the depths of the sea, as once he led Israel through the Red Sea", but he added immediately: "And it may be God will bring the Jews home to their station from the isles of the sea and answer the expectations as from the depths of the sea." **The identification of the English people with Israel found its most ecstatic expression in the rebellion organised by Thomas Vernier against Cromwell in 1657 and promptly put down.** In a contemporary manifesto the rebels pledged solemnly that they would not "sheathe their swords again until Mount Zion becomes the joy of the whole earth". **Thomas Tarry, a London goldsmith, was one of several men who not only prophesied the impending Restoration of the Jews but actually conducted themselves as Heaven-sent redeemers. They originated a movement which, under the name of British-Israelites, was to acquire a surprising importance much later on. In a tract published in 1650, Tarry describes himself as a descendant of the tribe of Reuben and High Priest**

of the Jews. Shortly afterwards he was drowned when he set out in a small boat in order to call the Jews of Holland to organise an expedition to reconquer the Holy Land.

In the same year, 1650, Joshua Garment proclaimed John Robins King of Israel and announced that within twenty days before Michaelmas he would "*divide the seas and bring -as Moses the Jews of the world home to Judaea*". An army 144,000 strong was to be equipped for the purpose. The year 1657, which sealed the fate of the Fifth Monarchy Men, proved unlucky for Robins who, with his followers, was imprisoned in Clerkenwell.

Two works of unusual literary and moral merit present an extreme contrast to the extravagant happenings as well as to all the eccentric utterances of the restorationists during this agitated period. One of them, though written in England, came from the pen of an eminent intellectual leader of foreign stock - Johann Amos Comenius (Koniensky), the Czech pioneer educationalist, last Bishop of the Bohemian Brethren. He had lived in exile for many years and was invited to England in 1641 to effect reforms in education. In 1642, in the stormy atmosphere of the Civil War, he wrote in Latin his philosophical treatise *The Way of Light* which was published 25 years later in Amsterdam. Some 270 more years were to pass before an English translation appeared in 1938. Centuries ahead of his own time, Comenius drafted detailed plans for the spread of enlightenment: universal books, universal schools, and a universal language. By these means, Comenius hoped to bring about "the destruction of the kingdoms of darkness and victory and triumph for Light and Truth". This coming age was to be the second age of the Messiah and events preceding it were to include the Restoration of the Jews to come about when all nations, led to embrace a single faith, would turn towards the light of a divinely restored Zion. The fact that a philosophical treatise, in which one of the most illustrious thinkers of his era expounded his far-sighted ideas, included the Restoration of the Jews as one of the basic problems, provides striking evidence of the firm hold which the Restoration idea had taken in the philosophy of the time.

The other work, published anonymously in 1648, also in Latin, under the title *Novae Solymae Libri Six*, presents in the form of a Utopian novel a full and delightful picture of a restored Jerusalem imbued with new life by a regenerated nation. Though the author's object was to describe an ideal commonwealth, the book is informed with love of the people and the Land of Israel.

The setting is a newly erected Jerusalem about fifty years after the return of the Jewish people. This event, as Jacob, an Elder of the community, explains to three visitors, was brought about "by *Divine mercy . . . when by a heavenly impulse we acknowledged the true Messiah and became his disciples with unwonted zeal*". Although the author thus accepts conversion as a prerequisite of Restoration with all the traditional concepts of Israel's guilt, expiation and sudden enlightenment, the spirit which he imparts to the restored commonwealth is that of a universal religion resulting from a synthesis of Judaism and Christianity rather than a Christianised Judaism. "*Do not think, my sons,*" Jacob instructs the newcomers, "*that we disdain to borrow anything that is really good, because of its origin with nations alien to us...*" In similar dialogues the new commonwealth -a model republic- is fully described. The prophetic vision of the author strikes the modern reader particularly when the new Patriarch declares: "*It is fitting in every true republic that we take special care of the young, and in this the providence of God has not made our endeavours ineffectual, for it is well known that a more beautiful and talented progeny has grown up among us since our restoration*".

Nor does the author ever let the reader forget that the story is set in Palestine. It is in the harbour of Jaffa that they disembark on their way to Jerusalem, and the aspect of the city satisfied both the rules laid down by Ezekiel, xlvi, 31, and the dictates of contemporary architecture. Several Latin poems on Biblical themes add to the Jewish colouring of the novel. Thus the poem chanted by the citizen of Nova Solyma on Mount Zion is less a Christian hymn than a song of Zion.

The fate of the book was no less unusual than its contents. Neglected by its contemporaries, it was completely forgotten-for 250 years. Credit for its rescue from oblivion is due to Walter Begley, who in 1902 (strangely enough the year in which Theodor Herzl published his *Altneuland*) edited an English translation of the work in two volumes, with an introduction and notes, under the title *Nova Solyma -The Ideal City; or Jerusalem Regained*. Begley argued that the author of the novel could be none other than, John Milton himself. This view was refuted by Stephen K. Jones (*The Authorship of Nova Solyma*. The Library, 1920), who established that the author was Samuel Gott, born on January 20, 1613. Gott was Milton's contemporary, sat in Parliament from 1645 to 1659, and was in 1663 Justice of the Peace at Battle. Only two of his works posterior to *Nova Solyma* are known: *The True Happiness of Man*, a collection of essays, and *The Divine History of the World*.

Although Begley's attribution of Jerusalem Regained to the author of Paradise Regained has proved erroneous, Nova Solyma shares with Milton's writings the blending of English Hebraism with the humanistic spirit. Gott's synthesis was evident also in his presentation of the Restoration idea. He was the first Englishman to liberate it from the narrow bonds of the theological tract and to clothe it in a literary, indeed, an artistic form. This notable transmutation was effected by yet another synthesis: the combination of the English predilection for Utopias with the English yearning for the Restoration of the Jews. Nova Solyma is not a "Nowhere" like Thomas More's Utopia, nor a "Somewhere" like Bacon's Nova Atlantis -it is, beyond doubt, Zion itself. It is Israel -gathered and restored-that lives there in a model commonwealth conceived in the spirit of Puritan Christianity and Miltonian humanism. In the twilight of the fateful year 1648, while in Eastern Europe the Jewish masses were set in motion by an outbreak of the most cruel persecution, there shone for a moment -though unnoticed by the Jews, and scarcely observed by the Gentiles- the mirage of a revived Land of Israel.

III. MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL'S ANSWER: RESTORATION THROUGH READMISSION

The millenarian philosophy which swept over England was not confined to the British Isles. The continent of Europe, tormented for decades by devastating wars, proved likewise a fertile soil for eschatological expectations. In Central Europe, in France as well as in Holland, these expectations inspired some of the visionaries to include in their speculations their hope for the return of the Children of Israel to the Holy Land. It is against this background that also an outstanding Jewish exponent of eschatology, Menasseh ben Israel, the famous Rabbi of Amsterdam, has to be seen. In 1650, he published a book, The Hope of Israel, which was destined to make history by linking the Messianism of the British Puritans with genuine Jewish Messianism and theological speculation with practical politics. Far from being merely the reaction of an individual Jew, this book contained the answer of Israel to the call of the rising Restoration Movement.

Through personal contact with frequent visitors from England and by an extensive correspondence with the Puritans, Menasseh ben Israel, had acquired a thorough knowledge of the British Restoration Movement. He knew that some of his Puritan friends shared with him his interest in the fate of the Ten Tribes of the Israelite Kingdom. With the rising expectations of the approaching Millennium this question had assumed a more and more topical character. For, since the return to the Holy Land had been promised to the whole people

of Israel (and not to Judah and Benjamin alone), the Restoration, as many believed, could not take place unless the Lost Tribes participated in it.

Just at that time, i.e., in 1644, Antonio de Montezinos, scholar and traveller, a Marrano from Portugal who had assumed the name Aaron Levi upon his return to Judaism, came back from a voyage to South America and reported that he had met natives in the Cordilleras who recited the Shema Israel and observed Jewish rites. Even before this exciting news provoked a heated literary debate in England, Menasseh ben Israel had taken notice of Aaron Levi's report first made known in Amsterdam. He considered this intelligence to be of a providential significance. A long time before he had pondered over the hidden meaning of Daniel xii, 7, "*And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people all these things shall be finished*", in connection with Deut. xxviii, 64, stating expressly that the scattering will be "*from one end of the earth even to the other*". The passage seemed plainly to indicate that the dispersion of the children of Israel over the face of the earth was an essential pre-condition of Israel's and of the world's redemption. If the descendants of the Lost Tribes had in fact been found in the New World, then all the prerequisites of redemption would appear to be present--on condition that the only inhabited country in the world not yet open to Jews would re-admit them. That country was England.

A formal petition for the repeal of the banishment had been presented by the Baptists Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer, residents of Amsterdam, in 1648 and, in the same year, Edward Nicholas, in his Apology for the Honourable Nation of the Jews, and all the sons of Israel implored his countrymen to show themselves "*compassionate and helpers of the afflicted Jews*". Although without any practical result, these efforts strengthened Menasseh ben Israel in his intention to prove that the Restoration of the Jews, the great ideal of the English "*heralds of Israel's kingdom*", was basically inseparable from the readmission of the Jews to England. An additional motive was the tragic fact that a new country of asylum was desperately heeded, for the increasing stream of Marrano fugitives from the Peninsula was already being swollen by the Jewish masses fleeing before Chmielnitzky's raging Cossacks.

Thus, Menasseh ben Israel expounded his claim that all the divinely-ordained conditions which must precede the Restoration of the Jews and the coming of the Messiah and his realisation of the Kingdom of Heaven would only be fulfilled with the readmission of Jews to England.

Menasseh's book *The Hope of Israel* appeared simultaneously in Spanish, Latin and English. The Latin and English versions were "dedicated by the Author to the High Court, the Parliament of England, and the Council of State". The dedication left no doubt that the book was not merely a theological treatise but a state document. Moreover, in the preface addressing the "most renowned Fathers" directly, Menasseh expressed clearly the purpose of the book:

". . . the eyes of all are turned upon you that they may see whither all these things tend, which the great Governor of all kings seems to bring upon the world by so great changes . . . and so all those things which God is pleased to have foretold by the prophets, do and shall obtain their accomplishment. All which things of necessity must be fulfilled, that so Israel at last being brought back to his own place; peace which is promised under the Messiah may be restored to, the world ; and concord, which is the only Mother of all good things."

How exactly the book had caught the prevailing mood of the English public was evident from its tremendous success. Within a short time a second English edition (soon to be followed by a third one) appeared. This was published by the Puritan Moses Wall with an appendix, containing also the text of correspondence exchanged by the editor and Sir Edward Spenser, the author of an answer to Menasseh ben Israel's appeal. The correspondents represented the two contrasting schools of thought concerning the question whether restoration also comprised the re-establishment of an earthly kingdom or whether it was to be understood merely as the conversion of the Jews to the faith in Jesus Christ. In his reply to Spenser, Moses Wall declared: "*I do firmly believe and feare not to confesse it; that the Jews shall be called as a Nation, both Judah and Israel, and shall return to their own land, and have an earthly Kingdome again*".

His book won for Menasseh ben Israel recognition as the uncontested political leader of the Jews. This is how he came to play a leading part in the negotiations for the readmission of the Jews to England. Accompanied by a delegation of the Amsterdam community, Menasseh ben Israel arrived in London in October 1655. Before starting for England, he had written a kind of supplement to *The Hope of Israel* entitled *The Precious Stone or the Image of Nebuchadnezzar, or the Fifth Monarchy*, which Rembrandt illustrated with four engravings. In it, the Fifth Monarchy is identified with the kingdom of the Messiah, the Jewish kingdom destined to "save" the world. With him he took to England the historic pamphlet *The Humble Address of Menasseh ben Israel, a Divine, and Doctor of*

Physick, in behalfe of the Jewish Nation, which was addressed "To His Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland". It was an eloquent appeal for permission to be granted to the Jews to settle in England, to enjoy freedom of religion, self-administration, and the right to engage in commerce and in various trades. In his Humble Address, Menasseh ben Israel referred to the great economic benefits which would accrue to the Commonwealth from the settlement of Jewish merchants in London, but he also dwelt on the Messianic argument of The Hope of Israel, linking the Restoration of the Jews with their readmission to England.

The publication of the Humble Address was followed by heated debates and a stream of tracts and leaflets. Among those to whom restoration meant only one thing -conversion to, Christianity- the refusal of the "stiff-necked" people to change its religion had exacerbated prejudice against the Jews, while others like John Dury in his pamphlet *A Case of Conscience whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth?* spoke up for the Jews. The most interesting and, as it were, compromising contribution to the conflict of ideas is to be found in James Warrington's famous work *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, published in 1656. In his far-sighted blueprint, Harrington suggested that the island of Panopea, part of the Commonwealth of Oceana, an obvious reference to Ireland, should become the national home of the Jews gathered from dispersion. (Harrington's recognition of the Jewish aptitude for agriculture is striking.) This earliest territorialist settlement plan suffered the same fate as most of its many successors -it was ignored.

The struggle for the readmission of the Jews reached its climax at the unique Whitehall conference which met on December 4, 1655, publicly to consider (and give) judgment on Menasseh ben Israel's petition. The findings of the conference, in spite of Cromwell's most eloquent plea for the rights of the Jews, were negative. Although the lawyers confirmed that there was no legal objection to the return of the Jews, the conference was unable to agree on the conditions of the return. Disappointed and angry, Cromwell closed the proceedings on December 18, 1655.

But the debate continued to rage elsewhere. A multitude of new tracts and rejoinders encumbered Menasseh's lodgings in the Strand. None of them hurt him so deeply as the acid pamphlet *A Short Demurrer to the Jewes Long Discontinued Remitter into England* by the celebrated William Prynne, obviously designed to prevent the Council of State from taking action favourable to the Jews. Menasseh replied in a slender and dignified volume entitled *Vindiciae Judaeorum*. Where the

pleas of the Puritan sympathisers and Oliver Cromwell's passionate oratory had failed, there was little chance of the Amsterdam Rabbi's learned arguments succeeding. It seemed that his great efforts had been wasted.

Yet an unlooked-for partial success heralded Menasseh's ultimate victory. The war between England and Spain which broke out in 1656 cleared up the legal status of the Marranos resident in England. When the property of one of them had been confiscated by the authorities as belonging to an "enemy alien", the Marranos realised the deadly danger which threatened all of them. Encouraged by Menasseh's campaign, they decided to meet the peril by confessing openly their Hebrew origin in an address requesting permission to meet for their private devotions in their houses without molestation and to have a burial place for their dead. Menasseh ben Israel headed the list of the signatories of this petition. The Marranos thus won the right to reside in England as Jews, and as time went on more and more individual Jews were given permission to reside in England. Less than a decade after the Humble Address, the restored Stuart, Charles II, sanctioned the readmission of Jews to England.

In 1657 Menasseh ben Israel made up his mind to leave. It was probably shortly before his departure from London that he received that memorable Latin letter (unearthed by Cecil Roth) which Henry Oldenburg, former Consul of the Hanseatic City of Bremen and subsequently Secretary of the Royal Society, at that time tutor to Richard Jones (Lord Ranelagh), sent him from France on August 4, 1657. It was a tribute to Menasseh ben Israel and at the same time Oldenburg's confession of love for the Jewish people and of his firm belief in its Restoration. The special purpose of the letter was to inform Menasseh about an unpublished work which was dedicated to the Hebrew people, and bore the title *They that arouse the Dawn*. In it, the author expounded "The significance and the fulfilment of those magnificent and ample prophecies relating to the glorious restoration of the Jews in their own land". Oldenburg declared he would be prepared to discuss the matter privately with Menasseh and to expound his views at greater length. Written by the man whom the intellectual elite of England were soon to entrust with their representation, the letter is above all a testimony to the solid hold the Restoration doctrine had taken in the spiritual life of England.

It is not known whether Menasseh ben Israel answered Oldenburg's letter, or even if it ever reached him. He died on November 12, 1657, on the way home. Not having lived to see the final triumph of his long campaign, his last hour might have seemed to him to be clouded by failure. Fortunately for

posterity, he was mistaken. Not only had his work been instrumental to the readmission of the Jews to England, but history was to show how sound had been Menasseh ben Israel's instinct which guided him to lay the Jewish people's road to the Land of Israel via the British Isles.

IV. "ANNUS MIRABILIS" AND SABBATAI ZEVI

While Menasseh ben Israel had been toiling to secure the readmission of the Jews to England, Sabbatai Zevi, the youthful mystic of Smyrna, lived through a period of studies, ascetic exercises, bold deeds and wanderings. In 1648, which corresponded with the Hebrew year 5408, prognosticated in the Zohar as the year when the Messiah would appear, Sabbatai, then twenty-two years old, had publicly pronounced, before a crowd of worshippers in the synagogue of Smyrna, the Ineffable Name of God and thus, by implication, assumed the Messiahship. Excommunicated, he had been forced to leave his native city, but soon a group of devoted followers gathered around the self styled Messiah.

It is an astonishing but undeniable fact that Sabbatai was influenced not only by Jewish mysticism but also by the millenarian ideas of the Puritans. In the home of his father, Mordecai Zevi, whom a large English trading house had appointed their commercial agent, young Sabbatai heard the stories of English merchants about the Puritans who loved and studied the Scriptures, identified themselves with the Jews and looked forward to the Restoration of Israel. Their information provided strong confirmation of Sabbatai's own dreams and boosted his confidence in his mission. But the most precious gift he received from England was the tidings of the Fifth Monarchy Men and their certain, expectations that the year 1666 would inaugurate the Millennium. This Puritan prediction fitted perfectly into Sabbatai's own personal experiences and expectations. The birth-pangs of the approaching Messianic Age had indeed begun in 1648 (The "Messianic Year") with the appearance of a new enemy of Israel, the terrible Cossack Chmielnitzki, and the appalling sufferings he had caused to the Jewish people. There could therefore be no doubt that the deliverance itself would take place at another pre-ordained date. Nothing seemed more logical than to expect the dawn of this blessed happening after a further eighteen years. In this manner, the "wonderful year", a certainty for the Fifth Monarchy Men, became for Sabbatai Zevi a fixed goal, the apogee of his physical and spiritual life. Thus, in the same way as the Restoration Movement was inseparably linked with the readmission of the Jews to England, English millenarianism stood at the very cradle of the Sabbatian movement.

As 1666 drew near, a spate of fantastic rumours came flooding in from the East. Thousands had seen the "Messiah" in Asia Minor, in Egypt, in Salonica, and in the Holy Land. In 1665 a message from his spokesman prophet Nathan Ghazati startled the world. Sabbatai Zevi would take the Sultan's crown and place it on his head. On the heels of the message came reports of Sabbatai's triumphal entry into Smyrna, of the exaltation of the crowd which greeted him with cries "Long live our King, the Messiah". Presently similar cries were heard from Kiev to Venice, from Leghorn to Hamburg, from Salonica to Amsterdam. Delirious with joy and ecstatic hope, the Jews made preparations for departure.

The tiny Jewish community of London, only just established, did not offer a favourable soil for the growth of a mass movement. Yet even these newcomers were stirred into a feverish expectation. But the excitement of London's non-Jewish population caused by reports and rumours about Sabbatai Zevi at the approach of the critical year was in some respects even more striking than that of the Jews. One leaflet after another dealing with the Messianic event appeared and was sold out immediately. The most fascinating of them was A New Letter from Aberdeen, sent to a Person of Quality, published by R.R. and dated 26th October, 1665. The correspondent is anxious to acquaint the addressee with "the proceedings of the Israelites, in this juncture of time, wherein scarce anything else, is either talked of, or looked after, in comparison of them". The major item of news which he conveys to London is about a ship which had called at Aberdeen, bound for Amsterdam, with Jews on board bearing written reports about the victorious encounters of the Jews with the Turks. The writer even states that the sails the ship, made of white branched satin, bore in red characters the inscription THESE ARE OF THE TEN TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

All these products of the printing press are strongly reminiscent of the eccentric literature disseminated by the Fifth Monarchy Men who, after the execution of Venner and his band, disappeared from the historical scene. But the millenarian ideas of which they had been the most radical promoters were not extinguished. The expectation of the "annus mirabilis" had been born in London. Now, with the decisive year at hand, London looked forward to its outcome with an interest unsurpassed in any other capital. "Lift up your Heads, this is the Wonderful Year", reads the inscription of a pamphlet, published in the form of a letter "written by the French Ambassador at Constantinople to his brother, the French Resident of Venice", dated 26th February, 1666, which announced that in the month of June of that year "The Redemption of Israel will be published throughout the whole

World".

Nor were merely the simple and credulous affected by these predictions. Samuel Pepys, the most reliable and least eccentric of witnesses, not only recorded the reactions of some London Jews to the expected glorification of the Messiah but also expressed the general mood of the city in one significant sentence: "... and certainly this year of 1666 will be a year of great action; but what the consequences of it will be, God knows". An even more revealing record of these stirring days has been left by Henry Oldenburg. Since 1661, Oldenburg, by then Secretary of the Royal Society, had been corresponding with the excommunicated philosopher Baruch Spinoza, whom he held in the highest esteem. On December 4, 1665, Oldenburg addressed a letter in Latin to Spinoza containing this passage:

Now to politics. Everyone here talks of: the rumour that the Israelites, who had been scattered more than two thousand years, are about to return to their native land. Only few here believe it, but many desire it. You will tell your friend what you hear and think about it. As for me, I cannot believe it so long as the news is not confirmed by trustworthy men in Constantinople, which is mainly interested in the matter. I should like to know what the Amsterdam Jews have heard of this, and how they are affected by the news which, if confirmed, should cause all things in the world to be changed.

The passage is more than a picture of London on the eve of the Wonderful Year; we have here an exact account of the Restoration Movement as it looked towards the close of the first epoch, extending from the end of the Elizabethan era to the Restoration of the Stuarts. Interest in the return of scattered Israel to its homeland was general, though only a minority believed in the immediate realisation of the Messianic hope. But the Restoration of the Jews had become the subject of current political debate. Oldenburg's use of the term "politics" in connection with the question of Jewish Restoration is a clear symptom of the transformation which the desire for Restoration, originally a religious concern only, had begun to undergo.

A passage at the end of the third section of Spinoza's Theological-Political Tractate could well have been prompted by Oldenburg's letter:

The symbol of circumcision, therefore, is, I believe, so potent that I am convinced it alone will keep this nation alive for ever. I would go so far as to believe that, if the foundations of their religion have not enfeebled their minds, they may, if the

occasion presents itself amid the changes to which human affairs are liable, even raise their empire anew, and that God may elect them a second time.

The Tractate appeared in 1670. In the interval that had elapsed since Oldenburg's letter, Sabbatai Zevi had in fact disembarked at Constantinople early in 1666, but instead of causing the Sultan to fall he became his prisoner. In his gaol at Gallipoli he was worshipped as before, crowds of pious pilgrims journeying to do him homage. On September 14, 1666, Sabbatai Zevi became a Moslem and assumed the name Mehmed Effendi, yet the devotion of his followers withstood even this shock and the Sabbatian movement continued after his death in 1675 far beyond the end of the seventeenth century.

Spinoza, in his seclusion, remained unmoved by- these turbulent happenings. Yet the lines from the Tractate bear eloquent witness to the fact that Spinoza shared with his antipode, Sabbatai Zevi, and with Menasseh ben Israel, the third Jewish representative man of that period, the belief in the future Restoration of the Jewish people.

PART TWO

CONSOLIDATION AND TRANSITION TO POLITICAL ACTIVITY

I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE

AFTER the initial, rather tempestuous, phase of the Restoration Movement the ideas associated with it mellowed into a stable and firmly established theological-political doctrine. Far from causing a setback to the Movement, Enlightenment and Deism in their ascendancy actually enriched the Restoration Doctrine by a salutary admixture of realism. Thus the central idea of Restoration was passed on steadily, though with considerable modification, from generation to generation until the French Revolution brought about a sudden and radical metamorphosis.

The prologue of the era was written by the greatest poet of Puritan England. Ageing, stricken with blindness but at the peak of his creative power, John Milton published in 1671, three years after *Paradise Lost*, the poem *Paradise Regained*. There, Milton pictures Satan wrestling with Jesus and the Tempter's defeat, marking the redemption of mankind. At the height of the struggle, after Jesus had spurned offers of wealth and worldly happiness, the Tempter spreads before him all the kingdoms of the world, with David's realm as the supreme prize. He advises Jesus to conclude an alliance with the Parthians and to secure by this political stroke the throne of David, liberate the scattered Ten Tribes and restore them to their inheritance. Once again, Jesus rejects Satan's offer. Redemption of the Tribes would come, though not immediately and not in the manner foreshadowed by the Tempter.

*Yet He at length, time to himself best known
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call
May bring them back repentent and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
While to their native land with joy they haste,
As the Red Sea and Jordan once He cleft,
When to the Promised Land their fathers pass'd
To his due time and providence I leave them.*

Israel will be restored, not by conquest but by "some wondrous call" following the repentance of the people. Of the event itself Milton had no doubt. He apparently even accepted the millenarian theory of the drying up of the Euphrates for the benefit of the returning Tribes. That this was more than a poet's fancy is evident from various passages of Milton's great theological work *De Doctrina Christiana* which appeared only in 1825.

A book published six years after *Paradise Regained* was, as its striking title *Israel Redux or the Restoration of Israel* indicates, entirely devoted to the subject of the Restoration. The author, Samuel Lee, a notable scholar, was the first to rescue from oblivion Giles Fletcher's treatise on the Lost Tribes (see p. 19) by incorporating its text in his book. In the preface of his own treatise Lee makes it clear that he starts out from the irrefutable premise "*that the Israelites shall as certainly return to, as ever they went out of their Ancient Land, for the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it*". The object of the research, therefore, is no longer to determine whether the Restoration will come to pass. Lee discusses instead its juridical, historical and geographic premises.

In Lee's view, the divine covenant with Abraham and the other patriarchs was a legal charter. He has no hesitation in interpreting the divine promise (mainly Gen. xv, 18-21) literally and in accepting the boundaries mentioned in these verses as the frontiers of the future Jewish realm.

Samuel Lee's treatise is indicative of the now realistic trend in this field. Only ten years after the publication of *Israel Redux* there appeared a strange publication: *The Jews' Jubilee or the Conjunction and Resurrection of the Dry Bones of the whole House of Israel; which respects their Return unto their own Land, and their Universal Conversion unto the Christian Faith*. The author himself described the contents of the pamphlet as "the Sum and Substance of a Prophecy" that was revealed by him in London on January 20, 1687, to two Jews with a Spanish Protestant as witness. Conversion was for the author the first step to Restoration. The messianic era and Restoration would then follow, the enemies of the Jews would become their friends who, instead of hindering them, would help them.

Eccentric, and indeed grotesque, as this attempt to influence the destiny of the Jewish people by converting two English Jews may appear today, it was characteristic of the development of the Restoration Movement. The lack of a State of their own was recognised as the principal cause of the undignified condition to which the Jewish people was reduced.

At the same time the vision of the Restoration was elevated above vague speculations by the forecast that the return of the Jews to their homeland would be aided by the temporal power.

The attempt embodied in *The Jews Jubilee* was by no means an isolated episode in those days. Almost simultaneously, in 1686, Pierre Jurieu, a leading French Protestant, divine who had been ordained in England, published his *L'Accomplissement des Propheties*, in which he visualised the re-establishment of the Jewish kingdom not later than the end of the century.

Ten years later, in 1696, on the eve of the Peace Conference at Ryswick, the Danish visionary, Holger Paulli, submitted to King William III a detailed plan for the conquest of Palestine and the re-establishment of the Jewish state, addressing the King of England as "*Cyrus the Great and the Almighty's instrument thanks to whom the trite Phoenix, the last Temple, shall be born from the ashes of Herod's Temple*". Holger Paulli's bold attempt to associate restorationist aspirations with current political events is memorable as a bizarre anticipation of a stage which the Restoration Movement was to reach only by a long process.

Within that process, Thomas Burnet (c. 1635-1715), the imaginative Master of Charterhouse, holds an important place. In his Dantesque *Treatise concerning the State of Departed Souls, before, and at, and after Resurrection*, Burnet included a special Digression concerning the State of the Jews in the Millennium, or the future Kingdom of the Messiah, which he later enlarged to an extensive Appendix *de Futura Judaeorum Restauratione* published with a posthumous edition of the *Treatise*. Burnet rejected politics as a means for provoking millenarian changes, but by presenting the Restoration of the Jews as the climax of an inevitable world process, he strengthened confidence in its coming and helped to implant in his contemporaries and in later generations the belief in the return of the Jews to their homeland.

The most eloquent confirmation of the firm hold which the Restoration idea had taken in the minds of the English thinkers on the threshold of the age of Enlightenment are the writings of John Locke and Isaac Newton. The author of the *Essay on Human Understanding*, John Locke, expressed his belief in the Restoration of the Jews in his *Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles*, thus: "*God is able to collect them into one Body . . . and set them in flourishing condition in their own Land*". Newton's views on this subject are even more explicit. He hoped, by a progressive check on scriptural prophecies, to probe their mystery and to gain some insight into the future.

Following this method, Newton, in his *Observations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, published in 1733 (five years after his death), arrives at the conclusion that the passage in the Book of Daniel ix, 25, is a prophecy yet unfulfilled. He tried to lift the mysterious veil which surrounds this verse in the memorable conjecture "*that 'the commandment to return' may perhaps come forth not from the Jews themselves, but from some other kingdom friendly to them*".

With this cautiously formulated "Observation" historical-political reality entered the Restoration Doctrine. Newton tried to predict with considerable accuracy a limited order of events, expecting the intervention of an earthly power in the destiny of the dispersed people, an intervention that will cause its Restoration. But declining to make more particular assertions regarding the event itself, he concludes cautiously: "*The manner I know not. Let time be the interpreter*".

William Whiston (1667-1752), Newton's temporary successor to the Chair of Mathematics at Cambridge, was another prominent spokesman of the Movement. It was characteristic of this religious revivalist and translator of Josephus that he felt personally concerned in the resurrection of the Jewish Nation. In his *Memoirs* (1753), the coming Millennium and Restoration of the Jews were recurrent themes. A memorable entry -of Whitsunday, June 7, 1747- records that on that day he "called to mind a very remarkable prophecy of Isaiah's concerning the restoration of the Jews (Ix 9-10) '*Surely the isles wait for Me, and the ships of Tarshish (the Mediterranean sea, Jonah i, 3) first to bring thy sons from far*,'" and concluded from it "*that the first return of the Jews shall be by ships, passing along the Mediterranean, from remote islands: which agrees to no nation so expressly, as to the British nation...*" With this association between the Restoration of the Jews and England's foreign policy, a new element, destined to have a lasting effect upon its subsequent development, had been added to the Restoration Doctrine.

The ranks of the Restorationists were strengthened by the accession of devout evangelists such as Philipp Doddridge (1702-1751) -who hoped for a speedy Restoration of the Jews as a great religious mystery -and Bishop Richard Hurd (1720-1808), author of *An Introduction to the Prophecies* (1772). Wesleyan Methodism, too, imparted a strong impulse to the Movement, though not so much through original theological interpretations as by the poetic achievement of John Wesley's brother Charles, who sang his belief in the Millennium and Israel's restoration in many an inspired verse.

Samuel Collet's *Treatise on the Future Restoration of the Jews and Israelites to their own Land*, published in 1746, regarded the Restoration solely in the light of Jewish Messianism and expressly excluded the question of conversion to Christianity.

In Collet's realistic view the return of the twelve tribes would be a gradual process spread over a long period. He, too, expected some Commandment to cause them to return from their present Dispersion and to build Jerusalem, which would, however, at first be obeyed only by a section of, the people; the early settlers would enjoy a period of peace and prosperity, thus attracting the rest of the people to Palestine. Yet the first period would be followed by one of hard struggle with "invading Turks". In describing the process of rebuilding, Collet assumed the existence of agricultural settlements.

In 1749 the question of the Restoration of the Jews was for the first time subjected to a systematic scrutiny within a scientific work of a general character. In his *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty and His Expectations*, David Hartley, the renowned physician and philosopher, devoted a special section to the "Expectation of Bodies Politic, the Jews in particular, and the world in General during the Present State of the Earth". By this inclusion of the Jews among "the bodies politic" Harley acknowledged that, despite their dispersion, the Jews constituted a united political entity and shared a common destiny. Moreover, by incorporating the religious idea of Restoration into the structure of his philosophical system, Hartley made a truly historic contribution to the Restoration Movement. Starting out from arguments based on the Prophets, he adds to them seven historical, sociological and psychological arguments.. Only the first two assertions concerning the national distinction of the Jewish people and their dispersal derive from religious tradition, while others testify to Hartleys critical faculty and powers of observation. He saw the Jewish people not as a scattered and disintegrating mass -"a fossil", as Arnold Toynbee saw fit to call Israel in our own day -but as a living organism held together by common language ("Rabbinic Hebrew") and extensive correspondence. With astonishing foresight he recognised these links as important factors likely to assist the Restoration. The listing of reasons justifying the hope of Restoration is rounded off with a reference to the Messianic hopes entertained by the Jews themselves. For the first time these hopes were interpreted not merely as a religious phenomenon but also as a historical force.

Shortly after the publication of Collet's and Hartley's contributions to the development of the Restoration idea, the Jews became an object of general political interest in England.

In 1753 Pelhani's "*Bill granting naturalisation to all British Jews on application to Parliament*" was passed but, in face of vehement anti-Jewish agitation, both Houses revoked the Bill in the following year. The Restoration Movement played a considerable part in these campaigns. The opponents tried to prove that, pending their return to Palestine, the Jews could lay no claim to another homeland, but the idea of Restoration was advanced in some quarters in support of the Bill. The most remarkable publication of this trend was the anonymous tract *The Full and Final Restoration of the Jews and Israelites, evidently set forth to be nigh at hand: with their happy settlement in their own Land, when the Messiah will establish his glorious Kingdom upon earth and begin the Millennium; with some hints that the late Act for the Naturalisation of the Jews, may contribute towards their more easy and speedy departure Addressed to all Christians as well as Jews (1753)*. Clearly influenced by Whiston, the author urged England to identify her realm with the remote island mentioned in prophecy and at once to accomplish the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine.

Of quite a different character was an important theological work by Thomas Newton, later Bishop of Bristol, which strongly influenced subsequent development. His *Dissertations on the Prophecies which have remarkably been fulfilled and at this time are fulfilling in the World* appeared in 1754. While paying a fine tribute to the indestructibility of Israel, he stressed that conversion must precede Restoration. Other representatives of this school were John Gill, renowned for his extensive and profound knowledge of Rabbinic literature, John Jortin, the biographer of Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Robert Lowth, Lord Bishop of London, who treated the subject of Restoration in his commentary on Isaiah. The return of the conversionist element was also accompanied by a tendency to allegoric interpretations of the Prophecies. William Warburton in his *Divine Legation of Moses* went so far as to say: "*The Jews vainly flatter themselves with expectations of a recovery of their civil policy and a repossession of the Land of Judaea*".. It is evidence for the vitality of the Restoration Doctrine that new defenders of it appeared at this stage of its development. In 1771, Joseph Eyre, a clergyman, published his *Observations upon the Prophecies, relating to the Restoration of the Jews*. With an appendix in answer to the objections of some later writers. Eyre dismissed Warburton's arguments as untenable and placed on record that "*there are some indeed who are of opinion that the restoration of the Jews shall be prior to their conversion*".

In 1787 Joseph Priestley, already then world renowned as naturalist, philosopher and theologian, published his *Letters to*

the Jews, inviting them to an amicable discussion of the evidences of Christianity. Priestley was a Unitarian and thought that the barrier between Judaism and Christianity was not insurmountable. Being also a profound believer in the Messianic mission of the Jewish people, he was convinced that the Jews would fulfill it once they were settled again in their homeland. His plea to the Jews to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah was therefore coupled with the ardent prayer that "*the God of Heaven, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob whom we Christians as well as you worship (and whom we have learned from you to worship) may be graciously pleased to put an end to [your sufferings], gather you from all nations, resettle you in your own country, the land of Canaan and make you the most illustrious of all nations of the earth*".

David Levi, a shoemaker turned hatter who had translated the Pentateuch into English, responded to Priestley's appeal by publishing in the same year a rejoinder, *Letters to Dr. Priestley*, in answer to those he addressed to the Jews. The book reflects the revulsion of the faithful Jew from accepting the doctrine of a Messiah already come but also reveals how anemic had become the Messianic hope of even many devout Jews in the era of Enlightenment. In Levi's opinion, the exile was likely to be prolonged for an immeasurably long time. While attributing to the Messianic idea as such an exclusively consolatory role, he maintained that the Jewish people would fulfill its mission of redemption while scattered rather than on returning to its homeland.

The irony of a clergyman defending the tenets of the Restoration doctrine against the famous theologians of the epoch, while a celebrated Christian scholar argued with a Jewish layman about the return of the Jews to their home-land, was not the only paradox of the historic moment which terminated an epoch of the Restoration Movement. The most striking paradox of that phase of the Movement was that the idea which for two centuries had stirred the imagination of many English thinkers and poets had remained virtually unknown to its political leaders. The fall of the Ottoman Empire, which restorationists regarded as inevitable, was by no means desired by the British government. Indeed, William Pitt, whose rise coincides with the last phase of the period under discussion, initiated the Eastern policy aimed at the preservation of Turkey. This contradiction was bound to impair for a long time to come the translation of the Restoration idea into reality visualised as England's task by the most far-sighted representatives of the Movement.

II. THE MILLENARIAN REVIVAL IN THE ERA OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

No event since the Great Civil War had given so powerful an impulse to the British Restoration Movement as the unprecedented upheaval into which Europe was thrown by the French Revolution, by the ensuing wars and by the rise of Napoleon. History seemed to have assumed apocalyptic proportions, with one kingdom after another being broken up and institutions believed immutable exposed to shattering blows. It had indeed become difficult for students of the prophecies not to find references to these happenings in Daniel or the Revelation.

In November 1790, Richard Beere, rector of Sandbroke, appealed to William Pitt, the Prime Minister, to assist in bringing about the impending "final restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land" by keeping the Fleet in the alert "until a universal peace can be established". Richard Beere rightly sensed that Palestine must become embroiled in historic conflict and that the English Navy would have to defend it against the French, as, in fact, nine years later Nelson and Sidney Smith did.

While this rare piece of millenarian diplomacy remained a scarcely noticed episode, the hardly credible bizarre prophet Richard Brothers, "Prince of the Hebrews", dominated the scene of the Restoration Movement soon after the outbreak of hostilities between England and revolutionary France. Brothers, a former British naval officer, tried to prove in his book *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times . . .* that the French Revolution was the calamity foretold by Scripture and must therefore succeed. The Millennium and "the restoration of the Hebrews" the "visible Hebrews" as well as the "invisible Hebrews", descendants of the Ten Tribes, now chiefly members of the English nation -were at hand. He, Richard Brothers, would lead the Hebrews back to their land and accomplish the restoration in 1798. *The Revealed Knowledge* became one of the most widely read books of the time.

What substantially contributed to the belief in Brothers was the puzzling rightness of his prediction about the inevitable and utter defeat of France's enemies. More surprisingly still, in 1798 the world was startled by the news that a huge army of the Mamelukes had been completely routed at the foot of the Pyramids. The year 1798 had scarcely gone by when Bonaparte invaded Palestine. On March 18, 1799, he stood before Acre, and on April 16, at the foot of Mount Tabor, he defeated an army which had been sent from Damascus to relieve Acre.

After this victory, Bonaparte, sure of becoming the master of Palestine, issued a Proclamation to "the rightful heirs of Palestine", offering to the Jewish nation their ancestral land, "Israel's patrimony". The Proclamation closed with an appeal to the Jews to make use of "the moment, which may not return for thousands of years, to claim their political existence as a nation among the nations. . . ." But Bonaparte, hard pressed by the stubborn defenders of Acre and by the plague, had to retreat to Egypt in May 1799.

Nowhere were these events watched with closer attention than among the adherents of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews. On the eve of the 1798 Expedition, a manifesto had been published on the Continent in the form of a Letter to the Brethren. In it the author, probably an Italian Jew, proposed the election of a representative Jewish assembly in order to conduct negotiations with the French Government about the Restoration of a Jewish commonwealth. The Letter was enthusiastically approved by the French press and soon reached England. On June 10, 1798, the *Courier de Londres* reproduced the appeal in full. The widely circulated literary magazine *The Monthly Visitor* reprinted the manifesto under the title: "Letter recently written from a Jew to his Brethren concerning the establishment of a new Jewish Republic". The publication of the full text by the semi-official *St. James' Chronicle* on July 14, 1799, lent even greater significance to this document.

The great debate about the Restoration was by then in full swing. In *Remarks on the Signs of the Times* which appeared in 1798, Edward King interpreted the happenings in France and in the Near East as a fulfillment of Isaiah xviii. King's remarks gave expression to the feelings of many, but the prospect of the return of the Jews with the help of the "atheistic" French with whom England was at war caused considerable alarm. The stir caused by King's book can best be judged from the fact that Samuel Horsley, Lord Bishop of Rochester, replied at length in *Critical disquisitions on the eighteenth Chapter of Isaiah* (1799). The, Bishop, while rejecting King's political conclusions, did not deny the possibility of a "partial restoration". In this manner, the King-Horsley controversy disposed of the view' that the Restoration and conversion were indissolubly linked.

Foremost among the pioneers of this new realistic theory was Henry Kett, who in his three-volume *History, the Interpreter of Prophecy* (1799) drew a clear distinction between the physical return of the Jews and the religious implications of this event. "*Is it an improbable conjecture*" he asked, "*...that this maritime commercial, Protestant kingdom England should*

take the lead in executing the Divine will on such an occasion?"

At this juncture, Joseph Priestley, the great scientist, again resumes the role of a pioneer of the Restoration Movement. In his book *A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and other ancient Nations*, published in 1799, Priestley addressed the "*Descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacobs*":

"Palestine, the glory of all lands, which is now part of the Turkish empire, is almost without inhabitants, it is wholly uncultivated, empty and ready to receive you. But till the fall of this power, which, without deriving any advantage from it, keeps possession of that country, it is impossible that it can be yours. I, therefore, earnestly pray for its dissolution."

He saw manifest symptoms of the time of Restoration being at hand. "*But when I say 'at hand',*" he added, "*I do not mean this year or the next, or the next twenty or thirty years: for what are twenty or thirty years to the duration of your sufferings, and especially to that of your future prosperity?"*

Contemporaneously with Priestley's message, Thomas Corbet, one of the United Irishmen, and a friend of revolutionary France, undertook the bold attempt to promote the Restoration through a direct approach to the French Government. Cheered by the glorious progress of, Bonaparte's expedition, he expressed the opinion that there was only one prospective ally in sight, one whose "interests and desires were in accordance" with those of the French and Irish: the dispersed people of the Jews. Writing from Lorient on February 17, 1799, he submitted to Paul Barras, the powerful member of the Directory, a project that "France may grant to the Jewish people a territory on which, to lay the foundation of their restored republic". In an elaborate memorandum, Corbet suggested negotiations with Jewish representatives about the purchase of that portion of Egypt which adjoins the Isthmus and the Red Sea. Faithful to the prophecies, they would soon push further ahead, leaving Egypt to the influence of France, while carrying into Asia European industry, arts and enlightenment. Thomas Corbet's attempt to co-ordinate the efforts for the Restoration of the Jews with those for Ireland's independence holds a unique place in the history of the British Restoration Movement.

The transformation which the Restorationist tenets were rapidly undergoing in these momentous years obviously called for a restatement of the Movement's principles and programme. Appearing in 1800, *The Restoration of the Jews -the Crisis of*

all nations, by its title alone indicated the intention of the author, James Bicheno, to present the Restoration of the Jews as one of the world problems then awaiting solution. With a logic hitherto foreign to Restoration literature Bicheno applied political criteria and was at pains to elucidate the principles of the doctrine. He declared with great emphasis that he was speaking on behalf of a centuries-old movement supported by "the brightest luminaries of the Christian Church in all ages" and went on to quote from Isaac Newton, William Whiston, Dr. Hartley, Thomas Newton, Joseph Priestley and others. Bicheno thought that the Restoration was due "in these days" and that it was not conditional upon the conversion of the Jews. Bonaparte appeared to him not as the Anti-Christ but as an instrument, albeit an unconscious and reluctant one, of Divine will. This is his proposal:

Let the rulers of this country use their influence with the Porte [i.e. rulers of the Turkish Ottoman Empire] to give up that part of their territory from which the Jews have been expelled, to its rightful owners, and thus whilst they perform the most generous of deeds, do all they can at least to prevent those possible consequences, which, were they to take place, would prove most fatal to our government and commerce.

His proposal recalled the scheme conceived in 1797 by the Prince de Ligne for the establishment of a Jewish state within the Turkish Empire. Seen in conjunction with other contemporary projects, Bicheno's book, though basically religious in character, emerges as a synthesis of all the existing tendencies of his time towards a political realisation of Restoration.

In the same year Thomas Witherby published his *Observations on Mr. Bicheno's book entitled "The Restoration of the Jews -the Crisis of all nations"*, a work of more than 300 pages, dedicated "*To the Jews' Distinguished Nation*", in which he proved himself no less enthusiastic a Restorationist than Bicheno. But he rejected all interference in current world politics and, more specifically, any alliance with a Power "*which had turned away from God*", i.e., revolutionary France. In his opinion, only an inner transformation of the Jewish Nation and the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to it by Providence would, through the medium of a Christian Power, bring about the Restoration. Three years later he further developed his views in a second work, *Attempt to remove Prejudices concerning the Jewish Nation*. In it he maintained that the simultaneous existence of Jewish groups in the Diaspora and in Palestine was unavoidable but not contradictory, in other words, that civic equality and the national claim to Restoration were not incompatible. At the

same time he felt confident that England under a "new Cyrus" would be chosen to perform "God's purposes of mercy towards Israel".

Bicheno's conviction was not shaken by the opposition which his theory encountered. In a new edition of his book, published in 1807, he not only reprinted the Letter to the Brethren but also inserted a brief history of the Jewish people from the first dispersion until the convocation of Napoleon's Great Sanhedrin (October 6, 1806). In his opinion, this act constituted only one link in the chain of events which were to bring about the Restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The same view was expressed by F. D. Kirwan in his preface to the English translation of the report on the sessions of the Sanhedrin, published in 1807.

Thus, even in the heat of the war between England and France, some of the British Restorationists expected the realisation of their ideal through Bonaparte himself.

III. THE MOVEMENT GATHERS STRENGTH

The impetus given to the Restoration Movement by Bonaparte's Oriental Expedition continued to be felt in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The Restoration seemed to have come within perceptible distance: all that remained doubtful was its exact date and the manner of its realisation. At the same time, however, the "Judaising" tendency, ascribed to the founders of the new trend, was counterbalanced by a strengthening of conversionism - a phenomenon deriving from the general evangelising drive of the period. Louis Mayer who, in his *Restoration of the Jews* published in 1806, predicted that the Restoration of the Jews will be accomplished in or before the year 1815 is an example of neo-millenarian boldness, while the neo-conversionist tendency can best be illustrated by a passage from *The Rise, Fall and Future Restoration of the Jews*, 4 to which are annexed six sermons, addressed to the seed of Abraham by several evangelical ministers concluding with an elaborate discourse by the late Dr. Hunter:

It is indeed now pretty generally agreed upon by the learned that we are warranted by the Scriptures to expect a national conversion of the Jews and their return to their own land; and the chief thing which has prejudiced so many persons against this hypothesis is that some divines have carried it too far, almost to the restitution of Judaism itself...

The outstanding figure among the many restorationist writers was George Stanley Faber (1773-1854). Faber was still young when in 1799 he delivered at the University of Oxford -

where almost two centuries earlier John Prideaux had ridiculed the millenarian views of Sir Henry Finch -two sermons "to explain by recent events five of the Seven Vials mentioned in Revelation". His first book appeared in 1807 in two volumes and bore the title : A Dissertation on the Prophecies that have been fulfilled, are now fulfilling, or will hereafter be fulfilled, relative to the Great Period of 1260 years: the Papal and Mahomedan Apostacies; the Tyrannical Reign of Antichrist, or the infidel Power and the Restoration of the Jews. Scarcely a year elapsed before Faber published another two volumes comprising over 700 pages: General and connected View on the Prophecies relative to the conversion, Restoration, Union, and future Glory of the House of Judah and Israel. . . . The great events which followed prompted him to supplement the Dissertation by observations and additions. There appeared a second edition of this work, amplified by a third volume, which was published as a kind of postscript to the Napoleonic epoch during 1814-1818. Faber predicted a conflagration between an Antichristian Confederacy headed by France, and a Protestant maritime Power, both of which would attempt to restore the Jews, though only the former would try to resettle them in an "*unconverted state*".

Faber's fame has eclipsed the imposing output of his contemporaries like John Fry, author of the much discussed *The Second Advent*; the forceful Scottish preacher, Edward Irving; the noted writer William Cunninghame, whose *Letters and Essays* contained a study concerning *The Literal Restoration of Israel to their own Land*, and the evangelical preacher Hugh McNeile, subsequently Dean of Ripon, who, in 1830, published his *Popular Lectures on the Prophecies relative to the Jewish Nation*. An anonymous writer, though an opponent of the Restoration Movement, became a telling witness to its importance by publishing the *Objections to the doctrine of Israel's future Restoration to Palestine*, in twelve letters to a friend, in which he admitted

" ... That the doctrine of Israel's restoration to Palestine is a popular one that it has been favoured by some of the wisest, most learned, and best men in the Church of Christ, and that it is still maintained by the majority of Christians."

But the most original literary document of the period was a slim tract, *Call to the Christians and the Hebrews* published in 1819 by Theaetetus. The anonymous author envisaged the re-establishment of the Jews through peaceful co-operation of Christians and Jews. His enthusiastic appeal to Britain to "assume the glorious enterprise" was coupled with a similar call to the Jews. It was the first call for Zionist activity sounded by a British Restorationist.

In 1807, the "*London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews*" was established. The founders of the Society, although adopting the belief "*that the, prophecies which relate to the Restoration of the Jews will not be less faithfully accomplished*" than those which had been already fulfilled, explicitly dissociated themselves from the political wing of the Restorationists. Thomas Scott, editor of the popular Bible with explanatory notes, in a sermon delivered to the Society on June 13, 1810, attempted to strike a compromise between the Society's missionary activities and the Restoration idea. But the strongest impulse to combine the evangelising and conversionist tendency of the Movement with immediate political activity came from Lewis Way, millenarian and romantic, lawyer, theologian, preacher, poet and diplomat. When, in 1804, at the age of 32, he inherited a large fortune, he was so struck by the mysterious clause "For the Glory of God" in his benefactor's will that he took up the study of theology and joined the "Evangelical School". At that time, Jane Parminter, became one of the first women to join the ranks of the Restoration Movement. Feeling great sympathy for the Jews, she believed in their Restoration and proved it by leaving instructions concerning a group of oaks on her Devonshire estate at Exmouth. "*These oaks shall remain and no human hand shall touch them until such time as Israel shall return into the Promised Land*". Lewis Way learned of this last wish from a friend in whose company he was riding past the Parminter estate in 1811, a few weeks after Jane's death. It made him feel that his vocation had at last been revealed to him.

The new "Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews" seemed to him the proper medium through which to work on behalf of the Jews. In 1815, he turned over a part of his fortune to the Society and placed himself entirely at its service. It was mainly thanks to him that the Society adopted the Restoration idea as a fundamental principle and became a repository of the doctrine.

In September 1818 a Conference of the members of the Holy Alliance met at Aix-la-Chapelle to discuss a European settlement. Way went to Aix and submitted a "*Memoir sur l'etat des Israelites*", to Czar Alexander I whom he had managed, on a journey through Russia, to interest in his scheme for the establishment in South Russia of settlements for baptised Jews.

In his memorandum Way was anxious to combine civic and national emancipation. Way argued that the Jews should be given emancipation, but without interfering with their national status, and expressed the hope that the Powers assembled at

Aix would act in this sense. Czar Alexander in fact instructed his representatives to lay the memorandum before the Congress. But the only record is a brief note in the minutes of the Congress signed by all the participants, taking notice with a complimentary reference to the author of the "*attached printed document on the subject of a reform of civil and political legislation in regard to the Jewish people*".

Even so, Way's appearance in Aix-la-Chapelle represented a milestone in the history of the Restoration Movement. He was the first spokesman of the British Movement personally to plead the cause of the Jews as a nation in an inter-governmental assembly.

IV. THE VOICE OF POETRY

No more telling testimony to the depth to which the idea of Israel's revival has sunk its roots in the English people can be found than the English poetry and fiction voicing in manifold variations the perennial hope of the Jewish people. After Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma* and John Milton's *Paradise Regained*, Alexander Pope's *Messiah* renewed the vision of a restored Jewish kingdom. Although based on a christological interpretation of the scriptural text, the *Messiah* contains passages of lofty beauty presenting Israel's revival as far more than a mere transcendental event. Jerusalem reborn is pictured unmistakably as inhabited by the returned Jewish people, and the tribute paid by Gentiles to the "imperial Salem" echoes Henry Finch and his predecessors.

Other poetical voices joined in the chorus. While Charles Wesley adopted the millennial hope for his hymnal poetry, William Cowper in his *Expostulation* invested the Puritan identification of Israel and England with a new meaning. Israel is represented as England's ideal example:

*What nation will you find, whose annals prove
So rich an interest in Almighty love?
'Twas theirs alone to dive into the plan
That truth and mercy had reveal'd to man.*

In one of the most pathetic apostrophes in poetical literature, Cowper implores Israel to teach the nations of the world, above all England, the lesson of its own tragic experiences:

*Oh Israel! Of all nations most undone,
Thy diadem displaced, thy sceptre gone,
Cry aloud, thou that sittest in the dust,
Cry to the proud, the cruel, the unjust!
'Knock at the gates of nations, rouse their fears,*

*Say wrath is coming, and the storm appears,
But raise the shrillest cry in British ears!*

But in the closing verses Cowper visualises Israel's restoration as a by-product of universal redemption.

In a manner quite different from Pope's and Cowper's, William Blake renewed the Puritan conception of a Zion midway between ideal and reality. With him, the millenarian longing assumed the character of a "spiritual revolt".

The desire for the blend of Jerusalem with England inspired Blake to the famous lines:

*England awake! Awake! Awake!
Jerusalem thy sister calls!
Why Wilt thou sleep the sleep of death
And close her from thy ancient walls?*

A section of Blake's Jerusalem is addressed to the Jews. In terms of the Restoration Doctrine, he was a conversionist like William Cowper. Yet a line like "O Jew, leave counting gold! Return to thy oil and vine!" in Song of Liberty makes one suspect that the author of Jerusalem and Job, the prophet of a Messianic Albion, may have glimpsed a vision of Israel once again toiling on the soil of its forefathers.

Bonaparte's invasion of Palestine prompted the twenty year-old Reginald Heber (1783-1825) to compose his prize poem Palestine, a passage of which reveals his profound belief in Israel's Restoration :

*Yet shall she rise; but not by war restored,
Nor built in murder, planted by the sword;
Yes, Salem, thou shalt rise: thy Father's aid
Shall heal the wound His chastening hand has made.*

Entirely different from the spirit of all these poetical works is Lord Byron's tribute to the Jewish people. In his great cycle Hebrew Melodies (1815), set to music by the Jewish composer Isaac Nathan, Byron is a bard of Jewry's steadfast faith, its grief for the lost country, its sorrows over the desolation of the sacred earth and the people's homelessness rather than a voice clamouring for the Restoration. To him the dispersion of the Jews was not a curse or a chastisement, but a national misfortune which, in the famous Oh I Weep for these, he asked the world to pity. He represented the condition of a people without a country as a unique political and historical anomaly:

*The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country -Israel but the grave!*

He saw and at the same time admired, the greatness inherent in this tragic fate. His verse conjures up the image of a people to whom the past -a shrine destroyed, a country lost- is more real than actual reality. He neither demanded nor expected a conversion of the Jews to the Christian faith.

Byron was moved by the misery of a derelict Holy Land no less than by the sufferings and heroism of its wandering people. The poems *The Wild Gazelle* and *On the Day of Destruction of the Temple by Titus* evoke a landscape awaiting redemption. The poet's influence was like an isolated but mighty torrent mingling its waters with the broadening stream of the traditional Restoration Movement.

The Hebrew Melodies must not be allowed to overshadow the similarly inspired *Sacred Songs* by Thomas Moore, Byron's friend and biographer, published in 1816. Moore, like Thomas Corbet an Irishman, succeeded in imparting a national note to the religious idea. His *Advent of the Millennium* is both a document of the Millenarian Revival and a song of a new restorationist generation:

*Then, Judah, thou no more shalt mourn
Beneath the heathen's chain;
Thy days of splendour shall return,
And all be new again.*

It would be a sin of omission not to mention in this context once again the name of Lewis Way. In 1824 he published a poem, *Palingenesia, or The World to Come*, which accurately recorded the contemporary stage of the Restoration Movement. In the seventh canto of this poem are resuscitated the author's great predecessors -Thomas Burnet, John Milton, Isaac Newton -and the living advocates of the Restoration doctrine are praised as those who

*. . . march with faces Zionward, the Word
The Lantern of their path, to lighten them
Where others walk in darkness. -They are set
As midnight watchers waiting on the wall
Of their belov'd Jerusalem. . . .*

V. THE RESPONSE OF JEWRY AN AMERICAN INTERLUDE

Jewry's reaction to the strengthening of the Restoration Movement was very complex. The Western Jews had entered the emancipation epoch and were beginning to feel

optimistically secure in the Diaspora. In addition, they were apt to interpret not without reason the Restorationist message as an invitation to conversion. Thus, the predominant response of Jewry, and particularly of English Jewry, was either silence or polite rejection.

For a long time David Levi (see p. 42) was the only spokesman of the Jewish community in the dispute about Restoration. When the discussion grew fiercer in the seventeen-nineties, he came out with a three-volume work between 1796 and 1800 entitled: *Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Old Testament, containing all such prophecies as are applicable to the Coming of the Messiah; the Restoration of the Jews and the Resurrection of the dead; whether so applied by Jews or Christians.* In this work Levi opposed the Jewish interpretation of the prophecies to the Christian conception and sought to bring out the differences between the Jewish and Christian doctrines of Restoration. He accepted unquestionably the belief in the Restoration of the entire Jewish people. But he refused -in accordance with Rabbinical strictures against the "calculations of the end" -to indulge in any speculation concerning the date of the Messianic age. Like the exodus from Egypt, the Restoration, too, he felt, would be the work of God alone. For Solomon Bennett, whose *Constancy of Israel* was published in 1809, belief in a Messiah was essential to Christians but not to Jews. For him the Diaspora was the "absolute will of God".

Yet there also existed other currents flowing in the opposite direction. In the second half of the eighteenth century the famous "Baal Shem of London", Dr. Samuel Jacob Hayim de Falk, headed a congregation who sought to hasten the Messiah's advent by exercises of exemplary piety, and towards the end of the century there lived in London the Hebrew scholar Abraham ben Elyakim who engaged in calculations of the date of the Messianic time supposed to be more or less imminent.

Then, early in the nineteenth century, the Restoration Movement found its perfect Jewish partner, not in England but in the English-speaking community on the American continent, where an offshoot of the British Movement was in the making since the eighteenth century. In his *History of Redemption*, Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), America's great reformer and philosopher, expressed the hope that "in future glorious times, both Judah and Ephraim (shall be brought together and shall be united as one People". Hannah Adams (1755-1831), the first woman to become a restorationist writer, had no doubt of the ultimate, reunion of Israel with its land. Her *History of the Jews*, published in 1812, appeared in London in 1818. In the

same year, John McDonald, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Albany, published a tract *Isaiah's Message to the American People*, in which he argued that the "messenger people" chosen to realise the Restoration of the Jews was the American nation and that the time for this was at hand.

These restorationist documents are strongly related to the religious current which in the Revolutionary War led to a revival of the Puritan spirit displayed 150 years earlier in the Great Revolution. If Oliver Cromwell identified himself and his army with the Maccabees, the fighters for Independence regarded themselves as "God's American Israel" led by the "American Joshua", George Washington. In a commonwealth founded under such auspices, Jewish Messianism found a fertile soil. Gershom Mendes Seixas (1745-1816), first minister of North America's oldest synagogue Shearith Israel in New York, time and again re-echoed Israel's claim to Restoration. It was, however, in the person of Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851) that the Restorationists met a spokesman of Jewry at large, eager to treat with Gentiles interested in the Restoration of the Jewish people. Indeed, Noah lawyer, playwright, journalist, Army Major, High Sheriff and diplomat, versed in Jewish lore and history felt himself a second Menasseh ben Israel, chosen to lead the Jewish people to the Promised Land, though by way of America instead of England. His appearance coincided with that of Lewis Way, both men distinguished by the tendency to work out a synthesis between legal and national emancipation.

Serving as American Consul in Tunis, Noah came into direct contact with the Jewish masses. His experiences there inspired the act with which Noah inaugurated his Jewish political activities: the Discourse at the Congregation Shearith Israel, delivered on April 17, 1818. Noah spoke of the seven million Jews in the world, "*a number greater than at any period of our history*" and predicted that they would "*march in triumphant numbers, and possess themselves once more of Syria and take their rank among the governments of the earth*". But his primary objective remained the freeing of the Jewish people from political incompetence and insecurity. Only on the soil of free America, he felt, could this be done, only the United States could become a "*Zion pro tempore*".

Noah sent copies of the Discourse, with a covering letter, to three ex-Presidents of the United States -John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. A reply written by Adams when nearly in his ninetieth year contained the following passages:

I really wish the Jews again in Judea, an independent nation,

for, as I believe, the most enlightened men of it have participated in the amelioration of the philosophy of the age.

When the persecution of the Jews in Germany began in 1819, with the "Hep-Hep" storms, Noah issued a call in Hebrew and English to *"the Children of Israel, my beloved brethren who believe in Moses and the prophets"*, which found its way even into the German press, Noah sounds this clarion call: *"The time has come for this great people, weakened and suppressed during its exile, to gather again and raise itself up"*. In face of the impossibility to "go to Palestine for the purpose of restoring their former national glory", Noah urges the Jews *"to create a new Jewish state in America, under the protection of the great American Union"*.

On September 15, 1825, Mordecai Manuel Noah, then a judge, proceeded to the diocesan church of St. Paul in Buffalo in midst of a splendid procession, for the solemn inauguration of Ararat, A City of Refuge for the Jews, on Grand Island in the Niagara River, in the State of New York. The foundation-stone with an inscription commemorating the event was displayed upon the communion table. The service was conducted by the Rector, the Reverend Addison Searle. Passages from the Prophets and Psalms were recited, followed by a prayer and a blessing in Hebrew.

Noah addressed the congregation, delivering what he called "a Jewish Declaration of Independence". *"In calling the Jews together"*, Noah declared, *"under the protection of the American Constitution . . . it is proper to state that this asylum is temporary and provisional. The Jews never should and never will relinquish the just hope of regaining possession of their ancient heritage."*

Noah waited in vain for inhabitants to people his city. The city of Ararat was never built. Its foundation-stone became an exhibit in the collection of the Buffalo Historical Society. History, however, has invested this monument of failure with a different meaning. It marks the spot where a Jew together with Christians of good will attempted for the first time to realise the revival of the Jewish people an independent commonwealth.

PART THREE

THE GREAT CHANCE: THE EASTERN QUESTION

I. LORD SHAFTESBURY AND THE HEYDAY OF THE MOVEMENT

IN the thirties of the nineteenth century the international crisis, known as the "Eastern Question" to which the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire and Bonaparte's Oriental Expedition had given rise, entered an acute stage. The fight of the Greeks for their independence (1820-25) was the dramatic prelude to violent convulsions in the Middle East. Mehemet Ali's struggle with Sultan Mahmud II, from whom he had broken away in 1831, temporarily brought the Holy Land under the former's rule. It was then that Europe's statesmen became aware of the political importance of the Holy Land and began to discuss its future.

No European country took so lively a concern in the matter as England. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, consistently sought to exploit the situation in the Middle East with the aim of strengthening British influence. One of the most significant steps in that direction was the establishment, in 1838, of a British Consulate in Jerusalem, the first diplomatic appointment in the Land of Israel.

With British policy focused on Palestine it looked at last as though the British Restoration Movement were about to become a serious political factor. The new restorationists were equally concerned with the development of the Doctrine and with its application to political realities. Typical of them was Edward Bickersteth, a prominent Evangelical and a friend of Lewis Way who, in 1836, published *The Restoration of the Jews to their own land, in connection with their future conversion and the final blessedness of our earth*. Bickersteth visualised a great migration to Palestine, and considered the conversion of the Jews an event subsequent to their return, thus clearly dissociating himself from the believers in the simultaneous realisation of the two processes. Another member of the "*London Society*", Alexander McCaul, in his *New Testament evidence that the Jews are to be restored to the Land of Israel* (1835), stated as an "*article of faith*" that "*Israel still remains a peculiar people, and are to be restored to their own*

land".

General interest in the Restoration of the Jews increased from year to year, and attracted many people who had had little connection with the tradition of the Movement. Prominent among them was Michael Russell, author of *Palestine or the Holy Land from the earliest period to the present time* (1832). Russell, subsequently Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, refused to believe in prophecy but saw promise in the continued existence of the Jewish people, in its numerical growth and in the inviolability of the Messianic faith. Similar views were expressed by Lord Alexander William Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, in his *Letters on Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land* (1838).

In January 1839 a collective memorandum was sent "*on behalf of many who wait for the redemption of Israel*" to all "*Protestant Powers of North of Europe and America*". The author is generally supposed to have been Henry Innes, Secretary of the Admiralty. The document quoted numerous passages from the Scriptures and pleaded with the sovereigns to allow the spirit of Cyrus to awaken in their hearts and to fulfill God's will. The document thus marks clearly the transition from pious anticipation to active intervention.

A truly epoch-making advance in this direction was made by Lord Antony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who had a genius for philanthropy and had established himself as the champion of the poor and oppressed. Filled with boundless reverence for the Bible, he loved "*God's ancient people*", its land and its language: Through his friendship with Alexander McCaul - "*Rabbi McCaul*", as Shaftesbury nicknamed him and with Edward Bickersteth, he became thoroughly familiar with the principles of the Restoration Doctrine. Convinced that the upheavals in the Middle East had precipitated the religious and national Restoration of the Jews, he took the lead in combining the religious trend with planned political activity. It was he who, in 1838, had taken the initiative in opening the British Consulate in Jerusalem and upon whose suggestion Lord Palmerston, in his instructions to the newly appointed Vice-Consul, W. T. Young, declared it to be part of his consular duty "*to afford protection to the Jews generally*". The policy consistently followed by the office throughout the 76 years of its existence not only helped to promote the welfare of the Jewish population in Palestine but also created a personal link between Britain and the Jewish people at large.

On September 29, 1838, Shaftesbury wrote in his diary, "*The ancient city of the people of God is about to resume a*

place among the nations, and England is the first of the Gentile kingdoms that ceases 'to tread her down'." Inspired by Lord Lindsay's travel book (see p. 58) he wrote a thirty-page article, *State and Prospects of the Jews*, which was published in the *Quarterly Review* of January-March 1839. In it Shaftesbury vigorously opposed the attempts of various sovereigns to amalgamate the Jews with the bulk of their subjects. The wrong done to the Jews by the nations, he concluded, could be expiated only by their Restoration, and England was destined, and getting ready, to bring about such a solution.

The publication of this article was a literary and political event. For the first time a distinguished magazine had treated the problem of Restoration in all its aspects -religious, political, historical, philosophical. The Restoration Movement, led by one of the nation's most respected and influential men, had gained public recognition.

In the same year of 1839, new happenings in the Middle East greatly heightened the general interest in the Movement. Viceroy Mehemet Ali's threat to withdraw what remained of his allegiance to the Sultan caused a renewed outbreak of war. On June 24, 1839, the European Powers intervened. As a result of the London Conference on the "*Eastern Question*" an agreement with Turkey was signed by England, Russia, Austria and Prussia on July 15, 1840, aiming at the pacification of the Levant. When Mehemet Ali refused to abide by it, the allied forces entered Damascus in February 1841 and Egyptian rule over Syria of which the Holy Land formed part came to an end.

These stormy events, which made the Land of Israel a battlefield, coincided with a grave crisis involving the Jewish people. In February 1840 a number of respected Jewish residents of Damascus were accused of the "*ritual murder*" of a Capuchin monk. Mehemet Ali's governor had the completely innocent prisoners subjected to torture. A delegation consisting of Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Cremieux, the Orientalist Solomon Munk and Dr. Louis Loewe, Montefiore's secretary, went to Alexandria. In September, with the aid of the signatories of the London Pact they secured the liberation of the prisoners and their tacit rehabilitation.

The events of 1840 impelled the Restoration Movement towards a climax. A new edition of Bickersteth's book advised the readers to study Restoration literature, offering a useful bibliography, and Joseph Elisha Freeman anticipated the fulfillment of the millennial hope in an essay *Israel's Return; or Palestine Regained*. The return of the Jews became a subject for widespread public and press comment. On March 9, 1840, for example, *The Times* reprinted the memorandum to the

Protestant Sovereigns which, though submitted a year earlier, had suddenly acquired topical interest.

At this juncture, Lord Shaftesbury came to the fore again as the dynamic spirit of the Movement. "*Anxious about the hopes and prospects of the Jewish people*" he entered in his diary in July 1840, "*Everything seems ripe for their return to Palestine; the way of the kings of the Orient is prepared.*" Shaftesbury then considered the possibility of inducing the five Powers "*to guarantee the security of life and possession to the Hebrew race*". Palmerston's inclination to accept Shaftesbury's proposals is illustrated by an article which appeared in *The Globe*, the semi-official organ of the Foreign Office, on August 14 under the title *A Regard for the Jews*. It discussed the return of the Jews to Palestine and England's mission to imitate the deed of Cyrus.

Three days later (August 17), an article in *The Times* headed *Syria -The Restoration of the Jews*, stated:

The proposition to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers, under the protection of the five Powers, is no longer a mere matter of speculation, but of serious political consideration.

There followed a five-point questionnaire about the attitude of the Jews to the project -the first attempt at establishing direct contact between the Restoration Movement and Jewry with a view to practical co-operation.

Public discussion of the Jewish return continued to spread. In a letter of August 26 to *The Times*, "*An English Clergyman*", pointing to the persecutions suffered by the Jews, demanded that Britain should acquire Palestine for the Jews. "*The newspapers teem with documents about the Jews,*" Shaftesbury noted on August 29. On August 11, Palmerston had addressed a letter to Lord Ponsonby, British Ambassador to Turkey, in which, after a preamble dealing with the prospective return of the Jews to Palestine, he instructed Ponsonby "*strongly to recommend [to the Turkish Government] to hold out every just encouragement to the Jews to return to Palestine*". This was the first official British document to take cognisance of the idea of Restoration.

"*This is a prelude to the Antitype of the decree of Cyrus*", Shaftesbury, referring to Palmerston's letter, entered in his diary on August 24.

Then confining himself exclusively to political and economic arguments Shaftesbury drew up in the form of a

letter to Lord Palmerston a far-reaching yet completely realistic and statesmanlike project. He based his demand that Palestine be handed over to the Jews for resettlement on arguments which must have been fully acceptable to them; the close bond of the Jews with their ancient homeland, their indestructible Messianic hope, their "prodigious industry and perseverance". "*Long ages of suffering*", he declared prophetically, "*have trained their people to habits of endurance and self-denial; they would joyfully exhibit them in the settlement of their ancient country*".

There is good reason to believe that Palmerston was favourably disposed to Shaftesbury's scheme. The *Globe*, commenting on the plan of Alphonse de Lamartine for the establishment of a Christian state in Palestine, wrote caustically:

M. de Lamartine intends to form a Christian kingdom at the sources of the Jordan and at the foot of Mount Lebanon. . . But what is odd in the whole affair is that Lord Palmerston has chosen the same spot. Where the celebrated Deputy dreams of a Christian state, Lord Palmerston projects a Jewish Republic.

Yet diplomatic records leave no doubt that nothing was further from the intentions of Britain's co-signatories of the London Treaty than the establishment of a Jewish Palestine.

Meanwhile Edward Bickersteth, in the second edition of his book, with reference to the London Treaty, pleaded for the creation of "*a neutral Jewish state between the Sultan and the Pasha*". The Church of Scotland addressed an appeal to Palmerston which, while dealing only with the protection of the Jews and of missionary activities, at the same time revealed a clearly pro-restorationist tendency. At the beginning of 1841, the Irish city of Carlow presented a Humble Memorial of the Undersigned Inhabitants of Carlow and its Vicinity, dated March 2, 1841, in which Biblical teaching and realistic prospects are impressively blended. The Memorandum culminated in a passionate plea that Great Britain should emulate the blessed work of "*Cyrus the Great King of Persia*" and should remember "*the irreversible decree of Heaven that 'the Nation or Kingdom that will not serve Israel shall perish'*."

The petition of the citizens of Carlow was sent to Palmerston with a covering letter (March 2, 1841), from which it appears that the 320 signatories represented a cross-section of all political parties and religious denominations.

Almost at the same time as the people gathered at Carlow

to rejoice in the liberation of Palestine and to raise their voices in favour of the Restoration of the Jews, a brilliant party was held in Damascus on March 1, 1841, at the palatial home of R. Farhi, the head of the Jewish community, in honour of the victorious army. Among those present was Charles Henry Churchill; eldest son of Lord Charles Spencer Churchill and grandson of the fifth Duke of Marlborough, who had entered the Syrian capital with the victorious troops and had received from Sir Moses Montefiore the edict of the young Sultan Abdul Hedjid which assured equality of rights with the rest of the population to Jews resident in Turkey's Asiatic provinces. At the end of the party, Churchill, now British Resident at Damascus, addressed the distinguished gathering in the following terms:

May this happy occasion stand as a pledge of [England's] friendship and an augury for a bond and a union between the English and the Jewish nation, equally honourable and beneficial for both. Yes, friends, there has existed a Jewish people, renowned for learning and glorious in war. May the hour of Israel's liberation draw nigh! May the approach of western civilisation bring to this magnificent land the dawn of its reconstruction and its political revival. May the Jewish nation regain its rank and position among the nations of the world. The descendants of the Maccabeans will prove themselves worthy of their renowned forbears.

Enthusiastically acclaimed by his audience, Churchill decided to make a direct approach to western Jewry. On June 14, 1841, he addressed a letter to Sir Moses Montefiore which stated concisely: "It is for the Jews to make a commencement". Submitting no cut-and-dried project, Churchill suggested that the Jews should, "simultaneously throughout Europe" launch an intensive campaign for Restoration. The result he foresaw was that the Jews "*would conjure up a new element in Eastern diplomacy*".

"*Syria and Palestine,*" Churchill wrote, "*. . . must be taken under European protection and governed in the sense and according to the spirit of European administration.*"

While Shaftesbury relied on direct negotiations with the Government, contact with Jewry being but a secondary concern, Churchill attached the utmost importance to the initiative of the Jews themselves. Indeed, never before had the Restoration Movement come so close to a Zionist point of view.

It is not known whether Colonel Churchill's letter was ever answered by Sir Moses Montefiore. During his second visit to the Holy Land (1839), Sir Moses had discussed vast schemes

with Mehemet Ali, who was willing to grant the land needed for the planned Jewish colony and even to appoint a Resident to such a settlement. After discussing the promotion of this plan with Palmerston, Montefiore launched "*The Fund for the cultivation of the land in Palestine by the Jews*". Back from his journey in connection with the Damascus Affair (February 24, 1841), Montefiore was, however, faced with a new situation. Mehemet Ali's power was broken and negotiations for the return of Syria to Turkey were in progress.

In any case it would have been too late to change the march of time even by such an initiative. By the time Churchill's letter reached Montefiore, Palestine's fate was being decided for a long time to come. The London "*Treaty for the Pacification of the Levant*" sounded the death-knell of Lord Shaftesbury's bold projects and similar proposals by other Restorationists, inspired by the crisis of 1840-41. The heyday of the Restoration Movement was over.

II. AFTERMATH

The manner in which the Restorationists reacted to the failure of their relentless efforts was symbolic of the vitality of the Restoration idea. For Lord Shaftesbury and his friends of the London Society the collapse of their political expectations seemed offset by the realisation of at least some of their religious objectives, namely the establishment of a Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem, and the appointment as Bishop of a British citizen of Jewish origin. He was Michael Solomon Alexander, who, after having served as reader and shochet in Plymouth, accepted baptism and became a zealous member of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. The irony of an event which could have only a deterrent effect on any devout Jew was far from being realised by the Restorationists. On the contrary: the fact that a Jew was called to become the first Evangelical Bishop in Jerusalem appealed to them strongly as a symbol of promise.

The learned divines of the Church of England were not alone in persevering in their efforts to hasten Restoration at a time when the prospects of a practical success had suffered a depressing setback. Colonel Churchill again got in touch with Montefiore and confided to him his new plans. On August 15, 1842, he sent to Montefiore a letter with an attached address translated into German which he asked him to forward to Montefiore's friends in the German States. The address was based on the assumption that every effort would be made by the Jews "*to accomplish the means of living amidst those scenes rendered sacred by ancient recollections, and which they regard with filial affection, and that only the dread of the*

insecurity of life and property which had rested so long upon the soil of Judea has hitherto been a bar to the accomplishment of their natural desire". Churchill proposed that "the Jews of England conjointly with their brethren on the Continent of Europe should make an application to the British Government through the Earl of Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary [since August 1841], to accredit and send out a fit and proper person to reside in Syria for the sole and express purpose of superintending and watching over the interests of the Jews residing in that country". The document closed with a personal confession "God has put into my heart the desire to serve His ancient people".

Montefiore submitted the memorandum together with the covering letter and the previous letter to the Board of Deputies, of which he was president. The resolution passed at the meeting of the Board on November 7, 1842, reads:

That the President be requested to reply to Colonel Churchill to the effect that this Board, being appointed for the fulfilment of special duties and deriving its pecuniary resources from the contributions to the several congregations it represents, is precluded from originating any measures for carrying out the benevolent views of Colonel Churchill respecting the Jews of Syria; that this Board is fully convinced that much good would arise from the realisation of Colonel Churchill's intentions, but is of opinion that any measures in reference to this subject should emanate from the general body of the Jews throughout Europe; and that this Board doubts not that if the Jews of other countries entertain the propositions those of Great Britain would be ready and desirous to contribute towards it their most zealous support.

The Board even refused, at least by implication, to forward the proposition to the Jews of the Continent, pleading lack of authority. Churchill's proposition was treated as applying only to the Jews of Syria, and not one word revealed that the representatives of British Jewry shared the "*natural desire*" supposed by Churchill to be a general feeling of the Jewish people.

Thus the "*benevolent views of Colonel Churchill*" were filed away in the archives of the Board of Deputies. His own warm and dignified reply, dated January 8, 1843, has also been preserved. The hope expressed in this letter of a direct understanding between British and Continental Jews on the subject of Palestine was to remain unfulfilled. Disappointment over Jewish inaction may explain the fact that, although Churchill continued to promote the welfare of the Jews in

Syria, we hear no more about pro-Zionist activities during the rest of his life, which ended after an eventful military career in 1877. But in his three-volume work *Mount Lebanon*, published in 1853, Churchill predicted: that should "*Mount Lebanon cease to be Turkish, it must either become English, or else form part of a new independent State which, without the incentive to territorial aggrandisement, or the means of military aggression, shall yet be able to maintain its own honour and dignity and unite the hitherto divergent races of mankind in the humanising relations of fraternity and peace. . . .*" Even though Churchill omitted to make explicit reference to the Jews in this forecast, it clearly re-echoes the prophecies of his youth.

But new fighters for the Restoration idea soon appeared who were not willing to acquiesce in the settlement of the Eastern question as provided by the London Treaty. In 1843, Alexander Keith published an unusual travel book, *The Land of Israel according to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob*. The book was one of the first to produce masterly daguerreotypes of scenes from the Holy Land. The chief object of these pictures and of a full description of the country was clearly to underline the contrast between its former glory and its then state of desolate neglect, "*which for previous centuries no man enquired after.*" Keith pointed to the shameful discrepancy between the Abrahamic covenant and the worldly agreements just concluded between the Powers. He regarded them as null and void and put forward his solution: "*Greece was given to the Greeks; and in seeking any government for Syria, may not a confederacy of kings, for the sake of the peace of the world, be shut up by the course of giving it -if they think it theirs to give -Judaea to the Jews? "*

In 1884 two clergymen, Samuel Bradshaw and Thomas Tully Crybbace, independently of each other, called for political action of a sort. Bradshaw's Tract for the Times, being a plea for the Jews warned the Gentiles against making the Jews abandon "*their ancient right to Palestine*", and declared it "*their duty to aid the liberation of God's ancient people from the present depressed and scattered condition by promoting to the utmost their return to the land of their fathers*". He suggested that a fund of five million pounds should be raised to this end, four-fifths of it by the Government with the consent of Parliament, the balance to be made up by the Church. While Bradshaw was content to publish his proposal, T. T. Crybbace worked from the outset to organise a popular movement to avert the threat to the return of the Jews. He suggested that England should ask the Sultan to hand over the whole area of Palestine and to accept appropriate compensation. In April 1844, Crybbace voiced this demand at a meeting convened "*in favour of a British and Foreign Society for promoting the*

restoration of the Jewish nation to Palestine". Seeing the Restoration as a way of liberating the Jewish people, he asked that Britain should urge the Czar and other oppressors to free them, and should then constitute herself the protector of the Jews in Palestine. This address, dedicated to the Queen, Parliament and the People of England, appeared in print shortly afterwards. At a later meeting, Crybbace was attacked by Jews in the audience who, bewildered by the appointment of Bishop Alexander, alleged that conversion was behind the scheme to be promoted by the new Society. Only the prospectus of the Society remains as a record of the first attempt made in England to create an organisation "*to excite interest in the British Isles, and throughout the world in the restoration of the Jews*".

III. JEWS JOIN THE MOVEMENT

The increased political activity during the period of the Eastern Question was accompanied by the intensification of contacts between the Restoration Movement and the Jews themselves.

The initiative was taken by the Restorationists. For the favourable situation caused by the momentous events in the Near East coincided with a period when increasing emancipation was beginning to dim the Messianic dreams of large sections of the Jewish people. As we have seen, the "*wealthy and influential members of Jewish society*", whom Colonel Churchill had expected to take the lead in the reconstruction of Palestine, cold-shouldered his scheme. Though Sir Moses Montefiore had in view a large-scale colonisation action which would bring thousands of Jews to the Land of Israel, he, too, was not in favour of political action for the resettlement of the Jewish people in Palestine and he consistently dissociated himself from the bold projects of the English Restorationists.

And yet the hopes of the Restorationists of co-operation with the Jews were not entirely unfounded. As early as 1836, Zevi Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi of Thorn, had written to Anselm Meyer Rothschild of Frankfurt "*that the beginning of the redemption will be in a natural way, by the desire of the Jews to settle in Palestine and the willingness of the nations to help them in this work*". Roughly at the same time, Rabbi Yehuda Hai Alkalay, driven by the urge to prepare the return of Israel to its ancient homeland, travelled all the way from Semlin in Slovenia to England and laid before the heads of the London Sephardi community a scheme for the establishment of a society the object of which was to set the great work in motion. The weekly journal *Der Orient*, founded in 1840 by the Jewish

scholar Dr. Julius Furst, regularly carried detailed reports of the English Restoration Movement from its London correspondent, A. de Sola. On June 27, 1840, *Der Orient* published what was editorially described as a "*strange appeal*" signed D.V.H. to the "*People of Jehovah, to arise from your age-old slumber and to take possession of the land of the fathers*".

This anonymous manifesto had an electrifying effect on large sections of Jewish youth and promptly reached the English press. A full translation appeared in *The Times* on December 24, 1840. The Restorationists gladly hailed it as an expression of a widespread sentiment. On June 24, 1841, *Der Orient* carried a long letter from Palestine in which the writer advocated the resettlement of Palestine and the appointment of a Jewish administration under the protection and guarantee of several of the Great Powers. He quite openly referred to the dominant role to be played by Great Britain and to the incalculable advantages which she would derive from such an arrangement. He argued that by establishing a Jewish state between the Nile, the Euphrates and the Taurus, England would restore the threatened balance in the Near and Middle East.

In Prague a Jewish students' group proposed to found a Society for the re-establishment of the Jewish state. Abraham Benisch, the most energetic member of the group who settled in London in 1841 argued that England, by introducing Protestantism into Palestine would antagonise sections of Christendom and the fanatical Moslem populations, thus causing fresh embarrassment to the Porte. He suggested, "*the establishment of a colony in some well situated part of Palestine. . . . The colony to be under Turkish Government and protection, and England to guarantee the maintenance of the conditions under which the colony shall be formed*".

Although obviously opposed to the missionary trends of the Restoration Movement, Benisch's scheme tried to harmonise Jewish with English and Christian interests, and to induce the British Government to take the initiative. But Benisch's endeavours received little support from British Jewry.

The opposite extreme to the attitude of leading British Jews towards the question of Restoration was once again provided by the indefatigable Mordecai Manuel Noah on the other side of the Atlantic. No longer concerned with a provisional refuge for the Jews on American soil, his *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews*, published in 1845, was the first attempt since Menasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel* to bring the Restoration Doctrine into accord with Jewish concepts. Noah declared the United States to be destined to "*present to the Lord his chosen*

and downtrodden people, and pave the way for the restoration to Zion". Shunning all violence of expression, he tried to outline a peaceful solution in the nature of a compromise.

Combining, like the Christian Restorationists, religious and political arguments, he concluded a survey of the political history of the Levant in the preceding quarter-century with the words: ". . . *With the consent of the Christian Powers, and with their aid and agency, the land of Israel passes once more into the possession of the descendants of Abraham. Christian and Jew will together, on Mount Zion, raise their voices in praise of Him whose covenant with Abraham was to endure for ever, and in whose seed all the nations of the earth are to be blessed. . .*"

The book soon found its way to England, where a new edition appeared under the title *The Jews, Judaea and Christianity*.

But Noah's efforts to mobilise the United States were as abortive as his attempts in 1825 to induce the Jews of Europe to settle in his City of Refuge. Instead, his Discourse provoked a series of violent attacks on the author by both English and American Jews. The London Voice of Jacob branded his conduct as "*anti-Judaic*"; writing in Occident, Noah's friend, Dr. Isaac Leeser, America's leading Rabbi, declared that Noah's attitude to Restoration was incompatible with the principles of Judaism. Noah attempted to defend himself in an article which Occident published in 1845. Denying "*anti-Judaism*", he had no hesitation in advocating "*a more candid union between Jews and Christians*". Danger, he said, threatened not from the Gentiles but from apathy, from indifference, from a want of nationality -from ourselves". It sounded like an echo of Charles Henry Churchill's appeal to the English Jews when Noah declared:

Nothing in my opinion will save the nation from sinking into oblivion but agitating this subject of the Restoration. We should pass the word around the world -"Restoration of the Jews", "Justice to Israel", "The Rights and Independence of the Hebrews", "Restore them to their country", "Redeem them from captivity". Christians and Musulmans should be invoked to aid them in the good cause.

More than any other of his utterances this statement has the ring of Mordecai Manuel Noah's political testament, though his death occurred only six years later.

IV. THE EPIC AND THE EPILOGUE: "JUDAH'S LION" AND "TANCRED"

The epic of the period during which the Restoration of the Jews became a nation-wide issue was written by a woman, Charlotte Elizabeth Browne. An Evangelical and philanthropist like Shaftesbury and, like him, moved by the love and admiration for "*God's ancient people*", she wrote under the name of Charlotte Elizabeth. The book which stamps Charlotte Elizabeth as the mouthpiece of the Restoration Movement was *Judah's Lion*, published in 1843.

From the literary point of view the book was a product of the romantic-sentimental school. But *Judah's Lion* was lifted above the usual level of such works by a sincerity which gives it the character of a personal confession. Charlotte Elizabeth wove into the plot not only her unshakeable faith in the indestructibility of Israel and in its Restoration, but also her theory of a "*Church of Circumcision*" which would reconcile Christianity with Judaism. The action is laid in 1840. The hero, a young English Jew, Nathan Alexander Cohen -nicknamed Alick in order to "*Gentilise*" him -who "*deemed it his chief glory to be an Englishman*", undergoes a deep spiritual transformation on a voyage to the Near East. Under the influence of Gentile fellow-passengers all of them strong believers in the Restoration of the Jews Cohen becomes conscious of his Jewishness and of his mission to blend Judaism and Christianity so as to clear the way for the Restoration of the Jewish people with the help of England. Da Costa, a young Sephardi, symbolises the early Zionists. He has settled in Palestine, speaks a "*choice Hebrew*", and his strong attachment to Judaism renders him more impervious to missionary persuasion than his friend Alick. Cohen is eventually converted and even Da Costa, on the verge of death, is almost brought to believe in the Messiahship of Jesus. The story ends with these words of Cohen:

May it be England's privilege to labour in our cause, that she may rejoice in our joy, when our tribes shall assemble and our cities be built, and the land of Israel rest in unbroken peace, under the shadow of Judah's Almighty Lion..

The historical significance of the novel is by no means diminished by its odd theories and proselytising tendency. In shedding light on certain features of the Movement which other sources do not record, Charlotte Elizabeth performed an important service. We are made to realise that it had become customary for Gentiles to debate with Jews problems of Jewish Restoration and events in Palestine; that the fate of the Jewish people was of common interest; that Byron's and Moore's

Hebrew melodies moved all hearts; and that the belief in England's mission to become the instrument of the Restoration was shared by many at all levels of society.

While Charlotte Elizabeth dreamt of her christianised Jewish national hero who would forge an everlasting bond between England's Israel, a great living neo-Christian, Benjamin Disraeli, also looked for the integration of Jewish and Christian tenets. With his conception of race as the very source of human values and with an almost fanatical conviction of the Jews' superiority, he combined a desire that they may cease to "*persist in believing in only one part of their religion*" and a passionate expectation of a Jewish revival. The literary expression of all these tendencies is to be found in Disraeli's novel *Tancred or The New Crusade* (1847).

Fourteen years earlier (1833) he had published *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy*, the story of the adventurous "Prince of Captivity", David Alroy, who attempted to re-establish the Jewish realm by force of arms in the twelfth century. The book was the fruit of a journey to the Levant in 1831. The week he spent, in Jerusalem left the deepest impression on his soul. There, in the words of his biographers, Monypenny and Buckle, "the thought may have passed through his mind that the true aim of his political ambition which was beginning to shape itself within him should be to win back the Holy Land for the chosen people and restore the sceptre to Judah". Cecil Roth, Disraeli's most recent biographer, points to even a much earlier possible source of this "*ideal ambition*" by presuming that "*the matter had perhaps been discussed at home with his father, who had touched upon it sceptically in 1787 in his Vaurien*". If such reminiscences had a share in the origin of Benjamin Disraeli's ideals, the most vehement protest against his father's deprecation of the Messianic hope may be found in the glowing words with which the High Priest Jabaster in *Alroy* discloses the author's own longing:

You ask me what I wish: my answer is, a national existence, which we have not. You ask me what I wish: my answer is, the Land of Promise. You ask me what I wish: my answer is the Temple, all we have forfeited, all we have yearned after, all for which we have fought, our beauteous country, our holy creed, our simple manners, and our ancient customs.

Alroy forms, as it were, the prologue to the Eastern Question, while *Tancred* may well be said to be the epilogue to the political drama that unfolded itself in those fateful years.

If *Alroy* was a story of the past, *Tancred* reflected political, religious and spiritual ferment of the present. Well-known

motifs were transformed and presented with it, irony and a generous dash of scepticism. This was no story with a moral like the Evangelical Charlotte Elizabeth's novel. With *Tancred* the renaissance of the Jewish people and of Palestine made its entry into modern fiction.

Tancred in some respects strangely resembles *Judah's Lion*. It, too, is a story of a journey to Palestine, and its central character forms an interesting counterpart to the Jewish hero of Charlotte Elizabeth's novel. Alexander Cohen dreamt of a renewal of Judaism through acceptance of the belief in Christ; the young Lord Montecute, son of the Duke of Bellamont, who from his crusading ancestor *Tancred* inherited a longing for the Holy Land, has visions of a blending of East and West. That *Tancred's* restoration plans are only hinted at is in conformity with the subtle technique of the novel, but in conversations between the characters, Disraeli sets forth his views of the chances offered to a Restoration of the Jews during the Eastern Question period.

Tancred openly confesses his belief in Restoration. He asks why there is no Jewish government in Palestine, and his interlocutor says: "*That might have been in '39 -but why speak of a subject which can little interest you?*" This provokes *Tancred* to the exclamation.

"Can little interest me!... What other subject should interest me? More than six centuries ago the government of that land interested my ancestor, and he came here to achieve it."

In this answer the true meaning of the "New Crusade" is clearly revealed. But the plot itself stops short of the deed which is replaced by a symbol: Lord Montecute seals his alliance with Israel by loving Eva Besso, a Jewess proud of her race. The new crusader's belief in theocracy, his determination to stay in the Holy Land, Eva's ardent allegiance to the Hebrew race all these point unmistakably towards the Messianic hope of the Jews.

The effect of the book on the contemporary public can scarcely be overstated. The popularity of *Tancred* induced even those who had formerly ignored the problem of Restoration to take sides one way or the other. An article in the *Edinburgh Review* (July 1847) is of particular interest. The reviewer drew a surprising parallel between Disraeli and Sir Henry Finch:

James I said, on the publication of Sir Henry Finch's Calling of the Jews, that he was "so old that he could not tell how to do his homage at Jerusalem"; and now the intellectual

world is indeed too old to do so at Mr. d'Israeli's bidding but we can do what James never thought of doing -we can obliterate the political distinction between Jew and Gentile and raise the one without humiliating the other.

It would have been difficult to state the novel's kinship with the centuries-old Restoration Movement more succinctly. Like many another statement elicited by Tancred, this review ushered in a discussion, which never ceased thence, about Jewish revival, Restoration and emancipation, and about their interplay. Doubts about the compatibility of Jewish national revival and Restoration with emancipation, were dispelled by events. The Restoration Movement kept pace with emancipation but was not halted by its completion.

PART FOUR

DIFFERENTIATION AND SYNTHESIS

I. NEW MEN AND NEW SCHEMES

FOR all the disappointment which the London Treaty had caused to the friends of the Restoration idea, the Eastern crisis left the Restoration Movement strengthened and invigorated. Approaches to the Jews began to assume new forms. Conversion played a less important part than -in the past, while the idea that the Jews should cease to be a passive object of Restoration and start to act for themselves gained strength. Thus, in the mid-forties of the nineteenth century, religious and political circles alike favoured the resettlement of Palestine by the Jews or even the creation of a Jewish commonwealth.

Without losing its fundamental religious character, the idea of Restoration grew into the fabric of cultural and political life. The conviction that its realisation was only a matter of time was no longer a prerogative of visionaries and of the devout. The lay element, conspicuous in the Movement from its very beginnings, became more and more prominent. In 1845, two writers who treated the question from purely political or humanitarian angles made an almost simultaneous appearance. Edward Ledwich Mitford and Colonel Gawler, both former high colonial officials, represented two opposite trends which were never to be absent from the Restoration Movement thereafter. Mitford stood for the establishment of a Jewish State, Gawler distrusted such "*wild schemes*" and advocated the methodical colonisation of Palestine as part of the Turkish Empire.

In his book, *An Appeal in behalf of the Jewish Nation in connection with British policy in the Levant*, Mitford, a disciple of Bacon, attributed to the Jews peculiar qualities of "*fortitude and perseverance*" responsible for the miracle of their continuity. For this extraordinary but humbled people Mitford demanded a State.

"The plan I would propose is, first, the establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine, as a protected state, under the guardianship of Great Britain, secondly their final establishment, as an independent state, whensoever the parent

institutions shall have acquired, sufficient force and vigour to allow of this tutelage being withdrawn..."

Mitford was also the first Restoration writer to raise the problem of the indigenous population and of their attitude towards Jewish immigrants; his solution strikes one as amazingly topical:

"The country, compared with its extent, is at present thinly populated, yet the pressure caused by the introduction of so large a body of strangers upon the actual inhabitants might be attended with injurious results. Before, however, attempting to make a settlement it would be desirable that the country should be prepared for their reception. This might be done by inducing the Turkish Government to make the Mohammedan inhabitants fall back upon the extensive and partially cultivated countries of Asia Minor, where they might be put in possession of tracts and allocations, equally advantageous, and far superior in value to those they abandoned."

George Gawler, in *Tranquillisation of Syria and the East: Observations and Practical Suggestions*, in furtherance of the Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine, the most sober and sensible remedy for the Miseries of Asiatic Turkey, proposed the establishment not of a State but "*of a colony or colonies, large enough to be respectable and influential; but not so large as to be unmanageable*". Colonisation was to be gradual, in agreement with the Turkish Government, yet under British protection. Funds for the purpose were to be raised from the Christian nations as compensation for the grievous wrong done to the Jews in the past and in gratitude for the spiritual values received from them. The compromise embodied in Gawler's plan, quite unlike Mitford's radicalism, ensured its favourable reception by Jews and Gentiles alike.

In 1853, Gawler published his *Syria and its near prospects*, in which the religious motives emerged far more strongly than in his first book. Gawler asserted that Great Britain is "*manifestly destined to perform in these modern times a work similar to that, which her maritime mother Tyre accomplished in the days of David and Solomon*". These hopes and the expectations of a progressive colonisation within the framework of the Ottoman Empire were shared by another contemporary non-Jewish Restorationist, the Italian philosopher and politician, Benito Musolino, whose *Le Gerusalemme e il Popolo Ebreo* was published in 1851. Musolino, who had visited Palestine several times, regarded a Jewish settlement in the Holy Land as a means of transplanting European culture to the Near East and of strengthening Turkey militarily and politically. Musolino appealed to Lord

Palmerston by that time again Foreign Secretary to speed the Restoration of the Jews.

A new accession of strength came to the traditional ideas from the land of Calvin whose teachings had so strongly contributed to the birth of the Restoration doctrine. In 1844, Geneva and Jerusalem by the Swiss theologian Samuel Louis Gaussen was published in English. Gaussen attached to the Restoration of the Jews the utmost importance for the whole civilised world.

In 1849 two memorable publications, by A. G. H. Hollingworth and John Thomas, were added to the Restoration literature. Hollingworth's book, dedicated to the Duke of Manchester "*as a Friend of the Restoration of Israel*", was entitled *The Holy Land Restored: or an Examination of the Prophetic Evidence for the Restitution of Palestine to the Jews*. The name in itself is a sufficient indication of a reorientation. Hollingworth divested the term "*restoration*" of its usual meaning. It now signified simply the regaining and restoration of the land by the Jewish people. Convinced that Restoration was drawing near, Hollingworth set himself the task of rousing Jews and English Christians, demanding at the same time that emissaries of the Restoration Movement, not missionaries, should be sent among the Jews. Unlike Churchill, Hollingworth declared that the initiative for the movement should not come from the Jews themselves, but that "such a movement could be communicated by the Gentile Christian to his Hebrew brother". Hollingworth opposed conversionist activities as useless, and asked instead for "*fraternal affection, for a desire to see [the Jew] in Equality*", to "*raise him to the level of other nations*"...and to give him "*the Liberty of reclaiming his own ancestral ruins, cities and mountains*". Earnestly hoping that it might be vouchsafed to England to fulfil this mission, he emphasised that a new Ezra was as essential as a new Cyrus.

Three years after *The Holy Land Restored*, Hollingworth published a second book on the same subject, *Remarks upon the Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Jews in Palestine, and the duty of England to that Nation*, in which he proposed that the Sultan be induced to declare Jerusalem "*a free city for the Jews*" and "*to create a Jewish government, under treaty, with our protection of Palestine*".

Hollingworth's attempt to call to life a world-wide movement for the renaissance of the Jewish people in which Jews and Gentile would work hand in hand was no more successful than that of Colonel Churchill. But the prediction in his first book proved to be true: "*What is done in our time is a beginning of a progressive development.*"

John Thomas's book, *Elpis Israel (Hope of Israel): An Exposition of the Scriptures in general, with special reference to the hope of Israel as the Divine basis of the hope of mankind in the age to come*, published at the same time as Hollingworth's first book, became one of the most widely read works of Restoration literature and incidentally also marked the inception of the religious community known as the Christadelphians. According to Thomas, the "*preadventual*" colonisation of Palestine would be on purely political principles, with the Jews emigrating thither as agriculturists and traders. Events during the world crisis which he foresaw as the outcome of the 1848 revolution would force the British Empire to collaborate in the Restoration.

The year 1849 saw also the publication of *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Ashley on the Necessity of Immediate Measures for the Jewish Colonisation of Palestine*. Its author was W. Cunningham, who produced a number of works on the interpretation of prophecy about Restoration, identifying himself with Hollingworth's ideas. He urged "*the immediate formation of a Society to aid and promote the agricultural settlement of believing Israelites in Palestine*" and invited Lord Shaftesbury to be its president.

It is not known what reply Shaftesbury returned to Cunningham's invitation. His name, at any rate, does not appear in the list of the "*Association for promoting Jewish Settlements in Palestine*" which was in fact founded at the end of 1852, as a result of the tenacious efforts of Abraham Benisch, the youthful Prague pioneer of the Jewish national movement (see p. 145). The Association had a mixed Christian-Jewish Committee. Benisch himself, Solomon Sequerra (Hon. Secretary) and Monta Leverson (Treasurer) were the first members. The Christian representatives were Sir Hugh William Black, founder of the Palestine Archaeological Association, and John Mills, a Methodist minister. In an Address to the Public of December 20, 1852, the Committee appealed for the establishment of a large settlement in the area between Safed and Tiberias.

Thus, the two Restoration movements, the British and the Jewish, had joined up on British soil thanks, to a great extent, to the gradual abandonment of conversionist designs which had impeded contact before. But the outbreak of the Crimean War two years after the Association's establishment forced it to suspend its activities, which were never to be resumed.

Nevertheless, Jewish colonisation of Palestine had actually

started at the halfway mark of the century. A fusion of the two movements marked this memorable beginning. The link between them was most appropriately and almost symbolically a proselyte, Warder Cresson, American Consul in Jerusalem, who embraced Judaism in 1849 and from then on called himself Michael Boaz Israel. In 1852 he founded an agricultural Jewish colony in the valley of Raphaim as the beginning of "a new Palestine, where the Jewish nation may live by industry, congregate and prosper". In 1854 Cresson addressed a circular letter to the Jews of Germany, England and America, advocating the establishment of a society for the encouragement of agriculture in Palestine. His beliefs are set out in a series of writing of Messianic character.

At about the same time as Warder Cresson settled in Palestine, James Finn, son-in-law of Alexander McCaul, came to Jerusalem to succeed W. T. Young as British Consul. The seventeen years that he remained in office form an outstanding chapter in the history of nascent Palestine. Finn and his wife Eliza were model Evangelicals and warm friends of the Jewish people. They leased a piece of land and engaged Jews to build cisterns, clear the ground, and lay out plantations. The colonists who, under Finn's aegis, began to cultivate the neglected soil, included -a strange counterpart to Warder Cresson- the Hebrew Christian, John Meshullam, former servant and travelling companion of Byron, and the Rev. A. A. Isaacs.

James Finn's work forged a link between the English Restoration Movement and Palestine. To further it, a "*Society for the Promotion of Jewish Agricultural Labour in the Holy Land*", consisting almost exclusively of Christians, was established. Among its founders was Alexander McCaul. In this manner the friends of Restoration added practical colonisation work to their literary and political activities.

II. THE MOVEMENT DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR

Interest in the fate of Palestine and the Restoration of the Jews was again stimulated by the Crimean War (1854-1856), the third armed conflict of modern times to affect the Holy Land directly. After war was declared by Britain on March 28, 1854, Lord Shaftesbury recorded in his diary (May 17):

Wrote this day to Sir Moses Montefiore to learn, if I could, the sentiments of his nation respecting a plan I have already opened to Clarendon [the Foreign Secretary] and Clarendon to Lord Stratford [British Ambassador in Constantinople], that the Sultan should be moved to issue a firman granting to the Jewish people power to hold land in Syria, or any part of the Turkish dominions. . . .

At that historic moment, Shaftesbury, in fact, was acting as the self-appointed representative and champion of the Jewish people. The firman which the Sultan issued shortly afterwards, implicitly sanctioning the immigration of Jews, may well have been, at least partly, the fruit of Shaftesbury's intercession.

The outbreak of the war gave a strong impetus to a discussion of the Restoration question. *Israel in the World, or the Mission of the Hebrew to the great military Monarchies*, published in 1854 by William Henry Johnstone, Chaplain of Addiscombe, presented the Russian Empire as pretender to the role of the "*Fourth Monarchy*". Basing himself upon this interpretation, Johnstone foresaw "*that the rise of this Power should be accompanied by some foreboding what it would inflict upon Israel, when once it would rule the land which used formerly to confer arbitration of human destinies.... The Hebrew nation, recognising their mission and vocation, should resist and check this military monarchy and thus advance towards the completion of their own destiny -the establishment of the righteous kingdom. . .*" If the Hebrew people, Johnstone went on to argue, were to utilise their financial power for good, namely for the downfall of despotism, they would make a definite contribution to permanent peace and earn the gratitude of the Western world. This would also bring about a solution of the Eastern Question. "*It is not an extravagant supposition,*" he concluded, "*that Palestine may be [then] placed within the grasp of its ancient owners*".

The most extravagant hopes cherished by the Restorationists reappeared in the anonymous pamphlet *The Final Exodus; or the Restoration to Palestine of the lost Tribes*, the result of the present crisis; with a description of the battle of Armageddon, and the downfall of Russia, as deduced wholly from prophecy (1854). The author predicted, not a temporary but a definitive migration of Israel after victory over Russia and called England to implement this return.

In yet another anonymous appeal, *The Crisis, and Way of Escape, An Appeal for the Oldest of the Oppressed* (1856), the idea of justice, ever immanent in the Restoration Movement, found powerful expression:

To do justice at once to a people approved of God as His inheritance . . . a simple course is open to us -to the nations. Let us prevail upon the Porte to allow the Jews facilities to return to their own land; to appoint Palestine as a place of refuge for them, from the anarchy and confusion from which they suffer but in which they have no share...

If Christians really believe in a Just and Holy God, and that the Bible is His Word; if Mohammedans feel that God is great, who hath appointed them the keepers of His holy place again this time, while their elder brother has been in exile ...if, we say, integrity in belief or duty has any place at all with the parties concerned, this matter of a refuge for the Jews has only to be mentioned to be accomplished.

Britons, let us at least be true to the position which the integrity and foresight of our fathers have, in the providence of God earned for us and do an act of tardy justice to a people to whom mankind owe all their higher justice privileges and better civilisation.

In this truly human document, the last trace of conversionism has been removed from the Restoration doctrine. In fact, the very opposite view is here propounded, the nations being urged to live up to the ideals of Justice and Righteousness which they had received from the Hebrew Bible.

Conduct and outcome of the war both deceived the exalted hopes of the Restorationists. The fall of Sebastopol was followed by peace talks. Palmerston, now Prime Minister, with Lord Russell as his Foreign Secretary, took no advantage of the opportunity to change the existing order in Palestine. Only Article 9 of the Paris Treaty of March 30, 1858, indirectly affected Palestine's future when the Crimean War ended. The enjoyment by Jews of equal rights with the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire was solemnly granted and their right to settlement tacitly guaranteed in principle.

This clause fell very short of being a replica of the Decree of Cyrus, with which Abraham Benisch, writing in the Jewish Chronicle on March 21, 1856, had compared the Firman of Sultan Abdul Medziz. On the other hand the Crimean War may be said to have given birth to the philanthropic colonisation of Palestine. Even the intercession for which Sir Moses Montefiore appealed to Clarendon was concerned mainly with aid to the suffering population of Palestine. By such well-meaning acts Jewish philanthropists alleviated the lot of Palestine Jewry. But they let go by default the chances offered by the political situation. One more great opportunity had been wasted.

III. CONTINUANCE AND TRANSFORMATION

The Crimean War was followed by a sudden revival of the Restoration Movement in France, where it had virtually

disappeared since Bonaparte's Oriental expedition some sixty years earlier. Napoleon III may well have thought of following the example of his great predecessor and it was certainly more than a coincidence that his private secretary, Ernest Laharanne, in his *La Nouvelle Question d'Orient, Empire d'Egypte et d'Arabie. Reconstruction de la Nationalite Juive* (1860) should have mooted ideas which were strongly reminiscent of the Letter to the Brethren of 1798 and of Bonaparte's Proclamation to the Jewish Nation. At the same time, the theologian Abram Francois Petavel, of Neufchatel, advocated the Restoration of the Jews in his *Israel, Peuple d'Avenir* (Paris, 1861). The Jewish exponent of this French Restorationist trend was the eminent Franco-Jewish scholar Joseph Salvador who in his Paris, Rome, Jerusalem pleaded for the resuscitation of Palestine as the spiritual centre of a regenerated civilisation. Prompted by humanitarian motives, Henri Dunant, founder of the Red Cross, established a "*Societe Nationale Universelle pour le Renouveau de l'Orient*" which in 1866 issued an appeal containing also the suggestion that the rising Jewish colonies in Palestine might, like Switzerland, be diplomatically neutralised.

The new wave of French Restorationism did not, however, long survive the Second Empire.

In the meantime, the restorationists in England displayed considerable activity. In 1860, a pamphlet by Rosa Rame, *The Restoration of the Jews*, was dedicated to Lord Shaftesbury. A letter from the Rev. Jacob H. Brooke Mountain, reprinted in the pamphlet, expressed regret that England had missed the opportunity of restoring the Jews to their country. "*If it is ever vouchsafed to us again*", the writer added, "*I fervently pray that we may embrace it with zeal and alacrity*".

Similar views were expressed by Dr. Thomas Clarke in his *India and Palestine: or, the Restoration of the Jews, viewed in relation to the Nearest Route to India* (1861). "*Syria would be safe*", he declared, "*only in the hands of a brave, independent and spirited people, deeply imbued with the sentiment of nationality. . . . Such people we have in the Jews. . . . Restore them their nationality and their country once more, and there is no power on earth that could ever take it from them*".

New religious trends, too, bore witness to the unbroken vitality of the traditional Restoration idea. The Society of Christadelphians, founded by John Thomas (see p. 79), had in the early sixties grown into a considerable community with its headquarters in Birmingham and represented a new fighting fellowship of Restorationists.

A simultaneous phenomenon was the rise of British-Israelism. Its origins go back to the beginnings of Puritanism and, at a later stage, to Richard Brothers (see p. 43), but as a sect British-Israel did not come into being until the middle of the nineteenth century. The year 1845 saw the publication of the first systematic work of this eccentric school, John Wilson's *Our Israelitish Origin*. The followers of the new creed claimed that the ancestors of the Saxon races appeared in the seventh, or eighth century B.C.E.: at the very place in Asia to which the inhabitants of the Israelitish Kingdom had been removed early in the eighth century. For Israel thus rediscovered in the English people the originators of the theory laid claim to the blessings of Abraham and asserted that it would also perform the Restoration of the descendants of Judah and Levi. "*The Jews most assuredly will return to Judaea, but not until we ourselves restore them*", said Edward Hine, one of the exponents of British-Israelism.

On this evidence, British-Israelism may be regarded as a branch of the Restoration Movement, though apart from its eccentricity it held an inherent contradiction to the fundamental Messianic principle of the Restoration idea and this provoked violent opposition especially from Restorationists themselves.

But the main event of that period, as far as the traditional doctrine of Restoration was concerned, was the appearance in 1861 of a remarkable book which was the first and still remains the only systematic theological exposition of the Restoration Doctrine. *The Restoration of the Jews, The History, Principles and Bearings of the Question*, by David Brown, Professor and Principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen, opened with a survey of the doctrine's development down to the author's own day. Much of the theological section proper expounded arguments against the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures and sought to prove that a correct reading of the Bible justifies the expectation of a terrestrial Restoration. Drawing a sharp line between the theological Restoration doctrine and colonizing tendencies Brown argued that "*the mere bodily repossession of Palestine by the Jewish nation*" would not be identical with the Restoration predicted in the Scriptures, which could be, he maintained, only "*the Divine sequel and public seal of Reconciliation to the new contrite and converted nation*".

In spite of his outspoken conversionist views, David Brown's book helped to strengthen the belief in the Restoration of the Jews, and to override the doubts of rationalist interpreters. This happened, strangely enough, at a time when a danger far more serious than any represented by rationalist

interpretation of prophecy loomed up before opponents and defenders of the traditional Restoration doctrine alike. For almost simultaneously with Brown's work, there appeared in 1859 Charles Darwin's epoch-making work *The Origin of Species* which, followed by Thomas Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature* (1863) and Darwin's *The Descent of Man* (1871), dealt a more grievous blow to unquestioning acceptance of the Bible than eighteenth century rationalism or Bible criticism. Under the pressure of the idea of Evolution the structure on which the millennial hope was erected threatened to crumble. A controversy between Faith and Science broke out and raged from the 'sixties to the 'eighties on a scale and intensity equalled only by the religious struggle during the Reformation. But the Bible withstood the tremendous onslaught upon it and remained the most widely read book in England. There arose a new organisation which used modern means to defend the threatened principles of revealed religion. The "*Palestine Exploration Fund*", founded in 1865, gathered round it students inspired by the desire to search the soil of the Holy Land for irrefutable evidence of the truth of the Word. It was also from their midst that there came new fighters for the idea of the Restoration. Foremost among them was Charles Warren, director of excavations in Jerusalem, who published in 1875 *The Land of Promise; or Turkish Guarantee*. Warren described the rich potentialities of Palestine and predicted that "*its productiveness will increase in proportion to the labour bestowed on the soil, until a population of fifteen millions might be accommodated there*". He clearly foresaw the magic transformation which intensive afforestation could effect upon the desolate slopes and valleys of Palestine. Yet what Warren had in mind was no mere colony: "*Let this be done*", he declared, "*with the avowed intention of gradually introducing the Jew, pure and simple, who is eventually to occupy and govern this country*".

Another member of the first expedition sent to Palestine by the "*Palestine Exploration Fund*" in 1865 was Claude Reignier Conder, then a lieutenant, aged 25, who published *Tent Work in Palestine* in 1872-6. Like Warren, he preached the gospel of the Holy Land's future fertility. In 1878 the *Jewish Chronicle* printed an article from his pen on the nature of Palestine, which aroused much comment. "*The energy, industry and tact*", he wrote, "*which are so remarkable in the Jewish character, are qualities invaluable in a country whose inhabitants have sunk into fatalistic indolence*".

While the scientific search for the confirmation of the Bible led to a reassurance of the hopes for the resurrection of the Land of Israel, the sublimated approach of modern critics to the Scriptures, though it conflicted with the literal interpretation

dear to Evangelists, gave additional support to the validity of the "*lofty Messianic idea*", as Matthew Arnold, "*the prophet and poet of the age*", described Jewish Messianism. Arnold thought that historic Israel had a claim to eternity no less than the values it had created. Thus the changed attitude to the Bible came to broaden rather than to diminish the idea of Restoration. This explains why prominent figures of the mid-Victorian era advocated the Restoration of the Jews with a zeal equaling that displayed by its earlier champions.

Ch. H. Churchill and E. L. Mitford may well be considered the forerunners of a Restorationist trend which advocated the renaissance of the Jewish nation in the Land of Israel on grounds very similar to the principles of Judaism itself. This new doctrine, which since the mid-Victorian era strongly influenced the old religious tradition, was closely interwoven with the political interests of the growing empire. Yet passionate desire to do justice to Jewish values no less than to the needs of the "*martyr people*" filled many minds in an epoch in which, in the words of G. M. Trevelyan, "*even the Agnostics were Puritan in feeling and outlook*". The transformed restorationist attitude was an offshoot of this religious and humanitarian trend.

IV. THE VISIONS OF ROBERT BROWNING AND GEORGE ELIOT

The new understanding of the Jewish character and destiny found the most fascinating expression in works of two of the greatest creative spirits of the Victorian era: Robert Browning and George Eliot.

In the work of Robert Browning, Jewish themes occur more often than in any earlier English poetry. The people which had defied all sufferings and which was the symbol of continuity and closeness to eternity, had, both in fact and imagination, led the kind of existence which Browning thought ideal. While others saw in Judaism merely a forerunner of Christianity, Browning recognised it as the giver of an absolute scale of values by which Christian civilisation must be measured.

Browning's poem *The Holy Cross Day*, written in 1855 during his stay in Italy, is the most perfect reflection of this attitude. We see a crowd of Jews, driven into a church and packed tight into the seats, to attend the service and to hear a special sermon on Holy Cross Day. A mystic song - Ben Ezra's song - vibrates through the church, uplifting the hearts of the Jews:

The Lord will have mercy on Jacob yet,

*And again in His border see Israel yet,
 When Judah beholds Jerusalem.
 The stranger shall be joined to them;
 To Jacob's House shall the Gentiles cleave,
 So the Prophet saith and the sons believe.
 By the torture, prolonged from age to age,
 By the infamy, Israel's heritage,
 By the Ghetto's plague, by the garb's disgrace.
 By the badge of shame, by the felon's place.
 By the branding tool, the bloody whip,
 And the summons to Christian fellowship
 We boast our proof that at least the Jew
 Would wrest Christ's name from the Devil's crew.*

Rabbi Ben Ezra's song is a moving affirmation of the prophecy-inspired faith in the redeeming force of Judaism. After long wanderings the genius of the English people had returned to the very first origins of the Restoration tradition, Israel's prophets.

In the year in which *The Holy Cross Day* was written, a collection of Hebrew Melodies appeared. The unpretentious verse of Robert Young gave touching expression to the desire for the redemption of the Jews.

Restore the long-lost scattered band

And call them to their native land

are typical lines repeated, with slight variations, on almost every page.

Two decades later, the spirit that had caused Robert Browning to become the singer of Jewish Restoration was revived in George Eliot when she wrote the book which, as a work of literature, forms the pinnacle of the British Restoration Movement. Unlike *The Holy Cross Day*, the fruit of youthful

inspiration, the book came at the end of a long creative literary career. *Daniel Deronda* (1876) was, in fact, George Eliot's last novel.

How one of the greatest English novelists of her time came towards the close of her life to write the epic of Jewish Renaissance makes a fascinating chapter in the history of the Restoration Movement.

As a girl, Mary Ann Evans, the future George Eliot, witnessed the rise of Evangelicalism at close quarters. Like her father and her sisters, she became an Evangelical. But while her religious emotions made her receptive to Evangelical teachings another side of her nature prompted her to absorb eagerly the critical, scientific and philosophical trends of the day. The Church Fathers and Pascal were presently replaced by Spinoza, Feuerbach and D. F. Strauss, author of *The Life of Jesus*. Her interest in these iconoclasts was so strong that she devoted a great deal of her time and energy to translating their works.

It was only at this stage of her development that she began to take an intense interest in the Jews of the Diaspora. A rich store of knowledge about Biblical and post-Biblical Judaism had been gathered by her early in life. From 1855 all her journeys included visits to synagogues. Book titles about Jews in the Middle Ages are noted in her diaries. A passage in *Daniel Deronda* hints at the deep impression which Spinoza's words on the *Restoration of the Jews* (see p. 34) had left on her mind. Alongside these spiritual influences, not the least part in George Eliot's awakening to a strong affection for Judaism and the Jewish people was played by her companion, George Henry Lewes, whose thorough knowledge of Germany also embraced the German-Jewish community. His acquaintance with Moses Hess, the author of *Rome and Jerusalem* justifies the assumption that George Eliot was not unaware of this precursor of modern Zionism. But her historic mission was to rediscover the Restoration idea and to reshape it in her own original manner.

Already in *Romola* (1863) and in *The Spanish Gipsy* (1868) she had pronounced the acceptance of the duties imposed by one's origin to be the most sacred obligation of man. In the following years she saw an entire people trying to escape from its inheritance and about to renounce its values and its own identity. Was this process inevitable? Must tragedy of physical and spiritual decline lead to the burying of a priceless civilisation? George Eliot felt impelled to answer this question.

In June 1874 she began to write her novel of the Jewish

people's renaissance. *Daniel Deronda* is born a Jew but brought up as an English non-Jew in Sir Hugo Mallinger's home. Deronda's mother, a Sephardi Jewess, coerced into marriage by her father and widowed early, has decided to save her son from the Jewish fate which she abhors. The eventual failure of this plan is mainly due to the influence of the mystic Mordecai Ezra Cohen, the towering spiritual figure of the novel. It is in the chapters dealing with him and his sister Mirah that George Eliot makes her historic contribution to the movement for the revival of the Jewish people. The boldness and accuracy of vision conveyed in one of Mordecai's pronouncements heralds a new chapter in Jewish history:

There is a store of wisdom among us to found a new policy, grand, simple, just, like the old -a republic where there is equality of protection, an equality which shone like a star on the forehead of our ancient community and gave it more than the brightness of Western freedom amid the despotisms of the East. Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of the nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. And the world will gain, as Israel gains. For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom. Difficulties? I know there are difficulties. But let the spirit of sublime achievement move the great among our people, and the work will begin....

Mordecai gives resounding expression to his faith in redemption through free choice, the necessity for action by man and the creative significance of the Jews' return to the founts of their national existence.

The affinity of this philosophy with Deronda's own feelings explains the surprising readiness with which he confesses himself a Jew. He leaves the society in which he was brought up, marries Mirah, and goes with her to Palestine, there to realise Mordecai's dream of a reborn Jewish commonwealth. Mordecai cannot follow them -he dies in the midst of preparations for Deronda's departure, blessing Deronda with his last breath. With the death scene the novel ends. Nothing could have indicated more impressively that Mordecai is the real hero of the book.

As George Eliot saw it, the regeneration of the Jewish people was the great divine mystery of world history. But the miracle must be wrought in Israel's soul. She makes no appeal to England, nor does she expect the Government to follow the example of Cyrus. She addresses herself to the Jewish people.

Without propounding any state project or settlement scheme, she recognises the historic necessity for a "*new Jewish polity*" and considers the "visible community" to be the centre whence a force would radiate in all directions. The Restoration of the Jews becomes identical with the rebirth of the Jewish people.

Daniel Deronda represents, as it were, the last map of a voyage round the world of the Restoration idea. The Movement began by demanding the conversion of the Jews as a first step to their Restoration. Later it admitted that Restoration should precede conversion. With *Deronda* it arrived at a point where Restoration became identified with a return to the Hebrew heritage and the rebirth of Israel. Secession from Judaism had become a great sin; acceptance of Jewish values the way of redemption.

The future exponent of Judaism and Jewish history, David Kaufman, saw that *Daniel Deronda* was a counterpart to Lessing's Nathan the Wise, which pleaded for human rights for the Jews, while *Deronda* claimed the right of the Jew to join the family of nations on equal terms. In America the Jewish poetess Emma Lazarus, accepting Mordecai Ezra's message of Jewish regeneration as a personal appeal to herself, became its enthusiastic protagonist. George Eliot's work had a most momentous and enduring practical effect on Lithuanian-born Yehuda Perlman known to Jewish history as Eliezer ben Yehuda. It was Mordecai's creed that was responsible for his decision to devote his life to the revival of the Hebrew language in the Land of Israel itself.

The criticism voiced against her excursion into the Jewish field, far from discouraging her, actually stimulated George Eliot to persist. Her last work, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879) contains- an essay *The Modern Hep, Hep, Hep*, in which the ideas expressed in *Daniel Deronda* are carried to their logical conclusion. Once again the theme "*England and Israel*" was discussed. George Eliot substituted critical self-examination for ecstatic identification and found a striking similarity between the English and the Hebrew characters which "*is only the more apparent when the elements of their peculiarity are discerned.*"

The reception accorded to *Daniel Deronda* by the England of those days was a clear indication of the tendency to accept "*amalgamation*" soon to be known by its new name "*assimilation*", as a worthy and desirable ideal. In her essay George Eliot attacked this trend and placed the dilemma before Christians and Jews alike:

If we are to consider the future of the Jews at all, it seems reasonable to take a preliminary question: are they destined to complete fusion with the peoples among whom they are dispersed, losing every remnant of a distinctive consciousness as Jews: or, are there, in the political relations of the world, the conditions, present or approaching, for the restoration of a Jewish state, planted on the old centre of national feeling, a source of dignifying protection, a special channel for special energies, which may contribute some added form of national genius and an added voice in the councils of the world?

Answering herself, she displays a remarkable blend of historical understanding and prophetic vision:

Some of us consider this question dismissed when they have said that the wealthiest Jews have no desire to forsake their European palaces and go to live in Jerusalem. But in return from exile, in the restoration of a people, the question is not whether there will be found worthy men who will choose to lead the return...The hinge of possibility is simply the existence of an adequate community of feeling as well as widespread need in the Jewish race, and hope that among its finest specimens there may arise some men of instruction and ardent public spirit, some new Ezras, some modern Maccabees, who will know how to use all favouring outward conditions, how to triumph by heroic example over the indifference of their fellows and foes, and will steadfastly set their faces toward making their people once more one among the nations.

By this transformation of Mordecai's ecstatic message into a logical theory, George Eliot gave to the Restoration Doctrine a new philosophical content. If Jewry was to redeem itself, the role of the other nations could only be that of helpers. The road to a synthesis between the Restoration Movement and the Jewish renaissance movement lay open. In this sense George Eliot's testament (she died in the year following the publication of the essay, on May 6, 1880) was the last word of the Restoration Movement before the rise of modern Zionism.

V. THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1877-78, AND DISRAELI'S RESTORATIONIST EXPERIMENT.

In the eighteen-seventies the Eastern Question again became the focus of foreign affairs. In 1874 Disraeli succeeded Gladstone, and in the next year he acquired from Viceroy Ismail of Egypt 177,000 shares of the Suez Canal Company. The prodigious rise of British influence in the Near East resulting from the "*greatest service that Disraeli rendered to*

his country" soon made itself felt in a series of events which, once again, were about to shake the foundations of the Ottoman Empire.

In the summer of 1875 the Balkan Slavs took up arms to overthrow the hated Turkish tyranny. In May 1876, Turkish irregulars massacred 12,000 Bulgarian Christians and in the following year, in April 1877, Russia declared war on Turkey. The peace of St. Stefano concluded between Russia and Turkey (March 3, 1878) failed to resolve the crisis. Britain and Austria demanded that the peace treaty be submitted to a European conference, and the way to the Berlin Congress was paved. Meanwhile, Disraeli concluded a defensive alliance with Turkey whereby Cyprus was ceded to Britain. With these guarantees he went to Berlin (in June 1878) and brought back "*peace with honour*".

The Russo-Turkish war and the defeat of Turkey in 1878 had raised in the minds of the English restorationists hopes similar to those of 1840. "*The feeling everywhere seems abroad that the time has at last arrived to restore the desolations of Zion, and to rebuild the waste places of the Land of Israel*", reads a passage in Rev. James Neil's *Palestine Re-peopled; or, Scattered Israel's Gathering. A Sign of the Times*. From 1877 to 1883, this pamphlet saw not less than eight editions.

For the fourth time since Bonaparte's expedition, the friends of Jewish Restoration were to be disillusioned. One of the main results of the Berlin settlement of 1878 was that -in accordance with Britain's traditional policy -Turkey's Asian possessions remained untouched. The consternation caused by the seeming indifference of Lord Beaconsfield to Palestine's political fate can be gauged by a Note published in *The Spectator* on May 10, 1879. "*If he*" [Lord Beaconsfield], declared the writer, "*had freed the Holy Land and restored the Jews, as he might have done, instead of pottering about Rumelia and Afghanistan, he would have died Dictator*".

Yet an entry prior to the Berlin Congress found in the diary of Leon von Bilinski, later Austrian Minister of Finance, makes it appear that Disraeli had sent to the British Ambassador in Vienna, Sir Andrew Buchan, the English draft of his essay *The Jewish Question in the Oriental Question* for translation and anonymous publication. Translated by Baron Johann Chlumecky, a well-known Austrian political writer, the essay was published in Vienna in 1877 as a pamphlet under the title *Die jüdische Frage in der orientalischen Frage, von...* under the direction and participation of Perez Smolenskin, the famous Hebrew author and champion of Jewish renaissance.

Chlumecky presented Bilinski with a copy of the pamphlet and informed him that Disraeli originally intended to raise the question of Palestine on the agenda of the Berlin Congress but had abandoned these efforts due to the opposition of Bismarck and the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Andrassy, and instructed the Embassy to stop the distribution of the pamphlet and to destroy all available copies.

Many questions, raised particularly by Dr. Cecil Roth in his biography, Benjamin Disraeli, have yet to be answered before the full story of what is believed to be the most dramatic chapter in the history of the Restoration Movement prior to Theodor Herzl's appearance will be known. It may well show the greatest statesman the Jewish people has produced in the Diaspora engaged in a struggle to bring about the Restoration of the Jews, but losing the battle against forces in the Gentile world and against the indifference of the Jews themselves. For there was certainly nobody among the official Jewish representatives willing to claim Palestine for the Jewish people and to fight for it as resolutely as the Alliance Israelite had done for the equal rights of the Jews in the Balkans. *"It is a thousand pities Disraeli did not flourish later or Dr. Herzl not earlier. They should have met"*. Thus, Israel Zangwill to Lady Battersea on February 1, 1914.

The Restoration Movement had reached a political turning point at the moment when George Eliot sounded the call for a new Ezra and Benjamin Disraeli guided the British Empire. Through Disraeli's sixteen-page essay the British Restoration Movement proclaimed its ideal throughout the length and breadth of the Continent of Europe, the creation of a Jewish State under the protection of Great Britain. Anticipating events which the present generation has at last witnessed, the author of the pamphlet asked:

Is it not probable that within, say, half a Century, there would be developed in that land a compact Jewish people, one million strong, speaking one language (scil. that of protecting England), and animated by one spirit -the typical national spirit -the desire to achieve autonomy and independence?

Even Perez Smolenskin, the regenerator of Hebrew literature, would not have dared to correct the only major error in this admirable prediction, namely that English would become the language of a revived Israel.

Disraeli's lasting historic contribution to the rebuilding of Jewish Palestine was made, as it were, inadvertently. By strengthening Britain's power in the Near East he helped more than any of his predecessors to bring the Land of Israel within

the orbit of her vital interests and thereby to tighten the bond between the ancient and modern history of Israel. The growth of British influence in the Orient partly compensated the advocates of Restoration for the disappointment caused by the outcome of the Berlin Congress. Soon two men of outstanding quality emerged as protagonists of the Restoration idea, Edward Cazalet and Laurence Oliphant.

Edward Cazalet was a practical economist and far-sighted industrialist with great political ability and a thorough knowledge of the Near East. In an address on the Eastern Question, delivered in 1878 at the Club for Working Men in London, he advocated a British Protectorate over Syria which would provide a much more efficient protection of the Suez Canal than the questionable annexation of Egypt and which would offer to the Jewish nation the opportunity of a safe return to their country after eighteen hundred years of exile. During the General Election Campaign of 1879, Cazalet stipulated the Restoration of the Jews as one of Britain's great historic tasks. Cazalet contended that Britain bore serious guilt for the checking of the regeneration of Syria and Palestine begun by Mehemet All by delivering these countries back to the mercies of the Turk. The Restoration seemed to him the only practicable means by which the generation of Syria could be effected. He advocated the establishment of a college in the Holy Land which would serve as a centre of Jewish philosophy and science. With equal clarity Cazalet foresaw that the pressure upon Russian Jewry would precipitate the greatest exodus in Jewish story.

Cazalet's election address constitutes a landmark of the Restoration Movement because it practically carried the problem of Restoration to the gates of the British Parliament. Laurence Oliphant went even a step further. Not satisfied with a mere presentation of ideas, he used his mighty energies to achieve an immediate realisation of his plans. The epic story of Laurence Oliphant's efforts deserves a special chapter -one of the most splendid in the history the Movement.

VI. LAURENCE OLIPHANT MEETS THE LOVERS OF ZION

In the long line of unusual personalities associated with the history of the Restoration Movement, Laurence Oliphant is certainly one of the most original and colourful. Born in 1829 in Cape Town as the only son of Sir Anthony Oliphant, Laurence at the age of thirteen left school in England and travelled unaccompanied all the way to Ceylon, to rejoin his father, then Chief Justice at Colombo. His youth was spent in alternating study and travel throw Ceylon and India, varied by

elephant hunts. In 1852 he wrote his first book, a description of travel in India, and then left for Edinburgh to read for the Bar but found himself in Russia instead. Oliphant was 25 at the time of his first visit to the New World. But the Crimean War called him and he took part in it both as fighting man and as diplomat. Lord Elgin took him on a two-year mission to China. In 1862, aged 32, he was appointed British Charge d'Affaires to Jedo (Japan). Seriously injured in an attempt made on his life, he started out for home a few months later. In 1863, the outbreak of the Polish revolt irresistibly drew him again to Russia. Fifteen years more went by before he reached out to the Jewish people, during which he became a Member of Parliament, worked as The Times correspondent in the Franco-Prussian War, and wrote fiction.

Under the influence of his mother, Oliphant learned early in life to examine his own relation to religion. Though he lost his unquestioning belief in dogma and in the literal interpretation of the Bible, his personal religion grew in intensity.

The first reference to his Eastern Project was made in a letter he wrote on December 10, 1878. The passage has much that is puzzling:

My Eastern Project is as follows: To obtain a concession from the Turkish Government in the northern and more fertile half of Palestine, which the recent survey of the Palestine Exploration Fund proves to be capable of immense development. Any amount of money can be raised upon it, owing to the belief which people have that they would be fulfilling prophecy and bringing on the end of the world. I don't know why they are so anxious for this latter event, but it makes the commercial speculation easy, as it is a combination of the financial and sentimental elements which will, I think, ensure success. And it will be a good political move for the Government, as it will enable them to carry out reforms in Asiatic Turkey...

It is obvious that intensive study and preparation must have gone before this letter was written. The soldier, the student of Russia, the diplomat, the man of action -all these facets of Oliphant's personality made him extremely susceptible to the stir that went through the political and particularly the Restorationist camp at the revival of the Eastern Question following the Russo-Turkish War and the Berlin Congress. At this time millenarian hopes found expression in public demonstration and the framing of programmes subsequently published as manifestoes also in America. It is true that Oliphant's own religious faith took a line very different from the millenarian teachings. He objected to "*popular theology*", to the belief in a redemption of the world through external

miracles. But he did regard the millenarian creed as one of the historical forces hastening the process of the Restoration, the consummation of which he felt was near at hand.

Laurence Oliphant lost no time in approaching religious leaders and, above all, responsible statesmen. The atmosphere appeared to have been never more favourable in the history of the Restoration Movement. Oliphant was even allowed to explain his scheme to the Prince of Wales -the future Edward VII -and received much encouragement from him. There is no doubt that his object was practically identical with that pursued by Lord Beaconsfield at that time. Having secured the latter's and Lord Salisbury's assurance of support, he hurried on their advice to Paris to enlist the sympathy of William Henry Waddington, France's English-born Foreign Minister and representative at the Berlin Congress. Thus Oliphant obtained from the two Western Great Powers a semi-official mandate to negotiate with Turkey. With high hopes he started out in the spring of 1879 for Beirut. From that point of vantage, with a single companion and a few attendants he set out on his adventurous reconnaissance of Palestine. He chose Gilead in what is now Jordan, "*the most fertile part of Palestine*", and felt that he had found the future Land of Promise. His book, *The Land of Gilead*, published in 1880, contains a detailed description of the country and the people. His project envisaged the foundation of an Ottoman Chartered Company with the object of colonising a million and a half acres. The future settlers who were to be granted Turkish citizenship were to be drawn from the Russian Pale of Settlement, from Rumania, and from the Turkish Empire. The settlement was to enjoy autonomy within the framework of the Ottoman Empire.

Prompted by faith in his cause, Oliphant carried out his plans with admirable energy and foresight. Until then he had rarely come into personal contact with Jews. Now, contact was established at once. The first groups of "*Hovevei Zion*" (Lovers of Zion) came into being in Eastern Europe. Very soon his name was known in all countries where persecuted Jews were hoping for the redemption of their people.

Oliphant's reception in Constantinople seemed to justify the most optimistic hopes. The British and French Ambassadors were most helpful and everywhere Oliphant felt that his scheme was viewed with favour. But a turn of the political wheel in England dealt a death blow to his scheme. At the General Election of 1880 the Liberal Party came into power and Beaconsfield was displaced by Gladstone. A Gladstone government in office necessarily meant a change in England's attitude towards Turkey. Overnight England ceased to be Turkey's friend and protector.

It did not take Oliphant long to realise the ominous meaning of these events for him, for his plans and *The Land of Gilead*. The book which he had planned as a potent weapon of propaganda, became an epilogue to a failure at the moment of its publication. Even so, it was a landmark in the history of Restorationist literature. Here was not only the first on-the-spot report by a practical Restorationist but also an inspiring manifesto and a courageous declaration of faith in a cause apparently lost. In his Introduction, Oliphant made the following realistic comment on the situation of the Movement:

The accident of a measure involving most important international consequences, having been advocated by a large section of the Christian community from a purely Biblical point of view, does not necessarily impair its political Value. On the contrary, its political value is estimated on its own merits and admitted, the fact that it will carry with it the sympathy and support of those who are not usually particularly well versed in foreign politics is decidedly in its favour.

An article in the *Jewish Chronicle* called Oliphant's plan "*the most feasible that has yet been put before the world*". Also letters to the *Jewish Chronicle* from the Jewish "*Committee of the Society for the Colonisation of Palestine*" in Bucharest and from Oliphant himself set the seal on the contact established between the English Restoration Movement and the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe.

An anti-Jewish campaign had been launched in Rumania at the beginning of the 'seventies. When on March 1, 1881, Czar Alexander II was assassinated, a wave of pogroms followed throughout Russia. The violence, extent and persistence of these attacks, and the Government's encouragement of the perpetrators, filled the Jews with panic. Emigration seemed the only possible escape. While hundreds of thousands of Jews poured into America, those left behind underwent a process of spiritual transformation. Inspired by the writings of the pioneers of Jewish renaissance, such as Hirsch Kalischer's *Drishath Zion* (Longing for Zion), the stirring *Rome and Jerusalem* by Moses Hess, and above all, Leo Pinsker's brilliant political pamphlet *Auto-Emancipation--Call to his Fellow Jews by a Russian Jew*, large sections of the Jewish masses tightened their hold on Judaism and its Messianic hopes. The first Aliyah (ascent to the land of Israel) was beginning to take shape, its heroes being the Bilu, young people passionately devoted to the revival of Israel. (Their name was formed from the initials of the verse Is. ii, 5.)

It was these new pioneering Jews whom Laurence Oliphant

met after the failure of his restorationist scheme. The persecutions of the Jews were also instrumental to his appearance in their midst. On February 1, 1882, a public meeting had been held at the Mansion House in London "to give expression to public opinion on the persecution to which the Jews of Russia have recently been subjected". The most famous men of the nation, among them Charles Darwin and Lord Shaftesbury, had taken the initiative. Shaftesbury, then in his eighty-first year, was the first speaker. With the authority derived from a long life of selfless service, he raised his voice to rouse humanity's conscience on behalf of "God's ancient people". The practical result of the meeting was the opening of a relief fund for the persecuted Jews, which Laurence Oliphant was chosen to administer.

Accompanied only by his wife, he started out on his mission of mercy in March 1882. Oliphant himself recorded the remarkable scenes that took place during this journey in his autobiography:

"At every station they (the Jews) were assembled in crowds with petitions to be transported to Palestine, the conviction apparently having taken possession of their minds that the time appointed for their return to the land of their ancestors had arrived, and that I was to be their Moses on the occasion".

Before the middle of 1882, driven by the desire to make a new attempt to see his old plan realised, he set out for Constantinople, only to find there a situation no less difficult than it had been two years earlier. Turkey's growing distrust of England had the effect of practically blocking Palestine to Jewish immigration. This prevented the establishment of large settlements in Palestine of the type envisaged by Oliphant. He was now faced with the thankless task of disclosing the true state of affairs to the leaders of the *Hovevei Zion* and the *Bilu*. In a circular letter dated June 15, 1882, the *Bilu* delegates tell in plain and moving words how "Sir Oliphant" had first raised their hopes, but had, on June 14, advised them to extend their stay by a few months until the settlement of the Egyptian crisis, or else to petition the Pasha of Mesopotamia for permission to settle in his territory on the same terms as non-Jews. The letter goes on, "We . . . believe that, even if the masses migrate to Syria, it is nevertheless our duty to make Eretz Israel into a centre for our people. We therefore resolve to fight with all our strength to remove the obstacles in our path and to migrate nowhere but to Eretz Israel".

Oliphant remained loyal to the cause of Restoration. In an open letter to the Jewish leaders in Russia, he informed them that he was obliged to leave Constantinople but had no

intention of giving up his plans and felt bound to the Jewish cause. *"I believe that a more favourable juncture of circumstances will ere long arise"*, he wrote. *"In the meantime, I trust that your co-religionists will not allow themselves to be discouraged by this check, and they may rest assured that I shall continue to feel a warm sympathy in their sufferings and their future welfare"*.

The sincerity of these words was proved by deeds. The third and longest phase of Oliphant's work for the Restoration lasted throughout the last six years of his life. The dream of Jewish regeneration, so often entertained by English men and women, never had a truer embodiment than in the person of this world traveller who came to live with his wife among the Jewish settlers in Palestine, who corresponded intimately with Perez Smolenskin, and who employed as his secretary and interpreter Naphtali Herz Imber, author of the Jewish national anthem *Hatikvah*.

Oliphant's unshaken belief in the forthcoming rebuilding of Palestine was expressed in an essay which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* in September 1883 under the title *The Jews and the Eastern Question*. Disregarding the idea of conversion altogether, Oliphant replaced it by the ideal of a Jewish renaissance such as George Eliot had envisaged, and indeed of a religious regeneration of Jewry:

". . . It would surely be a noble ambition for the orthodox Jews to aspire to develop a religion which should commend itself to the unsatisfied cravings of Christendom, as for the orthodox Christian to hope, as he now does, that the restoration of the race to Palestine, should lead to their conversion to his form of theological belief. . . ."

He laid even greater stress than in *The Land of Gilead* on the necessity for co-operation between Jewish and Christian restorationists:

"There can be no doubt that . . . unless the Jews of the West are prepared to co-operate with the movement more cordially than they have done hitherto, they will find that it will slip from their control altogether".

His most remarkable prediction was, however, that of the grim fate awaiting Jewry. He knew that the assimilated Jews who felt so secure would one day be faced with a grave crisis, and realised that the colonisation of Palestine, which he

originally conceived as a means to help Turkey, would save the Jewish people.

When writing *The Jew and the Eastern Question*, Oliphant had already made up his mind to continue working on his own to advance the cause of Jewish settlement in Palestine. He made his home in Haifa in order to help the vanguard of the Jewish settlers who came to prepare the soil of the country for the Jewish people. Thus he became a source of strength and encouragement for the *Hovevei Zion* in Palestine itself. Fashioning a mutual-aid community out of the first Jewish settlers and friendly Germans from a nearby colony, he must have felt that he was helping to usher in a new era both for the Jewish people and for mankind at large.

A great sorrow for Oliphant was the death of his wife in Haifa in 1886. In the history of the Restoration Movement, Alice Oliphant's name is gratefully recorded. Never discouraged, full of hope to the end, she had written a few days before her death: "*Never mind about what looks like the failure of the Palestine scheme, it is in reality making sure progress*".

She was laid to rest on Mount Cannel, and shortly afterwards Oliphant left the Holy Land. Visiting New, York in 1886, he was met by a deputation consisting of the poet-composer Abraham Goldfaden and local leader of the Hovevei Zion. He spoke to them of his work for the Jews and emphasised that he entertained no conversionist intentions. By the end of 1887 he was back in Palestine and spent most of his time in assisting the Jewish settlers. In 1888 he left for England. Death came to him on December 23, 1888.

VII. THE MOVEMENT BEFORE THE ADVENT OF ZIONISM

Dominated though it was by the figure of Laurence Oliphant, the Restoration Movement after the Berlin Congress was carried on by a number of other, remarkable personalities. New schemes and literary productions appeared. Persecution in Russia and anti-Jewish legislation in Rumania gave a sense of urgency to the idea of Restoration.

English Restorationists in this period received much encouragement from the Hovevei Zion movement in England. The Hovevei Zion societies provided the platform for the first public discussions between Jewish and Christian Restorationists. Also the Egyptian question proved a new powerful incentive after the occupation of Egypt in 1882. It was thought that the time when Palestine would be drawn into the British zone of influence in the Near East could not be far

off.

These political developments spurred some restorationist authors to reformulate the old teachings. An original attempt to reconcile the religious character of the Restoration with contemporary historical reality was made by H. Walker in *The Future of Palestine as a Problem of International Politics* and in connection with the requirements of Christianity and the aspirations of the Jews, in which he recommended the settlement of Jews in Palestine under an international protectorate.

Two other Restorationists, Henry Wentworth Monk and George Nugee, also published timely and politically well-considered projects. Monk had already advocated the Restoration before the Crimean War. Later on, this devout Christian assisted, together with Rabbi Sneersohn of Jerusalem, in the establishment of the first Jewish colonies. To the British Ambassador at Constantinople, G. J. Goschen, he submitted a proposal that Turkey be compensated in cash for giving up Palestine and that the rebuilding of the country be initiated by an "*Anglo-Jewish West Asian Company*" co-operating with Jewish settlers, until such time as the Jewish people itself could complete the work and take over the administration.

The Rev. George Nugee also advocated the resettlement of Palestine under British protection. In a pamphlet, *England and the Jews: their destiny and her duty* (1881), he affirmed that the Jews' destiny imposed upon the British people the duty of bringing about the Restoration. At every stage of the Eastern Question, ignoring all political setbacks, Alexander Bradshaw had for some forty years bombarded the British public with religious arguments in support of Restoration and with practical proposals. The Egyptian Crisis and the pogrom wave in Eastern Europe prompted him, despite his advanced age, to attempt a last effort to help the Jews. In his *The Trumpet Voice: Modus Operandi in Political, Social, and Moral Forecast concerning the East* (1884) he combined apocalyptic vision with realistic suggestions. Advocating the annexation of Palestine to Egypt, -which had meantime been occupied by Britain -he looked to the great financiers to furnish the funds for reconstruction "*in order to discharge their responsibilities on earth.*"

A modest handbill was distributed in the streets of London in the same year. Its author was the Rev. William H. Hechler, born (1845) in South Africa of German Parents, Rector of the Holy Trinity Church in Kilburn (London). Calling himself "*Lover of God's ancient people*" he engaged, like Oliphant, in an intensive activity to help the victims of the

Russian pogroms by collecting money for their settlement in Palestine. He went to Russia and the Holy Land and, in 1882, carried a personal letter from Queen Victoria to the Sultan Abdul Hamid.

Hechler's Restorationist ideas, reflected in his first pamphlet *The Jerusalem Bishopric* (1883), are developed in *The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine*. In the succinct form of *Some points remembered in connection with the most important question*, Hechler presents the quintessence of the Restoration Doctrine in an original and systematic form. Hechler calls for spiritual preparation for the Restoration on the part of Christians to include love of the Jews and careful study of the "*momentous question*". In 1885 Hechler was appointed chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna. The assignment was to prove a portentous event in the history of the Restoration Movement. For in Vienna, eleven years later, Hechler met Theodor Herzl and became one of his earliest and most eager followers.

When the last decade of the nineteenth century opened, Palestine's resurrection was no longer an open question for British Restorationists. It had become an imminent certainty. "*That the future of these old lands may be more important than the present, it requires little penetration to see*", wrote the great Canadian-born naturalist John William Dawson in his *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, published in 1888. Among the many Palestine travellers from England, the famous geologist was one of the best qualified to judge the country and its future. His verdict on the dire neglect of the once flourishing land was devastating:

.. No nation has been able to establish itself, as a nation in Palestine up to this day, no national union and no national spirit have prevailed there. The motley, impoverished tribes ... have held it as mere tenants at will, temporary landowners, evidently waiting for those entitled to the permanent possession of the soil.

Dawson left no doubt as to the identity of those whom he considered the rightful owners.

Colonel Conder, formerly Oliphant's collaborator, was as anxious as ever to further the revival of Jewish Palestine. In an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* (1891) he declared that experience had already demonstrated the Jews aptitude for agricultural colonisation. In 1892 he addressed the Western Tent of the *Hovevei Zion* Association in London. The lecture was published in the same year under the title *Eastern Palestine*. "*It has always seemed to me*", Conder said, "*that the*

future element of prosperous colonisation is to be found among the Jews of Eastern Europe". He invited the English Hovevei Zion to acquire for these settlers the largest available quantity of land east of the Jordan, which he, like Oliphant, considered ideal for settlement. Two years later, when the English Hovevei Zion tried to implement Conder's advice concerning settlement in Eastern Palestine, they were supported by Lord Rosebery, Salisbury's successor at the Foreign Office.

One of the main features of the Restoration Movement towards the end of the century was the shifting of its centre of gravity to the United States of America. There, the millenarian circles from whom Laurence Oliphant had expected so much were the foremost supporters of the Restoration idea. Drafted by William E. Blackstone, a minister of the Methodist, Episcopal Church, and dated March 5, 1891, a petition to President Harrison, signed by the Speaker and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, members of Congress, judges, mayors, newspaper editors, members of professions and business, three archbishops, six bishops, ninety-nine other Christian clergymen and fourteen rabbis, argued that "*all the great European Powers are jealous of each other's influence in, or possible occupation of, Palestine, and this favours the giving of it to such an energetic small nation as the Jews under international guarantees and protection*". Blackstone emphasised "*that he has special reasons for believing such sentiment already prevails to a large extent in Great Britain, and it seems to appeal to all classes of Christians as a magnificent humanitarian movement*".

This American petition shows striking similarity with the English plea addressed fifty years earlier by the people of Carlow to Lord Palmerston. Three months after the petition was submitted, *Our Day* printed an article from Blackstone's pen, *May the United States Intervene for the Jews?* Blackstone described the desperate position of the Jews driven from Russia to whom "*the civilised world says, 'We do not want them', and who 'are turned back to go -where?'*" He could scarcely have foreseen, how terribly his words would come true half a century later when he exclaimed in 1891:

One stands appalled before the prospect. It seems as if the agony and horror of 1492 were to be quadrupled in 1892. Will the Christian nations of the nineteenth century stand by the wreck and launch no lifeboat?

The main object of the article was to refute objections to Government action in favour of the Jews. It was true, he argued, that the number of Jews actually resident in Palestine

was small, but the country could absorb two or three millions of newcomers without displacing the present population. In support of his assertion that the Jews' claim to Palestine had not lapsed, Blackstone quoted eminent legal authorities. He concluded that an international order had become inevitable - "*a universal court or congress, in which all national disputes and questions shall be peacefully considered and settled*" -and within this new order the Jewish people must have its nationhood recognised.

Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, on the threshold of the rise of political Zionism, the Restoration Movement, in the writings of George Eliot, Laurence Oliphant and William E. Blackstone, reached the peak of its maturity. No longer solely a religious tenet the idea of Restoration had acquired political, humanitarian and juridical aspects. Conversion of the Jews was no longer thought to be a prerequisite of the Restoration. Oliphant had sought the co-operation of popular theology, while the theologian Blackstone marshalled arguments which might have been borrowed from George Eliot's Mordecai. The Jewish point of view was at last understood. Contact with the Jewish world was established. In fact, later development inside and outside the Jewish world had been anticipated. Six years before the First Zionist Congress, thirty years' before San Remo, people belonging to all classes demanded a settlement of the Restoration question by an international conference. But what Palmerston and Disraeli in most, auspicious moments had left undone could not be expected of accomplishment by Harrison. Charles Henry Churchill, Hollingworth and George Eliot had proved correct in their foresights: only an effort by the Jewish people itself could effectively set the forces poised in action towards realisation. Just before the turn of the century the great moment of fulfilment had come. It is everlastingly linked with the name of Theodor Herzl. When in 1896 the Restorationist William H. Hechler stood in Vienna face to face with Theodor Herzl their encounter signified that the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews and Jewish Zionism had reached their predestined crossroads.

PART FIVE

CO-OPERATION WITH THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

I. THEODOR HERZL AND HIS PROPHET

WHEN Theodor Herzl stepped into the foreground of Jewish history more than fifty years had passed since Charles Henry Churchill had voiced his passionate demand that the Jews should take their place in world politics. Now Herzl was about to satisfy this demand. He achieved almost overnight a great historic success. All the various segments of Jewry that were already imbued with the idea of Jewish renaissance -the *Hovevei Zion* in the East and in London, the nationally minded students in Vienna, an ever-increasing number of important, individuals, writers and professional men, some of the religious leaders, and men who were known in the economic field, rallied around him. Before long he was the recognised leader of a consolidated Jewish political movement, for which one of its foremost champions, Nathan Birnbaum, even before Herzl's appearance, had created the term "*Zionism*".

And yet, in spite of this amazing achievement, Theodor Herzl felt deeply disappointed. There was no doubt that his plan had been rejected by the overwhelming majority of Jewry. He had been ridiculed in the influential German and Jewish press and bitterly opposed by liberal rabbis, the "protest rabbis". Moreover, he had failed to gain any foothold in the world of international politics, and saw no prospect of breaking through the bathers that separated him from the true political forces in the world.

In those early days after the publication of *Der Judenstaat* (February 1896), when everything was still in the balance, William Hechler (see p. 105) entered Herzl's life. It looks, in retrospect, almost like a providential coincidence that the man who was the very embodiment of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews was chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna at the moment when the Zionist movement was born in that city. After the publication of the broadsheet *The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine*, Hechler had continued to

study this question and only two years before the appearance of *Der Judenstaat* he had, on the basis of a prophesy from the time of Omar (637-8 C.E.), predicted that 1897-8 would be the years of Israel's deliverance. No wonder, therefore, that when a friend of Herzl's, S. R. Landau, showed Herzl's pamphlet to Hechler, the chaplain rushed to the Ambassador Monson and said, "*The prophesied movement is here*". A few days later, on March 10, 1896, he called on Herzl.

"The Reverend William H. Healer, Chaplain of the English Embassy here, came to see me. A sympathetic, gentle man with the long beard of a prophet. He is enthusiastic about my solution of the Jewish question. He also considers the movement a 'prophetic turning point' which he had foretold two years before. . ." Thus Herzl recorded the visit in his diary.

Herzl knew nothing about the British Movement for the Jews. According to his own statement he had been entirely ignorant of his predecessors in the Zionist movement. He was therefore unable to realise that not merely the chaplain of the British Embassy but the spokesman of a widely and long since recognised doctrine had come to him. He had not come to Herzl to bring him only the good tidings of his occult computations, but, as he expressly declared, because he wanted to help him. And the help he was able to offer Theodor Herzl was just what Herzl needed most at that moment, help to open the doors of the state chancelleries.

Nobody was better equipped to assist Herzl in the great political task Colonel Churchill had dreamed of than this late representative of the traditional restorationist school. He not only possessed diplomatic abilities but was, above all, persona grata to the highest ranking personalities in England and Germany. The Grand Duke of Baden himself, a pious Protestant and believer in the Restoration of the Jews, had already been informed by Hechler about the advent of the prophesied movement. As a result of the meeting, Hechler went to Karlsruhe on behalf of Herzl six weeks later, and arranged an audience with the Grand Duke for him, which took place a few days later.

In the course of the two and a half hours spent with the Grand Duke, Herzl won the "*good, wise and great man*" for the Zionist cause. It was Herzl's first diplomatic success, and a decisive event in the history of the Zionist movement. For the Karlsruhe audience gave birth to spectacular political activity which culminated in Herzl's two audiences with the German Kaiser in Constantinople and Jerusalem in October and November, 1898. Although the aim of these interviews and of the preceding conversations with German statesmen -the

establishment of German protection for a Jewish Chartered Company with the consent of the Sultan - was not achieved, the campaign had a lasting effect. Theodor Herzl had acquired the prestige of a political leader who enjoyed both the authority of the Jewish people and the confidence of statesmen. Hechler's meeting with Herzl undoubtedly led Herzl to make use of Germany's growing influence upon the Sultan.

After Laurence Oliphant's co-operation with the *Hovevei Zion*, Hechler's attachment to Herzl and to the Zionist movement was the most affectionate and most lasting devotion to the Jewish cause shown by an advocate of the Restoration idea. With the publication of his interview, in the second issue of the Zionist organ, *Die Welt*, on June 11, 1897, the voice of the Restoration Movement entered the Zionist press. Hechler attended the first Zionist Congress at Basle, August 29-31, 1897, as one of the three invited non-Jewish guests. He helped to arrange Herzl's spectacular meetings with Kaiser Wilhelm II, and accompanied him on his historic visit to Palestine. He made numerous though vain attempts to arrange for Herzl to meet the Czar, and tried, after the failure of the German campaign, to win the support of the Prince of Wales for Zionism. Glorified by Herzl in his *Altneuland* as the tolerant English preacher Hopkins, Hechler survived the man whose prophet he was. Living in London on a small pension, Hechler witnessed in his old age the consummation of that alliance between the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews and Zionism of which he had been one of the main architects.

II. AT THE ARCHIMEDIAN POINT

Although it happened that the British Restoration Movement met Zionism in Vienna, Zionism had even earlier links with Britain. In November 1895, Herzl was in London where he met Israel Zangwill, Sir Samuel Montagu and several other outstanding members of the British Community, and made his first public appearance before a Jewish audience. In a visit to Cardiff he met Colonel (then Lieutenant) Albert E. Goldsmid, Hechler's Jewish counter-part and the living embodiment of Daniel Deronda. The son of baptised Jews, on becoming aware of his origin he had embraced Judaism, studied Hebrew and participated in the foundation of the *Hovevei Zion* in England. He showed Herzl their flag with the emblems of the Twelve Tribes -a visible symbol of the tradition preserved from Manasseh ben Israel's days -and assured him not only that he himself would fight with Herzl for the liberation of Israel, but also that "*devout Christians will help the Jews to return to Palestine*". When Herzl recorded these words in his diary, he unconsciously sealed his alliance with, the British Movement.

It was also in England that Herzl's Zionist programme was published for the first time. A summary of the ideas which were to be developed in *Der Judenstaat* appeared in the Jewish Chronicle of January 17, 1896, under the title *A Solution of the Jewish Question*. He proposed the creation of two Jewish bodies, "A Society of Jews" and "A Jewish Company". The same proposal reappeared in *Der Judenstaat* with an additional suggestion, the establishment of a Company "*which might be called a Jewish Chartered Company*" in London. Two years later, in February 1898, in his letter to the Chairman of the Zionist Clerkenwell Conference, he wrote: "*From the first moment I entered the Movement my eyes were directed towards England, because I saw by reason of the general situation of things there that it was the Archimedian point where the lever could be applied*".

Herzl was tireless in his efforts to seize this Archimedian point. In 1896, five months after the appearance of *Der Judenstaat*, he hurried to London from his audience with the Sultan in Constantinople to address an enthusiastic mass meeting in the East End. He received encouragement also from non-Jewish British quarters. On February 21, 1896, a letter had appeared in the Jewish Chronicle from the famous painter William Holman Hunt advocating the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine, "*both for the sake of the advantages which would accrue to the Jews themselves and in order to remove a bone of contention out of the way of the European Powers*". Having been written on January 6, 1896, the letter thus preceded the publication of Herzl's article. A copy of *Der Judenstaat* sent by Samuel Montagu to Gladstone prompted the grand old man to reply with a declaration of sympathy for Zionist aspirations in words destined to be re-echoed in the Balfour Declaration: "*My inclination would be to view with favour any reassembling of Jews under Ottoman Suzerainty*".

The most important symptom of England's favourable attitude towards the rising Zionist movement was, however, the continuous attention paid to it by the English press. On the occasion of Herzl's visit to London in 1896, the Daily Graphic and Sunday Times published Zangvill's and Lucien Wolf's interviews with him, and when in 1897 the First Zionist Congress was held in Basle, practically every London paper reported the meeting of the first "*Jewish Parliament*" at length.

In October of the following year, Herzl again visited London and spoke in the Assembly Hall to an audience of some ten thousand people gathered inside and outside the Hall. Herzl's speech, full of emotion and exaggerated hopes, roused boundless enthusiasm in the vast audience. One of the speakers

from the floor was Father Ignatius (Joseph Leycester Lyne), an Anglican Deacon. Like Hechler, a lover of the Jewish people, he had linked up with the Zionist Movement in its very early days. In October 1896 he had lectured about "*The World's Debt to the Jews*". George Eliot's *Mordecai* had not pleaded more passionately against assimilation and for the revival of the Jewish nation than this ardent Christian. Father Ignatius, in an article published in one of the first issues of *Die Welt* (July 12, 1897), declared his solidarity with the movement in the name of "*the English who venerate the Jews, seeing in them the source of blessings in the sphere of politics, morals and religion*". Standing in the Assembly Hall before the Jewish masses, Father Ignatius confessed that he had experienced the proudest joy of his life. Turning to the "*so-called Reform Jews*", he assured them that "*Judaism is Zionism, Zionism is the Judaism of God*". A new link had been added to the chain which from now on united the Restoration Movement with Zionism.

The year 1900 may well be regarded as a landmark in the history of Anglo-Jewish relations in the sphere of the Restoration Movement. In that year, following the foundation of the Jewish Colonial Trust in London, the Fourth Zionist Congress was held in the capital of the British Empire. Almost 250 years had passed since the Whitehall Conference where Menasseh ben Israel had pleaded for the readmission of the Jews to England on the ground that this was the means for achieving the Restoration of the Jews and the coming of the Messiah. Now Theodor Herzl had come to London with another prophecy which was like the logical conclusion of Menasseh's prediction - "*England the great, England the free, England with her eyes fixed on the seven seas, will understand us. From this place the Zionist movement will take a higher and higher flight, of this we may be sure*". A tone of respect, of recognition and admiration permeated all newspaper comments on the aims of Congress. "*Palestine for the Jews*" became the slogan of the day. The principles of the Restoration Movement were no longer tenets of sectarians. They had become a public opinion.

In 1899, furnished with a letter of introduction from Max Nordau to Alfred Austin, the Poet Laureate, Herzl had attempted to approach Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister at that time. But in the middle of the Boer War there was no opportunity of an interview with the Prime Minister. On the occasion of the Fourth Congress, Herzl was introduced by Sir Francis Montefiore to Sir Eric Barrington, Salisbury's secretary, and Loasdowne, the Foreign Secretary. It was Herzl's first meeting with English statesmen, and inaugurated a contact which was to result in the British Palestine Mandate.

Two years later, Herzl was summoned to London to testify before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. Avoiding the question of Jewish immigration to England, he pleaded for the fulfilment of the Basle Programme. A few months afterwards, Herzl was received by Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary in Arthur Balfour's Unionist Cabinet, and by, Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary for the Colonies. The meeting was not only a turning point in the life of Herzl and of the Zionist movement. For the first time since Menasseh ben Israel's appeal to Cromwell, the Restoration of the Jews had become a subject of negotiation between leading English statesmen and a political leader of the Jewish people. By historical irony the question of resettlement in Palestine was, however, barred from the talks on this propitious occasion. The international situation had radically changed since the days of Disraeli and Laurence Oliphant. Germany's growing influence in Constantinople which, with Hechler's help, Herzl had in vain tried to utilise for Zionist aspirations, effectively precluded British intervention. Egypt and East Africa, not Palestine, were now Britain's main colonial concern. Herzl himself looked in this direction for a land near Palestine where the Jews in their increasing need could settle before the final Restoration. Thus the project for a settlement in El Arish on the Sinai Peninsula was born, although it, too, proved a failure because of Egypt's opposition, the formal offer Herzl received from the Foreign Office in a letter dated December 18, 1902, written on behalf of Lord Lansdowne, relative to the proposed establishment of a Jewish Colony in the Sinai Peninsula, was the first implicit recognition of the Zionist Organisation as a diplomatic entity.

An even more momentous declaration followed the negotiations on Chamberlain's spontaneous offer of an East African Territory ("Uganda") for a Jewish Colony. Almost immediately before the Sixth Zionist Congress, Herzl -then in Russia- received Lord Lansdowne's assurance that should a suitable area be found, he would *"be glad to consider favourably proposals for the creation of a Jewish Colony or settlement under such conditions as will seem to the members (of the next Zionist Congress) to guarantee the retention of their national customs"*. Jewish governorship and autonomy were expressly offered in the letter. Even though the offer almost led to a schism in the Zionist movement and notwithstanding the eventual cancellation of the whole project, the British Government's East African offer was Theodor Herzl's greatest diplomatic achievement. It was also the climax of all efforts made until that moment in the long history of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews towards the realisation of Jewish national aspirations. From the outset Herzl clearly realised that the historic significance of the offer

did not consist so much in its problematic colonising possibilities as in its political implications. In the main speech to the Sixth Zionist Congress dealing with the offer, he solemnly declared: *"Our hearts are filled with the deepest gratitude for the statesman-like generosity which Great Britain has displayed in these negotiations toward the Jewish people"*.

A common opinion became manifest in the political acts of a group of statesmen who were in full agreement with the public feeling towards Zionist aspirations. The consistent and vivid interest of Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary in the years 1900-1905, in the Jewish national cause, reminds one of Lord Palmerston's attachment to the idea of Jewish renaissance. His offer of December 18, 1902, of a Jewish colony on the Sinai Peninsula had paved the way for the development which resulted in the Balfour Declaration. He also wholeheartedly backed Joseph Chamberlain's East African project. Chamberlain himself conceived the idea of an autonomous Jewish colony, out of his sincere pro-Zionist sympathy which he had publicly expressed long before his conversations with Theodor Herzl. Lord Cromer, too, felt that the Jewish question was to be solved by a large-scale resettlement of Jewish masses. In Lord Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa, the Zionist movement gained a particularly outspoken and helpful friend. His unprecedented decision to invest the president of the South African Zionist Federation with all functions of a consul was one of the earliest and most radical pro-Zionist measures on a governmental level and was acclaimed as such by the Sixth Zionist Congress. Herzl and his friends were equally aware of the strong sympathy shown to the Zionist movement by the brilliant lawyer and future Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. But no fact illuminates the genuineness of the link which had been created between England and Zionism in Theodor Herzl's lifetime better than the coincidence that Arthur James Balfour was Britain's Prime Minister at the time of Herzl's campaign for gaining a foothold for Israel's independence within the orbit of the British Empire.

Herzl's negotiations with the British Government at the beginning of the century were the very prelude of the great political drama which was to unfold during World War I and closed with the issue of the Balfour Declaration. Tragically, it was not given to Herzl to take part in it. He died less than a year after receiving Lord Lansdowne's historic assurance, but he had lived long enough to see that England had indeed proved to be the Archimedian point of the Zionist movement.

III. THE NEW "DECREE OF CYRUS"

The story of the events which, in the course of World War

I, culminated in the crowning achievement of all the forces working for the Restoration of the Jews -the statement of the British Government known as the Balfour Declaration- is beyond the scope and purpose of this study. The reader may be referred to the general histories of Zionism and to special inquiries into the subject. The task before us can merely be to throw some light on the basic features of the historical process, insofar as they were related to the non-Jewish pro-Zionist efforts involved.

While in previous stages of the Restoration Movement the initiative had been taken, mainly, by the restorationists. Zionism had now become the dominating influence. In fact, if England was the Archimedian point for Zionism, the latter was to perform the same function with regard to the Restoration Movement. The ideal proclaimed long before by Charles Henry Churchill, Hollingworth and George Eliot had been at last fulfilled. The Jewish people had created a political instrument which the Restoration Movement had been unable to establish. By the formation of the Zionist Organisation and by its recognition an address had been made available to be used one day for the awaited call. The rise of Zionism exerted an equally profound effect on the spiritual and political tenets of the Movement, although the traditional Doctrine remained still potent in various quarters (as late as 1914, the Christadelphian Frank Jannaway published a book, *Palestine and the Jews*, which ran to two editions). The acceptance of the strictly Zionist ideal even by a religious leader like Father Ignatius was general. One could speak of an identification of the Restoration Movement with Zionism, save that there remained in the religious section of the Movement the latent hope of eventual conversion. In fact it became customary for non-Jewish pro-Zionists to call themselves Zionists, although this term by virtue both of its origin and meaning (implying self-emancipation, religious and national renaissance) logically applies only to Jewish adherents of the movement.

The process of mutual approach and adaptation was precipitated by the outbreak of the war in which Turkey sided with the enemies of England, her immemorial friend and protector. Immediately after Turkey's entry into the war, on November 9, 1914, Prime Minister Asquith declared in the House of Commons: "*It is the Ottoman Government and not we who have rung the death-knell of Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe but in Asia*". The statement sounded like a trumpet call for all the friends of the Restoration idea.

Jewish and non-Jewish papers teemed with comments and suggestions for securing Palestine for the Jewish people. The most dramatic voice was that of H. G. Wells who in the *Daily*

Chronicle addressed to Israel Zangwill the question: "And now, what is to prevent Jews having Palestine and restoring a real Judea?" Here, surely, was the indication that the millennial question of the Restoration of the Jews had become a general political issue.

The Manchester Guardian became the foremost champion of the Zionist cause. Moreover, Charles Prestwich Scott, its editor, made contact with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, in order to be helpful. Through his intervention, Dr. Weizmann was introduced to Mr. Lloyd George and thus the first overture was made to the negotiations which finally resulted in the issue of the Balfour Declaration. Like Hechler's longing for the Restoration of the Jews, Scott's pro-Zionism was rooted in religious feelings which had been cultivated in the house of his Unitarian father. In fact, not only he but all those who, from different quarters, now came to support the Zionist aspirations were steeped in the religious and humanitarian tradition of the late Victorian era. They fully accepted Zionist aims and were eager to co-operate with Zionist representatives.

The close link of the transformed Restoration Movement with Zionism found its visible expression in 1916 in the formation, in Manchester, of the *British Palestine Society* consisting of Jews and non-Jews. The main object of the group was to establish a community of ideals and interests between Zionist and British policy. A weekly paper, *Palestine*, published from January 1917 to July 1924; published from February 1936 to May 1940), was the organ of the group.

Herbert Sidebotham, a leader-writer for the *Manchester Guardian* (afterwards with *The Times*), and one of the founders of the Society, became the eloquent spokesman of these united pro-Zionists and Zionists. His contributions to *Palestine* and his book, *England and Palestine Essays towards the Restoration of the Jewish State* (1918), reflect perfectly the spirit which permeated the Movement during the war. A quotation from *England and Palestine* may illustrate the link which had been established between the ancient Restoration idea and the modern ideals current in the war:

Before the magnitude of this war, most ideals seem to shrink in size. But one ideal is the peer even of this war in magnitude and grandeur. It is the ideal of the restoration of the Jews to a country which, small and poor as it is, they made as famous as Greece and as great as Rome. And lastly, there is no ideal . . . that would exhibit the contrast between English and German political ideals so favourably to us, and so eloquently, vindicate our own, as the establishment of a Jewish State under the British Crown.

The credit for having undertaken the earliest step to influence Governmental policy in this direction is due to Mr. (now Viscount) Herbert Samuel, statesman, philosopher and member of the Cabinet who took advantage of Turkey's entry into the war to approach Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, to secure his support for "the restoration of a Jewish state" after the prospective downfall of the Ottoman Empire. Grey was impressed by the idea and pursued it during his period of office. His instruction to Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, of March 13, 1916, to induce the Russian Government to a serious consideration of the project, has to be regarded as the first diplomatic correspondence of an English statesman on behalf of the Restoration of the Jews. Asquith did not approve of Grey's efforts and they remained without any practical outcome.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, Mr. Herbert Samuel drew up a memorandum, *The Future of Palestine*, which circulated in governmental circles and gained many friends for Zionism in these and other distinguished quarters. The same purpose was served by a collection of essays published under the title *Zionism and the Jewish Future* by the Zionist leaders. The ranks of the pro-Zionists swelled so rapidly that the critics of Zionism were driven to the defensive. Viscount Haldane, the philosopher and Lord Chancellor, Lord Bryce, famous jurist and historian, Josiah Wedgwood, the brilliant parliamentarian, destined to become one of the most courageous fighters for the Zionist cause, were among these proselytes. Lord Cromer, now in his seventy-fifth year, in an article on *Zionism and the Jewish Future* which appeared in the *Spectator*, July 1916, wrote: "*Before long politicians will be unable to brush it aside as the fantastic dream of a few idealists*", unconsciously alluding to a statement made by *The Times* seventy-six years earlier (see page 61).

In the meantime the great political drama which preceded the issue of the Balfour Declaration had begun. In October 1916, the Zionists presented their first proposals to the Foreign Office. An astounding number and variety of non-Jewish protagonists were ready to play their part. The Liberals, Scott and Sidebotham, were joined by the Roman Catholic Mark Sykes and the Armenian Catholic James A. Malcolm. These two had in common a thorough knowledge of the Middle East, and combined with their attachment to the Arab and Armenian peoples an ardent belief in the justice of the Zionist idea. It was an interview between Dr. Weizmann and Sir Mark Sykes, brought about through Malcolm's mediation, which actually opened the negotiations between the British Government and the Zionist leaders. In the following stages of the negotiations

other new friends of the Zionist aspirations, Leopold Amery and Major (then Captain) W. Ormsby-Gore, were most helpful. In the Cabinet itself, the decisive work rested upon men whose sympathies for Zionism were of long standing. Lord Milner, an ardent pro-Zionist during Herzl's lifetime, and Lord Robert Cecil, a supporter since 1906, played an outstanding role in hammering out the final formula.

But above all, the two men into whose hands the destinies of both England and the Jewish people, David Lloyd George and Arthur James Balfour, were soon to pass, had been influenced towards Zionism since their early days. Moreover, both of them had been in personal relations to the Herzlian phase of the Zionist movement.

Lloyd George's Welsh national feelings, combined with a fervent affection for the Old Testament, produced that frame of mind which throughout the centuries had given birth to the belief in the Restoration of the Jews. He had known Theodor Herzl, and it was his firm of solicitors which had been entrusted with the drawing up of the Charter for the East African project. Thus, from the first meeting with Dr. Weizmann which C. P. Scott had arranged, Lloyd George was favourably disposed to the creation of a Jewish National Home, an attitude which he faithfully maintained during his Premiership.

Lady Blanche Balfour, daughter of the second Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Balfour's mother, was, in her son's own words, "*a woman of profound religious convictions*". The belief in the Second Advent and the preceding return of the Jews was a part of these convictions, and "*many a chapter from Isaiah was read at the regular family reading at Wethingame.*"

"*It is the God according to religion, and not the God according to metaphysics, whose being I wish to prove*", Balfour declared in *Theism and Humanism*. He regarded human history much as Judaism does, as "*an instrument for carrying out a Divine purpose*". During the General Election campaign of 1906 Balfour asked why the Zionists had refused the East African offer made by Mr. Balfour's government in 1903. The answer he received from Dr. Weizmann, then lecturer in chemistry at Manchester University, that the Jews could not take anything in exchange for Jerusalem just as the English would not exchange London for Paris, remained in Mr. Balfour's memory. "*It was from that talk with Weizmann*", he himself recorded, "*that I saw that the Jewish form of patriotism was unique*". When, after eight years, he met Dr. Weizmann again, he linked the memory with a prophecy. "*You know*", he said to Dr. Weizmann, "*I was thinking of that conversation of*

ours and I believe that when the guns stop firing you may get your Jerusalem". Finally, when visiting the United States, in 1917, Balfour met Justice Brandeis and found in him that ideal type of Jew who combined with his Zionism a genuine feeling for the allied cause, his resolution turned into action.

With Lloyd George and Arthur James Balfour at the head of the Government, the most auspicious moment in the history of the Restoration Movement was approaching. A grave peril arose, however, when the Zionist proposals met unexpected opposition in 1917. The opposition came from Jews. The President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (which in 1842 had turned down the Colonel Churchill suggestion to initiate a Jewish national policy) and the Anglo-Jewish Association, David E. Alexander and Claude G. Montefiore, in an open letter to *The Times* of May 24, 1917, attacked the whole scheme of a national Jewish resettlement in Palestine. The anti-Zionist spokesmen found a very powerful ally in a fellow-Jew, Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India, who even distributed a memorandum which supported their attitude.

At this critical moment, the pro-Zionist forces inside and outside the Cabinet stood the test. Some 250 Jewish institutions, communities and organisations all over the country passed resolutions in favour of a National Home for the Jewish People. The election of a new President of the Board of Deputies, Sir Stuart Samuel, was the symbol of the community's rejection of the Alexander-Montefiore letter. The Cabinet itself, although far from abandoning its restorationist policy, yielded to some extent to the pressure of the Jewish opposition. It modified the Zionist formula and invited representative Jewish leaders, both Zionist and non-Zionist, to present their views in writing. In the revised governmental version, the substitution of the phrase "*the establishment in Palestine of a National Home*" for "*the reconstitution of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish People*" was a setback suffered by the restorationist and Zionist cause. As subsequent events have shown, it had even more serious consequences than was realised by the Zionist leaders who felt that they had to accept it in the then prevailing circumstances. Nevertheless, even with this modification, the basic principle of a Jewish National Home had been adopted by the Government and a victory won in the long struggle of the Restoration Movement and Zionism for its recognition.

The representatives of the opposition raised objections even against the new formula and tried desperately to eliminate the decisive term "*National*". In this fateful battle of opinions the Chief Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz's inspired and well-

considered endorsement of the Zionist-aspirations made the deepest impression and strengthened the Cabinet in its pro-Zionist attitude.

In the last stage of the campaign, help came again from non-Jewish quarters. Letters of sympathy and support were received from President Wilson of the U.S.A. and from Monsieur J. Cambon of the French Foreign Office. Indeed, in those days, men in many lands were stirred by the spirit of Cyrus. By a fortunate coincidence, General Allenby had just entered Palestine on his march towards Jerusalem. Thus the hour had struck for a new Decree. Dated Foreign Office, November 2, 1917, and signed by Arthur James Balfour; the "*Declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which had been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet*" read:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

John Milton would hardly have recognised it as the "*Wondrous Call*" he had looked for. It was different even from the "commandment to return" which Isaac Newton had expected from a "*kingdom friendly to the Jews*", or Napoleon Bonaparte's more advanced offer of "*Israel's heritage*" to the Jewish nation.

But all these visions had been milestones on the road to the target which had now acquired the name "*Balfour Declaration*". Lord Shaftesbury, Mitford, Disraeli and all those who had eagerly awaited a new "*Decree of Cyrus*" had come amazingly close to the formula of the *Declaration*. Although no name was worthier to be forever linked with it than that of Lord Balfour, it was not the work of one man, nor even of a group of men. Neither was it merely the outcome of a particular historical situation, nor the bare application of the principle of "*self-determination*" which had become potent during the war and which certainly had a share in the approval of the Declaration. With the hard struggle which preceded its creation, with its deep roots in Jewish Messianism and English religious tradition, the *Balfour Declaration* was clearly the common work of many Jewish and British generations which was completed in one of England's "*finest hours*". In this spirit it was enthusiastically acclaimed by the entire English press, by

the most noted men of the nation and by the general public. On December 2, 1917, thousands gathered in the London Opera House to celebrate the event. Under the chairmanship of Lord Rothschild, non-Jewish speakers, among them Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Mark Sykes, Captain W. Ormsby-Gore and others, including an Arab, joined the Jewish representatives -the Hon. Herbert Samuel, the Chief Rabbi Dr. J. H. Hertz, Dr. Moses Gaster, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. James de Rothschild and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, in welcoming the rise of a Jewish National Home in the Land of Israel. This splendid meeting was in many ways the closing scene of an epoch.

POSTSCRIPT

On April 24, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference at San Remo resolved to incorporate the Balfour Declaration in the Peace Treaty with Turkey and to confer the Mandate for Palestine upon Great Britain. Within the lifetime of one generation the Jewish National Home was built and the Land of Israel made by wonders of human achievement -as Henry Finch had predicted- "*more fertile than it was*". Finally, on May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was established, though not before more than one-third of the people of Israel had perished in the most shameless massacre of all times.

The role England had played in this historic process is beyond the scope of this survey. But it may, in conclusion, be placed on record that with champions like Lord Wedgwood and Norman Maclean in revolt against Britain's Palestine policy, with Orde Wingate inspiring and organising the fighters for Israel's liberation, with men like Justice Rand, William L. Hull and Lester Pearson, the head of the Canadian Delegation in the United Nations, openly supporting the Zionist aspirations, the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews at the time when the fulfilment of Israel's and England's ageless common dream was at stake stood the hardest test in its history. The British men and women who were engaged in this great spiritual adventure have kept up the belief in the indestructibility of Britain's perennial vision.

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