

# FAITH AND THOUGHT

*A Journal devoted to the study of the inter-relation of the  
Christian Revelation and modern research.*

1972-3

VOL. 100

NUMBER 3

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## Christians in the Zionist Camp : Blackstone and Hechler

**Every Christian worth his salt is ashamed of the way in which down the ages Christians have persecuted Jews. Dr. Brodeur reminds us in this article and a further one to follow that in the present era some Christians at least have begun to make amends. The little known story he tells, the result of much research, centres round two evangelical Christians, joined by many others, who worked tirelessly and to good effect in the cause of Zionism.**

As a call to concerted political action for a return to Palestine Zionism was born in the early 1880's out of the work of an obscure Jewish physician and social worker, Dr. Lev (Leon) Pinsker of Odessa, the Russian Black Sea port. Pinsker's aim was first to awake his fellow Russian Jews then reeling under the repeated blows of Czarist pogroms to face up to the fact that large concentrations of Jews in eastern Europe contained the very seeds from which was sprouting at ever more frequent intervals in the late 19th century the evil ivy of anti-semitism. And with populations everywhere increasing thanks to the rapid strides in public health medicine in western nations the problem of Jewish minorities could not lessen. They could only worsen.

Moreover, out of his thought and researches Pinsker was

convinced that anti-semitism was a kind of 'inherited' disease — so long had it run unchecked — and therefore completely incurable until the Jews had found their own homeland. At some peril to his personal safety and freedom, the brave doctor published (1882) in Berlin a booklet in German whose pungent title requires no translation: *Autoemanzipation*.<sup>1</sup>

For the next several years following his declaration, Pinsker travelled about in Europe trying to convince Jewish leaders that a homeland for Jews was needed wherever an agriculturally viable province could be purchased. He had trouble finding listeners and support, and was frustrated even in staffing offices to start work in Berlin and Danzig. In 1887 his health broke; in 1891 he died still dreaming of an international conference of Jews who would act on his suggestions.<sup>2</sup>

### *Herzl and Hechler*

Hardly five years after Pinsker's death, a brooding Viennese journalist and playwright, Theodor Herzl, published the *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), a work advocating a massive Jewish return to Palestine beginning first with agricultural workers but organized and financed according to the most scientific principles. Herzl's enthusiasm for the Zionist cause grew not from a particular love or awareness of Jewish culture<sup>3</sup> but from the negative phenomenon of anti-semitism; Herzl had covered the spectacle of the Dreyfus Trial in 1893 for Vienna's *Neue Freie Presse*.

Like Pinsker's declaration, Herzl's manifesto was initially published in the German language. One of the first persons to read *both* of these publications shortly after their appearance and offer encouragement and assistance to their respective authors was a self-effacing German-speaking chaplain at the British Embassy in Vienna. He was the Reverend William Henry Hechler, born in Benares, India, of an English mother and a German missionary father, a man equally at home in London or Berlin but definitely English in his outlook, Evangelical faith and overall sentiments. Hechler was a widely travelled, well read celebrate who appeared

to friends and associates a bit of a mystic ; for he seemed to be constantly immersed in his studies and charts of Biblical prophecies on Israel, with special emphasis on those cryptic time-measures of Daniel and Revelation.

In fact, shortly before reading the *Judenstaat* after it appeared in the Viennese bookstores in February, 1896, Hechler had published in German a compilation of prophetic verses relating to Israel's return to Palestine *Die bevorstehende Rückkehr der Juden nach Palästina* ("The Imminent Redemption of the Jews to Palestine") to which Herzl makes reference in his *diaries*. Upon his discovery of the *Judenstaat*, which he judged to be the first practical blueprint for a 'Jewish State', Hechler rushed over to Herzl's lodgings taking the skeptical journalist by complete surprise. His arguments apparently also took the agnostic Herzl by storm, for the latter began to write the first of many entries in his diary on 'my good Hechler'. The initial entry, dated March 10, 1896, records the highlights of their first conversation :

The Reverend William Hechler, Chaplain of the English Embassy here, came to see me. A sympathetic, gentle fellow, with the long, grey beard of a prophet. He is enthusiastic about my solution of the Jewish question. He also considers my movement a "prophetic turning-point" — which he had foretold two years before. From a prophecy in the time of Omar (637 C.E.) he had reckoned that at the end of forty-two prophetic months (total 1260 years) the Jews would get Palestine back. The figure he arrived at was 1897 — 98.<sup>4</sup>

In succeeding visits to Herzl the English chaplain convinced the founder of political Zionism of his unique suitability to serve the Zionist cause as an intermediary between Herzl and the German royal family with which he was on rather intimate terms.<sup>5</sup> Hechler's chief touchstone was the venerable Grand Duke of Baden, an architect of the German unification whose two sons Hechler had tutored many years before. Duke Frederick was also one of the first gentile Zionists in Germany, thanks in no small part to his 'conversion' by Hechler in the early 1880's.

Archival discoveries made in Germany in the 1950's reveal

that Hechler wrote the first letter on Herzl's behalf to the Grand Duke of Baden on March 26, 1896.<sup>6</sup> An uncle of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Grand Duke Frederick was on intimate terms with the mercurial monarch who exhibited a tendency to respect the septuagenarian's avuncular advice.<sup>7</sup>

The month of April witnessed the industrious Hechler ensconced in Karlsruhe as the house guest of his old employer and friend, Duke Frederick, keeping an anxiously waiting Herzl informed on the progress of his overtures by frequent telegrams. It proved to be a hectic month for Herzl. His diary records on April 21 the death of the influential Hungarian Zionist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch who had briefly ignited Zionist hopes (1891) with his ambitious but ill-fated agricultural colonization program for Jewish settlers in Argentina. As it happened, the news of de Hirsch's death came to Herzl only an hour after he had mailed a letter to Zionist Max Nordau asking the French writer if he would act to sound out de Hirsch on the latter's willingness to make a sizeable contribution to the Zionist cause. Herzl accepted the news of de Hirsch's passing with the resignation that was to sustain him through one frustration after another during these last eight years of his life. And to his diary he made a cryptic entry on the affair that alluded also to the advent of Hechler:

Strange today de Hirsch dies and I enter into relations with princes.

A new book opens in the Jewish matter.

Indeed a new chapter had opened. Herzl was a gifted writer with a sure sense of Jewish destiny and the dramatic. Hechler was the gifted conversationalist with a knack of playing on the highest instincts of his hearers and imbuing them with a sense of their own importance in the historical process. Herzl's diary for April 23 has him replying to the Grand Duke's offer of personal assistance with:

Your majesty was the first among the German princes at the gathering in Versailles to call King Wilhelm Kaiser. If now you would only participate also in the

second great state-founding of the century. For the Jews will become a *grande nation*.

Before leaving Karlsruhe for Vienna to make the first of many reports on his Zionist activities to Herzl, Hechler encountered the Kaiser at the grand reception in the latter's honor. Recognizing an old acquaintance the Kaiser badgered Hechler with the unexpected remark: "Hechler, I hear you want to be a minister in a Jewish State." Further words were exchanged between the chaplain and the sovereign that were not recorded. Hechler retired to his quarters that evening convinced that the Kaiser had misunderstood his position and motives in aiding the Zionist cause. He therefore sat down and wrote a letter to his advocate, the Grand Duke, that began:

Owing to the most gracious words of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor to me last evening I am greatly troubled in mind, for I have nothing to do with the New Jewish State, as I have no Jewish blood in me . . . nor have I ever spoken to Baron Rothschild on Dr. Herzl's book.

Simply because I have seen for years, that, according to God's Holy Word, we are near a Great Prophetic Crisis, have I ventured to write to Your Royal Highness and Lord Salisbury, besides speaking with my Ambassador, Sir Edward J. Monson, to unburden my mind and show the wonderful light of God is now graciously giving us.<sup>8</sup>

Eventually Herzl came on to Karlsruhe where he made his presentation to the Grand Duke who he reports "listened with great friendliness" and who soon came to respect Herzl's tact and self possession. The two men became firm friends.

The number of German royal family participants and relations in the Zionist colloquy broadened. It is said that the Kaiser was prevailed upon to render his own support not by the Grand Duke but by Count Eulenberg, the German Ambassador to Vienna who had married into the Duke's family and was an old friend also of Hechler. As Turkey's most powerful and influential ally,

the German Imperial Government was obviously in a good position to broach the delicate subject of a concession in Palestine for the Zionists to wily Sultan Abdul Hamid II and his advisors. This the Kaiser did in October, 1897, en route to Palestine for the dedication of the German hospice on the Mount of Olives and the pursuit of his dilettantish Biblical archeological interests.

Both Herzl and Hechler were on hand in Jerusalem to greet the Kaiser during this visit,<sup>9</sup> the Kaiser also appearing on horseback to review the staff of the *Mikva Israel* the experimental farm and agricultural college at Jaffa established in 1870. This experience proved to be the apogee of Herzl's relationship with the Kaiser for already the latter's Foreign Minister, Von Bülow, was expressing misgivings over the Zionist cause and capability. The Kaiser was reputedly dismayed by the poverty of the Jews he met around Jerusalem and his advisors, many of them anti-semites, in due time convinced him that the Jews could not cope with the demands of establishing a modern state in Palestine, a barren and desolate land.

Doggedly, Herzl kept up the colloquy with the German princes, travelling also twice to Constantinople for meetings with the Sultan. Five years after the publication of the *Judenstaat* he appeared to be right back where he started from. The Sultan refused to grant a concession, the German princes refused to help him secure loans from Berlin banks. But these rejections took several years. Russia's monarch must be credited with no such vacillation. In October, 1899, the Grand Duke wrote to Nicholas II asking that he grant Herzl an audience on behalf of the Russian Jews. The Czar's short-sighted reply in French to the Grand Duke, who he addresses as his "brother and cousin", concludes: "The doctrine of Zionism can certainly be an important factor on the development of the internal tranquility of Europe . . . (but) . . . this doctrine will (not) prove of practical value even in the distant future."

In 1902, Herzl began to grasp at straws. While not giving up the hope of a concession on Palestine he investigated British-inspired colonization proposals for the northern Sinai (El Arish),

Cyprus, and Uganda. He toyed with the notion of obtaining concessions in the Argentine (which Hirsch had done), Mozambique (Hechler introduced him to the Portuguese Ambassador) and the Belgium Congo, but all to no avail.

When Herzl died, quite suddenly, in 1904 of a long standing heart condition, he had lived long enough to witness the beginning of the shift away from a strategy involving the Central Powers to one based on the sponsorship of the British Government. Hechler, a British subject, and anglophile at heart, was in a position to turn with this new tide. Consecrated at St. Paul's Cathedral (1869), and well known in Church of England circles, as well as with members of England's royal family, he tried, without success, to interest the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) in the Zionist cause. Later he also sought the Duke of Baden's assistance in securing for Herzl an interview with the king. This too failed. However, in 1903 Herzl succeeded, with the help of Max Nordau and Hechler, in obtaining an audience with the British Prime Minister, Arthur James Balfour. Meanwhile, Hechler attached himself to Nahum Sokolow (1860–1936), converted to Zionism on the death of Herzl, later Secretary General of the Zionist Movement. In 1914 Sokolow was appointed foreign representative of the Jewish Agency. He then headed the committee which prepared the wording of the Balfour Declaration and also headed the Jewish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1919).<sup>11</sup>

In 1903, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a brilliant organic chemist and staunch Zionist, moved to England from his native Russia for the express purpose of cultivating British support for the cause. In 1904 Weizmann met Balfour, an encounter that the latter was to recall ten years later. Not only Balfour but Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey and Parliamentary leader David Lloyd George early rallied to Zionist support. All three of these statesmen played major roles in shaping British policy to accept the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which supported a 'national Jewish home in Palestine', Lloyd George holding office as Prime Minister (1916–1922) and Balfour serving as Foreign Secretary. Of the three men only Lloyd George was without strong Christian convictions (or concern) that Biblical prophecy speaks of an



inevitable return of Israel to the Holy Land. His support was purely political.

The British sponsorship of the Zionist cause, while fraught with internal governmental opposition as well as the objections of Jewish groups and factions opposed to Palestinian Zionism, enjoyed a broad popular support. This support sprang from the fundamentalist convictions or sympathies of Victorian England where Biblical belief (though on the wane) was still very strong. Zionism had the outspoken support of such great statesmen as Lord Shaftesbury and William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898). The latter held the office of Prime Minister no fewer than four times in the last two decades of the 19th century. In America, despite the confusion of the Church dispensation with Israel's dispensation in the minds of amillennialists and others, Zionism had the same broad base of sympathetic support that it enjoyed in England.

Both countries, America from its inception and England from the mid-nineteenth century, had accorded to the Jews full civil and legal rights; but as so many have pointed out — Pinsker among them — civil rights do not necessarily carry the guarantee of social equality. True equality was only to be achieved by the Jews in England and the United States in the present century. Significantly, its development coincided with the consolidation of the World Zionist Movement, the British Mandate in Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish State (1948).

The great array of Jewish intellectuals who forged the first links in the great chain reaction of Zionism, from the early 1880's to World War 1, ran the gamut in religious convictions from the thoroughly devout to the thoroughly agnostic. And at times it appeared also as if there were almost as many approaches among Jews to Zionism as there were sponsors, writers and activists like Nahum Sokolow and Asher Ginsberg, possessing keen, passionate and well-balanced intellects of the highest order, who had deep appreciation for all the variegated facets of the complex challenge. They well understood the intricate nature of the political, psychological and logistical problems attendant upon uprooting a two

millennial-old ghetto culture and thrusting it ill-prepared or unprepared into the barren, malarial land of Palestine.

When the first agricultural colonies were established in Palestine in the early 1880's (Petach Tikva, founded in 1878, failed) Jews had to revive a discipline they had not utilized in Europe since the Dark Ages — farming. One by one the little settlements began to crumble under the onslaughts of malaria and Bedouin raiders. They also failed for lack of funds and proper management. Then appeared from Paris an extraordinary patron.

He was Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934) of the French branch of the illustrious Rothschild family. Baron Edmond was concerned not with the mere survival of the little colonies but with their fullest possible development, economically, and spiritually. He set up for this purpose a somewhat authoritarian administrative apparatus staffed with people who were completely in accord with his views and methods. In his frequent visits to the colonies (most of which he did not found) he showed a particular interest in the progress of Hebrew which was undergoing a remarkable revival and secularization amongst the Jews. Rothschild faced enormous difficulties with the Turkish authorities who placed all kinds of restrictions upon his activities. And like Herzl he endured all kinds of ill-will, criticisms and obstructions from both Zionists and non-Zionists who disliked his approaches and purposes.

As will be mentioned further on, only the barest modicum of inter-organizational unity had been achieved by Palestinian Zionist groups in the 1890's. It took the conflagration of Kishinev in the Russian provinces (1903) and the awesome crisis and sufferings of the War of 1914 to crystallize the united Jewish front that was so lacking in the Herzlian years when the Russian delegates stood opposed to the German-dominated delegates in the great Zionist Congresses.

Had there been a sense of Biblical destiny and prophetic fulfilment amongst the majority of Zionist leaders, the forces that inspired and motivated both Hechler and Blackstone, the Zionist

unity might have been forged much sooner, a unity forged out of a higher love and enlightenment rather than one created out of calamities, exigencies and emergencies. Even the philosopher-theologian Martin Buber appeared ignorant of the Biblical sentiment and inspiration behind the Gentile support of the Zionists; but it was his fortune to be sought out in Berlin by a recently retired chaplain alarmed by the assassination of the Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo.

The man who sought out Buber had just come from witnessing the Second Balkan War. He proceeded to astonish the philosopher with strange talk about an imminent 'world war', a new term to humanity. The chaplain was William Henry Hechler whom Buber had met but once before — at a Zionist banquet in Vienna in 1905 honoring Hechler's contributions to the movement. Then in his 70th year, William Hechler impressed Buber to such an extent with his unified view of Israel's destiny, and conviction that the War would forever alter the course of Jewish history, that the philosopher immortalized him in his writings as the 'great visionary'.

Prior to the discoveries some twenty years ago of a voluminous correspondence among the German princes and officialdom inspired by Hechler, Zionist historians and writers entertained various theories about what caused Hechler to attach himself so devotedly to Herzl. Some believed that Hechler still coveted the post of Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, an appointment he thought he might win if he helped to engineer a German sponsorship of a Zionist colonial concession in Palestine. Another theory prevalent prior to the discovery of the Karlsruhe archives was that Hechler was some kind of priestly adventurer, a quaint, fanatical philosemite tinged with prophetic pretensions — the very kind of person who would feel important by trying to influence a people's destiny, one revelling in the company of the famous and powerful.<sup>12</sup>

However, it remains a dependable truism that strong character is invariably attracted to its like. Hechler's closest friend on the continent was the Grand Duke of Baden, surely one of the best

men of the nineteenth century, a statesman of the highest order, and a person who could weep unashamedly when referring to his lost son, Ludwig, whom Hechler had tutored in 1874–75.<sup>13</sup> Hechler was not a mystic in the classical sense. He had utterly no pretensions to ‘clairvoyance’. By nature he was modest and shy, but under the goad of his convictions he could be extremely bold in the presence of kings and princes. Hechler was not a mystic because mysticism by definition smacks of superstition and fate. As the very antithesis of faith and hope, mysticism is the opiate and destroyer of true spirituality. Hechler knew what he believed because it was clearly set forth by the Old Testament prophets. He did not attribute too much importance to his calculations on prophetic numbers, believing them to be only phases or stages in the Return of Israel — mere signs of the times.<sup>14</sup>

As for the post of Bishop of Jerusalem, a post which Hechler had indeed been considered for in the 1880’s, the chaplain denied categorically having any interest in the office to Herzl when the latter in an emotional display of enthusiasm insisted in Jerusalem that he wished to see his ‘good Hechler’ in the very office.<sup>15</sup>

According to Franz Kobler, author of the meticulously compiled *The Vision was There: A History of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine* (1956): “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 . . . 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’.”<sup>16</sup>

Thus the mainspring of Hechler’s devotion to Herzl and the Zionists was a genuine love for the Jewish people based upon the Scriptures which he was convinced were an unfailingly reliable guide for their history and ultimate destiny with God.<sup>17</sup> Prior to finding the culmination of his life’s work with Herzl, Hechler had served in more than half a dozen parishes in Africa, England, Ireland and the European continent before he settled down in

Vienna for a quarter of a century as chaplain to the British Embassy.

### *Hechler and Pinsker*

Like Pinsker, Hechler found his Zionist sentiments crystallized by dark events in Russia. When the pogroms, triggered in part by Czar Alexander II's assassination (1881) came, Hechler was serving as a curate in the large parish of St. Marylebone, London. His reaction to the news from Russia was to infiltrate the London Bible Society. In 1882 he managed to convince its planning committee that they should allocate funds to support the Palestinian settlement of Jewish refugees from Russia.<sup>18</sup>

1882 was a momentous year for the expanding British Empire. England had just occupied Egypt, assuring the world that the occupation was *only* temporary, thus severing another province from the waning Ottoman Empire, known in every European chancery as 'The Sick Man of Europe'. The Crimean War had proven that England was willing, if necessary, to go to war to protect Christian interests in Palestine, while the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and the occupation of Egypt paved the way for England's opening up a sympathetic eye to Jewish settlement in Palestine, a settlement that would probably be friendly to British interests.

Accordingly, when the influential Lords Tempel and Shaftesbury, both philosemites involved in the affairs of the London Bible Society, were informed of the Hechler scheme, they decided to send Hechler and Sir Laurence Oliphant (the latter an advocate of Jewish settlement in Gilead and a member of Parliament) to the very heart of the Russian trouble spot — Odessa. The committee's ultimate purpose was to deliver to the Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople a letter from Queen Victoria, countersigned by Lord Rosebery (Minister for Foreign Affairs, a future Prime Minister), asking the Turks to grant Jewish refugees from Russia asylum in Palestine. Unexpectedly, the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte blocked transmission of the letter. The best that

Oliphant could do was to entertain a Jewish delegation at Constantinople and send them back to Odessa, empty-handed.

However, at Odessa Hechler met Dr. Pinsker the author of *Autoemanzipation*. At once the English parson sat down to read the booklet, studiously annotating its pages with red ink. When he had finished he expressed dismay to the doctor that his book had in effect disavowed Palestine as Zionism's primary objective. Then Hechler expounded to the 'lover of Zion' member his own convictions concerning the Biblical prophecies that spoke of a final return of the Jews to the Promised Land.

Pinsker must have been moved by the man who was later to impress such notables as Theodor Herzl and Martin Buber. Soon after his encounter with Hechler he wrote a series of articles supporting the idea of a Jewish return to Palestine.<sup>19</sup> In his address celebrating the 100th birthday of the venerable Moses Montefiore (1884) Lev Pinsker evinced a zeal for Palestine that he was to sustain until the time of his death in 1891.<sup>20</sup>

With respect to the Biblical numbers Hechler firmly believed that they constituted waymarks of progress in the gradual restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Guinness tended to view them as recessional points in the decline of the Ottoman Empire to which Palestine belonged. Hechler saw them as benchmarks of relative importance in Israel's redemption; he was careful not to ascribe too much importance to his 1897-98 calculation and thereby has found himself vindicated by history. Nonetheless he became convinced that help for suffering Jewry was on the way and in his heart he was also convinced that he might just play a small role in alleviating that suffering. His advent in 1885 to Vienna, the city of Herzl, in this light appears providential.

The same year that he published his book *Restoration* (1884), Hechler's name was put forward by the Grand Duke of Baden (whose children he was then tutoring) to fill the vacant post of Bishop of Jerusalem for the joint Anglo-German protestant bishopric created in 1840. The arbitrator, Emperor William of Prussia, decided that a Jew must have the honor, a tradition begun

by the post's first incumbant Michael Solomon Alexander in 1841 but not followed after. Hechler was not chosen and in the following year, 1885, he arrived in Vienna by way of a brief tour of duty in Stockholm to assume duties as chaplain to the British Embassy. It was a post well suited to his Biblical research activity for it made few demands upon his time. He happily retained it until his mandatory retirement came in 1910 at the age of 65.

### *Enter Blackstone*

At the time when Hechler at last settled into his Vienna chaplaincy, over in America a man whose life and thought exhibited some uncanny parallels to his own was well launched on a second career, that of an unordained 'evangelical missionary'. William Eugene Blackstone, born in rural Adams of upper New York State, had enjoyed in the East some success as a farm insurance salesman when the Civil War broke out between the States. Rejected by the Union Army as too frail for active service he responded by joining the Christian Commission in Philadelphia, a kind of early day USO, eventually being placed in charge of the station at General Grant's headquarters in Philadelphia. In 1866, the year he married, Blackstone embarked upon an intensive four-year study of the Scriptures. With several of his relatives already settled in the Midwest, in 1870 he moved to northern Illinois, first Rockford then Oak Park, where he made large sums of money in the Chicago real estate boom. Soon Blackstone found himself involved with railroad magnates who recognised his investment skills and urged him to abandon real estate. He hesitated and while he was debating the new opportunity one day — in his own words — he took spiritual inventory with himself and "covenanted with the Lord to give up business to try to preach the Gospel." Gradually, he began to reduce his business commitments; by 1891 he had retired from them entirely.

When Blackstone decided to serve the Gospel as a 'missionary evangelist' he was already 37. The year (1878) was that of the Berlin Conference which settled the Russo-Turkish War (1877) and permanently altered the boundaries of eastern Europe and the

Balkans. Such events Blackstone could scarcely then have known would influence the course of his life of sharing and sometimes even spearheading the Jews' struggle to gain a sovereign foothold in Palestine which was part of the waning Turkish Empire. One of Blackstone's first acts after his dedication was to expand two pamphlets that he had written on the Second Coming into a short book. Later twice revised and expanded, *Jesus is Coming* enjoyed immense popular success. Eventually it was to pass into some forty languages, including Yiddish, Hebrew, Chinese, Armenian and Hindi. Having sold over a million copies it is still in print by the original publishers and remains after nearly a century perhaps the most lucid and succinct presentation of the pre-Millennialist view of the Second Coming in the context of the Jewish Dispensation under one cover.

In England The Berlin Conference (1878) signalled the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire and precipitated a flurry of comment and action by Christians who envisioned a Palestine for the Jews carved from the living carcass of 'The Sick Man of Europe'. And so that year Edward Cazalet, an industrialist and Member of Parliament, delivered an address in London advocating a British Protectorate over Syria which would afford protection to British interests in Suez and the Middle East and "offer to the Jewish nation the opportunity of a safe return . . ." During the General Election Campaign (1879) "Cazalet stipulated the Restoration of the Jews as one of Britain's great historic tasks . . . He advocated the establishment of a college in the Holy Land which would serve as a centre of Jewish philosophy and science." Also it is believed that Sir Laurence Oliphant's earliest expressed sentiments on a Palestine for the Jews were recorded in a letter he wrote on December 10, 1878, which assessed the prophetic interest of the British people and other Christian nations as a distinct asset for implementing a commercial development of the "northern and more fertile half of Palestine" by Jewish enterprise.<sup>21</sup>

In 1881 the Russian pogroms burst upon the world shocking all men of good will. The energetic Chicago businessman longed to do something to help the Jewish victims and a chance encounter



(1880) with one of Henry Morton Stanley's captivating books on 'Darkest Africa' afforded him an opportunity to perfect speaking and presentation techniques that would a decade later make him a persuasive advocate of Zionism. Burdened for the Black African soul, Blackstone stumped up and down the land by train, with only a Bible and a carefully constructed display map. Before long he had raised enough money to finance the construction of a steamer, built in sections, which was dispatched to the Congo River and Stanley Pool. Within a few years the Map and Gospel lectures became a Blackstone trademark and he had lost the shyness that once caused him panic when he faced an audience.<sup>22</sup> Before the century was out he had also placed three sailing yachts for missionary work on the Yangtze River of China and constructed schools and deaconess homes in India, China and Korea.

Blackstone was an inveterate attender of missionary conferences, his specialty being worldwide missions, their problems, progress and financial condition. August of 1886 found him lecturing on the subject of remote Tibet at the first Old Orchard (Maine) Bible Conference. Hearing W.E.B. speak at this conference, A. B. Simpson was inspired to organize the Christian Alliance, later named the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Among its many achievements it sent the first Christian missionaries to Tibet. November of 1886 found W.E.B. back in Chicago reporting on world missions at the International Prophetic Conference to which Bible scholars Andrew Bonar and Franz Delitzsch sent messages.

In the fall of 1887, Rev. Jacob Freshman of the Hebrew Christian Mission of New York came to Chicago and was instrumental in persuading a local committee of Christian friends of Israel to start an independent, permanent work in Chicago. William Blackstone was elected to direct the faith work and in 1888 the Chicago Hebrew Mission — the present American Messianic Fellowship — opened its doors. In October the editor of the *Jewish Courier* launched a scathing attack on the Mission, closing his diatribe with "These people who 'peddle' religion about should be given no opportunity to justify their miserable existence . . . Let our enemies gain all they can for Christianity,

but let it be from another quarter.”<sup>23</sup>

This adverse Jewish reaction was perhaps the first but certainly not the last that William Blackstone was to receive from those who confused in their minds *historic Christendom* with evangelical, Biblical Christianity. He resolved then and there to show world Jewry what an enlightened love could do for them. But first he wanted to see the condition of the Jew in the Holy Land, a condition that he knew to be one of poverty and deprivation under the heel of a corrupt and disinterested Turkish rule.

In May, 1888, he sailed for Europe, taking with him his only daughter, Flora, a devout girl who had accepted the Lord at age 11, as her father had done before her. Their first stop was a month in London where they were house guests of Dr. and Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness, directors of the international missionary work at Harley House. In the third edition of *Jesus is Coming* (1908) Blackstone would reflect the influence that Guinness's books had upon him. He wrote: “It is significant that the first Zionist Congress assembled just 1,260 years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans in A.D. 637. (Dan. 12: 7)”.

However, it is very likely that Blackstone was already familiar with Guinness's widely published calculations before he visited the latter in 1888. Perhaps his omission of the reference to ‘1260’ in his 1892 revision of *Jesus is Coming* only reflects the circum-spection that a highly successful business career of investments had taught him. He waited until after the event had come.

During their year long tour of Europe and the Middle East Blackstone and his daughter visited Palestine. At the sight of impoverished Jews standing before the Wailing Wall (inserting prayers written on scraps of paper between the ancient stones) his heart was troubled. Moreover, he was shocked by the poverty of both Jew and Arab; at the predominant emptiness of the land. Returning home a firm convert to Zionism, he wrote a short time later that he was moved by the “astonishing anomaly — a land without a people and a people without a land.”<sup>24</sup>

When Blackstone returned to Oak Park he was just 48 ; his life was actually only half over, his greatest accomplishments just ahead of him. Like Hechler returning from his mission of inquiry to Russia seven years before, Blackstone dedicated himself — and spent the next thirty years — laboring to win influential support for a national Jewish home in Palestine — wherever he was expounding upon the Gospel, his pre-millenarian views and the Jewish Dispensation,<sup>25</sup> according to prophecy, in the land of Palestine. Again and again his travels would take him the length and breadth of the United States and eastern Canada. The years 1909 through 1913 he spent as a missionary in China during the course of which he visited India, Manchuria and even found a reception for his writings among the Orthodox Jewish community at Baghdad.

Keenly interested in the progress of Jewish settlements in Palestine, a work that began with the agricultural community of Petach Tikva (‘ Door of Hope ’) in 1878, Blackstone published all the statistics that he could find on Jewish progress in Palestine, particularly those released each year by the New York chapter of the ‘ Lovers of Zion ’. In the first revision of *Jesus is Coming* (1892), he proudly reported:

At the present time . . . the city of Jerusalem has spread over a large extent of ground outside its walls . . . The number of Jews now residing in the inner and outer city is estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000, being more than half the entire population.<sup>26</sup>

The proportion of Jews in Jerusalem’s population continued to rise until by the eve of World War 1 it was estimated to be three quarters of the city’s total population.

#### *A Petitioner of Presidents*

After much prayerful deliberation, in late November, 1890, W.E.B. convened in Chicago a unique two-day conference of Christian and Jewish leaders. Entitled *Conference on the Past, Present and Future of Israel*, it was held at the Methodist Episcopal

Church in the Loop. Its program stated, "The object of this conference is to give information and promote a spirit of inquiry . . . on the basis of mutual kindness between Jew and gentile." However, a few of the rabbinical invitees, assuming that proselytizing motives were behind the conference, politely refused to attend. One who did attend was the 'redoubtable Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago's leading Reform rabbi. Hirsch surprised the convocation by standing up and disavowing Jewish interest in a mass return to Palestine. Nonetheless the conference ended with the passage of the following resolution:

The President of the U.S. is to be petitioned to confer with the Queen of England, the Emperor of Germany, the Sultan of Turkey, the President of the French Republic, and many other rulers of Europe, on the propriety of calling an International Conference to consider the condition of the Jews in modern nations and the possibility of opening a way for their *restoration to Palestine*.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to this resolutions of sympathy for the oppressed Jews of Russia were forwarded to the Czar, Blackstone began to sound out at once leaders from all walks of life on the feasibility of a Memorial to the Jews and to secure the signatures of as many as he could. In late February, 1891, he wrote to the US Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, giving him a preview of his proposals.<sup>28</sup> Blaine was a well known advocate of the peaceful arbitration of international disputes who after years of effort had succeeded in convening at Washington (October 2, 1889 – April 19, 1890) the first Pan American Conference. Out of this effort grew the Pan American Union, the world's second oldest international assistance organization.<sup>29</sup>

With apparent enthusiasm, Secretary Blaine responded to Blackstone's letter. On March 5, 1891, Blaine introduced Blackstone to President Benjamin Harrison to whom the Chicago businessman presented the so-called 'Blackstone Memorial', *Palestine for the Jews*, which he hastened to assure the President he had not drafted to antagonize Russia but only for the purpose of seeking peaceful means "to give Jews control of their old home

in Palestine . . . ”<sup>30</sup> In fact, in February W.E.B. had tested opinion in Boston, New York and Philadelphia and — notwithstanding a notable run-in with Boston’s Reform Rabbi Dr. Schindler<sup>31</sup> — he deemed the overall reception warm enough to warrant his coming on to Washington.

The Memorial, with only one substantive change (an addendum to an historical reference to Jewish agriculturalists) was a marvel of circumspection, brevity and logical appeal. It began simply:

What shall be done for the Russian Jews? It is both unwise and useless to undertake to dictate to Russia concerning her internal affairs . . . why not give Palestine back to them (the Jews) again?

In the Memorial’s third paragraph, W.E.B. cited the precedent afforded by the Berlin Congress (1878) which had in part dismembered the Ottoman Empire by restoring Bulgaria to Bulgarians and Serbia to Serbians. So “why not Palestine to the Jews?” he asked. And on the basis of international legal precedent he wrote shortly after the Jews were entitled to Palestine because they had been expelled from it some 24 centuries before against their will. It was and always would be to them their historic homeland: *next year in Jerusalem* being the prayer on their lips in every century of the Diaspora. Because they had never voluntarily left *Eretz Yisrael* the Jews, Blackstone argued, were still in possession of the land *de jure* even though not in possession *de facto*. To this the direct descendant of the great British legalist added the potent prophetic dimension of the Final Return of the Jews to Israel, an exegesis that at once struck a harmonious chord in thousands of Orthodox Jewish and Christian souls, but one which was greeted by and large by Reform Jewry and agnostic Zionists with attitudes that ranged from surprise or bemusement to anger and, with a few, even outrage.

The Memorial inspired by Blackstone triggered widespread comment in the secular and religious press of Christian and Jew.<sup>32</sup> The *New York Times* endorsed (March 6, 1891) the Memorial, but its rival *The Sun* appeared (March 7) with a long editorial

questioning the Memorial. Eighteen months later (September 27, 1892) *The Sun* in effect reversed its position. Most of all, perhaps, the American press had been impressed by the Memorial's list of distinguished signatories. They included Congressmen, judges, governors, mayors, publishers, industrialists, financiers and several notable churchmen and rabbis. Among the most prominent signers were Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed, US Representative William McKinley, a future President. Congressional leaders included Robert R. Hitt the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Prominent businessmen included J. Pierpont Morgan and Cyrus H. McCormick; churchmen included John Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore and the famous evangelist Dwight L. Moody.

Rabbis who signed the Memorial included Isaac Moses, Raphael Lasker, Joseph Stolz and A. J. G. Lesser, as well as Aron Messing and A. R. Levy. Two distinguished retired Chicago rabbis who signed were Liebman Adler and Bernard Felsenthal.<sup>33</sup> The latter was one of the few prominent Reform Rabbis who chose to support the Zionist's cause in Palestine. In 1893, at the Columbia Expositions' culminating World Parliament of Religions, it was Bernard Felsenthal who delivered a moving address on the history of *The Sabbath in Judaism*.<sup>34</sup>

### *Blackstone's Debt to Rabbis*

The rediscovery of Blackstone's personal papers in March, 1973, reveals that Felsenthal wrote Blackstone introductory letters to more than a dozen prominent Reform rabbis in New York and Philadelphia. On the same day (January 28, 1891) he wrote a round robbin letter endorsing W.E.B. to the heads of several Jewish publications in those cities. The introductions proved to be of immense help. One of the New York Rabbis introduced him by Felsenthal, F. de Sola Mendes (Rabbi, Congregation Shaarag Tefila and Secretary of the Jewish Ministers' Association of America), later signed the Memorial and wrote to a friend, Jesse Seligman, urging him to support Blackstone, closing his plea with "I will waste no words in commending to your foresight the advantages

inuring from such a settlement to the Russian Jews themselves, and to European and American countries alike.”<sup>35</sup>

However, Blackstone was soon to discover that he was to face in the next several years some strong opposition by Reform rabbis and certain Jewish leaders who resented his missionary work amongst the Jews and who thought his Memorial efforts jeopardized the loyal, assimilated Jews of America. A major conviction prevalent among the Reform Jews was that their people had been scattered in order to achieve a new, higher purpose of God — to show their ‘light’ to the Gentiles. Rabbi Hirsch, the dissident voice of the 1890 Hebrew-Christian conference, wrote angry words against the 1891 Memorial calling it “ill-digested sentimentality” and “visionary”.<sup>36</sup>

A visionary Blackstone was indeed. But the position of the opposing Reform Rabbis was not always consistent with what they acknowledged in the Old Testament. In July (1891) Rabbi Hirsch even preached a sermon at the Kehillat Anshe Maarab in Chicago on the text of Isaiah 1: 3 (“On account of our sins were we excluded from the Land”), admitting that “to a certain extent it is true that old Israel ceased to be a nation on account of its sins.”<sup>37</sup> Reform rabbi opposition was ultimately responsible for the failure of Blackstone to bring off a second, follow-up conference of Christians and Jews in December, 1892, even though Reform Rabbi A. J. G. Lesser of Chicago, a Memorial signer, wrote for the aborted conference a paper entitled “The Future of Israel”;<sup>38</sup> and Adam Rosenberg, Secretary of the New York chapter of the “Lovers of Zion”, and an agent of Baron Edmund de Rothschild, wrote Blackstone that he would gladly make a speech at the gathering.<sup>39</sup>

History shows that the timing of Blackstone’s Memorial was inspired.<sup>40</sup> While he had no control, obviously, over the date of its formal presentation in the Executive Office of the White House (March 5, 1891), some three weeks after his meeting with President Harrison and Secretary Blaine Czarist Russia chose *Passover Eve* (March 28) to issue a law abolishing the right of Jewish craftsmen to reside in Moscow. Over the next several months some 30,000

Jews were expelled by Moscow's Governor, Prince Sergei Alexandrovich, brother of the Czar. The sudden expulsion precipitated a new panic among Russian Jews and accelerated their exodus to Poland, Palestine and the United States.<sup>41</sup>

Felsenthal was not the only Blackstone Memorial supporter to react against its sponsor's Christian sentiments and convictions. Wolf Schur, editor of *Hapisga*, then the nation's only Hebrew periodical, wrote in praise of the Memorial but refused to circulate among Jews a special prayer that Blackstone prepared asking for God's blessing upon it. Alluding to the prayer petition in an editorial, Schur wrote: "As far as we are concerned, our interest in redeeming Palestine is motivated by nationalistic rather than by religious considerations. Those who advocate the colonization in Palestine belong to various groups. They include free thinkers for whom action rather than prayer is of utmost importance."<sup>42</sup>

What editor Schur wrote was true enough and could also have been said of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 many of whose builders were *holocaust* embittered kibbutzniks and refugees who took the proud stand "we built this land — not God." In fact, Theodor Herzl himself was a prince among the Jewish free thinkers to whom action under the goad of the French and Russian anti-semitism of the 1890's appeared infinitely more appropriate than did prayer. And so when asked by faithful advocate and confidant William Henry Hechler if he cared to visit a church to pray for God's blessing upon the Zionist cause Herzl admits in his diary that he posed a digression on the beauty of the scene before them as his answer.

Neither Blackstone nor Hechler were long dismayed by the many rebuffs they received. They each felt sure in their faith that there was a higher power at work now guiding the destiny of the Jews toward the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies. The two advocates of Zionism were content to wait, watch and work as the situation demanded. They also prayed. In June, 1900, the chaplain Hechler reported to Herzl that he had accompanied London's Bishop Bramley Moore into the latter's church to pray



with him for the success of the Zionist Movement. The act prompted Herzl to express in his diary his appreciation for 'simple Christian hearts'.<sup>43</sup>

To return to the subject of the 1891 Memorial, it fell considerably short of its main goal which was to inspire the US to attempt to crystallize great power support for a national Jewish home in Palestine. However, in his third annual Message to the Congress (December 9, 1891), President Benjamin Harrison saw fit to include mention of "serious concern" over the plight of the Russian Jews "because of the cruel measures now being forced upon them . . . neither good for them nor for us."<sup>44</sup>

This statement would probably not have come about except for the great publicity generated by the Blackstone Memorial and the sentiment that it brought forth for Jewish conditions in eastern Europe. Harrison's protest clearly recognized America's concern for Jewish public opinion at home and abroad. It established a precedent, one referred to thenceforth several times by Blackstone who wrote of the benign attitude of the State Department toward the Jews after 1891.

If Blackstone had expected too much of President Harrison, of President Cleveland he had learned to expect nothing at all. Similarly his efforts to inspire prominent Britons to sound out their government on taking up a cause based on the Memorial's principles and suggestions evoked responses that *the time was not yet*. In late March, 1891, W.E.B. had written the first of several letters to Sir Arthur Blackwood of the British postal system who shied away from his suggestions, eventually referring him to Dr. Grattan Guinness, the Biblical exegetist whom Blackstone already knew.<sup>45</sup>

While the time was not ripe in England, there was widespread public and private sentiment expressed for a Jewish home in Palestine. The year Blackstone wrote to Blackwood the well known Colonel Conder, the Palestinian surveyor and writer, declared that "experience had already demonstrated the Jews aptitude for

agricultural colonization.”<sup>46</sup>

The hiatus is perhaps best summed up by Franz Kobler who has written:

... 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*.

Significantly, Kobler then adds:

The Jewish point of view was at last understood . . . Six years before the First Zionist Congress . . . 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 (President) Harrison . . . only an effort by the Jewish people itself could effectively set the forces poised in action towards realization.<sup>47</sup>

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. This had a subtitle: *Call to His Fellow Jews by a Russian Jew*.
2. In 1890 he did succeed in securing Russian govt. approval of the legality of his Society of Jewish Farmers in Palestine and Syria. The year he died, a Chicago lay missionary gained widespread publicity for a petition circulated on behalf of the Jews and calling for Russian and European support for a great power sponsorship of a Jewish home in Palestine. His name was William Eugene Blackstone.
3. According to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, at one of the Zionist congresses Herzl had “frankly confessed that he did not know what was even meant by the term ‘Jewish culture’” (Wiesgal, edit. *Theodor Herzl A Memorial*, N.Y., 1929, p. 255).
4. Wiesgal, *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, 1929, p. 137–138.

5. Kobler has pointed out that "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 realize that not merely the chaplain of the British Embassy but the spokesman of a widely and long since recognized doctrine had come to him" (*The Vision was There, etc.*, London, 1956).
6. A truly historical document because of the forces that it set in motion, the letter, written in English in Hechler's hand, is a masterpiece of logic, persuasion and humility. It begins by recalling to the Duke of The interest that he expressed many years before when Hechler expounded on Jewish prophecies to him in an audience that included Prince Hohenlohe and the future Kaiser Wilhelm. Hechler then goes on to tell the Duke of his sudden encounter with Herzl's book and the conversation with its author. Appealing both to history and Scripture, Hechler then asserts: "With many students of prophecy *who can never be antisemites*, I have for years believed that the so-called antisemitic movement is the 'woe of Judah', also foretold by the Prophets of old, which is making the Jews see that they are Jews first, and secondly Germans, English, etc., and this is now creating a longing in their hearts to return as a nation to the Land of Promise, given by God to Abraham and his children." Hechler then apologises for what he allows to be a most unusual and dramatic claim, confessing that he pretends not to be a prophet or even the son of a prophet. He pointedly denies omniscience asserting that the prophetic-time calculation which he sets forth in the letter (that of Herzl's diary above) is not to be construed as any final fulfilment of Israel's destiny but merely as a way mark or stage in their progress. He closes by begging the Duke's indulgence in his request for a personal visit that he might explain more fully the Zionist plans of Herzl. The request is granted. (Hermann Ellern, *Herzl, Hechler, the Grand Duke of Baden and the German Emperor 1896-1904*, Tel Aviv, 1961, p. 2).
7. That there are also more entries on the Grand Duke in Herzl's diaries than on any other personage is one indication of the importance that the Zionist leader attached to the German's good offices.
8. Ellern, *Herzl, Hechler, etc.*, p. 9.
9. This was the first Zionist delegation to be received by a European ruler.
10. *Herzl, Hechler, etc.*, pp. 79-80. Nicholas's letter is dated December 25th, an ironic day to choose for drafting a refusal of assistance to the people of the Christ child.
11. *Encyc. Judaica*, 1971, v. 15, p. 87.
12. On April 26, 1896, Herzl wrote in his diary of him: "... a peculiar and complex person . . . but he also gives me excellent advice full of unmistakably genuine good will. He is at once clever and mystical, cunning and naive. In his dealings with me so far, he has supported me almost miraculously." (vol. 1, p. 342 of the *Complete Diaries*).
13. Duvernoy, *Le Prince et le Prophete*, Tel Aviv, 1966, pp. 26-31. It was during this period that the Duke, aroused by Hechler's charts and maps, permitted him to lecture the royal family on the Jewish destiny in Palestine.
14. Like Blackstone, Hechler was acquainted with Dr. H. Grattan Guinness, the latter two being associated with the Church of England's *Church Mission to the Jew*. It is most likely that Hechler derived his 1897-98 "turning point" calculation from Guinness's widely sold study of 1878: *The Approaching End of the Age*. Guinness was then and probably remains today the foremost expositor of the cryptograms of the Old and New Testament.

15. *The Complete Diaries* . . . v. 2, p. 746.
16. London, Lincoln-Prager, 1956, p. 105.
17. In his *diary* (March 16, 1896) a puzzled Herzl wrote of Hechler: "a naive visionary with a collector's quirk's . . . He is an improbable figure when looked at through the quizzical eyes of a Viennese Jewish journalist." Then with masterful understatement he shortly added: "I think I detect from certain signs that he is a believer in the prophets." (*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, v. 1, N.Y., 1960, pp. 312-13).
18. On February 1st a public meeting was held at Mansion House, London, to "give expression to public opinion on the persecution to which the Jews of Russia have recently been subjected." It was sponsored by Charles Darwin and the aged Lord Shaftesbury. A relief fund was set up with Lawrence Oliphant as administrator (Kobler, Franz, *The Vision was There*, etc., London, 1956, pp. 100-101).
19. According to one compilation of Pinsker's writings, he was converted to Palestinian Zionism by Moses Lilienblum (1843-1910) though no supporting evidence is offered (*Road to Freedom, Writings and Addresses*, New York, Scopus, 1944).
20. In America, 1884 was, according to Feinstein, the beginning of organized "American activity on behalf of the colonization of Palestine" with the establishment in New York of the *Choveve Zion* ("Lovers of Zion") Society. (Feinstein, M. *American Zionism 1884-1904*, N.Y. Herzl Press, 1965, p. 11).
21. Franz Kobler, *The Vision was There* . . . London, 1956, p. 97.
22. Between the years 1880 and 1930 Blackstone raised or distributed more than six million dollars to foreign missions, an astonishing sum for those days. Part of it was achieved as trustee for the Milton Stewart Funds, founded by the President of the Union Oil Company, Milton Stewart.
23. *First Annual Report of the Hebrew Christian Mission*, Chicago, Nov., 1888, pp. 4-14.
24. I. L. Kenan, *Blackstone Forgotten American Zionist*, (Chicago, AMF Monthly, p. 9, June, 1966, reprinted from the Jerusalem Post).
25. In his day, Blackstone was unquestionably America's foremost and articulate defender of the pre-millennial view of the Apocalypse. The *Encyclopedia Judaica* indeed recognizes this, calling him "The most famous of the Zionist Millenarians" (v. 16, p. 1154).
26. *Jesus is Coming*, N.Y., 1892, p. 150.
27. Anita Lebeson, "Zionism Comes to Chicago" (*Early History of Zionism in the United States*, NY, 1958, p. 166).
28. Feinstein, *American Zionism 1884-1904*, p. 57.
29. Oppenheim, *International Law* (Vol. Peace, 3rd edit., 1920, p. 143.)
30. *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* (April 8, 1891).
31. Letter of W.E.B. to Sir Arthur Blackwood, Jan. 31, 1891. For a complete discussion of Schindler's public attack on the Memorial see M. Feinstein *American Zionism 1884-1904*, 1965, pp. 69-72.
32. A fairly exhaustive critique of the press reaction and journal commentary is found in a chapter Marnin Feinstein devotes to the Memorial in his *American Zionism 1884-1904* (1965).
33. Lebeson, "Zionism Comes to Chicago", p. 167. Altogether, 413 prominent Americans signed the Memorial.
34. Appendix to Meites *History of the Jews of Chicago* (Chicago, 1924).
35. Letter dated February 20, 1891.
36. In the fall of 1891, Felsenthal also turned against Blackstone denouncing him in a letter bitter with recriminations and regret that he had signed. Felsenthal avowed that he had not known when he signed that Blackstone was linked with the Chicago Hebrew Mission that

- proselytized among Jews.
37. Lebeson, "Zionism Comes to Chicago", etc. p. 168.
  38. Blackstone papers, Chicago.
  39. Rosenberg to Blackstone, dated November 28, 1892. Rosenberg confirmed his intention on December 19, 1892, but the conference was postponed several more months and then called off.
  40. On Oct. 24, 1894, Cleveland's Sec. of State W. Q. Gresham wrote a personal letter to Blackstone attaching what he described as a "copy of the President's message in answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of Aug. 20, 1890, concerning the proscriptive edicts against the Jews in Russia [H.R. Ex. Doc. No / 470, 51st Cong., 1st Sess.]."
  41. *Encyc. Judaica*, v. 12, 1971, p. 364.
  42. *Feinstein*, 1965, p. 62.
  43. *Complete Diaries*, 1960, 3, 1161.
  44. *Feinstein*, 1965, p. 78.
  45. W.E.B. was introduced to Blackwood by evangelist D. L. Moody.
  46. Conder, C. R., *Blackwoods Magazine* 1891, 149, 856.
  47. *Kobler*, pp. 107 - 108.