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Conversion and conflict in Palestine : the missions of the Church Missionary Society and the protestant bishop Samuel Gobat

Leest, C. van der

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Conversion and Conflict in Palestine

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Conversion and Conflict in Palestine

The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Protestant Bishop Samuel Gobat

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	Prof.dr. E.G.E. van der Wall
Referent:	Dr. I.M. Okkenhaug (Universiteit van Bergen, Noorwegen)
Overige leden:	Dr. J.W. Buisman
	Prof.dr. E.J. Zürcher

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Cover: Louis Haghe, 'Cana', a lithograph after a watercolour by David Roberts (Plate 33 from *The Holy Land*, vol. 1, 1842; part of the larger series *The Holy Land, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia (1842-1849)* © Trustees of the British Museum

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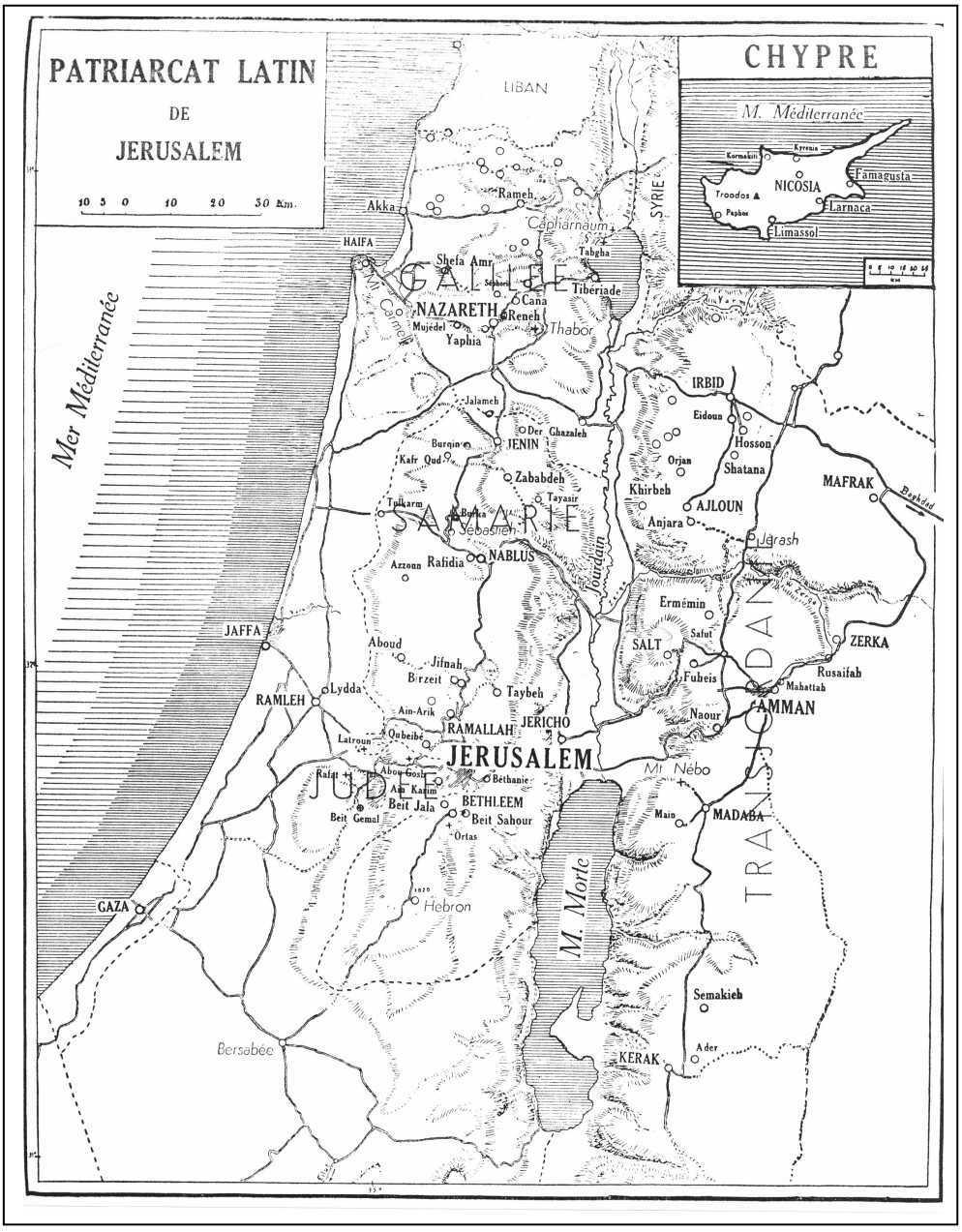
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Abbreviations

AP	Aberdeen Papers
BC	Bliss Correspondence
Birmingham/UL	University Library, Special Collections Department, Birmingham
BP	Blomfield Papers
CM O	Church Missionary Archives, Original Papers of the Mediterranean and Palestine Mission 1811-1934
CMJ	Church Ministry among the Jews
CMS	Church Missionary Society
FES	Female Education Society (or Society for Promoting Female Education in the East)
FP	Fraser Papers
JEMF	Papers of the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund
LJS	London Jews Society (or London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews)
London/BL	British Library, Manuscript Collections, London
London/LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, Archbishops of Canterbury Archives and Manuscripts, London
Oxford/BL	Bodleian Library, Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Oxford
Rome/AGOFM	*Archivum Generale Ordo Fratrum Minorum* (General archives of the Order Friars Minor), Rome
Rome/ASCPF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or *de Propaganda Fide*, Rome
RP	Rose Papers
SCTS	*Scritture nei Congressi Terra Sancta*
TP	Tait Papers
TS	Terra Sancta
WP	Wordsworth Papers



Map : 'Le Patriarcat Latin de Jérusalem', in P. Médebielle, *Le Diocese Patriarcal Latin de Jérusalem*, Jerusalem, 1963.

Introduction

On 30 December 1846 the French-speaking Swiss Samuel Gobat (1799-1879) arrived in Jerusalem. This was the start of almost thirty-five years in office as bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. Gobat's arrival was a turning point in the Protestant mission in Palestine. Five years earlier, in 1841, the Protestant bishopric had been established as a joint enterprise by Prussia and Britain. The guidelines for the future Protestant bishops had specified the missionary aim of the bishopric to be the mission among the Jews. During his short episcopate from 1841-1845 the first Protestant bishop, Michael Solomon Alexander, acted accordingly and directed his energies towards the Jews. He closely cooperated with the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, or the London Jews Society (hereafter LJS). Although several missionary institutions were established during Alexander's term of office, at the end of his episcopate the Protestant community was still very small. When Samuel Gobat succeeded Alexander in 1846 he decided to broaden the missionary scope, and he also directed his energies towards the evangelization of Christians from other churches. During the Gobat years the mission among Christians became the primary object of the bishopric.

In the late 1840s Samuel Gobat invited the Church Missionary Society (hereafter CMS) to help him with his work. It comes as no surprise that Gobat asked for CMS missionaries to be sent to Palestine. He himself had worked for the society for years in Malta and Ethiopia. Although the CMS mission was independent of Gobat, society and bishop closely cooperated throughout Gobat's episcopate. Gobat received financial support and manpower from the CMS, and he in turn was their guide in missionary efforts.[1] The first CMS missionaries arrived in Palestine in 1851. Gobat chaired the conferences of the CMS Local Committee in Palestine and of the CMS missionaries in Palestine, in which mission policies were decided and local missionary matters were discussed. Gobat and the CMS were on the same wavelength in their missionary activities and objective: the CMS missionaries also directed their energies towards Christians from other churches. For this reason, Gobat handed over many schools and mission stations to the CMS at the end of his episcopate. In his annual report for 1877

[1] With the CMS on his side "Gobat secured a powerful ally, and they a staunch supporter". A.L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1901. A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*, Oxford, 1961, 107.

he explains that in doing so he wanted to ensure that the missionary work would be continued on the same foundation after his death.[2]

The letters and reports written by Gobat and the CMS missionaries to the home front demonstrate that they acted in a common spirit. Their writings contain many manifestations of their Evangelical principles regarding their work in the mission field. Both Gobat and the CMS missionaries had a shared background in the intercontinental Evangelical movement. Evangelicalism strongly influenced their missionary work, expectations, efforts, and the way they perceived the other churches.

The correspondence by Gobat and the CMS missionaries also reflects a strong rivalry with other Christian denominations. The missionaries' accounts are interspersed with criticism of the doctrines and rituals of the other churches in Palestine. This constant censuring of the other churches and the efforts to make converts among their members resulted in conflicts ranging from small wrangles to terrible riots. Gobat and the CMS missionaries experienced hostility from especially the Roman Catholics, whom they believed more fiercely opposed to their work than the Greek Orthodox Christians in Palestine.[3] The missionaries' attachment to the intercontinental Evangelical movement, their Evangelical principles, and the rivalry they felt were inextricably bound up with each other.

Research questions

This book concentrates on both the influence of the Evangelical principles on the missionary efforts of Gobat and the CMS missionaries, and the competition they experienced with the other churches. The following questions will be addressed: What was the influence of the Evangelical views of Gobat and the CMS missionaries on their missionary efforts? What were their expectations regarding their mission? Did they have to adjust their expectations to the reality of the mission field? How did their Evangelical principles influence their attitude towards the other denominations in Palestine? What was the relationship between their Evangelicalism and their criticism of the other

[2] Gobat, Annual Report, Jerusalem, November 1877, in S. Gobat, *Samuel Gobat Evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem. Sein Leben und Wirken meist nach seinen eigenen Aufzeichnungen* (hereafter *Leben und Wirken*), Basel, 1884, 526.

[3] See for instance Gobat to Adolf Sarasin-Forcart, Jerusalem, June 1865, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 452; Frederick Klein to the CMS, Annual Report 1857-1858, Jerusalem, 23 February 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/283.

churches? What were the defining elements in the rivalry the CMS missionaries experienced from the other churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church? What was the Roman Catholics' perception of the Protestant presence and the Protestant missionary activities?

The context in which these questions will be examined is first and foremost the European background of Gobat and the CMS missionaries, their shared background in the intercontinental Evangelical movement, and the tensions between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Europe. From this international inner-Christian perspective the missionaries' interaction with Ottoman society, the influence on the missions of the significant social-political changes of the period, and a more in-depth study of the reaction of the local population on the mission work are secondary issues that cannot be satisfactorily discussed on the basis of the sources studied.

The establishment of the Protestant bishopric serves as a kind of footboard into the examination of the research questions. The founding of this see brought the rivalry with the other churches to the surface, as it evoked reactions from the other denominations present in Palestine. Alexander's appointment prompted Russia to send an Archimendrate to Palestine in order to investigate the possibilities to support the Greek Orthodox Church in Palestine.[4] The establishment of the Protestant bishopric and especially Gobat's appointment contributed to the restoration of the Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem, which had been absent since the end of the Crusades.

Outline

Chapter one provides the historical background to this book. The increasing political interest of the European powers in Palestine is discussed, as well as the renewed religious interest in Palestine as the Holy Land in the early nineteenth century. The chapter also covers the position of Christians in the Ottoman Empire, the European Protectorate of various Christian denominations, the influence of the reforms during the Egyptian occupation of Palestine and the Ottoman reforms on the position of Christians in nineteenth-century Palestine, and the establishment of European consulates in Jerusalem from 1838 onwards. Finally, this chapter highlights Evangelical Protestant

[4] D. Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914. Church and Politics in the Near East*, Oxford, 1969, 33-34.

interest in the Holy Land, the early Protestant missionary endeavours, and the establishment of a Protestant mission station in Jerusalem in the early 1830s.

The establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem by Britain and Prussia is the main theme of Chapter two. As mentioned earlier, the bishopric forms the entry into the main theme of this book: the influence of the Evangelical principles on the missionary efforts on the part of Gobat and the CMS missionaries, and the rivalry with the other churches. The reasons behind the bishopric's establishment are examined, as well as the attitude towards the other churches reflected in the guidelines for the future bishops. This chapter also covers the agreements between Britain and Prussia, and the reactions of the public in both countries to the project. There were various reasons behind the bishopric plan, ranging from the wish for Protestant ecumenical unity and the desire to improve the position of Protestants in the Holy Land, to the millenarian hope for the restoration of the Jews, as well as political and commercial reasons. As to the attitude of the founders of the bishopric towards the other denominations in Palestine, I hope to demonstrate that anti-Roman Catholic sentiments were already present at the time of the foundation of the see.

Chapter three is about the short episcopate of the first Protestant bishop, Michael Solomon Alexander, and his cooperation with the LJS; it is the prelude to Samuel Gobat's episcopate. How did the Protestant mission develop during Alexander's term of office? What were the relations with the other churches and religious communities? What was the position of the Protestant mission in Jerusalem when Gobat arrived in 1846? This chapter also discusses some conflicts between Alexander and Prussia, in order to shed light on the choice for Gobat when it was Prussia's turn to nominate the new Protestant bishop.

Whereas Alexander only directed his energies towards the mission among the Jews, Gobat made the mission among Christians the bishopric's main object. Chapter four focuses on the staunchly Evangelical Gobat and this change of missionary policy, concentrating on the latter aspect. What were Gobat's ideas on mission? How did the other churches react to his evangelizing activities among their church members? The chapter also discusses Gobat's cooperation with the CMS and his involvement in the foundation of several Prussian institutes, which all shared Gobat's missionary aim. The severe criticism of Gobat's missionary activities among the Greek Orthodox expressed by the Tractarians in Britain is also discussed.

Gobat's change of missionary direction also led to strained relations with the Roman Catholic Church. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics directed their energies towards the Greek Orthodox. In addition, Gobat and the CMS missionaries tried to make converts among Roman Catholic church members. Chapter five is dedicated to the Roman Catholic presence during the Gobat years. What was the influence of the Protestant bishopric, its establishment and its mission on the Roman Catholic presence and mission in Palestine? I hope to show that the establishment of the Protestant bishopric and Gobat's nomination contributed to the restoration of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem. It also appears that the Protestant mission sometimes contributed to Roman Catholic missionary initiatives. Chapter five also discusses the relations between Gobat and the first Latin patriarch of the restored patriarchate, Joseph Valerga.

Chapters six to eight are mainly based on primary sources that offer new insights into the way in which Gobat and the CMS missionaries tried to disseminate their Evangelical views, and how they saw their missionary efforts and the rivalry with the other churches. These chapters provide a picture of the daily life of the CMS missionaries in Palestine. On the basis of the accounts Gobat and the CMS missionaries sent to the home front, Chapter six concentrates on their expectations regarding making converts, or, in their words, creating 'true Christians'. Were their expectations realistic or did they have to adjust them to the reality of the mission field? What did they mean by 'true Christianity'? To find an answer to these questions, conversion experiences described by Gobat and the CMS missionaries are compared with typically Evangelical conversion stories. I argue that although the missionaries considered the concept of 'true Christianity' very important, the reality of the mission field made them adjust their expectations about conversion. This chapter also deals with the close connection between the concept of 'true Christianity' and the criticism on the part of Gobat and the CMS missionaries of the material support the other denominations offered to their church members. Furthermore, the importance of the Evangelical principles for the Protestant's methods of mission becomes clear.

The subject of Chapter seven is the education offered in the Protestant mission schools. Against the background of three characteristics of Evangelicalism, i.e., biblicism, conversionism and crucicentrism,[5] the programme of the primary schools run

[5] These characteristics are formulated by D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, New York, 1989, 2-17. Bebbington also adds a fourth: activism.

by Gobat and the CMS will be examined. In what way are these Evangelical characteristics reflected in educational principles? Besides the importance of the Bible in their education, this chapter also shows the great extent to which schooling was bound up with criticism of the doctrines and rituals of the other churches. From the accounts by Gobat and the CMS missionaries we also learn that the presence of Protestant schools was a source of rivalry with the other churches.

Finally, Chapter eight focuses on the clashes between Gobat and the CMS missionaries on the one hand, and the Roman Catholics on the other. What were the characteristic elements of the Protestant anti-Roman Catholic polemics? In order to understand and evaluate the Protestant anti-Catholic polemics and to get a better insight into the way the competition took shape, the characteristics of the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics will also be discussed. This can help us to gain a better understanding of the controversy between both denominations.

While reading through the correspondence left by Gobat and the CMS missionaries one has the impression that their Evangelical ideas and methods remained practically unchanged during Gobat's entire episcopate. Although they sometimes had to adjust their expectations to the reality of the mission field, their Evangelical principles remained the same. The same applies to their criticism of the other churches. As a result, the examples used in this book to illustrate missionary principles and activities sometimes cover quite a long time span.

State of the question

Although scholars in the field of Middle Eastern Missions are familiar with the rivalry between Protestants and the other churches, this has so far hardly been a central issue in the literature about missions in the nineteenth-century Levant. No monograph has been published on this subject yet. There are, however, several articles, such as those by Giuseppe Buffon, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, Thorsten Neubert-Preine, Thomas Stransky and Chantal Verdeil.[6] On the connection between Evangelicalism and anti-

[6] G. Buffon, "Les Franciscains en Terre Sainte: de l'Espace au Territoire, entre Opposition et Adaption", H.L. Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands. Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Studies in Christian Missions 32, Leiden, 2006, 64-91. Buffon also discusses the rivalry in his book *Les Franciscains en Terre Sainte (1869-1889). Religion et Politique, une Recherche Institutionnelle*, Paris, 2005. H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "'Simply by giving to them maccaroni…' Anti-Roman Catholic Polemics in Early Protestant Missions in the Middle East, 1820-1860", M. Tamcke and M. Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings. Modern Historical Missions in*

Roman Catholicism in Britain several studies have been published, including those by Robert Klaus, Frank Wallis and John Wolffe.[7]

Yet, there are many publications in which the missions in Palestine play an important part. A number of these have contributed to this book. Among the early historiographies, Julius Richter's publication about the history of Protestant missions in the Near East and Eugene Stock's three volumes about the history of the CMS are classics.[8] Both wrote from their involvement in the missionary movement; Richter as a scholar of missiology and a member of the Committee of the Berlin Mission for about forty years, and Stock as a layman in service of the CMS. Their publications discuss the Protestant bishopric, Gobat's appointment and the mission of the CMS. Richter mentions the opposition on the part of the Greek Orthodox in Palestine, but only briefly. In his discussion of the CMS Richter only mentions the missionaries, but does not examine their work in the mission field and their views on mission.

the Middle East, Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 39, Berlin, 2006, 63-80; T. Neubert-Preine, "La Querelle du Muristan et la Foundation de l'Église du Rédempteur à Jérusalem", D. Trimbur and R. Aaronsohn (eds.), *De Bonaparte à Balfour. La France, l'Europe occidentale et la Palestine 1799-1917*, CRFJ Mélanges du Centre de recherche de français de Jérusalem, Paris, 2001, 345-360; T. Neubert-Preine, "The Struggle over the Muristan in Jerusalem as an Example of National-Confessional Rivalry in the 19th Century Middle East", Tamcke and Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness*, 133-143; T.F. Stransky, "Origins of Western Christian Missions in Jerusalem and the Holy Land", Y. Ben-Arieh and M. Davis (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World, 1800-1948*, With Eyes Toward Zion 5, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1997, 137-154; T.F. Stransky, "La Concurrence des Missions Chrétiennes en Terre Sainte, 1840-1850", Trimbur and Aaronsohn (eds.), *De Bonaparte à Balfour*, 197-217 ; C. Verdeil, "Between Rome and France, Intransigent and Anti-Protestant Jesuits in the Orient: The Beginning of the Jesuits' Mission of Syria, 1831-1864", Tamcke and Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness*, 23-32. Verdeil also discusses the rivalry in her book *Les Jésuites de Syrie (1830-1864). Une Mission auprès des Chrétiens d'Orient au début des Réformes Ottomans*, Lille, 2003, but it is not a central issue in this study. Richard Cohen has edited a book about vision and conflict in the Holy Land, whose first section is dedicated to Christian interests in Palestine. However, none of the papers in this section covers the rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics or Protestants and the other Christian denominations; R.I. Cohen (ed.), *Vission and Conflict in the Holy Land*, New York, 1985.

[7] R.J. Klaus, *The Pope, the Protestants, and the Irish. Papal Aggression and Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Nineteenth Century England*, Modern European History, New York, London, 1987; J. Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, Oxford, 1991; J. Wolffe, "Anti-Catholicism and Evangelical Identity in Britain and the United States, 1830-1860", M.A. Noll, D.W. Bebbington, G.A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism. Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, Oxford, 1994, 179-197; F. Wallis, "Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain. Theory and Discipline", *Journal of Religion and Society* 7, 2005, 1-17.

[8] J. Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, New York, 1970 (reprint from the 1910 edition); E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: its Environment, its Men and its Work* (hereafter *The History of the CMS*), 3 vols., London, 1899-1910.

The most authoritative and pioneering study on Protestant mission in Palestine is that by Abdul Latif Tibawi.[9] Unlike earlier historiographers of mission, such as Richter and Stock, he was not involved in any missionary movement. Furthermore, he was one of the first scholars writing about Protestant missions in the Middle East from an Arabic background. Based on British and Ottoman sources, Tibawi discusses the political background of the British missionary interests and the close relation between mission and colonialism. Tibawi's book has been a source of inspiration for this study. Among other aspects he examines the establishment of the Protestant bishopric and the episcopates of Alexander and Gobat. He also discusses Gobat's claim of being an educational pioneer, the CMS mission, and several clashes Gobat and the CMS missionaries had with the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics. However, Tibawi does not discuss the specific bones of contention or the influence of the Evangelical principles on the missionary activities of Gobat and the CMS missionaries.

The most recent and thorough monographs about the Protestant bishopric are those by Kurt Schmidt-Clausen and Martin Lückhoff. Both studies are based on extensive archival research.[10] Whereas Schmidt-Clausen focuses specifically on the history of the establishment of the Jerusalem see, Lückhoff also examines its development until the end of the bishopric as a joint enterprise between Britain and Prussia in 1886. For this book, Lückhoff's examination of the Protestant bishopric and Gobat has been important because of his use of German sources. He extensively discusses Gobat's episcopate. Although some attention is given to the cooperation between Gobat and the CMS, he mainly concentrates on the foundation of Prussian Protestant institutions in Palestine. Lückhoff's research shows the involvement of the Prussian and Swiss Evangelical movement in the Prussian Palestine mission and Gobat's close connection with the Evangelical movement.

No monograph has been published on the CMS mission in nineteenth-century Palestine. In recent works on the history of the CMS, such as that by Jocelyn Murray and the book edited by Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley, the Palestine mission is hardly

[9] A.L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1901. A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*, Oxford, 1961.

[10] K. Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit. Die Gründung des Bistums Jerusalem im Jahre 1841*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums 15, Berlin, 1965; M. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner und Protestanten im Heiligen Land. Das gemeinsame Bistum Jerusalem (1841-1886)*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 24, Wiesbaden, 1998.

mentioned at all.[11] However, in Nancy Stockdale's work about the role of gender and colonialism in Palestine the Palestine mission does feature prominently.[12] Topics discussed by Stockdale include the mission of British female missionaries in the service of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East or Female Education Society (hereafter FES) and some 'independent' missionary women. The female missionaries cooperated with Gobat and the CMS mission, and some of them were even married to CMS missionaries. As a result Stockdale's research also gives an impression of the missionary activities and views of Gobat and the CMS missionaries. Stockdale's research focuses on gender and on the close connection between the Anglican mission and colonialism.[13] She does not discuss the influence of Evangelicalism on the CMS missionaries' efforts and views on mission, and on the rivalry between the Protestants, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics. Other authors focusing on gender are, for instance, Ellen Fleischmann, Billie Melman and Inger Marie Okkenhaug.[14]

The Prussian missionary efforts and the foundation of Prussian institutions in Palestine have been the subject of quite a number of publications, for instance by Alex Carmel, Jacob Eisler together with Norbert Haag and Sabine Holtz, Frank Foerster, Siegfried Hanselmann, Uwe Kaminsky, Roland Löffler and Abdel-Raouf Sinno.[15] During

[11] J. Murray, *Proclaim the Good News: A Short History of the Church Missionary Society*, Hodder Christian Paperbacks, London, 1985; K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds.), *The Church Missionary Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions, Grand Rapids, MI, 2000.

[12] N.L. Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters among English and Palestinian Women, 1800-1948*, Florida, 2007.

[13] Although my research only marginally touches on gender issues or on the debate about colonialism and the civilizational aspects of mission, it is an important and interesting theme in research on Middle-Eastern missions nowadays.

[14] E. Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830-1910)", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 263-280; B. Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918. Sexuality, Religion and Work*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1995 (paperback edition); I.M. Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure. Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948*, Studies in Christian Mission 27, Leiden, 2002.

[15] S. Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission. Handbuch ihrer Motive, Geschichte und Ergebnisse*, Erlanger Taschenbücher 14, Erlangen, 1971; A. Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere im Heiligen Land. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pilgermission und des Wiederaufbaus Palästinas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Theologische Zeitschrift 10, Basel, 1981; F. Foerster, *Mission im Heiligen Land. Der Jerusalems-Verein zu Berlin, 1852-1945*, Gütersloh, 1991; E.J. Eisler, N. Haag and S. Holtz (eds.), *Kultureller Wandel in Palästina im frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Bilddokumentation. Zugleich ein Nachschlagewerk der deutschen Missionseinrichtungen und Siedlungen von ihrer Gründung bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Epfendorf, 2003; R. Löffler, "Die langsame Metamorphose einer Missions- und Bildungseinrichtung zu einem sozialen Dienstleistungsbetrieb. Zur Geschichte des Syrischen Waisenhauses der Familie Schneller in Jerusalem 1860-1945", D. Trimbur, (ed.), *Europäer in der Levante. Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.–20.*

the Gobat years other Protestant missionary societies also worked in Palestine, such as the LJS and FES mentioned earlier, as well as several Scottish missions. These societies have been the subject of research reflected in recent books by Yaron Perry, Michael Marten and Nancy Stockdale.[16]

Recently, interesting debates have taken place on the interaction between European missionaries and Ottoman society, the influence of the reforms on the Ottoman Empire, its history of social change and modernity, and local agency. In this respect the work of Bruce Masters, studying the Christian and Jewish minorities within the local Ottoman and international missionary contexts, and that of Ussama Makdisi who has described in detail the changes in inter-communal relations in mid-nineteenth century Lebanon, is the most important. More research focusing on the agency of the local population has been done, e.g., Barbara Merguerian's work on the Armenians, Habib Badr's on Beirut, and Heleen Murre-van den Berg's on Urmia (Iran).[17]

An important publication in which the Roman Catholic presence in Palestine and the restoration of the Latin patriarchate is examined is Joseph Hajjar's book on the European involvement in the Near East.[18] Whereas many publications about the Latin patriarchate, its patriarchs and missions, have often been written from the perspective

Jahrhundert), Pariser Historische Studien 53, München, 2004; R. Löffler, "The Metamorphosis of a Pietistic Missionary and Educational Institution into a Social Services Enterprise: The Case of the Syrian Orphanage (1860-1945)", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 151-174; U. Kaminsky, "German 'Home Mission' Abroad: The *Orientarbeit* of the Deaconess Institution Kaiserswerth in the Ottoman Empire", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 191-209.

[16] Y. Perry, *British Mission to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Palestine*, London, Portland, 2003; M. Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home. Scottish Missions to Palestine 1839-1917*, International Library of Colonial History 3, London, New York, 2006; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*.

[17] B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World. The Roots of Sectarianism*, Cambridge, 2001; U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism. Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2000; U. Makdisi, "Bringing America Back into the Middle East: A History of the First American Missionary Encounter with the Ottoman Arab World", A. Stoler (ed.), *Imperial Formations*, School for Advanced Research advanced seminar series, Santa Fe, Oxford, 2007, 45-76; B.J. Merguerian, "'Missions in Eden': Shaping an Educational and Social Program for the Armenians in Eastern Turkey (1855-1895)", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 241-261; H. Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 211-239; H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "The American Board and the Eastern Churches: The 'Nestorian Mission' (1844-1846)", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65, 1999, 117-138; H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the Eastern Churches: Mission among 'Nominal' Christians (1820-70)", P.N. Holtrop and H. McLeod (eds.), *Mission and Missionaries*, Ecclesiastical History Society, Suffolk, 2000, 98-111.

[18] J. Hajjar, *L'Europe et les Destinées du Proche-Orient (1815-1848)*, E. Jarry (ed.) Bibliothèque de l'histoire de l'église, Paris, 1970.

of the patriarchate (see for instance Pierre Médébielle and Adolphe Perrin),[19] Hajjar discusses the process of the restoration independently of the Roman Catholic missionary movement. On the basis of archival sources Hajjar examines the reasons for the re-establishment of the patriarchate, the political tensions between France, Rome and Sardinia, and the difficulties with the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Although Hajjar argues that both the establishment of the Protestant bishopric and Gobat's arrival contributed to the decision to restore the patriarchate, he does not go into the rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics. A recent publication about the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in nineteenth-century Palestine is Buffon's book about Franciscans in the Holy Land in the second part of the nineteenth century.[20] After briefly discussing the long history of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, Buffon focuses on their international relations and how they succeeded in holding their ground in the face of severe criticism from France and Rome. Buffon does discuss the rivalry between Roman Catholics and Protestants, but this is not the main theme.

Sources

My focus on the day-to-day activities of Gobat and the CMS missionaries, catechists, schoolmasters and others closely cooperating with the CMS[21] has led me to concentrate my archive research on the following collections:

- Special Collections Department, University Library, Birmingham: Church Missionary Archives, "Original papers" of the "Mediterranean and Palestine Mission 1811-1934".[22]
- Manuscript Collections, British Library, London: Rose Papers, Bliss Correspondence, Aberdeen Papers, and Papers of Col. A.J. Fraser.

[19] A. Perrin, *Centenaire du Patriarcat Latin de Jérusalem, 1847-1947*, Jerusalem, 1947 ; P. Médébielle, *Le Séminaire du Patriarcat Latin de Jérusalem 1852-1952*, Jerusalem, 1952 ; P. Médébielle, *Le Diocese Patriarcal Latin de Jérusalem*, Jerusalem, 1963.

[20] Buffon, *Les Franciscains*.

[21] The Prussian Christian Fallscheer, for instance, came to Jerusalem as a Chrischona brother, then worked in Nablus as a missionary under Gobat, and after several years was transferred 'in local connection' to the CMS.

[22] An overview of the original papers is provided in R.A. Keen, *Catalogue of the Papers of the Missions of the Africa (Group 3) Committee* 6: *Mediterranean and Palestine Missions 1811-1934*, London, 1981. C M/O 10-72 contain letters, reports, and papers from individual missionaries, catechists and others. Keen, *Catalogue*, 27-72.

- Archbishops of Canterbury Archives and Manuscripts, Lambeth Palace Library, London: Blomfield Papers, Tait Papers, Wordsworth Papers, Papers of the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund.
- Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford: Archives of the Church Ministry among the Jews, Dep. C.M.J. c. 110, Dep. C.M.J. c. 250, Dep. C.M.J. d. 53, Dep. C.M.J. d. 58.

The present study is mainly based on the "Original Papers" in the Church Missionary Archives. The "Original Papers" contain (private) letters, periodical reports (monthly, quarterly and annual), as well as journals and travel accounts. These documents were written to the Home Board Secretary in London by Gobat, the CMS missionaries and others connected to the CMS. These reports – especially the annual accounts – mainly concentrate on the work in the mission field and the missionaries' encounters with the local population. They inform us about the education in the Protestant mission schools, Bible and prayer meetings, the conflicts with members and clergy of the other churches, and so on. The (private) letters to the secretary of the CMS not only describe the work in the mission field, but also discuss financial affairs, ordinations, inner mission conflicts, people's illnesses, and the like.

Not only did the periodical reports serve to inform the Home Board about the state of the mission, but they were also directed to the home public, as they were sometimes printed in the CMS publications. Consequently, we have to take into account that the missionaries' stories were intended not only to inform the home front about the mission's work, successes and failures, but were also aimed at obtaining support and securing donations from the home public.[23] In addition, the reports may have served to legitimize the missionaries' decisions in their work, and to explain the lack of converts by describing the difficulties posed by the mission field in Palestine. Being aware of these aims helps to see the missionaries' descriptions and claims in the correct light.[24]

[23] Gobat was aware of the importance of vivid descriptions of the missionaries' work. In a confidential note to the secretary of the CMS about the possible removal of one of the CMS missionaries working in Jerusalem, he tried to prevent the dismissal, stating that the man had done more work than other missionaries had, but that he had "not the gift of describing it in an interesting manner". Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 13 February 1865, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/88.

[24] In the words of David Arnold and Robert Bickers: "Uncritically viewing the world through the mission prism can be profoundly misleading". D. Arnold and R.A. Bickers, "Introduction", R.A. Bickers and R. Seton (eds.), *Missionary Encounters. Sources and Issues*, Richmond, 1996, 3.

The same applies to the correspondence I consulted in the other archives mentioned above. These documents are all different in character: some of them were meant for publications, others were not. They were directed to people who held different offices and written with varying purposes. The papers I consulted in the Manuscript Collection in the British Library mainly consist of letters from Gobat and the CMS missionaries to British political representatives in Beirut and Syria: Hugh Henry Rose, the British Consul General in Beirut, and Colonel Fraser, the British commissioner for Syria.[25] Besides informing the British representatives about the missionary activities, Gobat and the CMS missionaries also asked their assistance in several mission affairs. The Archbishops of Canterbury Archives mainly hold correspondence between Gobat and Gobat's chaplain, but also letters by political representatives, such as the correspondence of Consul General Rose with the prelates of the Church of England. These documents, together with the papers of the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund, deal with, for instance, church-related matters, inform us about the missionary work of the bishopric and inner mission conflicts, and discuss Gobat's missionary aim. It seems that this correspondence was mainly private; most of it has not been published.[26] The archives of the Church Ministry among the Jews contain letters, leaflets, overviews of the missionary possessions, and the like. The letters were written to the Home Board both by the missionaries in service of the LJS and by Gobat, discussing the mission's work, inner mission conflicts et cetera. Some of the documents were published, also with a view to securing financial support from the home public.

With the exception of a few petitions and statements, the voice of the local people is hardly heard in the archival sources. Furthermore, the documents I consulted were mainly written by male missionaries, which also makes it difficult to provide much information about the female missionaries and their archives.

During the Gobat years the Roman Catholic presence mainly consisted of the Franciscan friars of the Holy Land, Patriarch Valerga and the missionaries in his service, and three French female missionary societies. For the Roman Catholic reaction to the

[25] Regarding the correspondence of Rev. Philip Bliss, registrar of Oxford University, and the papers of Lord Aberdeen I have concentrated on the documents concerning the wide protest against Gobat's proselytizing activities among Eastern Christians in 1853; see Chapter 4.

[26] Except for the protest against Gobat's proselytizing activities among Eastern Christians in the Wordsworth Papers, and Homan Hunts'criticism of Gobat in the papers of the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund.

Protestants and the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics, I consulted the following archives:

- The Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or *de Propaganda Fide*, Rome: *Scritture riferite nei Congressi*, first series, containing letters that reached the Propaganda Fide from the mission lands.
- General archives of the Order of Friars Minor or *Archivum Generale Ordo Fratrum Minorum*, Rome: *Segretaria Provincie*, enclosing volumes concerning *Terra Sancta*.

The first series of the *Scritture riferite nei Congressi* in the archives of the Propaganda Fide contain letters that reached the congregation from the mission lands. N. Kowalsky and J. Metzler state that although these documents were of secondary importance for the Sacred Congregation, they are "most precious from a historical point of view because they reflect in a certain way the daily life of the missions".[27] I consulted those volumes that contained letters sent from Palestine to the Propaganda Fide during the period under research (1846-1879). Among these documents are letters from various authors, such as Valerga, people working for the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the French Consul in Jerusalem, the Franciscan Custody, and the Minister General of the Franciscans in Rome. The volumes concerning *Terra Sancta* in the General Archives of the Order of Friars Minor contain correspondence between the Custody of the Holy Land and the Minister General of the Franciscans in Rome or his representatives. Furthermore, these volumes contain communications between the Minister General in Rome and the Propaganda Fide or representatives of European nations, and letters between the Custodian of the Holy Land and the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. They also include extracts from journals concerning the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land.[28]

The correspondence in both archives – the Propaganda Fide and the Franciscan archives – deals with various subjects, such as mixed marriages, arrangements and conflicts between the Patriarchate and the Franciscan Custody, and statistics. The majority of the documents concern letters not intended for publication. Their first aim seems to have been to inform Rome (the Propaganda Fide and Minister General of the Franciscans) of the (financial) state of the mission and to ask advice on points of canon

[27] N. Kowalsky and J. Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "De Propaganda Fide"*, Studia Urbaniana 18, Rome, 1983, 17, 48-49, 51.
[28] For the general archives of the Order of Friars Minor in Rome, see P. Gil Muñoz, *Registro Archivum Generale O.F.M.* 1, Rome, 1887, 361. Cf. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 515-523.

law. Although Kowalsky and Metzler state that the documents in the first series offer a particular perspective on the daily life of the missionaries, the majority of the archival documents concerning the relation between Protestants and Roman Catholics I examined do not provide much detailed information about the day-to-day existence of the Roman Catholic missionaries, whereas the CMS periodical reports do give a detailed description of the CMS missionaries' daily life. The Roman Catholic sources mentioned above are generally different in character from the Protestant documents, but they offer an adequate picture of the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics and so provide insight into the rivalry between both denominations.[29]

In addition to the Roman Catholic sources mentioned I consulted printed letters and reports in Roman Catholic journals, such as the 'annals' of the *Propagation de la Foi* and its magazine *Catholic Missions*. These printed reports, which regularly paint a vivid picture of the rivalry between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Palestine, were clearly intended to obtain support and donations from the home public.[30] Just like the Protestant sources, the Roman Catholic documents have to be examined critically in the light of their authors' intentions.

Names and denominations

In this book the names of the German and French CMS missionaries have been anglicised, as the missionaries themselves signed their letters with anglicised names and they are also given in this form in the *Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay, and Female), and Native Clergy, From 1804 to 1904* of the CMS.[31] Regarding Arab names in the primary sources I have followed the missionaries' transliteration. Place names and names of countries are generally written as they are today, with the exception of quotations from primary sources in which such names are spelled differently.

Gobat and the CMS missionaries were not consistent in their use of the labels 'Eastern Christians', 'Orthodox' and 'Catholics'. By the term 'Eastern Christians', they sometimes seem to refer to the Greek Orthodox only, sometimes to the Greek Orthodox

[29] The archives of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem and of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land might contain more interesting documents about the rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics, although the secretary of the Custody has assured me that there are no such documents in the Franciscan archives. Private correspondence between the author and Vincent Ianniello, secretary of the Custody of the Holy Land, summer 2003.

[30] For a discussion of the context of such publications, see Chapter 8.

[31] Birmingham/UL, CMS BV 2500.

together with the Oriental Orthodox, i.e., the Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians and Syrians, and occasionally also to Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Maronites. The same applies to the term 'Catholics'. It is not always clear whether the CMS missionaries used it to refer to Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics or Maronites, or all Catholics in general. The term 'Orthodox' generally referred to the Greek Orthodox, but sometimes also to both Greek and Oriental Orthodox. Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics were often also called 'Greeks' and 'Latins', respectively. In this book I have followed the missionaries' terminology when they mention specific denominations. In the case of broader labels I use the specific terms when it is clear what denominations are meant; when the referent is unclear, I have opted for the following division: the terms 'Eastern Christians' (and 'Eastern Churches') and 'Orthodox' both denote Greek Orthodox as well as Oriental Orthodox Christians. The term 'Catholics' refers to the Latin Catholics, Greek Catholics, and the Maronites.

1

Christians and the Protestant missionary interest in nineteenth-century Ottoman Palestine

Introduction

In the nineteenth century, after Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and Palestine in the years 1798 and 1799, the European Powers became increasingly interested in Palestine. At the time, the Ottoman Empire was on the wane and became the so-called 'sick man of the Bosphorus'. Through various wars, coalitions, and treaties European influence in the Empire increased. By providing protection to different Christian denominations European countries tried to assert their influence. By means of treaties Russia protected the Orthodox in the Empire in the same way as France supported the Roman Catholics. England and Prussia tried to create a similar protectorate function regarding the Protestants.

In addition to the increasing political interest in the country, the religious interest in Palestine as the Holy Land was also renewed in the early decades of the nineteenth century. This was closely connected with the Evangelical revival or 'Awakening' among Protestants in Europe. The religious interest was encouraged by the millenarian idea of the restoration of the Jews in the land of their forefathers. As a result many missionary societies were established. Their efforts in Palestine were made easier by the reform regime of the Egyptians in the 1830s which opened up the country to Europe. It was especially the LJS which took advantage of this liberal climate and established a mission station in Jerusalem.

This chapter provides the historical background for the subject matter of this book, and discusses the position of Christians in nineteenth-century Palestine, the Ottoman reforms, the renewed Protestant interest in the Holy Land, and the first endeavours of Protestant missionaries to set up a mission station there.

Christians in the Ottoman Empire and the European Protectorate

In nineteenth-century Palestine the Christians formed the second largest group within the population, after the Muslims who were by far the most numerous, and before the Jews. Actual population figures for the Ottoman Empire are uncertain and a topic of discussion among scholars, not only because of inconsistency in the figures given in the primary sources, but also because of the contemporary political context.[32] One of the most recent estimates for the population figures for nineteenth-century Palestine derives from Justin McCarthy. For the years 1850-1851, McCarthy estimates the number of Christians in Palestine at 27,000 on a population of about 340,000 people. This means that the Christians constituted 8% of the population. The Muslim inhabitants were estimated at 300,000 (88% of the population) and the Jews at 13,000 (4% of the population). Towards the end of the century the number of Christians had increased by 2%.[33]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century about one third of the population in Jerusalem was Christian, distributed over different denominations. The three largest

[32] Michael Marten, for instance, shows the discrepancy between sources regarding the Jewish population in Palestine between 1850 and 1914 by giving the estimates of four scholars based on a variety of sources. Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home*, 21. Razmik Panossian discusses the differences in estimated population figures for the Armenians, especially in the Ottoman Empire, between historians close to the Turkish view, who downsize the number, and those sympathizing with the Armenians, who try to keep the number as high as possible. R.S. Panossian, *The Armenians. From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*, New York, 2006, 158-159. For a discussion of demographic history, an evaluation of the different sources, and the problems in studying the Ottoman population in the nineteenth century, see H. Gerber, "The Population of Syria and Palestine in the Nineteenth Century", *Asian and African Studies. Annual of the Israel Oriental Society* 13/1, Jerusalem, 1979, 58-80 and K.H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Demography in the Nineteenth Century: Sources, Concepts, Methods", K.H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays*, Brill, 2002, 185-201.

[33] J. McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine. Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate*, The Institute for Palestinian Series, New York, 1990, 10, 37. McCarthy bases these figures on known Ottoman data, corrected for the under-representation of women and children. Although the estimates for the years before 1877 were less precise than the ones McCarthy presents for the years after 1877, and the Palestinian population was listed as a whole, not broken down into districts, McCarthy states that the ratios between the three religious groups before 1877 are accurate in general. As to the boundaries of Palestine, McCarthy stuck to the provincial boundaries of the three districts or *sanjaks* in which Palestine was divided from the late 1880s until 1948, i.e., Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre. Before the late 1880s Palestine was part of the larger province (*vilayet*) of Syria. By 1886 Syria was divided into provinces, and Palestine was divided into the districts of Acre and Nablus, both belonging to the *vilayet* of Beirut, and the independent *sanjak* of Jerusalem. These were administrative rather than natural boundaries. McCarthy, *The Population*, 5-8.

denominations were the Greek Orthodox, the Latins and the Armenians.[34] Until the 1830s no records or travel reports mention a Protestant presence in Jerusalem. This comes as no surprise, as the first Protestant mission station only opened its doors in the 1830s; until then Protestant missionaries had only visited Jerusalem. Ben-Arieh estimates the number of Protestants in Jerusalem in 1850 at fifty,[35] but as a result of the growing Protestant missionary activities, the number of Protestants in Jerusalem increased in the course of the century. In 1900 about 1,000 Protestants resided in Jerusalem, and in that year the Protestants were the third denomination in the city after the Greek Orthodox with ca. 5,000 members, and the Latins with ca. 2,850 members.[36]

In the early nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire non-Muslims or *dhimmis* were organized in three separate formally sanctioned religious communities, called *millets*: the Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish *millets*. These religious communities were hierarchically organized and had a political function. The heads of the *millets*, who were members of the clergy (the patriarch or the chief rabbi), were elected by the *millet*, but their election had to be approved by the Sultan. They represented the *millet* in personal and general affairs with the Ottoman authorities. These leaders were mostly free to arrange the affairs of their communities, as long as they remained loyal to the Sultan. A council of laymen and clergy assisted them in their efforts. The *millets* had autonomy in spiritual affairs and in some administrative affairs regarding their own

[34] On the basis of reports by Western travellers, Ben-Arieh estimates that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 1,400 Greek Orthodox, 800 Latins, and 500 Armenians. Alongside these communities various smaller groups inhabited the city: the Copts (50), the Ethiopians (13) and the Syrians (11), which adds up to 2,774 Christians on a population of approximately 9,000 people. According to several of these travel reports the Roman Catholics in Jerusalem were generally Arabs or considered to be Arabs. One of these reports explicitly mentions that only a small number of the Latins were non-Arab foreigners. Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century. The Old City* (hereafter *Jerusalem. The Old City*), Jerusalem, 1984, 105, 194-195. Cf. Y. Ben-Arieh, "The Population of the Large Towns in Palestine during the First Eighty Years of the Nineteenth Century, according to Western Sources", M. Ma'oz (ed.), *Studies of Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, Jerusalem, 1975, 50-53.

[35] Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 194. For more information about the first Protestant enterprises in Palestine, see later in this chapter.

[36] Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 194. At the time, the Armenians were the fourth denomination in Jerusalem with about 850 members, and the Greek Catholics the fifth with ca. 200 members. For information on the numbers of inhabitants of other large towns in Palestine during the nineteenth century, such as Jaffa, Acre and Haifa, see Ben-Arieh, "The Population", 49-70.

property, such as churches, schools and cemeteries, and were allowed to act in judicial matters, such as marriage and divorce.[37]

During the nineteenth century other religious communities also achieved recognition as *millets*. The Armenian Catholics, for instance, were granted this status in 1831, while the Greek Catholics were accepted as a *millet* in 1848.[38] Two years later, the Protestants were also recognized as a distinct *millet* by the Sultan.[39] By 1914 there were more than ten separate *millets*.[40]

Non-Muslims did not have the same rights as Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Until the reforms in the 1830s, which will be discussed later, several restrictions were imposed on the Christians and Jews in the Empire in return for non-interference in their internal affairs.[41] Non-Muslims were subject to the political authority of Islam and were, for example, not allowed to build new places of worship or to perform public

[37] B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World. The Roots of Sectarianism*, Cambridge, 2001, 61; A. O'Mahony, "The Religious, Political and Social Status of the Christian Communities in Palestine c. 1800-1930", A. O'Mahony, G. Gunner and K. Hintlian (eds.), *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London, 1995, 241-242. Masters adds that the concept of the *millet* as a designator for Ottoman non-Muslims was a relative latecomer to the Ottoman political scene. *Millet* politics emerged in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the earlier centuries the term was not the label typically used for non-Muslims. They were indicated by the term *ta'ifa* instead, which means "group" or "party". This term was used for almost any collective economical or social group, such as merchants, residents of particular quarters and so on. Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 61. See also B. Braude, "Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System", B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society* 1, New York, 1982, 72; D. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, New Approaches to European History 17, Cambridge, 2000, 173. For more information about the term *ta'ifa,* and the discussion of the term *millet* as used for non-Muslim communities within the Ottoman Empire in earlier centuries, see Braude, "Foundation Myths", 69-74; A. Cohen, "On the Realities of the *Millet* System: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century", Braude and Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews* 2, 7-18; Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 61-65.

[38] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 108-111.

[39] A.L. Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine*, London, 1969, 114. The Latins were not recognised as a *millet*, as they were not regarded as a local community. They were, however, granted special rights concerning judgement and internal administration. A. O'Mahony, "Palestinian Christians: Religion, Politics and Society, c. 1800-1948", A. O'Mahony (ed.), *Palestinian Christians. Religion, Politics and Society in the Holy Land*, London, 1999, 21.

[40] Among which, for instance, the Syrian Catholic and the Maronite *millets*. K.S. Abu Jaber, "The Millet System in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *The Muslim World. A Quarterly Review of History, Culture, and the Christian Mission in Islamdom* 57/3, 1967, Hartford, CT, 214, n. 18; A. O'Mahony, "Church, State and the Christian Communities and the Holy Places of Palestine", M. Prior and W. Taylor (eds.), *Christians in the Holy Land*, London, 1994, 14-15.

[41] The social containment of Christians and Jews was laid down in a treaty known as the "Pact of 'Umar". Although there is no consensus about the historic origins of this pact, it had become an integral part of the Muslim legal tradition by the ninth century. The pact governed how Muslim rulers treated their non-Muslim subjects until the Ottoman reforms of the nineteenth century. Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 21.

religious ceremonies, such as carrying a crucifix in public, ringing church bells, and public processions. Muslim men were allowed to marry non-Muslim women as long as the children were raised as Muslims. These non-Muslim wives were allowed to worship according to their own religion. However, Muslim women were not allowed to marry non-Muslim men.[42] The testimony of a *dhimmi* was accepted and valid in Muslim courts, as long as it would not result in the imposition of criminal sanctions against a Muslim.[43] In addition, non-Muslims were not allowed to convert Muslims, and all male non-Muslims had to pay a polltax or *jizya*.[44] Until 1829 Christians had to wear distinctive dress and headgear. In that year, these clothing laws, which not only distinguished people by religion but also by occupation and rank, were abolished by Sultan Mahmut II (1808-1839) for all except clergy. The 1829 law obliged all men to wear the same headgear or fez. There were to be no indications in dress of occupation, rank, or religion.[45]

Over the centuries the different Christian denominations were 'protected' by various European countries as a result of several treaties or 'capitulations' between the Ottoman authorities and the European powers. These treaties secured certain rights and privileges concerning the subjects of these European countries who were working or travelling in the Ottoman Empire. France was the first European country to obtain several rights and privileges. In February 1535 an agreement of 'amity and commerce' was made between the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I (Sultan from 1520-1566) and King Francis I of France (1494-1547). This treaty was to become the model for future capitulations between the Ottoman Empire and European powers. The agreement decreed that all subjects of the French king had the right to practise their own religion, and could not be made into or regarded as Muslims unless they desired it themselves and professed it openly.[46] During the time of Louis XIII (1601-1643), the French ambassador

[42] Abu Jaber, "The Millet System", 219; M. Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861. The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society*, Oxford, 1968, 10; Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 22-23.
[43] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 23, 31. For more information, see also Masters, 31-37.
[44] Abu Jaber, "The Millet System", 219; Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 17, 23. According to Masters the tax on the religious communities was often assessed collectively. He adds that it was rarely financially debilitating as the rate was based on one's ability to pay. Masters, 17.
[45] Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 141-148. For more information about the dress laws, the change of policy in 1829 and people's reaction to this, see also D. Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29/1, Cambridge, 1997, 403-425.
[46] Article 6 of the treaty. J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record: 1535-1914* 1, Princeton, New Jersey, 1956, 3. For the whole treaty, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 1-5.

in Constantinople received instructions to protect not only the western Catholics, but the Ottoman Christians in general.[47] The treaty of 1535 was renewed and expanded over the centuries, for the last time on 28 May 1740.[48] Since then, Roman Catholic France in practice considered itself the protector of all Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. Not only did France sometimes interfere in the affairs of the Latins in the Empire, but close relations were also established and developed with the Maronites, Greek Catholics and other uniate Christians.[49]

The Russians claimed a similar right to intervene in favour of the Orthodox subjects of the Sultan, on the basis of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca made in 1774. This agreement between the Russian Empress Catherine the Great (1729-1795) and the Ottoman authorities ended a six-year war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which lasted from 1768-1774. In this treaty the Porte (the Ottoman authorities) promised to protect "the Christian religion and its churches" and allowed the establishment of a new Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople. This church should "always be under the protection of the Ministers of that Empire [i.e., Russia], and secure from all coercion and outrage". The Russians, however, claimed the right to intervene on behalf of all Orthodox subjects of the Sultan.[50]

In the course of the nineteenth century, after the Protestants had settled in the Ottoman Empire and their number had increased, Britain and Prussia acted on their behalf. In addition to the 'protection' of the Protestants, the British protectorate was extended to include a substantial part of the Jewish people, particularly non-Ottoman subjects. The other Jews were protected by Russia, Prussia, France and Austria.[51] By virtue of their protectorate function the European Powers intervened in some conflicts between the denominations. Sometimes such interdenominational conflicts turned into a conflict between the consuls or countries protecting the denominations in question.

[47] C. Soetens, *Le Congrès Eucharistique International de Jérusalem (1893) dans le Cadre de la Politique Orientale du Pape Léon XIII*, Louvain, 1977, 208.
[48] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 1.
[49] Tibawi, *A Modern History*, 102. As we will see in Chapter 5, Roman Catholic Austria, Spain and Sardinia sometimes also fulfilled a protectoral function for the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.
[50] Articles 7 and 14 of the treaty Küchük Kaynarca. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 56-58; for the whole treaty, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 54-61. In this treaty the independence of the Crimea and the Northern coasts of the Black Sea from the Ottoman Empire was also declared. Cf. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 40.
[51] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform,* 216.

In some cases the Ottoman authorities seemed almost powerless to stop it.[52] The quarrels between the Greek Orthodox and Latins about the Holy Places were especially likely to get out of hand, in particular in Jerusalem. The conflict about the Holy Places, which had already lasted for centuries, was one of the causes of the Crimean War in the 1850s, as we will see below.

Reform under Egyptian rule and the establishment of European consulates

Some events in the nineteenth century strongly influenced the position of the Christians in Palestine, creating possibilities for Western missionary societies to settle in the country. One of these factors was the Egyptian occupation of Palestine from 1831 until the end of 1840.

In 1831, Syria and Palestine were occupied by the forces of the governor of Egypt, Mohammad Ali (1769-1849), commanded by his son Ibrahim Pasha (1789-1848).[53] Ibrahim Pasha appointed a governor-general over Palestine and Syria, who resided in Damascus, and was represented by civil governors in each town.[54] Under Egyptian rule Palestine was subject to several reforms that changed the social structures of the country. Ibrahim Pasha introduced a liberal policy towards Christians. They obtained equality of rights with their Muslim fellow citizens. Non-Muslims were now permitted to restore old places of worship or build new ones and had the right to be represented in the town councils.[55] Ibrahim Pasha also introduced general conscription, and individual responsibility for both Muslims and non-Muslims for the payment of taxes to the state. Muslims had avoided this obligation for centuries, unlike non-Muslims who had to register in order to pay the *jizya*.[56]

Under Egyptian rule Palestine was opened up to Europe: consulates were established in Jerusalem and missionary activities in the country were permitted. In 1838,

[52] Kamel S. Abu Jaber mentions the example of France's protection of the Maronites in Lebanon in 1860. In this year France landed 6,000 troops to protect the Maronites during the inter-communal troubles, without consulting the Porte. Abu Jaber, "The Millet System", 217.
[53] This took place during the sultanate of Mahmut II (Ottoman Sultan from 1808-1839).
[54] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, 12; Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 107.
[55] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, 17-18; Y. Ben-Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*, Jerusalem, Detroit, Michigan, 1979, 67; A. Schölch, "Britain in Palestine, 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22/1, 1992, 40; Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 135-136.
[56] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 135.

Britain was the first country to receive permission to set up a consulate in Jerusalem. After the Egyptian defeat many countries followed the British example and established consulates in Jerusalem. Prussia created a consulate in 1842, France and Sardinia in 1843 and America followed in 1844. In 1849 Austria established a consulate; in the same year the Sardinian consulate was closed. The Russians opened a consulate in 1858, but in the 1840s a Russian consular representative had already been present in Jerusalem.[57] The European consuls protected Christians and Jews. They were involved in judicial, economical and political affairs. As the countries' protection was linked to the various denominations, the consuls sometimes also intervened in interdenominational disputes.[58]

The Tanzimat era: a period of Ottoman reforms

During the occupation of Palestine by Egypt the liberal regime had changed the position of the Christians in the country. After the Egyptians had withdrawn in 1840, the position of the Christians in Palestine was also influenced by two reform edicts: the *Hatt-ı Sherif* of Gülhane and the *Hatt-ı Hümayun*. These reform edicts were part of a larger movement towards a transformation of the Ottoman Empire, which also included a reorganization of the army. With these changes, the Porte hoped to secure the survival of the Ottoman Empire in a period when it was under attack from many sides.[59] The first edict was proclaimed by the Ottoman Sultan shortly before the Egyptian defeat, and the second shortly before the peace negotiations following the Crimean war.

The Hatt-ı Sherif of Gülhane of 1839

Shortly before the Egyptians were defeated by the Ottomans, who were supported by Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia (France kept its distance),[60] Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecit I (1823-1861) had started to introduce several reforms. It was the beginning of the Tanzimat era, a period of Turkish reforms. This began with the promulgation of the *Hatt-ı Sherif* or "noble prescript" of Gülhane on 3 November 1839, proclaimed in the presence of European diplomats.[61] The timing of the proclamation seemed to have

[57] Finn, *Stirring Times or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856* (ed. by his widow) 1, London, 1878, 84; Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 185. Schölch, "Britain", 40-41, 52.
[58] See Chapter 8.
[59] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 134.

been calculated to coincide with the Ottoman need to gain European support against Mohammad Ali.[62] However, as mentioned earlier, many of the generation of the Tanzimat reformers were themselves also eager to introduce further changes and to include minorities in the political life of the Ottoman Empire.[63]

The *Hatt-ı Sherif* dealt with the welfare, i.e., "perfect security for life, honor and fortune", of the Ottoman subjects, with a "regular system of assessing and levying taxes",[64] and with regulations for the military service. Just as the innovations Ibrahim Pasha had introduced during the Egyptian occupation, the reform edict proclaimed general conscription and individual responsibility – for both Muslims and non-Muslims – for paying taxes.[65] Furthermore, the edict proclaimed that the administration of justice should be public and just. In a remarkable passage the *Hatt-ı Sherif* officially declared Muslims and non-Muslims equal before the law, as it stated that "these imperial concessions shall extend to all our subjects, of whatever religion or sect they may be; they shall enjoy them without exception".[66]

The Crimean war (1853-1856)

Local disputes between different Christian denominations could turn into international conflicts as a result of the protectorate function of the countries involved. This happened with the dispute about the Holy Places in Palestine between the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox, which contributed to the outbreak of the Crimean war. The conflict soon acquired international dimensions, as the Latins were supported by France and the Greek Orthodox by Russia.[67]

The spark that ignited the quarrel between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics was an incident at the end of 1847 in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The

[60] A "Convention (London) for the Pacification of the Levant: Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia with the Ottoman Empire" was signed in 1840. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 116-119. See also Tibawi, *A Modern History*, 92.
[61] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 113.
[62] Tibawi, *A Modern History*, 94.
[63] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 137.
[64] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 114.
[65] Like non-Muslims, Muslims were now to be registered as individual taxpayers. Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 135. The edict also proclaimed the necessity to establish laws to reduce the term of military service to four or five years for the benefit of agriculture and industry. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 114-115. For a translation of the whole edict, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 113-116.
[66] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 113, 115. See also Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, 22; Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 135.
[67] W. Baumgart, *The Crimean War 1853-1856*, London, 1999, 10.

silver star in the Church, a symbol of the Latin rights in the Holy Place, was stolen, with the Roman Catholics accusing the Greek Orthodox of stealing it.[68] Moreover, the Roman Catholics were already displeased because, unlike the Greek Orthodox and Armenians, they did not posses a set of keys to the main doors of the church and so were forced to enter the church by a side door. For the Roman Catholics the theft of the star was a reason to raise the question of the Latin privileges and rights regarding the Holy Places. They asked the French government for help in this affair.[69]

Early in 1849 the French government met the Roman Catholic demands. It ordered the French ambassador in Constantinople to ask the Ottoman authorities to 'restore' the Roman Catholic rights to the Holy Places as defined in the treaty of 1740. The French ambassador in Constantinople was supported by his colleagues from the other Roman Catholic nations: Spain, Sardinia, Belgium, Portugal, and Naples. Among other things, the French ambassador demanded equal possession of the sanctuary of the Nativity in Bethlehem for the Roman Catholics, the replacement of the silver star, permission to carry out repairs to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the right to restore the Tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane.[70]

In reaction to the French claims, Cyrill, the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem (from 1845-1872), asked permission to repair the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Russia supported his request. As a consequence the conflict started to become an international matter.[71] The French pressure on the Ottoman authorities resulted in the proclamation of an imperial order or *firman*, issued on 9 February 1852, which granted extensive rights to France and the Roman Catholics.[72] These rights, however, conflicted with those of the Orthodox.

At the beginning of 1853 Tsar Nicholas I (1796-1855) of Russia sent Admiral Alexander Menshikov to Constantinople to discuss the conflict about the Holy Places and the status of the Orthodox Church. One of the Admiral's demands was the with-

[68] D.M. Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War*, London, New York, 1994, 78.
[69] Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War*, 78; C. Ponting, *The Crimean War. The Truth Behind the Myth*, London, 2004, 1.
[70] C.A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 1983, 306; Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War*, 79; Ponting, *The Crimean War*, 1-2. Both Ponting and Goldfrank mention that Austria did not support the French. Frazee, on the contrary, mentions Austria and leaves out Portugal and Naples.
[71] Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War*, 79; Ponting, *The Crimean War*, 2.
[72] Frazee¸ *Catholics*, 306; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 12.

drawal of the concessions to the Roman Catholics, with the exception of the possession of the keys of the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem. All former privileges of the Orthodox Church regarding the Holy Places had to be renewed and confirmed. Furthermore, Menshikov demanded the official sanction of the status of the Orthodox Church. He also requested the right for Russia to protect the Sultan's Orthodox subjects. This last demand was a particularly important issue for Russia, as it implied that Russia would have the rights to interfere in the affairs of about one third of the Sultan's population. In return for meeting the Russian demands, Menshikov offered the Ottoman authorities a defensive alliance to protect them in case they felt threatened by France. However, after more than two months of negotiating, the Russian mission failed. Russia did not receive what it had asked for.[73] Tsar Nicholas I had issued an ultimatum to the Ottoman authorities to meet the Russian claims, threatening to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia or the 'Danubian Principalities' if the demands were rejected. Consequently, when the Ottomans turned down the Russian demands Russia invaded the Danubian Principalities. In spite of several attempts of the four great European Powers at the time, Britain, Prussia, Austria and France, to mediate between the Ottoman government and Russia, the Ottomans declared war on Russia on 4 October 1853.[74]

Although Britain, France, Austria, and to a lesser extent Prussia were involved in the conflict between Russia and the Ottomans, it had not become an international affair yet. The dispute about the Holy Places was not the only reason why the countries intervened in the matter. Britain was mainly drawn into the conflict because it feared Russian activity in an area that was very important for the British commercial routes through the Middle East, especially the route to India. Also, the Ottoman Empire had become an important market for British industrial products.[75] As we have seen, France had already been interested in the Ottoman Empire since the sixteenth century, as

[73] Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War*, 131; R. Heacock, "Jerusalem and the Holy Places in European Diplomacy", O'Mahony, Gunner and Hintlian (eds.), *The Christian Heritage*, 206; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 13-14; Ponting, *The Crimean War*, 8-10.
[74] Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War*, 225; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 14; Ponting, *The Crimean War*, 10-13.
[75] Heacock, "Jerusalem", 207; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 6.

demonstrated also by Napoleon I's campaign in Egypt and Palestine in 1798-1799.[76] When Napoleon III came to power in 1848,[77] he chose to rely on the Roman Catholic Church in his national policy and therefore directed his attention to the Holy Places in Palestine. He also realized that the conflict about the Holy Places might increase the French diplomatic influence in the Ottoman Empire. At the end of March 1854 both France and Britain declared war on Russia.[78]

Although Austria had been suspicious of Russia regarding the Balkan since the eighteenth century and the Prussian King Frederick William IV (1795-1861) had a religious interest in Palestine, both countries were non-belligerent, refraining from military involvement in the Crimean war.[79] Nevertheless, Austria played an especially important part in the discussion with Britain and France about the general aims of the war. Prussia, which had declared itself to be a neutral party, was partly excluded from these negotiations.[80] At the start of 1855 Sardinia also became involved in the Crimean war by joining France and Britain.[81]

More than a year after it had started the war came to an end. On 25 February 1856 peace negotiations started in Paris. The peace treaty was signed about one month later on 30 March 1856. Countries present at the conference were France, Britain, Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Austria. Sardinia, as a belligerent power, was also admitted to the conference. Prussia was welcome in a later phase as it was one of the five Powers.[82] One week before the peace conference the Ottoman Sultan issued a new reform edict, the *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, which proclaimed full equality of Muslims and non-Muslims in the

[76] Because of this expedition Palestine had become a focal point of international interest. A. Carmel, "A note on The Christian Contribution to Palestine's Development in the 19th Century", D. Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period. Political, Social and Economical Transformation*, Jerusalem, Leiden, 1986, 302-303.
[77] In December 1848, Napoleon III (then Louis-Napoleon) was elected President of the Republic France. In 1852 he became Emperor Napoleon III.
[78] Britain declared war on Russia on 27 March and France one day later on 28 March 1854. Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 7, 14. In the conflict about the Holy Places France also saw a means to increase its influence in European diplomacy by weakening the alliance of the conservative powers Austria, Russia and Prussia. See also Heacock, "Jerusalem", 206; Ponting, *The Crimean War*, 3-5.
[79] Heacock, "Jerusalem", 207; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 6-7.
[80] For more information about the general aims of Britain, France and Austria, see Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 17-18.
[81] Sardinia entered the war in order to put the unification of Italy on the agenda at a future peace conference. Heacock, "Jerusalem", 207; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 89.
[82] Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 203-204.

Ottoman Empire. The announcement of this edict was recorded in the ninth article of the treaty of Paris:

> His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a Firman, which while ameliorating their condition without distinction of Religion or of Race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire, and whishing to give a farther proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the Contracting Parties the said Firman emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.[83]

In their turn, the European Powers present at the conference recognised the "high value" of the reform edict in the peace treaty. In addition the treaty stated that the edict did not give them "the right to interfere, either collectively or separately" in the Sultan's relations with his subjects.[84]

The Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856

The *Hatt-ı Hümayun* or "imperial prescript" was published by the Sultan on 18 February 1856, only one week before the peace conference. Like the proclamation of the *Hatt-ı Sherif* of Gülhane, this decree was also promulgated at a time when European pressure was intense and the Ottomans needed European support.[85] The edict confirmed and consolidated the *Hatt-ı Sherif* of Gülhane and stated that "efficacious measures shall be taken in order that they may have their full entire effect". The *Hatt-ı Hümayun* went much further than the *Hatt-ı Sherif* in specifying the equality and position of the non-Muslims, who were mentioned as "Christians, or other non-Mussulman subjects" in the edict.[86]

The edict declared that non-Muslims were allowed to restore places of religious worship, schools, hospitals and cemeteries in towns and villages where there were groups of non-Muslims professing the same religion, or where people with the same religion lived together in quarters. In case non-Muslims wanted to establish new

[83] George Douglas Campbell, Duke of Argyll, *The Eastern Question from the Treaty of Paris 1856 to the Treaty of Berlin 1878, and to the Second Afghan War* 1, London, 1879, 17.

[84] On the subject of the Holy Places the treaty of Paris remained silent. Campbell, *The Eastern Question*, 17; N. Moschopoulos, *La Terre Sainte. Essai sur l'histoire politique et diplomatique des Lieux Saints de la chrétienté*, Athene, 1956, 308-309 ; Baumgart, *The Crimean War*, 207-208; Ponting, *The Crimean War*, 327-328.

[85] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 137.

[86] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 150; Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 138. For the translation of the *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 150-153.

buildings, these plans had to be submitted to the Porte after the communities' heads had approved them. The decree further stated that every sect possessed the freedom to exercise its religion. Moreover, no one should be compelled to change religion. It proclaimed that no distinction would be made on the basis of religion, language or race. All commercial and criminal lawsuits between Muslims and non-Muslims were to be referred to mixed tribunals consisting of members of various religions. These tribunals would be public and the testimony of the parties' witnesses had to be received without distinction. Every community was also permitted to establish public schools, and civil and military schools were required to accept all subjects of the Ottoman Empire.[87]

As to military service, both Muslims and non-Muslims, including Christians, were "subject to the obligations of the law of recruitment". It was permitted to obtain substitutes or purchase exemption from military service. The edict added that a law would soon be published concerning the admission of non-Muslims into the army.[88] A year after the promulgation of the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* a tax was introduced that institutionalized the obtaining of exemption for military service: the *bedel-i askeriye*, "substitute for military service". This army exemption tax was imposed on all non-Muslim males.[89] Furthermore, the edict proclaimed that steps would be taken to reform the constitution of the provincial and communal councils, in order to "insure fairness" in the choice of Muslim and Christian deputies and those of other religious communities. It further decreed that it would be lawful for foreigners to purchase landed property in the Empire, as long as they conformed to Ottoman law.[90]

Both the Tanzimat reforms and the European pursuit of influence in the Ottoman Empire contributed to the transformation of the Christians' situation in the Empire. Christians and other non-Muslims had acquired legal equality with their Muslim neighbours. In this process, however, religious identity became more openly political; it affected many issues, such as conflicts between individuals of different religions or denominations. Although Ottoman policy was designed to diminish the influence of *millet* politics, the developments during the nineteenth century encouraged Christian communities to stress and cultivate their religious identity as a way to acquire political

[87] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 151.
[88] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 152.
[89] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 138.
[90] Hurewitz, *Diplomacy* 1, 152.

power.[91] The readiness of the European countries to interfere in the affairs and conflicts of the various Christian communities contributed to the Christians' confidence in "pressing their demands to the Porte".[92] The competition between the European powers for influence in the Ottoman Empire furthered the politicization of religious identity, as did the arrival of missionary societies from Europe.[93] The local Christian communities were well aware of their crucial position and regularly "played the European countries off against each other".[94]

Understandably, this combination of Tanzimat reforms allowing the Christians to build churches, hold processions and sit on provincial and communal councils and the capitulatory system, which allowed the Christians to use their European connections, caused feelings of alienation and discontent among the Muslim inhabitants of the Empire.[95] In 1856, the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* caused a riot between Muslims and Christians in Nablus, in which according to the British Consul one Christian was killed, and the mission house, together with several private houses of Christians, was demolished. One of the immediate causes of these riots was an action by the Protestant bishop in Jerusalem, Samuel Gobat (1799-1879). After the news of the reform edict had reached Jerusalem, Gobat hurried to Nablus install a bell in the chapel. He started ringing it on his own initiative without the approval of the authorities. When the governor of Nablus asked Gobat whether he had official authority to act as he did, the bishop cited the *Hatt-ı Hümayun*. Another cause of the riot was the consular agents from France, Prussia and England hoisting their national flags in honour of the birth of the Crown Prince of France.[96] There was also opposition to the reform edict from Christian circles. For instance, with regard to the army exemption tax Christians complained that it actually was the same as the former polltax. The Muslims, however, were also unhappy

[91] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 133-134. Masters states that the Europeans helped to deepen the sectarian gap by favouring religious differences in their reports about the events in the Ottoman Empire. Their stress on sectarianism (both real and imagined) had an effect on the issues the home government raised with the Ottoman authorities. Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 132-133. For a detailed discussion of this process in the Lebanese region, see Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism.*

[92] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 133-134. See also Chapter 8.

[93] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 146.

[94] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 152-153. Masters adds that this was especially true for the various Catholic communities in Syria, who played off Austria, Spain and Italy (after its unification) against France. Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 152.

[95] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 132. According to Masters "it was not so much equality with the non-Muslims that the Muslims were protesting, but their perception that the Christians were now in the ascendancy", ibid.

[96] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 115-116; Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform,* 226.

with this tax, as they thought it unfair that Muslims were required to defend the empire whereas Christians could stay at home.[97]

Evangelical Protestant interest in the Holy Land

In addition to the expansion of European political influence in nineteenth-century Palestine, Protestants in Europe also showed an increased interest in Palestine as the Holy Land. People became interested in the biblical topography, and the scenery of the Holy Places in Palestine was the subject of many paintings. Protestant pilgrims who wanted to see the places where Jesus Christ lived and died also travelled to Palestine. Their experiences and feelings, recorded in travel reports, testify to the special position Palestine occupied in their minds.[98] The concept of Palestine as the Holy Land gave an additional impetus to the missionary activities there. From the late 1810s onwards Protestant missionaries visited the country in order to explore the possibilities for establishing a permanent mission.

The religious interest in the Holy Land and the growth of missionary societies were closely connected with the Evangelical revival or 'Awakening' among Protestants in Europe and in America ('the Second Great Awakening'). The Evangelical revival was an international movement; it manifested itself not only in Britain and other English-speaking countries, but also in Germany as the *Erweckungsbewegung*, and in Switzerland, France and the Netherlands as the *Réveil*. It was an intercontinental affair, and there was close cooperation within the intercontinental Evangelical network, especially in the missionary field. The Basel Mission, for instance, trained missionaries who were then sent overseas by societies such as the Netherlands Missionary Society or the British CMS.[99]

[97] Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 138.

[98] With regard to the attraction of both Protestants and Roman Catholics to the Middle East as Bible Lands and the Holy Land discourse, see the introduction and article by H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "William McClure Thomson's *The Land and the Book* (1859): Pilgrimage and Mission in Palestine", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 10-13, 43-63 and the article by B. Heyberger and C. Verdeil, "Spirituality and Scholarship: the Holy Land in Jesuit Eyes (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)" in the same book, 19-41.

[99] *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 205-206. For information about the Evangelical network, see among others K.S. Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age* 2: *The Nineteenth Century in Europe. The Protestant and Eastern Churches*, London, 1959; T.C.F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession. Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815-35*, Edinburgh, 2000; N.M. Railton, *No North Sea. The Anglo-German Evangelical Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, Leiden, 2000.

Although Evangelicalism on the Continent was not entirely similar to that in Britain and America, one important common characteristic of the Evangelical movement in Britain, the 'Second Great Awakening' in America, and the *Erweckungsbewegung* and *Réveil* on the Continent was the activism, the desire to spread the Gospel. A direct result of the Evangelical revival was the foundation of missionary societies.[100] In England and on the Continent, as well as in America, many such organizations were founded towards the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century, such as the CMS (1799) and the LJS (1809) in Britain, the Basel Mission (1815) in Switzerland, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) in America. As Palestine was considered by several missionary societies to have the highest priority, a relatively large part of their global missionary force was used for the mission in Palestine, or, more broadly speaking, for the mission in all so-called biblical lands. Compared with other mission fields in the world, however, the area seemed less promising. For instance, although the LJS used one third of its global missionary force for its efforts and investments in Palestine throughout the nineteenth century, the activities there were not very successful in comparison with its other mission stations.[101]

The religious interest in Palestine was encouraged by the millenarian hopes of many Evangelicals, especially in Britain. These hopes consisted in the belief in the imminent coming of Christ which would be the start of God's thousand-year reign. The conversion and restoration of the Jews in the Holy Land would hasten Christ's coming. This eschatological belief in the restoration of the Jews was based on a specific interpretation of biblical prophecies, particularly of the books of Daniel and Revelation. In contemporary events millenarians saw signs of the coming of Christ as they were predicted in the Bible. One of these signs was the French Revolution. Because millenarians considered the Pope to be the anti-Christ, and France had been the fiercest supporter of the Roman Catholic Church until the French Revolution, it was believed that with its downfall the end of time was at hand.[102] On the basis of the Book of

[100] See for this and other leading features of Evangelicalism David Bebbington's four characteristics of Evangelicalism. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 2-17, here 12. We will return to the characteristics of Evangelicalism in Chapters 6-8.

[101] Perry, *British Mission*, 7-11, 208. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions also considered their mission to the so-called Bible Lands very important. Around 1860 the funds for the mission ran to almost 45% of the total budget. Murre-van den Berg, "William McClure Thomson", 44.

[102] From the extensive literature on millennialism I will only mention M. Vereté, "The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought 1790-1840", *Middle Eastern Studies* 8/1, 1972, 1-6; S. Kochav, "'Beginning at

Revelation many millenarians believed that the fall of the Ottoman Empire was imminent and would prepare the way for the restoration of the Jews to the land of their forefathers. In Britain, many millenarians believed their country to be the agent of this restoration.[103] The restoration of the Jews was the main aim of several missionary societies. One of such societies in Britain was the LJS. This society was established in 1809 and had as its headquarters 'Palestine Place' in London.[104]

Early Protestant endeavours: establishment of a Protestant mission in Jerusalem

Although it took the Egyptian occupation of Palestine to change the political climate so that it became favourable for Protestant missionary activities in the country, already in the late 1810s several missionary societies started to direct their energies towards the Holy Land. About ten years after its foundation in 1809, the LJS decided to explore the possibilities for a Jerusalem mission. Just before this decision the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter ABCFM) also resolved to send two missionaries to Jerusalem. Before the missionaries of the LJS and the ABCFM could get there, the city had already been visited by missionaries from other Protestant societies. In 1818, the Swiss minister Christian Burckhardt from the British and Foreign Bible Society arrived in Jerusalem and distributed Bibles in different languages.[105] Soon after Burckhardt James Connor, an Oxford graduate, visited Jerusalem on behalf of the CMS.

Jerusalem': The Mission to the Jews and English Evangelical Eschatology", Ben-Arieh and Davis (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World, 1800-1948*, 92-93; T.A. Idinopulos, *Weathered by Miracles. A History of Palestine from Bonaparte and Muhammed Ali to Ben-Gurion and the Mufti*, Chicago, 1998, 73-75; S. Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening", *The Journal of Religious History* 22/2, 1998, 132-151. For the connection between millennialism, Evangelicalism and anti-Catholicism, see Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade*, 113-116; Klaus, *The Pope*, 124-125.

[103] The belief in the imminent fall of the Ottoman Empire was based on Revelation 16, 12: "the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared". The drying up of the Euphrates symbolized the fall of the Ottoman Empire. This would prepare the way for the restoration of the Jews. Kochav, "Beginning at Jerusalem", 92-93; O. Anderson, "The Reactions of Church and Dissent Towards the Crimean War", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16/1, 1965, 212-213. Anderson also discusses the difficulty experienced by many Protestants in Britain in believing that Protestant Britain had been called by God to fight alongside the leading Roman Catholic power, France, in the Crimean war, and their problem of reconciling support for "doomed Turkey" with submission to God's plan. Anderson, 211-212.

[104] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 82.

[105] Burckhardt spent a whole evening with Spanish Franciscans who wanted to examine the Spanish translation of the Bible to see whether it contained heresy. Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 35-36; Stransky, "La Concurrence ", 203.

Connor ruled out Jerusalem as a permanent mission station, among other reasons because of the interdenominational strife in the city which he considered to be stronger than elsewhere.[106]

In November 1819, the ABCFM sent Levi Parsons (1792-1822) and Pliny Fisk (1792-1825) to the Middle East in order to establish a Palestine mission, based in Jerusalem if possible. The first object of the mission was the restoration of the Jews.[107] From the instructions the Board gave to Fisk and Parsons, however, it becomes clear that the ABCFM did not want to restrict its activities to the Jews. The instructions stated that the missionaries had to try to reach "those who are 'Christians in name' and the Jews". The missionaries were urged to have "two grand inquiries" ever present in their minds: "*What good can be done*, and *by what means*? What can be done for the Jews? What for the Pagans? What for Mohammedans? What for Christians?" Moreover, the instructions ended with the prayer that the mission might be accepted by both Jews and Gentiles. Fisk and Parsons were also instructed to learn several languages. First of all they were to learn Arabic, but also Turkish, Hebrew, Greek, French and Italian.[108]

After they had left Boston, Fisk and Parsons travelled via Malta to Smyrna, where they arrived in January 1820. At the end of the same year, Parsons left Smyrna in order to visit Jerusalem. During his stay there Parsons distributed Bibles and tracts, and met people of various religious groups and denominations. When he left the city after a couple of months he was optimistic about Jerusalem as a place to establish a mission station. However, he died on 10 February 1822 when he was in Alexandria together with Fisk.

Before the end of the year the Board sent a successor for Parsons, the missionary Jonas King (1792-1869). In 1823 he and Fisk visited Palestine, together with the LJS missionary Joseph Wolff (1795-1862). Just as Parsons had done when he visited Jerusalem, they also distributed Bibles and religious literature and engaged in conversations on religion. Unfortunately for the missionaries their activities were not very

[106] A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901. A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work*, Oxford, 1966, 19; Stransky, "La Concurrence", 203-204.
[107] C.J. Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World. The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*, Harvard East Asian monographs 32, Cambridge, Harvard, 1969, 135-136; G. Greenberg, *The Holy Land in American Religious Thought, 1620-1948. The Symbiosis of American Religious Approaches to Scripture's Sacred Territory*, Lanham, Maryland, 1994, 113-114.
[108] Tibawi, *American Interests*, 14-16; Phillips, *Protestant America*, 136.

successful.[109] One of the reasons for the lack of success was the opposition to the missionaries' work. In 1823 the Maronite patriarch issued an encyclical letter that condemned the Protestant version of the Bible and all contact with Protestant missionaries.[110] The Arabic version of the Bible distributed by Protestant missionaries was in fact a reprint of the Arabic Bible printed in Rome in 1671, omitting the Apocrypha. It was criticised because of this omission, and for being full of mistakes. In 1824 a condemnation from Rome followed: on 5 May Pope Leo XII (1760-1829) issued a Papal Bull against the printing of a corrupted version of the Bible in the vernacular and its distribution among Roman Catholics by a "certain Bible society".[111] Things went from bad to worse for the missionaries when on 14 June 1824 the Ottoman authorities proclaimed a *firman* prohibiting the import and circulation in the Ottoman Empire of all Bibles and Psalters printed in Europe, as they had caused disturbance among the people. Since the Papal Bull and the *firman* coincided, Protestant missionaries thought this was a conspiracy between Roman Catholics and Ottomans. However, there was no evidence for this, as the *firman* did not mention a specific edition and language of the Bibles.[112]

During the first years of their stay in the Middle East the ABCFM missionaries had established mission stations in Malta and Beirut. When Fisk died in October 1825 the ABCFM was not permanently present in Jerusalem. Instead, the missionaries visited the city from time to time.[113] A year after the American Board had sent its first missionaries to Palestine, the LJS sent the Swiss missionary Melchior Tschoudy (1790-1859) to the area. In May 1820 he left London. About two months later he arrived in Malta and then went on to Palestine. When Tschoudy's mission appeared to be unsuccessful the LJS

[109] Tibawi, *American Interests*, 16-23; Phillips, *Protestant America*, 136-137; Greenberg, *The Holy Land*, 116-118.

[110] H. Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response", Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 214-215.

[111] Tibawi, *American Interests*, 26-28, n. 2; Badr, "American", 214-215. Eight years earlier, in 1816, his predecessor Pope Pius VII had also censured Protestant Bible societies. Stransky, "Origins", 144-145.

[112] The secretary of the CMS, Josiah Pratt, stated that the Eastern anti-Christ cooperated with the Western anti-Christ. Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 230-231; Tibawi, *American Interests*, 26-29. Stock adds that no one at the time would have thought the secretary narrow-minded for calling the Pope the Western anti-Christ, as "Bishops and divines beyond all suspicion of Evangelicalism habitually did so then". Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 231.

[113] Tibawi, *American Interests*, 22, 29.

terminated the cooperation.[114] The Jewish convert Joseph Wolff was the next LJS missionary going to Palestine to explore the field. Wolff, the son of a rabbi, was baptised as a Roman Catholic when he was seventeen, and became a member of the Church of England when he came to Britain in 1819. He was accepted by the LJS as a missionary and went to Cambridge to study Theology, Arabic and Hebrew. Backed by private funding, he left for the Middle East in 1821. In March of the following year he arrived in Jerusalem where he stayed for a couple of months,[115] and reported to the LJS that the doors of Jerusalem were wide open. This encouraged the organisation to send two other missionaries: in 1823 they dispatched Lewis Way (1773-1840) and William Lewis to Jerusalem in order to establish a permanent mission in the city. Way was never to reach Jerusalem: he had to return to Britain because of ill health. Lewis, however, did go on and entered the city on 13 December 1823. In a report to the LJS, he unfolded his ideas about a permanent establishment in the city. It stimulated the LJS to send another missionary, George Edward Dalton with the aim to set up this permanent mission.[116]

In 1825 Dalton arrived in the Holy City, where he met Lewis. He explored the situation with regard to the founding of a mission station. Because of riots, Dalton had to leave the city for a while, but returned to Jerusalem, where he and his family took up residence on Christmas Day 1825. In January 1826 reinforcement arrived in the form of LJS missionary John Nicolayson (1803-1856). However, at the end of that month Dalton died of fever.[117] Within a month after Dalton's death Nicolayson left the city, so that there were no LJS missionaries left in Jerusalem. Nicolayson first went to Beirut and then travelled around for some years, working in different towns and cities. From time to time he visited Jerusalem. In the meantime, Palestine had come under Egyptian rule, which meant a more liberal attitude towards missionaries. In 1833 the first step towards a permanent LJS mission in Jerusalem was taken. Nicolayson rented a house for the mission, and in October 1833 he and his family settled in the city. The renting of the house marked the start of a new era. From then on a start could be made with the establishment of a Protestant community.[118]

[114] W.T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. From 1809 to 1908* (hereafter *The History of the LJS*), London, 1908, 118; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 7; Perry, *British Mission*, 16-17.
[115] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 8; Kochav. "Beginning at Jerusalem", 96; Perry, *British Mission*, 17-19.
[116] Perry, *British Mission*, 19-20.
[117] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 12-13; Perry, *British Mission*, 20-21.
[118] Kochav, "Beginning at Jerusalem", 97; Perry, *British Mission*, 25.

A year after Nicolayson had taken up residence in Jerusalem, the American Board missionaries George Whiting (1801-1855) and Asa Dodge (1802-1835) also settled in the city. Dodge, however, died within three months after his arrival. Whiting cooperated with Nicolayson but neither missionary could do much more than distributing Bibles and tracts and talking to people. Nevertheless, Whiting's wife did set up a girls' school at home early in 1836. Both ABCFM and LJS sent people to strengthen the missionary team in Jerusalem in the following years.[119] In March 1843 the Jerusalem mission of the ABCFM decided to terminate the Jerusalem station and the American missionaries went to Lebanon.[120] This decision might have been stimulated by the establishment of the Protestant Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem in 1841, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Concluding remarks

Under the influence of the Evangelical revival among Protestants in nineteenth-century Europe religious interest in Palestine was renewed. Spurred on by millennialism and driven by 'geopiety', Protestant missionary societies started to direct their energies towards establishing missions in the Holy Land. During the liberal Egyptian regime, the British LJS succeeded in founding a permanent mission in Jerusalem. In 1840, after the Egyptian withdrawal, the climate was favourable for the expansion of the Protestant missionary activities. Just before the Ottomans had defeated Egypt the Ottoman Sultan had proclaimed a reform edict, which declared Muslims and non-Muslims equal before the law. This edict was consolidated in a second reform edict, proclaimed soon after the Crimean war, which further specified 'equality'. Also, the British and Prussian influence with the Porte had increased due to their support of the restoration of Ottoman rule in Palestine. What is more, before the Egyptian defeat Britain had established a consulate in Jerusalem, and Prussia followed some years later. The presence of consulates of these Protestant Powers must have strengthened the position of the Protestant mission and its missionaries, as the consuls acted as the 'protectors' of the Protestants. From now on France and Russia were not the only states acting as the 'protecting power' for part of the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire. Given all this the time seemed ripe for

[119] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 73-74.
[120] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 137; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 101, 105.

Prussia and Britain for the advancement of a new project: the establishment of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem.

2

The Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem

Introduction

After the Ottomans, with the support of Britain and Prussia, defeated Egypt in 1840, the climate seemed favourable for both countries to combine their religious and political interests in Palestine into a joint enterprise. In 1841 a Protestant British-Prussian bishopric was established in Jerusalem. The arguments in favour of its establishment were a mixture of religious interest and (church) political motives. As stated earlier, the establishment of the Protestant bishopric forms the entry into this study, since this brought the rivalry between the Protestants and the other Christian denominations to the surface. Although over the years the history of the genesis of the bishopric has often been examined,[1] this chapter will review the establishment from the perspective of this rivalry, focusing on questions such as: What were the reasons behind the decision to establish this bishopric? What was the attitude of its founders towards the other denominations already present in Jerusalem? What agreements were made between Prussia and England, and how did the general public in both countries and the Ottoman authorities react to the project?

[1] Among these, the studies by Kurt Schmidt-Clausen and Martin Lückhoff are the most thorough and recent. Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*. See furthermore: H. Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem; its Origins and Progress. From the Official Documents Published by Command of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and from Other Authentic Sources*, London, 1847; P. Cassel, *Das Bisthum von Jerusalem: (Aegypten und Palästina)*, Berlin, 1882; W.H. Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric. Documents with Translations*, London, 1883; R.W. Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric 1841", *The English Historical Review* 64, London, New York, Toronto, 1949, 328-352; P.J. Welch, "Anglican Churchmen and the Establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 8, London, 1957, 193-204; Tibawi, *British Interests*; R. Blake, "The Origins of the Jerusalem Bishopric", A.M. Birke and K. Kluxen, *Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert. Ein deutsch-englischer Vergleich. Church, State and Society in the 19th Century. An Anglo-German Comparison*, München, New York, London, Paris, 1984, 87-97; F. Foerster, *Christian Carl Josias Bunsen. Diplomat, Mäzen und Vordenker in Wissenschaft, Kirche und Politik*, Waldeckische Forschungen. Wissenschaftliche Reihe des Waldeckischen Geschichtsvereins 10, Bad Arolsen, 2001 (hereafter *Bunsen*), 149-162.

Christian Bunsen and the development of the 'Jerusalem bishopric plan'

Three men were closely involved in the development of the plan for a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem and its establishment in 1841: the well-known Prussian diplomat Christian Carl Josias Bunsen (1791-1860) and his friends Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper (1801-1885), the seventh earl of Shaftesbury, and the Prussian King Frederick William IV. Of these three, it was Bunsen who played a central role in the development of the bishopric plan and the negotiations leading to the Protestant bishopric's foundation.

Bunsen's Roman years and attitude towards Roman Catholicism

In his youth Bunsen was already interested in religion. His interest was stimulated and influenced by his parents' deep piety. He went to study theology and oriental languages at various universities in Germany and abroad.[2] In 1817 Bunsen joined the Prussian diplomatic service and was sent to Rome as secretary to the German envoy, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831).[3] Through his British wife, Frances Waddington (1791-1876),[4] Bunsen made the acquaintance of many eminent Britons, and their house became a meeting place for diplomats and Rome travellers from all over Europe. His wife's family and his British friends drew Bunsen's attention to the ecclesiastical and liturgical reform efforts in Britain. When Niebuhr left Rome, Bunsen succeeded him as German ambassador. During those years Bunsen became interested in the history and archaeology of Rome and the history of the Roman Catholic Church. He also organised Evangelical services and developed a liturgy and a hymn book for these services.[5]

[2] For their daily edification the family used the pietistically inclined hymn and prayer book by the Lutheran minister and hymn writer Benjamin Schmolck (1672-1737). Bunsen's religious interest was influenced especially by his half-sister Christiane, to whom he was very close. She had been moulded by Reformed Pietism and brother and sister often discussed questions of faith in their correspondence. Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 21; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 50; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 7-8, 10-11. For more information about Bunsen, see also W. Höcker, *Der Gesandte Bunsen als Vermittler zwischen Deutschland und England*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Göttingen, 1951; E. Geldbach (ed.), *Der Gelehrte Diplomat. Zum Wirken Christian Carl Josias Bunsens*, Leiden, 1980.

[3] Barthold Georg Niebuhr was a famous German historian and diplomat. From 1816 until 1823 he was German envoy to the Holy See. Afterwards he was Professor of the University of Bonn.

[4] Frances Waddington came from a wealthy family from Llanover, South-Wales. She was an educated woman, who also influenced Bunsen's religion. She possessed an extraordinary knowledge of the Bible and they often studied the Bible together. Foerster, *Bunsen*, 41-43. For more information about Frances Waddington, see Foerster, *Bunsen*, 40-50.

[5] The 'Capitolinian congregation' was the prototype of a universal-Evangelical congregation. Although it was a Prussian establishment, people from other countries, such as Britain and the Netherlands, also joined the

In 1838 Bunsen's Roman period came to an end because of a major conflict between the Prussian government and the Roman Catholic Church about 'mixed weddings', i.e., the recognition by the Roman Catholic Church of marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics, and the matter of the upbringing of children from such marriages. In the western provinces of Prussia, Roman Catholic priests only performed mixed weddings if both parties promised that any children resulting from the marriage would receive a Roman Catholic education. In the Eastern provinces of Prussia, however, the arrangement was that children from mixed weddings must be raised according to the denomination of the father. In 1825 Frederick William III (1770-1840) ordered that this rule would also apply to the western provinces of the country. However, this practice did not correspond to Roman Catholic canon law, which in fact prohibited all mixed weddings because they were incompatible with the sacramental character of marriage. The Roman Catholic Church protested against the Prussian rule, which brought its clergy into conflict with the State. In order to resolve the conflict, Bunsen negotiated with Rome on behalf of the Prussian government.[6] Although the negotiations resulted in a Papal brief, the matter was not solved, because Frederick William III did not agree with the Pope's verdict.

In 1834 Bunsen tried to settle the conflict in a secret agreement with the Archbishop of Cologne, Ferdinand August von Spiegel (1764-1835). The proposal was to follow the wishes of the government, but at the same time to assure Rome that the Papal brief was observed. However, the archbishop died in 1835 and Bunsen's negotiations with his successor, Clemens August von Droste-Vischering (1773-1845), failed. The conflict worsened when the archbishop was imprisoned in 1837 on Bunsen's advice.[7] Bunsen's behaviour in the mixed-marriages conflict, also called the 'Kölner Wirren' or 'Cologne Troubles', became subject to increasingly severe criticism from the Pope and his curia. When the Pope and his Cardinal Secretary of State refused to

congregation. K. Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens zur Gründung des Bistums Jerusalem", Geldbach (ed.), *Der Gelehrte Diplomat*, 45-47; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 51-52; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 159.

[6] The negotiations started with Pope Pius VIII and were continued with Pope Gregory XVI after the death of Pius VIII in December 1830.

[7] Droste-Vischering wanted to follow the Papal brief instead of the agreements with the Prussian government.

negotiate with Bunsen any longer, the situation became untenable. In 1838 Bunsen was removed from his post.[8]

The conflict about mixed weddings influenced Bunsen's opinion of the Roman Catholic Church. During his Roman years he had made an effort to understand Roman Catholicism. After this conflict, however, he felt humiliated and frustrated, and was full of negative feelings towards Rome, the Pope and the Curia.[9] According to Schmidt-Clausen and Lückhoff, Bunsen's ecumenical view had changed; Christian unity now meant to him unity without or against Rome. In their opinion Bunsen's preparation and carrying through of the Jerusalem plan can only be evaluated correctly against the background of his experiences and disappointments in Rome.[10] This view is based on various anti-Roman Catholic utterances made by Bunsen in which he himself connected the Jerusalem plan with his experiences in Rome. Foerster, on the contrary, argues that Bunsen's anti-Catholic statements should not be overrated.[11] Although the mixed-weddings affair made Bunsen turn away from the strict, centralist Roman Catholic Church, he did not hate the Catholic Church in general or seek revenge for his Roman experiences; according to Foerster, there are many personal statements and Roman Catholic acquaintances to prove this.[12]

Nevertheless, the 'Cologne Troubles' and his lack of success in Rome must have left Bunsen with a bitter aftertaste. Undoubtedly, these feelings will have influenced his view of the Roman Catholic Church and Christian unity, which was to become an important theme in his concept of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. His anti-Catholic sentiments may have intensified his dedication to the Jerusalem project. In Catholic

[8] D.E. Barclay, *Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy*, 1840-1861, Oxford, 1995, 78-79; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 52-53; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 131-133. For more information on this matter, see also Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens", 48-49; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 104-134.

[9] Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 85; Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens", 49-50; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*,54.

[10] Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 85, 88; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 54.

[11] Foerster states that Schmidt-Clausen's and Lückhoff's view that Bunsen's admiration of the Roman Catholic Church had turned into hate was based on a statement of Alfred von Reumont, the secretary of the Prussian embassy in Bunsen's latter Roman years and himself a Roman Catholic. According to Von Reumont Bunsen was filled with hatred against Roman Catholic Rome after 1838 until his death. Foerster, *Bunsen*, 159.

[12] Foerster, *Bunsen*, 158-159. Foerster claims that the image of Bunsen in history is on the whole superficial and negative. He mentions various (mostly Catholic) authors who created an image of Bunsen as someone who hated the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope. F. Foerster, "Bunsens Bild in der Geschichte. Forschungsbericht aus einer Biographie über Christian Carl Josias Bunsen", *Geschichtsblätter für Waldeck* 87, 1999, 42-71.

circles Bunsen was seen as a fanatic anti-Catholic, and this anti-Catholicism was thought to have influenced the establishment of the bishopric. Louis Poyet (1815-1893), for instance, who worked for the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, connected the establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem directly with Bunsen's anti-Catholicism. According to him Bunsen was "well known for his hate of Catholicism" and it was he who was behind the bishopric's foundation.[13]

In the idea of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem Bunsen saw an opportunity to create a Protestant ecumenical unity. Under the roof of the Protestant bishopric the national Protestant churches of Britain and Prussia, which historically differed from each other, would be united as a universal or 'truly Catholic' Church. This should create a contrast with the more centralist Roman Catholic Church.[14] Besides the desire for ecumenical unity Bunsen was filled with eschatological hope regarding his plan of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. Through his contacts with the Evangelical movement in Britain and the *Erweckungsbewegung* in Germany and Switzerland, the diplomat was familiar with the millenarian idea of the restoration of the Jews or the *Wiederbelebung Zions* and eschatological expectations.[15] With regard to the Jerusalem project Bunsen was convinced "that it would be the Church thus founded [i.e., the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem] which would meet the Saviour at his second coming."[16]

[13] Poyet, "Mémoire sur la Terre Sainte", Jerusalem, 20 October 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24, 827. Georges Goyau also states that Bunsen had devoted his diplomatic life to creating trouble between Prussia and the Holy See, and to uniting the Evangelical Churches in a union across the borders. According to Goyau, Rome knew few enemies as dangerous as Bunsen in the nineteenth century. G. Goyau, *L'Allemagne Religieuse. Le Catholicisme (1800-1870)*, 3 (1848-1870), Paris, 1909, 275-276, n. 5.

[14] Bunsen did not aim at a complete union or assimilation of both national churches. Foerster, *Bunsen*, 159-160, 295.

[15] Foerster, *Bunsen*, 150, 154. According to Foerster, Bunsen was a convinced Evangelical and may be seen as an awakened Christian, although he never had an overwhelming conversion experience. Most characteristics of Evangelical piety can be found in his writings. For instance, in the letters to his sister Christiane Bunsen repeatedly wrote about several typical themes of the *Erweckung*, such as penance and conversion, sin and guilt, faith in Christ etc. Foerster, *Bunsen*, 58-60; F. Foerster, "Der Gesandte Bunsen-zum Briefnachlass eines Vormärz-Politikers. Forschungsbericht über eine Biographie", M. Vogt and D. Kopp (eds.), *Literaturkonzepte im Vormärz*, Forum Vormärz Forschung, Jahrbuch 2000, 6. Jahrgang, 295.

[16] Note from the theologian Julius Charles Hare, quoted in Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 97.

Bunsen's British ally: Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper

After Bunsen had left Rome in 1838 he first went to Prussia and then to Britain, where he stayed from August 1838 to late 1839.[17] In Britain Bunsen met several friends, from whom he did not hide his anti-Catholic feelings. He wished to inform his "good friends under the Tories about the papal disturbances" and about his "campaign against the Pope and his liars – with Britannia as my ally!"[18]

Among Bunsen's British friends were such prominent men as Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), and Lord Ashley. Of these three the passionate Evangelical Lord Ashley was especially important for the development of Bunsen's thoughts concerning the bishopric.[19] Ashley was very concerned with the mission, which was reflected in the various positions he held: he was president of the British and Foreign Bible Society for many years, member of the board of the LJS (from 1848 until his death), and very interested in the work of the CMS.[20] As a staunch millenarian Ashley shared Bunsen's eschatological hopes. He directly connected these eschatological expectations with the restoration of the Jews,[21] and thought everything seemed ripe for the return of the Jewish people to Palestine.[22] Ashley also shared Bunsen's anti-Roman Catholic feelings. No wonder that both men detested the influence of Tractarianism,[23] which in their opinion was too much fixed on Rome, creating a rift between the Church of England and the Protestant Churches of the continent and invalidating the Reformation.[24] Besides Bunsen's personal reasons to cherish anti-

[17] The family stayed in England until Bunsen was appointed Prussian minister to Switzerland late in 1839. He was Prussian envoy to Switzerland for only two years. In November 1841 he heard that he had been appointed Prussian minister to England. Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens", 50; Barclay, *Frederick William IV*, 80.

[18] Bunsen to Frederick William IV, 9 December 1838, in Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 88.

[19] For Arnold's and Gladstone's reception of the Jerusalem bishopric plan, see Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 124-190; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 104-106.

[20] Among the characteristics of Ashley's Evangelicalism Geoffrey Finlayson mentions Sunday observance, his thrust towards mission enterprise, concern for the restoration of the Jews and staunch advocacy of Protestantism, resulting in a fierce anti-Catholicism. G.B.A.M. Finlayson, *The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, 1801-1885*, London, 1981 (hereafter *Shaftesbury)*, 109-135.

[21] Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 333; Blake, "The Origins", 89; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 150.

[22] Ashley in his diary, 24 July 1840, in E. Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.* 1, London, Paris, New York, Melbourne (hereafter *Life and Work)*, 1886, 310.

[23] In Ashley's view the Oxford Movement was more sinister than overt Catholicism, since it was crypto-Catholicism masquerading as Anglicanism; he thought it aimed at a reconciliation with Rome. Ashley in his diary, 12 October 1841, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 376; Finlayson, *Shaftesbury*, 117, 166.

[24] Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 332-333.

Catholic sentiments, their anti-Roman Catholic feelings might also have been caused by the apocalyptic view in millenarian circles at the time, which saw the Pope as the anti-Christ and the Church of Rome as Babel.

According to Bunsen, it was Ashley "who set the Jerusalem plan a-going"; they had made their plan "in the night of the 10th December, 1838 – the anniversary of the Allocution of 1837".[25] Here again Bunsen expressed his anti-Roman Catholic feelings. The 'Allocution' refers to the Allocution of Pope Gregory XVI (1765-1846) on 10 December 1837 concerning the imprisonment of Droste-Vischering, in which the Pope also declared his refusal of further negotiations with Bunsen about the 'mixed-weddings' affair.[26] Two months earlier, on 8 October 1838, Ashley had already wondered in his diary whether a Protestant bishopric could be established at Jerusalem.[27]

In letters to Ashley and Gladstone, dated 3 August 1840, Bunsen said that he saw the hand of God in the events in the Ottoman Empire. When Britain's influence in the Empire had increased as a result of the Egyptian defeat and the Quadruple Alliance in London between Russia, Prussia, Austria and Britain in July 1840, the diplomat had conceived the idea that Britain should use its new position for the benefit of the Christians in the Holy Land.[28] To reach this purpose, Britain might further develop the LJS' mission station. Bunsen elaborated this idea and wrote that it surely was

> impossible not to see the finger of God in the foundation of an English Church and congregation of Christian proselytes on the sacred hill of Jerusalem. […] You may now without an effort obtain for Christianity in the Sultan's dominions, not only liberty and privileges […], but even territorial property, indispensable for the maintenance of the first.[29]

The next day he provided Ashley with further arguments in favour of Britain's establishing a bishopric in Jerusalem. These arguments were both religious and political in

[25] Bunsen to his wife, 13 July 1841, in Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, London, 1868, 608.

[26] For the 'Allocution' of Gregory XVI, see Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 83-84; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 53. Although Foerster admits that this quotation can be read as an expression of anti-Catholicism, he qualifies this, stating that Bunsen had a liking for the use of anniversaries in other contexts as well. Such days seemed to Bunsen signs of hidden "weltgeschichtliche zusammenhängen" (historical connections). Foerster, *Bunsen*, 159.

[27] Ashley in his diary, 8 October 1838, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 235.

[28] Bunsen to Gladstone and Bunsen to Ashley, 3 August 1840, in Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 583; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 58-59; Foerster, *Christian*, 151-152.

[29] Bunsen to Gladstone, 3 August 1840. In Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 583. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 58; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 151.

character: missionary zeal, care for the oppressed Jews, benefits to British trade in connection with the overland route to India, and the possible threat from other powers. As Bunsen saw it, Britain would be able to secure freedom, privileges and territorial property for the Christians in Palestine.[30]

Frederick William IV: Bunsen's kindred spirit in Prussia

In a letter dated 17 September 1840, Bunsen informed the Prussian King Frederick William IV of his private considerations.[31] He referred to the "signs of the time" which should be recognised and used. By disclosing that Ashley had passed his proposal to Lord Henry John Temple Palmerston (1784-1865), the British Foreign Secretary, Bunsen hoped to persuade the King to join in his project.[32]

In Frederick William Bunsen found a kindred spirit. The King was strongly influenced by the *Erweckungsbewegung*. According to his biographer, David E. Barclay, it is almost impossible to "exaggerate the importance of the Awakening for an understanding of the personality of Frederick William IV".[33] From his 'awakened' faith, the King understood and interpreted ideas as 'church', 'state', 'nation', 'people' and 'king'.[34] The King and Bunsen had become acquainted in late 1827, when Bunsen visited Berlin for consultations. A year later they became friends, when Frederick William, Crown Prince at the time, visited Rome and Bunsen was his guide.[35] Both men held similar ideas and ideals on church reform and the independence of the established church, which in their opinion had fallen into decay.[36] The King had "from early youth cherished the idea of amending the condition of Christians in the Holy Land; where, as throughout the Turkish Empire, the position of all Christians is altogether ignominious,

[30] Bunsen to Ashley, 4 August 1840, see Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 59; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 152. According to Schmidt-Clausen, combining political and religious elements was characteristic for Bunsen, who could never separate his diplomatic behaviour from his religious beliefs. Schmidt-Clausen, *Vorweggenommene Einheit*, 95; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 59.

[31] Frederick William IV had by then been King for only a few months, succeeding his father Frederick William III who had died on 7 June 1840.

[32] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 59; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 152. According to Lückhoff, by writing to Ashley and Gladstone Bunsen had already started without having been ordered to do so. Foerster, however, thinks that Lückhoff is overrating the British correspondence here.

[33] Barclay, *Frederick William IV*, 34. Barclay thinks Hans-Joachim Schoeps' characterization of Frederick William IV as an "Awakened Christian on the throne" very appropriate. Barclay, *Frederick William IV*, 34.

[34] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 66.

[35] Barclay, *Frederick William IV*, 45, 78.

[36] Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens", 53.

and that of Protestants doubly so".[37] He saw the work of God in the events in the Ottoman Empire, just as Bunsen did. From this conviction he wanted to improve the condition of all Christians in Palestine.[38] His wish is reflected in several memorandums in which he evaluated to what extent the European Powers might act as protecting powers for all Christians in Palestine at the time. In previous years the idea to improve the conditions of the Christians in Palestine had already been in the mind of many Prussians. The idea had been translated into political terms by the *Regierungsrat* Ernst August Kasimir Derschau, who had proposed a plan to King Fredrick William III (1770-1840) aimed at the establishment of a Christian state in Jerusalem. The King, however, turned the proposal down, stating that although this was an important issue for Christianity, Prussia was not in the position to carry out such a plan successfully, even if supported by half of Europe. When, however, Frederick William IV ascended the throne, he gave his full support to the ideas and plans concerning Palestine. Moreover, the time seemed right to discuss the position of the Christians in Palestine, since at the time the situation in the Orient was being discussed in London by Austria, Russia, Britain and Prussia.[39]

On 6 August 1840, the court in Vienna received a memorandum written by the Prussian ambassador in London, Heinrich von Bülow (1792-1846), and the Prussian minister of Educational and Religious Affairs Johann Albrecht Friedrich Eichhorn (1779-1856). In this memorandum the possibility and necessity was discussed of securing the Holy Places for the Christians as well as free devotion at the Holy Grave. Jerusalem was referred to as a city of ecumenical activity. Austria, however, did not answer. In February 1841, the British government was approached by means of a new memorandum concerning the situation of the Christians in Palestine, which did not have any effect either.[40]

In March 1841, Frederick William IV made another attempt to improve the position of the Christians in Palestine. By his order, an "Address to European Christendom" was written by his confidant Joseph Maria von Radowitz (1797-1853), a Prussian military attaché and Prussian ambassador at the Courts of Karlsruhe, Stuttgart

[37] Bunsen to Frederick Perthes, London, 12 October 1841, in Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 599.
[38] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 72.
[39] Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 17-18; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 35-36.
[40] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 36-37.

and Darmstadt from 1842.[41] With this "Address", which was sent to Britain, France, Austria and Russia, the King wanted to create a union of these powers for the benefit of the Christians and the Holy Places in Palestine. He wished "all the Christian Powers" to act together so that the Holy Places might be given into Christian hands "without interfering with Turkish supremacy". Unfortunately for the King his attempt was in vain. All four countries rejected his proposal. Austria and France feared that a joint protectorate over the Holy Places might cause immeasurable problems between the superpowers. Britain considered carrying out the *Hatt-ı Sherif* of Gülhane the main priority of the European Orient policy. Russia thought such a union unnecessary for the sake of the situation of the Greek Orthodox in Palestine. Moreover, it would weaken the Russian influence on the Ottoman Empire.[42]

It is remarkable that Frederick William IV did not seem to distinguish between the various denominations in the countries he approached. He sent a memorandum, first to Austria, then to 'Protestant' Britain.[43] In his address of 1841 he also approached France and Russia. This shows that the King, in his desire to improve the conditions of Christians, in principle wanted a better position for *all* Christians. Furthermore, it shows that, unlike Bunsen and Ashley, he was not driven by anti-Roman Catholic sentiment.[44]

After the non-committal reactions to his memorandums on the part of the European countries, the Prussian King decided to restrict his efforts to the position of the Protestants in Palestine. Just as Bunsen, Frederick William IV saw an opportunity for cooperation between Britain and Prussia in the LJS' mission to the Jews in Jerusalem

[41] According to Bunsen and Hechler, Frederick William IV had dictated the Address to Von Radowitz. Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 595; Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 26. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 37.

[42] Bunsen, *A memoir* 1, 595, 599; Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 26; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 37-38.

[43] Both Frederick William IV and Bunsen considered the Church of England unconditionally as Protestant. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 302.

[44] In Germany there were even rumours that Frederick William IV was a closet Roman Catholic, and that he was under the influence of his Roman Catholic wife Elisabeth, although she converted to Protestantism in 1829. A reason for these rumours was the King's attempts to reconcile the Prussian Crown with the Roman Catholic Church after the 'mixed-weddings affair'. Goyau, *L'Allemagne* 2, 233; J. Mehlhausen, "Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Ein Laientheologe auf dem preussischen Königsthron", H. Schröer and G. Müller (eds.), *Vom Amt des Laien in Kirche und Theologie. Festschrift für Gerhard Krause zum 70. Geburtstag*, Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, 39, Berlin-New York, 1982, 197-198. For Frederick William IV's attempts to resolve the 'Cologne Troubles' after his accession, see also Barclay, *Frederick William IV*, 80.

and its efforts to build a Protestant Church on Mount Zion.[45] The King considered this private institution an opportunity for a united and undenominational Protestant Church; the only way to achieve such an institution was for the Church of England to establish a bishopric.[46]

Frederick William IV was less interested in the mission to the Jews than in the improvement of the condition of the Protestants in Palestine and the creation of a united Protestant Church. In a letter to Bunsen dated 26 August 1841 the King stressed that, despite his positive feelings about the restoration of the Jews, this was not part of his plan. He did not consider the restoration of the Jews an objective of the bishopric. The aim should be to obtain recognition and an equal status of the Protestants to that of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire.[47]

After his memorandums had been turned down, Frederick William summoned Bunsen to Berlin in April 1841 for a "temporary mission to England, 'which would be explained to him in person'".[48] Bunsen assumed that the King had called upon him in order to do something in Palestine.[49] He was right: Frederick William sent him to England to negotiate with the British government and the Anglican bishops about a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. Bunsen arrived in London on 19 June 1841. He soon contacted Lord Ashley about the plan. The latter was overjoyed with the news:

> My friend Bunsen has just called, and has brought me a most honourable and gratifying message from the King of Prussia. May the blessing of God's saints of old,

[45] In the ecclesiastical foundations on Mount Zion by the LJS Frederick William IV saw a duty "of every Protestant prince and community to attach themselves to this foundation as the starting point of combined efforts." Fredrick William IV's instructions to Bunsen, 8 June 1841, in Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 12-13 (English and German).

[46] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 27; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 45; Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens", 54.

[47] Frederick William IV to Bunsen, 26 August 1841, in Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 174-176. This letter is a reaction to a memorandum written by Bunsen, which, according to the King, might give the impression that he (Frederick William IV) saw the restoration of the Jews as the bishopric's chief aim. Bunsen's memorandum will be discussed later. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 91. When nearly three months later an official announcement was made in Prussia about the establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, there was no mention of any connection with the mission to the Jews. This announcement will be discussed later in this chapter.

[48] Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 593.

[49] Bunsen believed "that it might be the will of the Lord, and probably would be that of the King, that in Jerusalem the two principal Protestant Churches of Europe should, across the grave of the Redeemer, reach to each other the right hand of fellowship". Bunsen to his wife, 26 April 1841, in Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 594.

> of David, of Hezekiah, be on him and his for ever! But all things are now wonderful. The mission of Bunsen is a wonder; God grant that its issue may be a wonder![50]

The establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem

After extensive discussions between Frederick William IV and Bunsen about the bishopric, the King had sent Bunsen to London as his special envoy,[51] providing him with detailed instructions on how to negotiate with the British government and the principal leaders of the Church of England. First of all, Bunsen was to talk with the British government about "the protection which should be afforded to the subjects of both powers in the Turkish dominions, without distinction of creed". Furthermore, he had to try and ascertain "how far the Church of England, which is already possessed of a minister's residence on Mount Zion, and has begun to build a church on the spot, would be inclined to grant the Evangelical National Church of Prussia rank, as a sister-Church, in the Holy Land."[52]

The King had instructed Bunsen to keep two principles in mind while negotiating. The first consisted of "the greatest possible unity of action" between the churches of England and Prussia throughout the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Palestine. For the King, "unity in the outset" was a principal condition to obtain full recognition of and equality with other (recognised) ecclesiastical communities in the East. It was very important for the various Protestant churches to present themselves as a united body. Frederick William IV considered the ancient churches in the East to be a perfect example of such a united body. These churches might be divided among themselves, but appeared to be a "firm and compact body". If the separate Protestant churches, such as the United-Evangelical, Episcopal-Anglican, Reformed, Lutheran, Scotch-Presbyterian churches and others, insisted on being recognised as such, the Turkish government would hesitate to grant them recognition. The Protestant church "must exhibit herself *as one in unity of faith*". According to the King, the first step towards unity of action

[50] Ashley in his diary, 24 June 1841, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 370.
[51] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 73; Foerster, *Bunsen*, 153. Bunsen had written four memorandums for the discussions about the bishopric. For these memorandums, see Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 73-77.
[52] "The Instructions of King Frederick William IV to his special Envoy, the Privy Councillor, Dr. Bunsen", 8 June 1841, in Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 2-3 (English and German).

was the establishment by the Church of England of a Jerusalem bishopric. He did not intend to set up an Anglo-Prussian episcopate, but a Protestant bishopric.[53]

The second principle Bunsen was told to keep in mind concerned the King's wish to secure the independence of the Protestant Church of Prussia, and preserve the individuality of the German people.[54] At the end of the instructions the King looked ahead: the establishment of a Protestant bishopric might increase the number of Prussian Protestants in Palestine. If their number indeed increased, the King wanted to establish an independent Prussian Palestine Mission and a Prussian bishopric in Bethlehem which would cooperate with the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem.[55]

After Bunsen had arrived in London on 19 June 1841, he started to discuss the Jerusalem bishopric plan with several church leaders, particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Howley (1766-1848), and the Bishop of London, Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857), and also with the British government, which was mainly represented by the Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston. In 1839 Palmerston had become Lord Ashley's father-in-law because of his marriage to Lady Emily Mary Cowper (1787-1869), Ashley's mother-in-law. Ashley regularly discussed the Jerusalem project with Palmerston. He considered his father-in-law chosen by God "to be an instrument of good to His ancient people". Although Palmerston was positive about the Jerusalem plan, he did not share Ashley's religious motivations. In his diary Ashley confessed that he was forced to use political, financial and commercial arguments to convince Palmerston.[56]

The establishment of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem was thought to offer possible political, commercial, and religious benefits for Britain. Political benefits could consist of more power and prestige in the Middle East. As to the commercial benefits, British presence in Palestine could be beneficial for the British commercial route to India, an important British colony at the time. With regard to the possible religious advantages opinions varied. The millenarians saw in the Jerusalem plan the starting point of the restoration of Israel. Most conservative Anglican churchmen who supported the

[53] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 4-9, 16-17 (English and German); Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 78.
[54] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 16-17 (English and German).
[55] In the King's view the independent Prussian Palestine mission would consist of a church, independent from Britain, a hospice and a school. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 81, 95, 102. Hechler does not mention this part of the King's instructions.
[56] Ashley in his diary, 1 August 1840, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 310-311.

bishopric plan saw it as a possibility to introduce episcopacy in Prussia. On the other hand, Evangelicals such as Lord Ashley wanted to strengthen Protestantism in England against the Tractarian threat.[57]

Although for sometimes conflicting reasons, Howley and Blomfield as well as Palmerston were interested in Bunsen's proposal. Only one month after Bunsen's arrival in England fundamental principles were formulated which all negotiators accepted as the "governing principles for the arrangements at Jerusalem", and which formed the basis for further negotiations. The principles stated that the two main features of a "truly Christian and efficient union among churches" were, first, "'Catholicity', *or a lively sense of the internal unity of the universal Church*", and secondly, the "*National independence*" of the churches that would ensure the "vitality and full development" of the churches' branches.[58]

With regard to the financial aspects of the bishopric, Frederick William IV declared himself "willing to contribute one moiety of the sum necessary for the endowment of a Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem". It was agreed that the King would donate a sum of £15,000 for the endowment of the Jerusalem bishopric. The interest on this amount, which came to £600 per year, would be paid once a year. This would cover half the annual income of the Protestant bishop in Jerusalem. The money would be paid to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London, as Trustees of the Jerusalem bishopric.[59] On the British side, the LJS had reserved £3,000 to be placed at the disposal of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the "necessary outfit of the […] Bishop and the Endowment of the bishopric". Furthermore, money would be raised by voluntary contributions. Various Britons had already donated money for the bishopric and others were "expected to contribute divers sums".[60]

[57] Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 347; Welch, "Anglican Churchmen", 195.

[58] "Fundamental Principles", London, July 1841, in Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 28-29 (English and German).

[59] In the Prussian Deed of Endowment the opportunity to invest advantageously in landed property in Palestine was taken into account. "Royal Prussian Deed of Endowment" (this is the Prussian *Dotations-Urkunde*), 6 September 1841, in Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 46-47 (English and German); also printed in Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 133-134.

[60] The money from the Prussian King, the LJS and the volunteers should be invested in "the purchase of Stock in the Public Funds of Great Britain" in the names of the Trustees of the Funds. Five men, among whom Lord Ashley, were approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury as Trustees. These arrangements were all laid down in the "English Deed of Endowment of the Jerusalem Bishopric", 15 November 1841. For a copy of this "Deed", see Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 76-85. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 94-95.

The speed of the negotiations regarding the bishopric was extraordinary. In retrospect Ashley wrote in his diary that Lord Palmerston:

> went forward with the zeal of an apostle ('howbeit I fear, he thinketh not so'), did in three weeks what at another time, or, as it seems, under any influence but mine, he would not have listened to in twelve months, fanned the weak embers of willing but timid spirit in the Bishops, and made that to be necessary and irrevocable which his successors would have thought the attribute of a maniac, even in imagination.[61]

Ashley also stated that "had Bunsen arrived a month later we should not now, humanly speaking, have reached even the point of stating the case".[62] The reason for this was a forthcoming change in the British government after the dissolution of Parliament in June. With this change of government some change of foreign policy was to be expected.

On 6 September 1841 Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) succeeded Lord William Lamb Melbourne (1779-1848) as Prime Minister, and Lord George Aberdeen (1784-1860) became Palmerston's successor as Foreign Secretary. The new government inherited the Jerusalem bishopric plan from the previous administration. Compared with Palmerston, Peel and Aberdeen were less enthusiastic about the Jerusalem project.[63] Ashley describes a meeting with Peel that shows the new Prime Minister's obvious dislike of the Jerusalem project, sharing "the opinions and feelings […] of his friend Aberdeen". Ashley continues to say that Peel was afraid of exciting the French and "thought we might appear as making 'a crusade against the Roman Catholics'".[64] Nevertheless, in the end the new government was willing to support the plan as a solely religious rather than a partly political project. Therefore, when the first bishop was to be consecrated, the British government warned the British ambassador in Constantinople that the character of the bishop's work was purely spiritual.[65]

[61] Ashley in his diary, 12 October 1841, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 375-376.
[62] Ashley in his diary, 12 October 1841, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 375. Cf. Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 346-347.
[63] Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 346-347.
[64] Ashley in his diary, 22 October 1841, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 377.
[65] Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 349.

Nomination of the first bishop and the Jerusalem Bishopric Act

By now a candidate for the office of bishop of the Protestant bishopric had materialized: the Jewish convert Michael Solomon Alexander (1799-1845). At first, Bunsen and the Bishop of London thought of Alexander McCaul (1799-1863), a scholar of Hebrew and Judaism, and like Ashley one of the principal members of the LJS. However, McCaul turned down the appointment stating that the office holder of the "Episcopate of St. James[66] ought to be a descendant of Abraham".[67] The bishop had to be a Jew, as a sign that the restoration of Israel had really started.[68]

Lord Ashley agreed with McCaul and suggested Michael Solomon Alexander. For those who held millenarian views, Alexander's nomination for the Jerusalem bishopric was too good to be true. As Bunsen wrote in his diary, Alexander was "by race an Israelite, – born a Prussian in Breslau, – in confession belonging to the Church of England – ripened (by hard work) in Ireland – twenty years Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in England". Bunsen enthusiastically concluded that a beginning had been made with the restoration of Israel.[69] After some hesitation, Alexander accepted the office of bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem.

Before Alexander could be consecrated and leave for Jerusalem, a special Act of Parliament had to be passed. This Act empowered the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consecrate British subjects and foreigners to episcopal sees in foreign countries. This Act of Parliament, called "The Jerusalem Bishopric Act", was passed on 5 October

[66] According to Stock, St. James the Just was the Apostle of the Circumcision *par excellence*. Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 420.

[67] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 207. Alexander McCaul wrote a number of books, of which *The Old Paths* was one of the most important. G.H. Anderson (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Cambridge, G.H., 1998, 446.

[68] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 84-85. Many LJS members held millennial views. Tracts, annual reports, and monthly journals also reflected this millennial position. See Kochav, "Beginning at Jerusalem", 93. According to Kochav, in contrast to the majority of the LJS members, many among the large and varied body of supporters on which the LJS was dependent held no millennial views. Kochav, "Beginning at Jerusalem", 94.

[69] Bunsen in his Diary, 19 July 1841, in Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 608-609. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 85. According to Patrick Irwin, Bunsen is "merely echoing" the enthusiasm of his millenarian friend Ashley in his diary, because neither Bunsen nor Frederick William IV were much interested in the Jews in the Jerusalem plan. Irwin, "Bishop Alexander and the Jews of Jerusalem", Sheils, W.J. (ed.) *Persecution and Toleration. Papers Read at the Twenty-Second Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Third Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History 21, Oxford, 1984, 318-319. I do not agree with Irwin, as it seems that Bunsen's hope for the conversion of the Jews and the restoration of Israel was part of Bunsen's eschatological hopes. Cf. Foerster, *Bunsen*, 295. Bunsen even became vice-patron of the LJS during his years as Prussian Minister in London. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 96.

1841. The Act also stipulated that the bishops were allowed to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland, and over Protestant congregations willing to place themselves under their Episcopal Authority. For the performance of such a consecration the archbishops had to obtain a royal licence.[70]

The necessary royal licence was given by Queen Victoria (1819-1901) on 6 November 1841. Already the next day, 7 November 1841, Alexander was consecrated as "Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem".[71] It was deliberately decided that the bishop's title would be 'bishop *in* Jerusalem' rather than '*of* Jerusalem', as the last formulation would question the authority of the Orthodox bishops in Jerusalem and might cause conflicts.[72] Now that Alexander had been ordained, he was ready to go to Jerusalem.[73]

Concluding negotiations: The "Statement of Proceedings"

Since both sides had agreed that in terms of canon law the bishopric would be Anglican, there was no need of a treaty for its establishment. However, Bunsen and the Archbishop of Canterbury both made declarations of intent which outlined the framework for the future joint project.[74] Although the British declaration of intent would be the guideline for the functioning of the bishopric, it is interesting also to discuss Bunsen's memorandum, because it sheds light on the Prussian point of view regarding the bishopric. As early as July 1841 Bunsen had written the memorandum "The Church

[70] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 48-53 (English and German); Welch, "Anglican Churchmen", 194.

[71] The date of Alexander's consecration given by Corey and Perry is 11 November 1841. However, in the "English Deed of Endowment", a copy of whose original is recorded by Hechler, as well as in a letter of Bunsen to his wife, the consecration date is given as 7 November 1841. See M.W. Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, London, n.d., 56; Perry, *British Mission*, 57; Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 77; Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 626. For the Queen's Licence for Consecration, see Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 56-61 (English and German).

[72] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 95. Bunsen also mentioned other titles for the Bishop in letters to his wife. On 15 October 1841 he wrote that "the title [of the Bishop] will be 'Bishop of the Church of St. James at Jerusalem', in which all parties are understood." On 4 November 1841, he wrote that the title of the Bishop would be "Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem", in Bunsen, *A Memoir* 1, 624, 627. It is unclear whether they realised that there already was a Cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem of the Armenian Church, and changed the bishop's title for that reason.

[73] For Alexander's episcopacy, see the next chapter.

[74] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 296.

at Jerusalem", which he presented to his British discussion partners in August. The memo contained practical regulations for the bishopric's structure. Britain and Prussia would share the expenses, both countries would alternately nominate the bishop until a Prussian bishopric was founded in Bethlehem, etc. etc. In the memorandum Bunsen had declared himself in favour of the mission to the Jews, although he mentioned that this was not the only aim of the bishopric. The cooperation with other national churches was another important purpose.[75]

Bunsen's memorandum was criticised by Frederick William IV, partly because it gave the impression that the King aimed at the restoration of the Jews, which he did not. The King was also annoyed because Bunsen had mentioned a possible future Prussian bishopric in Bethlehem ("this indefinite project"). He further criticised the memo for suggesting that he intended a complete union of the Church of England and the Evangelical Church of Prussia. As he had already stated in his instructions to Bunsen, he aimed at a "unity of faith"; under the roof of the Protestant bishopric both churches would be united, but would at the same time remain independent. The King stressed that it was an Anglican bishopric; the Church of Prussia did not know about the Jerusalem plan and remained neutral.[76]

In November 1841, Archbishop Howley presented Bunsen with the draft of the Anglican declaration of intent. This draft finally resulted in the "Statement of Proceedings relating to the Establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem", signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London on 9 December 1841.[77] This may be considered the conclusion of the negotiations about the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric.[78] As both Prussia and Britain had agreed that the see would be a bishopric of the Church of England, this "Statement of Proceedings" was considered the guideline for the actions of the future bishops.[79]

[75] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 87.

[76] The King's criticism was expressed in several letters. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 86-91. For one of these letters, dd. 26 August 1841, see also Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 174-176.

[77] For the "Statement of Proceedings" or "Amtliche Bekanntmachung des Erzbischofs von Canterbury und Bestimmungen über die inneren Verhältnisse des Bisthums in Jerusalem", see Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 104-113. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 97.

[78] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 97.

[79] Bunsen's memorandum "The Church at Jerusalem" in itself did not seem to have affected the actions of subsequent bishops and the development of the Protestant bishopric.

The statement consisted of eight general proceedings together with several arrangements regarding the congregations within the German Protestant confession. One of the eight general proceedings stated that the Crowns of England and Prussia would alternately nominate the "Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem", though the Archbishop of Canterbury had an absolute veto. Arrangements were made concerning the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop in Jerusalem. It was to be exercised according to the laws, canons, and customs of the Church of England, and extended to British clergy and congregations and those other clergy and congregations who wanted to place themselves under the bishop's authority in his diocese, which included Palestine, the rest of Syria, Chaldea, Egypt and Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia). Even though Frederick William IV had stressed that he did not aim at the restoration of the Jews, the British declaration did proclaim that the bishop's "chief missionary care" would be "directed to the conversion of the Jews, to their protection, and to their useful employment". The importance of the idea of the restoration of the Jews for the British was apparent from the "statement" mentioning that it was impossible not to recognise the hand of Providence in the events that had taken place in the Middle East lately "opening to Christians […] a door for the advancement of the Saviour's kingdom" and for the restoration of the Jews.[80]

With regard to the churches then present in Jerusalem, the statement declared that the bishop would

> establish and maintain […] relations of Christian charity with other Churches represented at Jerusalem, and in particular with the orthodox Greek Church; taking special care to convince them, that the Church of England does not wish to disturb, or divide, or interfere with them; but that she is ready, in the spirit of Christian love, to render them such offices of friendship as they may be willing to receive.[81]

However, the tone in which the statement referred to the Roman Catholic Church was anything but friendly. It stated that the bishopric might be a "means of establishing relations of amity between the United Church of England and Ireland and the ancient Churches of the East, strengthening them against the encroachments of the See of Rome". Further on it stated that the Church of Rome was constantly "labouring to pervert the members of the Eastern Churches, and to bring them under the dominion of

[80] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 106-111 (English and German); Schmidt-Clausen, "Der Beitrag Bunsens", 60.
[81] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 110-111 (English and German).

the Pope". The statement blamed the Roman Catholic Church for sparing "no arts nor intrigues" in this endeavour and for sowing "dissension and disorder amongst an ill-informed people". Moreover, it asserted jurisdiction over the Eastern churches, which these churches had "always strenuously resisted". The statement declared that, unlike the intentions of the Roman Catholic Church, the bishop of the church of the "two great Protestant Powers of Europe", i.e., England and Prussia, was charged not to "entrench" upon spiritual rights and liberties of the Eastern churches. Instead, the bishop would take care of them and would maintain friendly relations with them.[82]

This anti-Catholic part of the Statement reflects a resistance to the expansion of Rome's power. Consequently, from these utterances one might conclude that it was an explicit aim of the bishopric's establishment to counterbalance the growth of Roman Catholic influence in the Holy Land. Furthermore, this part of the statement demonstrates that both denominations were interested in the Eastern Christians. However, whereas the Roman Catholics directed their energies towards making converts among the Orthodox, the Protestant bishop was allowed by the statement only to assist these churches, if they wanted. The document did not allow the bishops to make converts among the Orthodox; they just had to maintain friendly relations with them, which then, according to the statement, would be a means of preparing the way for their purification. This particular part supports the view, held by many Protestant missionnaries at the time, that the Eastern churches should be reformed by Protestant teaching and preaching rather than be converted.

The statement ended with several regulations regarding the possibility of congregations of German Protestants willing to submit to the bishop. These congregations would be "under the care of German clergymen" who would be ordained by the bishop for that purpose.[83] These clergymen would officiate in German according to the forms of their national liturgy. The liturgy had to correspond with the liturgy of the Church of England on doctrinal points and was intended for the special use of these congregations only. The German clergymen were required to be ordained according to the ritual of the Church of England, and were required to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles; in addition, they had to subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg before some competent authority. Prior to their consecration the German clergymen had to provide the bishop

[82] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 106-109 (English and German).
[83] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 112-113 (English and German).

with proof of their subscription to the Confession of Augsburg in order to be qualified by German law to officiate in German congregations.[84]

British, Prussian, and Ottoman objections to the bishopric

In both Prussia and England the establishment of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem was severely criticised. In addition, the Ottoman authorities also opposed the Prussian-British plan.

In Prussia the opposition to the bishopric plan was fuelled by the fact that the announcement of the bishopric came rather late. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* was the first one to pay attention to the bishopric plan, on 24 October 1841. However, not until November 1841, after Bishop Alexander was consecrated, was the German public officially informed by means of a circular from Eichhorn.[85] The circular stated that the Evangelical Church was "destitute of all legal recognition in Turkey", in contrast to the Greek Orthodox and Latin Churches in the Ottoman Empire. As Britain possessed a "preponderating influence" on the Porte,[86] because of her fleet and commerce, a union with Britain "whose Church, in origin and doctrine, is intimately related to the German Evangelical Church" would be the best way to obtain recognition of the Protestants. Eichhorn continued by stating that "by a cordial co-operation" a bishopric had been founded in Jerusalem in which all Protestants might find a "centre of union". The document stressed that "at the same time, the German Protestants, especially, may assert the independence of their Church in respect of their own particular Confession and Liturgy". After discussing the bishop's nomination and the bishopric's expenses, the circular mentioned plans for the establishment of a hospice for Protestant travellers. Two circular rescripts from Eichhorn referred to this foundation, also mentioning the erection of a Church for German Protestants in Jerusalem and the foundation of a

[84] Ibid.

[85] Published in the *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung* on 16 November 1841. M. Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem: Political and Religious Controversies Surrounding the Foundation of the Jerusalem Bishopric", Ben-Arieh and Davis (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World, 1800-1948*, 174-175; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 111.

[86] Whereas the Porte knew "Prussia only as a great power of Europe, which, by its harmony with the other great powers, guarantees its security". Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 66-67 (English and German).

school. For the realization of these projects Frederick William IV had ordered a general collection in the Protestant Churches in Prussia.[87]

There were three important reasons for the Prussian objections to the Jerusalem bishopric. The first was the fact that there were no Protestants in Jerusalem. Therefore, there was no real need for a Protestant bishop to reside in Jerusalem.[88] Although it was not entirely correct to state that there were no Protestants in Jerusalem, this criticism is understandable. Over the years LJS missionaries had made only few converts, so that the Protestant community in Jerusalem was very small. The second objection was that Frederick William IV had better send a state representative to Jerusalem instead of a bishop, if he wanted to protect the (political) rights of the Protestants there. A third argument raised by the opponents was that the money used for this bishopric had better be used for the improvement of social conditions in Prussia itself.[89]

The Jerusalem project also raised questions among its supporters. One of these concerned the question whether the project was not political rather than religious. Some of the supporters also wondered if the real aim of the bishopric was to introduce the Episcopal system of the Church of England in Prussia in order to reform the Prussian Church.[90] This question is not surprising, since Frederick William valued a church ideal that consisted of a complete reorganisation of the Evangelical communion in Prussia.[91] Although some British supporters of the bishopric did cherish the hope that episcopacy would be introduced in Prussia, in the negotiations about its establishment the introduction of church reforms in Prussia was not an issue.

Prussian Protestant theologians criticised the Jerusalem project, assuming that Frederick William aimed at an actual church union between the Church of England and

[87] "Circulars of the Prussian minister for spiritual affairs", dd. 14 November 1841, Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 62-75 (English and German); also printed in H.J. Schoeps, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Preussens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Chapter 14 "Der Widerstand der Berliner Geistlichkeit gegen die Gründung des Bistums zu Jerusalem", 289-294. In further conversations between Frederick William IV (via Bunsen) and the Archbishop of Canterbury after the formal negotiations had ended, the King stressed that his actual object was an independent Prussian Palestine mission. In the spring of 1842 Bunsen informed the King that the Archbishop would recognize the bishop's jurisdiction in case a Prussian bishopric would be established. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 98.

[88] Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 176; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 112.

[89] Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 176-177; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 112.

[90] Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 176.

[91] In his view the United Evangelical Church of Prussia would be divided into sees presided by ten metropolitan bishops, headed by the "Prince-Archbishop of Magdeburg". The Crown would be the connection between Church and State. Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 331.

the church of Prussia. Another concern was the unequal status of the Prussian Church compared to that of the Church of England in the British declaration of intent, the "Statement of Proceedings". The Prussian Protestant theologians criticised the ordination of Prussian clergy by the bishop of Jerusalem, and the enforced subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. In their opinion, the recognition of the Anglican ordination of German clergymen affected the nature of Protestantism and would finally lead to its downfall. The Protestant theologians' negative attitude towards the Jerusalem project was nourished by the fact that neither theological faculties and theologians, nor ministerial officials had been consulted about the plan. Both Bunsen and Frederick William considered the Jerusalem project a private enterprise of the Prussian King.[92]

In the spring of 1842 the ultra-conservative Protestant minister Otto von Gerlach (1801-1849) wrote a memorandum to the Prussian King. Von Gerlach tried to explain to the King the concern of many Berlin pastors that the Church of England and the Prussian Church would eventually merge.[93] The Berlin ministers' fear was further increased by a passage in the "Statement of Proceedings" expressing the hope that the bishopric might "lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as well as of doctrine" between the Church of England and the "less perfectly constituted" Protestant Churches of the continent.[94] In Prussia, the Jerusalem bishopric plan was also criticized in Roman Catholic circles. One of its issues was the thought that the bishopric was an attempt to unite Protestant nations in their actions against Catholicism.[95]

In England, too, people opposed the bishopric. Some feared that the main reason for establishing a Jerusalem bishopric was political rather than religious.[96] Furthermore, a number of bishops were irritated about the behaviour of Howley and Blomfield, because they had acted without taking their colleagues' views into account.[97] The main

[92] Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 177-178; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 111, 114-115.

[93] Barclay, *Frederick William IV*, 83. For the criticism on the part of the German "konservativen Konfessionalismus" and the memorandum by Otto von Gerlach see also Schoeps, *Neue Quellen,* 279-294.

[94] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 106-107 (English and German). The "Statement of Proceedings", however, did not express the hope that the Church of England would absorb the Evangelical Church of Prussia. Schoeps, *Neue Quellen*, 281. A letter by the Archbishop of Canterbury temporarily ended the discussion by stressing as important aspects of the agreement: the inner unity of the Protestant Churches, the desire to appear as a union to the Ottoman authorities and the security of both denominations' national independence. Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 178.

[95] Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 177.

[96] Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 177.

[97] Welch, "Anglican Churchmen", 196.

criticism, however, came from the Oxford Movement. Many of its leaders openly declared themselves opposed to the Jerusalem project. The Tractarians feared that by this project the episcopal system of the English Church and the structure of the Evangelical Church of Prussia would appear to be similar. According to them it was impossible for the Episcopal Church of England to cooperate with the non-Episcopal Prussian Church. Moreover, they thought that the establishment of a bishopric in Jerusalem was unnecessary, as the Greek Orthodox Church already represented Christianity in Palestine. The establishment of a Protestant bishopric would raise hostility on the part of the Orthodox towards England. The bishop could only be sent out if the Greek Orthodox patriarch agreed to it.[98]

It was especially John Henry Newman (1801-1890) who strongly opposed the Jerusalem project. Newman even considered the Jerusalem bishopric affair the last blow that finally shattered his faith in the Anglican Church.[99] He criticized the Anglican bishops for fraternizing, "by their act or by their sufferance", with Protestants of all sorts, "allowing them to put themselves under an Anglican Bishop, without any renunciation of their errors or regard to their due reception of baptism and confirmation".[100] Parallel to the Prussian criticism about the lack of Protestants in Jerusalem, Newman used a similar argument to criticise the Jerusalem bishopric: the lack of Anglicans in the city. A Mr. Formby, who had visited Jerusalem, had told him that there were no Anglicans there. So a bishop was sent to, in Newman's words, *"make* a communion, not to govern our own people. Next the *excuse* is, that there are converted Anglican Jews there who require a Bishop". Mr. Formby had told Newman he did not think there were even half a dozen. For such a small number a bishop was sent to Jeru-

[98] Welch, "Anglican Churchmen", 197-198; Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 177; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 107-109.

[99] J.H. Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua. Being a History of his Religious Opinions*, M.J. Svaglic (ed.), Oxford, 1967, 133.

[100] Newman, *Apologia*, 133. According to Newman, these Protestants included "Monophysites, halfconverted Jews, and even Druses". Newman to his friend John William Bowden, 10 October 1841, in G. Tracey (ed.), *Tract 90 and the Jerusalem Bishopric Jan. 1841-April 1842,* The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman 3, Oxford, 1999, 289. In the same letter Newman added that if this happenend he would not "be able to keep a single man from Rome".

salem and for them, Newman continued, this man was a "Bishop of the *circumcision*".[101] This he considered "against the Epistle to the Galatians pretty nearly".[102]

Newman criticized not only the religious motives behind the establishment of the bishopric, but also the possible political intentions, as there were obvious political advantages to the Jerusalem project. If the plan succeeded it "gave Protestantism a *status* in the East, which […] formed a political instrument for England, parallel to that which Russia had in the Greek Church, and France in the Latin". The Protestant community would counterbalance the Russian and French influence.[103] Therefore Newman thought that an episcopate of all sorts of Protestants was actually desired by Britain for the reason that a church in Jerusalem was a "means of political influence, a *resident power* in the country".[104] If the motivation behind the Jerusalem bishopric were in fact a political one, the church would actually be abused for political reasons. This particular criticism on the part of Newman and others contained an element of truth. As we have seen, the motives for the establishment of the bishopric were a mixture of religion and politics. Bunsen, for instance, used both political and religious arguments in the letters in which he expounded his Jerusalem plan in order to gain British support. Furthermore, the British Foreign Minister Palmerston was interested in the bishopric's political and commercial benefits rather than its religious benefits.

Finally, in November 1841, Newman wrote a "Protest against the Jerusalem bishopric" which he sent to Richard Bagot (1782-1854), Bishop of Oxford from 1829-1845, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The protest listed all his points of criticism.[105] Looking back on the Jerusalem project, Newman concluded in his *Apologia* that the "great misfortune" of the Jerusalem bishopric became "one of the greatest mercies" as it brought him to "the beginning of the end", i.e., the end of his membership of the Anglican Church.[106]

[101] Newman to Bowden, 12 October 1841, in Newman, *Apologia*, 133; Tracey, *Tract 90*, 295. Newman wrote nearly the same to Henry Wilberforce two days earlier, 10 October 1841, I.T. Ker, *John Henry Newman. A Biography*, Oxford, 1988, 234-235.

[102] Newman is probably referring to Galatians 3, 28 which states that there is no such thing as a Jew and a Greek, as they are all one in Christ, or Galatians 5, 6, in which Paul states that "if we are in union with Christ Jesus circumcision makes no difference at all, nor does the want of it; the only thing that counts is faith active in love". Consequently, it was wrong to nominate a bishop because he was a converted Jew.

[103] Newman, *Apologia*, 132; Ker, *John Henry Newman*, 234-235.

[104] Newman to Bowden, 12 October 1841, in Tracey, *Tract 90*, 295.

[105] Newman, *Apologia*, 134-135; Tracey, *Tract 90*, 327-328.

[106] Newman, *Apologia*, 136.

During the whole process of establishing a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, both Prussia and England completely ignored the Ottoman authorities. This was a reason for the Porte to oppose the plan. The fact that the Porte was deliberately kept out of the preparations for the bishopric project becomes clear in a confidential despatch from Palmerston to John Ponsonby (1770-1855), the British ambassador at Constantinople (1832-1841), dated 27 August 1841. Palmerston informed Ponsonby that no special permission for the bishopric plan would be required from the Porte: the bishop would have the right to reside in any part of the Ottoman Empire, like all British and Prussians subjects, and his spiritual functions would not interfere with the Muslim Ottoman subjects. Therefore, Palmerston continued, the Porte would have "no right to take any cognizance whatever". He concluded that this information was strictly confidential and that Ponsonby was not to talk about the subject with the Ottoman authorities until he would receive instructions to do so.[107]

The Ottoman authorities, however, were unwilling to recognize the Protestant bishop. In a memorandum dated 9 October 1841, they turned against the sending of a Protestant bishop and the building of a Protestant Church in Jerusalem, with which the LJS had already been occupied from the mid-1830s. The building of a church was against Ottoman law. Moreover, for the Turks both bishop and church were superfluous, because there was no Protestant community in Jerusalem.[108] The Porte, annoyed with the autonomous action on the part of England and Prussia, also feared that the bishop's mission would involve the Ottoman subjects. In addition, the Ottoman authorities were not happy with another Christian community in Jerusalem, as there was already enough rivalry between the various denominations in the city. Not without reason, the Porte assumed that a Protestant community would be another reason for the Europeans to interfere in their affairs.[109]

The new English Foreign Secretary, Aberdeen, assured the Ottoman authorities that the bishop would not expect special privileges different from those of all other British subjects in the Ottoman Empire. In a letter to the British Consul in Jerusalem, William Tanner Young, Aberdeen repeated what he had told the Porte: the bishop was instructed "not to interfere with the religious concerns either of the Mohamedan, or of

[107] For a copy of the despatch, see Tibawi, *British Interests*, 48. Tibawi dates this despatch to 27 September 1841. Lückhoff disagrees and dates the despatch to 27 August of that year. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 121, n. 9.
[108] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 121.
[109] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 54; Blake, "The Origins", 92; Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 178.

the Christian subjects of the Porte; and not to attempt to make Proselytes to the Church of England from either of those classes". In spite of this assurance the Porte did not formally recognize the Protestant bishop. Nevertheless, the Ottoman government did not seem to have taken concrete measures to prevent the foundation of the see, as the bishopric was established in Jerusalem and its first bishop was on his way.[110]

In his letter Aberdeen added that Young should give Alexander his professional protection, but should abstain from identifying himself in any degree with Alexander's mission. In addition, Young should refrain "from assisting to promote any scheme of interference with the Jewish Subjects of the Porte, in which Bishop Alexander may possibly engage". He was not allowed to afford any protection to persons who might "associate themselves to Bishop Alexander's congregation" as British dependents, who could not claim protection under other circumstances.[111] Consequently, Alexander was not protected in his missionary activities by the British government that had sanctioned his appointment.[112]

Concluding remarks

The arguments for the establishment of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem were both religious and political in character. This mixture of religion and politics is to be seen in the motivations of three men who were closely involved in its establishment: Christian Bunsen, Lord Ashley and Frederick William IV, all passionate Evangelicals. Christian Bunsen was a central figure in the development of the Jerusalem bishopric plan and its foundation. An important theme in his concept of a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem was his theological ideal of Protestant ecumenical unity, or an ecumenical united church. The diplomat was also full of eschatological hope; he connected the Protestant bishopric with the second coming of Christ. Furthermore, the development of Bunsen's Jerusalem plan was also influenced by his anti-Roman Catholic feelings. His anti-Roman Catholic sentiments might have enforced his longing for a 'truly' Catholic Church as opposed to the centralist Roman Catholic Church.

[110] Earl of Aberdeen to W.T. Young, 3 May 1842, F.O. 78/501 (No.1), in A.M. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine 1838-1914* 1 1838-1861, The Jewish Historical Society of England, London, 1939, 46. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interest*, 54-55; Lückhoff, "Prussia and Jerusalem", 179.
[111] Aberdeen to Young, 3 May 1842, in Hyamson, *The British Consulate*, 46-47.
[112] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 57.

Both Bunsen's anti-Roman Catholicism and his eschatological expectations were shared by Lord Ashley, who, as a devoted millenarian, directly connected eschatological expectation with the idea of the restoration of the Jews. Although Bunsen might not have been as fierce a millenarian as Lord Ashley, he did hope for the conversion of the Jews as part of his eschatological expectation and considered the bishopric's foundation and the sending of its first bishop to be the start of the restoration of Israel.

Bunsen succeeded in getting the support of Frederick William IV for the bishopric plan. In the Prussian King he found a kindred spirit as regards ideas on church reform. With the Jerusalem bishopric Frederick William aimed at the improvement of the conditions of the Protestants in the Holy Land; his religious desire was politically translated into the wish to obtain from the Ottoman authorities recognition of Protestantism, just as that accorded to the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in Palestine. In order to gain recognition and an equal position for the Protestants, he stressed the importance of 'unity in the outset'. Under the umbrella of the Protestant bishopric, the Church of England and the Protestant Church of Prussia would be united but remain independent at the same time; his aim was cooperation rather than assimilation. In the Jerusalem project he also saw an opportunity to create a basis for an independent Prussian Palestine mission in the future. The bishopric's establishment would be a way to obtain settlements in Palestine. Unlike Ashley and Bunsen, the King did not seem to be driven by anti-Roman Catholic feelings, nor by a longing for the restoration of the Jews. In the Prussian official announcement about the establishment of the Protestant bishopric, the mission to the Jews was not mentioned at all.

On the British side, the restoration of the Jews became the main object of the Protestant bishopric. Its importance was reflected in the British declaration of intent or "Statement of Proceedings". Consequently, from the start there were different expectations of the bishop's chief missionary aim in Britain and Prussia. However, considering the fact that both Prussia and Britain had agreed that the bishopric would be a see of the Church of England, the British declaration of intent was to be the guideline for the future bishop's actions.

As to the relations with the other denominations in Jerusalem, the "Statement of Proceedings" decided that the bishop would maintain friendly relations with these, especially with the Eastern Churches. However, the document was very negative about the Roman Catholic Church. Its anti-Roman Catholic attitude demonstrates that the Protestant bishopric already contained anti-Roman Catholic sentiments from the start.

It further shows that both denominations were interested in the Eastern Christians, each in their own way.

From the beginning the plans for the bishopric came in for criticism, as demonstrated by the objections to its establishment in both Prussia and Britain, but also by the opposition of the Ottoman authorities. Especially in Britain the criticism would not cease, as became clear during the office of Samuel Gobat, the second incumbent of the Jerusalem bishopric.

3

Bishop Alexander and the mission to the Jews

Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Jewish convert Michael Solomon Alexander was appointed the first bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem, newly founded in 1841. This choice was in line with the expectations and hopes of the millenarian supporters of the bishopric. In accordance with the "Statement of Proceedings", Alexander directed his energies solely towards the Jews. He closely cooperated with the LJS in Palestine, of which he became the head. After Alexander's early death in 1845 he was succeeded by Samuel Gobat.

How did the mission develop during Alexander's short episcopate? What were the relations with the other religious communities and denominations in Jerusalem? What was the position of the Protestant mission in Jerusalem during Alexander's term of office? What was the position of the Protestant mission in Jerusalem when, in 1846, Gobat arrived? These and other questions will be the subject of this chapter, which will also pay attention to some conflicts between Alexander and Prussia. These conflicts shed light on Prussia's choice of Alexander's successor, Samuel Gobat, and the circumstances of the Protestant mission at the start of his episcopate in 1846.[1]

[1] There are two biographies of Michael Solomon Alexander, written, respectively, by Johannes de le Roi and Muriel Corey. Alexander and the mission during his episcopate are also discussed by Tibawi, Perry, Gidney and Lückhoff, and in some smaller publications, for instance by P. Irwin. For more details about Alexander's life and episcopate I refer the reader to these authors. Lückhoff is the only one who has discussed Alexander's conflicts with Prussia. J.F.A. de le Roi, *Michael Solomon Alexander der erste evangelische Bisschof in Jerusalem. Ein Beitrag zur orientalische Frage*, Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin 22, Leipzig, 1897; Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*; Gidney, *The History of the LJS*; Tibawi, *British Interests*; Irwin, "Bishop Alexander"; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*; Perry, *British Mission*.

Michael Solomon Alexander: consecration and arrival in Jerusalem

Michael Solomon Alexander was born on 1 May 1799 in Schönlanke in the Duchy of Posen as the son of a rabbi. At the age of sixteen Alexander became a teacher of Talmud and German. In 1821 he was nominated as a rabbi in Norwich in England and some years later in Plymouth. There he met Deborah Levi (1804-1872); they were married on 24 November 1824. Meanwhile Alexander had started to question the Jewish faith. After a long internal struggle he converted to Christianity, despite opposition from Deborah's family and the Jewish community. On 22 June 1825 he was baptised and a few months later Deborah was baptised, too. Within a year and a half after his conversion Alexander was ordained Anglican deacon and soon afterwards ordained priest. From 1827 he worked as a missionary for the LJS in Danzig and West-Prussia. In 1832 he became Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature at King's College in London.[2] When he was nominated for the Jerusalem bishopric the LJS was delighted:

> A consummation such as this was far beyond our most sanguine hopes, and almost beyond the contemplation of our prayers.
> We saw a Hebrew of the Hebrews, after centuries of contempt, degradation and suffering, elevated to the highest office in the Christian Church – destined, in God's mercy, to carry back the message of peace to the source from which it had originally flowed, and on the very scene of the life and Passion of Our Dearest Lord, to present the more conspicuously, by his eminent station, the first-fruits of an humbled, penitent and returning people.[3]

On 7 November 1841, Alexander was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) and the Bishops of London (Blomfield), New Zealand (George Augustus Selwyn), and Rochester (George Murray) in Lambeth Palace Chapel. Alexander McCaul preached the sermon, in which he placed the whole event in a millenarian perspective.[4] Many eminent men were present at the ceremony, among whom of course Bunsen (representing the King of Prussia), Lord Ashley, Gladstone and Sir Stratford Canning (1786-1880), the English Ambassador Extraordinary to the Porte.[5] When Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand read Acts 20, 22 "And now I go bound in the

[2] Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 9-38; Irwin, "Bishop Alexander", 317-318; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 120.
[3] LJS report for 1842, in Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 52.
[4] "Signs such as these proclaim that, if the set time to favour Zion has not yet fully arrived, it can hardly be far distant". Quoted in Irwin, "Bishop Alexander", 319.
[5] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 209; Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 56.

spirit unto Jerusalem", Blomfield was said to be in tears.[6] Ashley was very enthusiastic about the ceremony, pointing to the significance of the whole event for all those who understood it in a millenarian way. The service was

> most deeply impressive; solemn, and touching in itself, but made especially so by the style and manner of the Archbishop, who seemed to rise infinitely above himself; instead of the frail, half-timid being he generally is, he stood erect, and strong, with a powerful and stirring voice. Indeed, the Bishop of London told me that he had never known the Archbishop so animated as he had been on this subject during the last few weeks. The whole thing was wonderful, and to those who had long laboured and prayed in the Jewish cause, nearly overwhelming to see a native Hebrew appointed, under God, by the English Church to revive the Episcopate of St. James, and carry back to the Holy City the truths and blessings we Gentiles had received from it.[7]

On 7 December 1841, one month after his consecration, Alexander left England with his wife and six of their children.[8] The government had offered a steam frigate called "Devastation" for them to travel on.[9] The LJS missionaries Ferdinand Christian Ewald (1802-1874) and Edward Macgowan (1795-1860) came with the bishop and his family. They journeyed to Jaffa via Beirut, where they went to see Consul-General Hugh Henry Rose (1801-1885). Rose went on to accompany Alexander to Jerusalem. On 18 January 1842 they reached Jaffa, and arrived at Jerusalem three days later.[10] Alexander himself has given us an account of his arrival, published in the *Jewish Intelligencer*. The bishop and his family entered the city together with Rose, Captain Gordon from the "Devastation", the LJS missionaries John Nicolayson and Meville Peter Bergheim, who had met the bishop half-way, and some American missionaries who had come to meet the new bishop three miles out of Jerusalem.[11] Alexander was also accompanied

[6] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 421; Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 209.

[7] Ashley in his diary, 12 November 1841, in Hodder, *The Life and Work*, 379.

[8] His eldest son was left at school in Britain. Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 60.

[9] The government first offered H.M. steam frigate "Infernal", but Alexander objected to travelling in a frigate with such a name. See Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 60; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 50-51. The steamer was offered by the government after some pressure by Lord Ashley; Peel at first was afraid to provide it. Ashley tried to persuade him by stressing the fact that the new (conservative) government had done nothing for the bishopric, whereas the Prussian King had paid half of the bishopric's endowment and the British public the other half, which showed its deep interest in the matter. Hodder, *Life and Work*, 378; Finlayson, *Shaftesbury*, 156-157.

[10] Alexander described his journey in letters to the LJS, dd. 17 and 25 January 1842, in Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 64-67.

[11] These American missionaries must have been from the ABCFM, which was still present in Jerusalem at the time. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Jerusalem mission of the American Board decided to discontinue its

by "the chief officers sent by the Pasha, who had himself come to meet us, but was obliged to return, as night came on, and it was damp […] and a troop of soldiers, headed by Arab music, which is something like the beating of a tin kettle".[12] They entered through Jaffa gate, under the firing of salutes which, however, were fired because of the celebration of a Muslim feast.[13]

When Alexander arrived in Jerusalem, he carried with him a Letter Commendatory written by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The "Statement of Proceedings" stated that this letter was meant for the "Rulers of the Greek Church".[14] For this reason Alexander carried not only a letter in English, but also brought a Greek translation. The letter was intended to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the object of the Protestant bishopric. Alexander was charged "not to intermeddle in any way with the jurisdiction of the Prelates or other Ecclesiastical Dignitaries bearing rule in the Churches of the East". He had to be ready "to promote a mutual interchange of respect, courtesy, and kindness".[15] Alexander, again accompanied by Consul-General Rose, went to the Greek convent carrying the letter, where they were well received.[16] Alexander and Rose also visited the Armenian convent, where they were received in a friendly manner by the Armenian patriarch. The latter, however, did express his anxiety lest Alexander interfere with his flock.[17]

Alexander did not visit the Roman Catholic representative in Jerusalem, the Custodian of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. His decision was most probably

mission in March 1843. Tibawi, *American Interests*, 101, 105. Consul Young was on leave in England, so he could not accompany Alexander. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 58.

[12] *Jewish Intelligencer*, 1842, quoted in Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 234. Cf. Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 65-66.

[13] *The Times*, 27 January 1841, quoted in Perry, *British Mission*, 58. According to Tibawi, this quotation demonstrates that Alexander was new to the ways of a Turkish Pasha, as it is unlikely that the Pasha went out to welcome a dignitary who was unrecognized by the Porte. The most the Pasha might have done was to send a polite excuse, similar to that in Alexander's report to Consul-General Rose. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 58-59.

[14] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 112.

[15] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 97, 99. For both the Greek and English version of the Letter Commendatory, see Hechler, 96-99.

[16] The letter was not handed to the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem in person. Although he was patriarch of Jerusalem, he resided in Constantinople at the time and only occasionally visited Jerusalem.

[17] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 66, n. 1. An Arabic version of the Letter Commendatory has also been found, although this translation is not mentioned in the "Statement of Proceedings". Tibawi states, based on the *Jewish Intelligencer*, that at the Armenian convent the Arabic version of the letter was presented (Tibawi, *British Interests*, 66). For more information about the Arabic translation of the Letter Commendatory, see Tibawi, "The Letter Commendatory relating to the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem", *The Muslim World* 69/1, 1979, 1-7.

based on the fact that the Letter Commendatory was not addressed to the Franciscans. Moreover, Alexander was probably supported in his decision by the "Statement of Proceedings", which stated that the bishopric could strengthen the Eastern churches against the "encroachments of the See of Rome".[18] Hence it seems that Alexander did not feel obliged to pay a visit to the Roman Catholic representatives in Jerusalem.[19] Furthermore, the Roman Catholic countries, especially France and Austria, had resisted the establishment of the bishopric. According to the British ambassador in Vienna, the anti-Roman Catholic language in the "Statement", together with Alexander's pompous reception at Jerusalem, had contributed to the suspicion and dissatisfaction in Austrian circles.[20] In retrospect the British Consul in Jerusalem, James Finn (1806-1872), was amused to read the "silly exaggerations of Roman Catholic journals" at the time.[21] The resentment of these countries might also have encouraged Alexander not to visit the Roman Catholic convent.

In the negotiations about the bishopric it had been decided that the LJS, together with the Prussian King, would provide money for the bishopric and its bishop. The LJS had also declared itself ready to make Alexander head of its mission station in Jerusalem, and to place all its institutions in Palestine under the Protestant bishop. The Society was willing to build a church in Jerusalem and a residence for the bishop and to provide him with personnel, such as several missionaries and a medical attendant with two assistants. Both the mission of the LJS and Alexander's mission were directed towards the Jews, and during the years of his short episcopate Alexander made the Protestant bishopric and the LJS Mission into a unified body.[22] While Alexander was in office new institutions were established, and existing enterprises, such as the building of Christ Church and the Medical Mission, were further developed.

[18] "Statement of Proceedings", Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 106.
[19] Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 66. Tibawi mentions that Rose advised Alexander to make up for this omission, but the bishop did nothing.
[20] It was said that Austria had lodged a formal protest at the Porte against the establishment of the bishopric. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 138; Greaves, "The Jerusalem Bishopric", 351; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 47.
[21] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 138.
[22] Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 65-66; Perry, *British Mission*, 57, 61.

Christ Church: the first Protestant church in Palestine

When Alexander arrived in Jerusalem there was no Protestant church building in the city, although the LJS had been trying to build one for years. When the LJS missionary John Nicolayson settled in Jerusalem in 1833, he held Sunday services in his own house.[23] During the second half of the 1830s, the missionary began to direct his attention to the building of a Protestant church in Jerusalem. To this end, he travelled to London in November 1836 to discuss the idea of erecting a Protestant church in Jerusalem with the leaders of the LJS. Since Palestine was under Egyptian rule at the time, Nicolayson thought that the necessary *firman* to build the church would be granted.[24] The LJS asked Palmerston for help in order to acquire the permit. However, no *firman* was obtained.[25] Nevertheless, the LJS ordered Nicolayson to purchase land for a church, a mission house and a burial ground. He bought land via an intermediary in 1838.[26] On 17 December 1839 digging started and two months later, on 10 February 1840, Nicolayson was able to lay the foundation stone. The LJS appointed the architect William Curry Hillier to the project, who however died of typhus in August 1840. Shortly after Hillier's death the second war between Egypt and the Ottomans broke out.[27]

After Egypt's defeat Nicolayson wanted to take advantage of the intervening period between the old administration in Jerusalem and a new one. He urged the LJS in London to immediately take steps to arrange a *firman* for the building of the church. In turn, the LJS asked Palmerston to make use of the political situation and to ask the Sultan for the necessary *firman*.[28] However, the ambassador in Constantinople, Ponsonby, raised many problems regarding the issue of the imperial order. Ponsonby confided to Palmerston that he did not believe a direct request to the Porte for a church would result in a permit. He considered it better to build a small chapel,

[23] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 29.
[24] As mentioned before, Egyptian rule introduced several reforms to Palestine, one of which was the removal of the ban on building new churches. See Chapter 1. Cf. Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 136.
[25] Perry, *British Mission*, 31; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 38-39.
[26] At the time foreigners were not allowed to buy land and to register it in their own name, see Chapter 1. A year later the land was transferred to Nicolayson's name as a trustee of the LJS.
[27] Perry, *British Mission*, 33, 35; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 40-41.
[28] Perry, *British Mission*, 36-37.

without much fuss; maybe in the course of time a *firman* would be granted.[29] When in September 1841 the Prussian envoy in Constantinople intervened in the matter, an understanding was reached with the Ottoman Foreign Minister. According to Ponsonby, this understanding was nothing more than an "unavowed" permission to build the Protestant church; the Ottoman authorities in Jerusalem would be ordered not to oppose the building activities, under condition that the labour did not attract any attention.[30] Consequently, there still was no *official* permit to build a church.

In the meantime the negotiations about a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem between Prussia and Britain had started and in December 1841 Alexander had left for Palestine. On 28 February 1842, a month after his arrival, he laid the first stone on the church's foundation, of which Nicolayson had laid the first stone two years earlier. Again, work on the building was interrupted because of disputes with Hillier's successor, the architect James Wood Johns, who withdrew from LJS service. The work was continued under Matthew Habershon (1789-1852) in January 1843.[31] Building activities continued without an official *firman* until in January 1843 the Governor of Jerusalem suddenly ordered it to stop. Upon this, Alexander and Nicolayson decided to go to Constantinople. They travelled via Beirut in order to consult Rose on the matter. Rose advised Alexander not to go to Constantinople, as he feared that the bishop's presence would cause consternation among the European representatives in Constantinople. According to Rose, stories about conversions in Jerusalem had already provoked feelings of jealousy. Without Alexander's presence the British Ambassador would be in a better position to press for a permit from the Porte.[32]

Negotiations with the Ottoman authorities did not produce any result and for almost two years the situation did not change. However, on 18 March 1845, Lord Ashley presented a memorandum on the subject of the church to the Foreign Secretary

[29] Perry, *British Mission*, 38-39. Bunsen wrote Ashley that Ponsonby would not ask for a *firman* as he was sure of a refusal. Ponsonby therefore suggested to build the church without the permit. When the Ottoman authorities then ordered building to stop, he would ask for a *firman* to repair it. This refers to the Ottoman law by which it was not permitted to build churches, but only to repair them. Bunsen to Ashley, 13 August 1841, in Hodder, *Life and Work*, 373-374.

[30] In a letter to the Foreign Office in London, Ponsonby expressed his hope to get a written version of this promise, as he feared the Porte would not grant any official *firman*. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 15 September 1841, quoted in Perry, *British Mission*, 39.

[31] Until the end of 1843 the Sunday services were held in a temporary chapel. When this chapel became too small, another building, by the name of St. James Chapel, was used as a church. Perry, *British Mission*, 66-67.

[32] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 68-69; Perry, *British Mission*, 67.

George Aberdeen, in favour of the LJS. It was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, other prelates, 1,400 parochial clergy, and 15,000 laity. The memorandum asked for an immediate removal of the obstacles for the building of the new church of the LJS in Jerusalem, arguing that the Ottomans were assisted by Britain in regaining control in Syria and Palestine.[33] This memorandum shows the broad support in Britain for the LJS and its mission to the Jews in Palestine.

The memorandum stimulated Sir Stratford Canning (1786-1880), the English ambassador in Constantinople at the time, to resume negotiations with the Porte in order to obtain the necessary *firman* for the church. Finally, in September 1845, a *firman* for building a Protestant Church in Jerusalem was granted by the Sublime Porte. It was addressed to the Governor General of Syria, the Governor of Jerusalem, "and others", and stated that the Protestant place of worship should "be within the Consular residence". Furthermore, the addressees should take care that no one opposed the erection of the church, when it was built "in the manner stated" by the *firman*.[34] However, the LJS and Alexander were not to enjoy the privileges granted for long; on 16 October 1845 the consuls of Britain and Prussia presented the *firman* to the Governor of Jerusalem. Only two days later, the Governor came to see the building site and discovered the church being built was not within the grounds of the consular residence. Moreover, the *firman* had granted permission to *erect* a place of worship and not to complete a building.[35] Consequently, the construction of the church was stopped again.

As a result of the intervention of Stratford Canning, a new *firman* for the building of the church was granted on 9 December 1845. This enabled the LJS to complete the building. Finally, three years later, the first Protestant church building in Palestine was finished and could be consecrated by the name of Christ Church.[36] As Alexander had died in November 1845, it was consecrated by his successor Gobat on the seventh anniversary of Alexander's entry into Jerusalem: 21 January 1849.[37]

[33] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 129; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 73; Perry, *British Mission*, 69-70.
[34] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 128-129. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 74.
[35] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 74.
[36] King Frederick William IV had proposed to call the church "Israel's Trust", "The Consolation", "Comfort of Israel", or "Messiah's Church". Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 129.
[37] The entrance of the first Protestant bishop in Jerusalem is celebrated in Christ Church until this day. For the consecration, see also Tibawi, *British Interests*, 99; Perry, *British Mission*, 108.

The LJS hospital: conflict between the leaders of the Jewish community and the LJS

On 21 January 1842, the LJS sent the British physician Edward Macgowan to Jerusalem, where he arrived as a medical missionary as part of Alexander's entourage. Melville Bergheim had come to Jerusalem a few months earlier. In a small room on the LJS premises they started the medical treatment of Jewish patients. With the permission of the LJS board, Macgowan rented a building in September 1842 in order to renovate it and start a hospital. On 12 December 1844, the "Hospital for Poor and Sick Jews" was opened. During Alexander's episcopate the hospital concentrated mainly on treating Jewish people, but from the 1850s onwards people with other religious backgrounds were also welcome.[38]

In the hospital no direct religious instruction was given to the patients, although Hebrew copies of the Bible were in every ward.[39] John Aiton, a traveller in Jerusalem, wrote about the hospital that

> plenty of New Testaments in the Hebrew tongue are laid on the tables. But while every facility is given to the reading of the Gospels, there is nothing like compulsion, or any indication that the conversion of the inmates is the sole but distinguished object […]. On the contrary, everything is done, so far as the funds will admit of it, for the benefit of the whole body of the Jews in Palestine.[40]

It seems that the Jewish patients were treated in the hospital without any pressure to convert to Protestantism.[41] Nevertheless, the LJS missionaries must have been pleased with every Jewish conversion to Christianity.[42]

The leaders of the Jewish community in Jerusalem were fiercely opposed to the mission hospital. When on 21 January 1845 one of the Jewish patients died there, the Chief Rabbis of the Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities in Jerusalem refused to bury him. Eventually the deceased was buried in the British cemetery. In the synagogues of

[38] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 239; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 130; Perry, *British Mission*, 71-72.
[39] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 70.
[40] J. Aiton., *The Lands of the Messiah*, London, 1852, 319, quoted in Irwin, "Bishop Alexander", 325 and Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 239-240.
[41] According to the biographers of Alexander's successor, Samuel Gobat, Gobat criticised this policy. He disagreed with all efforts made especially for Jews without preaching the Gospel to them, such as a hospital solely for Jews in which the New Testament was not read, in order not to put off the Jews. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 348-349. For Gobat's view on mission, see the next chapter.
[42] Cf. Irwin, "Bishop Alexander", 325.

both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardim an anathema against the hospital was read, which stated that all Jews were forbidden to work in or enter the mission hospital. If anyone did so, they would be excluded from the congregation, their sons would not be circumcised, no proper burial rites would be performed and they would not be buried in a Jewish cemetery.[43] Within 24 hours all Jewish people, both patients and servants, had left the hospital, but in a few weeks the patients returned to again receive medical care.[44]

Foundation of new missionary institutions

During Alexander's episcopate several new institutions were set up. One of these was the Hebrew College in Jerusalem, opened by Alexander on 19 May 1843. In the "Statement of Proceedings" the establishment of this college had already been planned; it declared that the bishop should establish a college for Jewish converts under his care. According to the "Statement", Alexander was also allowed to receive Druses and Eastern Christians in the college if funds sufficed. Members of the Greek Orthodox clergy were only admitted in the college with the permission from their spiritual superiors and for a "subsidiary purpose".[45] In practice, the college was an institution for training Jewish converts as missionaries. At the start there were four students: three rabbis, Lauria, Goldberg and Hirsch, who were in the process of conversion, and the assistant to the church's architect, Edward Jonas.[46] Head of the college was Reverend

[43] Anathema read in the synagogues of the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem on 25 January 1845. The anathema read in the synagogues of the Sephardim does not contain the part about the funeral rites and burial. For the text of both anathemas and a letter about this situation from Consul Young to Aberdeen, see Hyamson, *The British Consulate* 1, 67-73.

[44] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 239; Perry, *British Mission*, 75. Perry quotes a letter from Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885) which states that he countered the LJS initiative in the medical field by sending the Jewish doctor Simon Fränkel (1806-1880). Perry, *British Mission*, 77.

[45] "Statement of Proceedings", Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 110, 112.

[46] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 237; Perry, *British Mission*, 62. Two of them, the Russian rabbis Goldberg and Lauria, had earlier caused tension between Consul Young and Bishop Alexander. Together with another Russian Jew they had taken refuge in the house of one of Alexander's missionaries. According to the LJS missionaries the three were candidates for conversion, which also made them fugitives from the jurisdiction of the Russian Consular agent Rabbi Bordaki, as they were Russian citizens. The rabbis refused to appear before Bordaki. Bordaki asked Young for help to send them back to him. Young tried to achieve this; in several letters he asked Alexander to deliver up the men. However, to Alexander this was a religious issue rather than the political matter it was to Young. Consequently, the bishop refused to give up the three men, but was at last persuaded to stop protecting them. This affair led to a deterioration of the relationship between

William Douglas Veitch; subjects taught were Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, English, German and divinity, which had to be taught in strict conformity with the doctrines of the Church of England.[47] In 1846, Hebrew College was closed because of a lack of funds.[48]

Two other institutions established during Alexander's episcopate were the School of Industry and the Enquirer's Home. When Jews converted to Christianity they were often banished from their community and lost their jobs. The School of Industry, opened in 1843, was an LJS institution intended to help Jews who had become Protestants. Its purpose was to train proselytes in different crafts such as carpentry and woodcarving, thus enabling them to make a living. They made objects required for the mission, such as furniture for the new church, and artefacts from olive wood which were said to be very popular among travellers. After a few years the School of Industry began to decline. It was reopened on 21 December 1848 under the name 'House of Industry' under the direction of Paul Isaac Hershon (1818-1888).[49]

Also in 1843, a so-called "Enquirer's home" was opened. This home was established to provide "enquirers", i.e., those who were interested in Christianity, with free board, lodging and clothing. At the same time the potential converts underwent observation and religious instruction prior to their admittance into the School of Industry or the Hebrew College for permanent training after their conversion.[50]

Furthermore, Alexander established an elementary school in Jerusalem.[51] It seems, however, that this institution never really got off the ground. According to the LJS missionary Henry Crawford (1815-1863), Alexander brought a teacher with him to Jerusalem, who however became completely discouraged as a result of the "heterogeneous material" i.e., the children that were presented to him.[52] In his annual

Alexander and the British Consul. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 63-64. Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 132-134. For this and more information, see Hyamson, *The British Consulate*, 47-60.

[47] Smith, *the Protestant Bishopric*, 156; Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 112.

[48] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 237; Perry, *British Mission*, 63.

[49] Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 157; Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 237-238; Perry, *British Mission*, 63-64.

[50] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 238; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 76; Irwin, "Bishop Alexander", 321.

[51] The Palestine traveller Tobler mentions an elementary school established by Alexander, see Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 256. Perry also mentions a small co-educational school founded during Alexander's episcopate, but he does not give further information about the school. Perry, *British Mission*, 62

[52] "The Diocesan Schools at Jerusalem", Crawford to the editor of the *Record*, 25 November (n.d.), Oxford/BL, Dep. CMJ c.110.

report for 1871 Gobat also states that the schoolteacher who had come from Britain had already lost heart before he had begun teaching. As a result, Alexander did not succeed in opening a school, according to Gobat.[53]

At the initiative of Bishop Alexander, a Bible depot was opened early in 1844. In the depot Bibles were sold in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Italian, French, German and Spanish. Besides Bibles, other literature was also provided, such as Hebrew translations of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or McCaul's *The Old Paths*. The depot was administered by Jewish converts, who read the Bible to visitors and discussed it. Its opening caused a great stir and the rabbis pronounced an excommunication against all Jews who should enter the Bible depot.[54]

Conflicts between Prussia and Bishop Alexander

After a few years Bishop Alexander started to have clashes with the Prussian Consul General for Syria and Palestine in Beirut, Anton von Wildenbruch (1803-1874), and the Prussian Consul in Jerusalem, Ernst Gustav Schultz (1818-1851).[55] These conflicts uncovered several questions and problems Prussia had regarding the "Statement of Proceedings". One of the disagreements was about a Protestant community in the Lebanese town of Hasbayya in 1844. In this town several members of the Greek Orthodox Church had expressed a desire to become Protestants. They had asked ABCFM missionaries to come and provide religious education and hoped for protection from the Protestant powers, especially Britain.[56] Before the American missionaries could send out the two teachers of religion they had in mind, the 'new' Protestants also

[53] Gobat, Annual Report for 1877, Jerusalem, 10 November 1871, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 483.
[54] Gidney, *The History of the LJS*, 238; Perry, *British Mission*, 64; Tibawi,*British Interests*, 76.
[55] Alexander's relations with the British consul Young were not very harmonious either. In addition to the conflict about two Russian Jews (see n. 36), they had different views on British protection for non-British Jewish converts. In some cases Alexander asked for the protection of non-British Jews, which was refused by Young every time the bishop asked him. Young based his refusal on the instructions he had received from the British government in 1842, i.e., that he was not allowed to grant British protection to persons who might associate themselves with Bishop Alexander's congregation; see Chapter 2. For the conflicts between Alexander and Young, see Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 132-135; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 71-72.
[56] The American Board missionaries involved in the Hasbayya case were Eli Smith, William Thomson, and George Whiting. On the basis of archive material from the ABCFM, Tibawi writes that these Greek Orthodox wanted to become Protestants, because of the attitude of their religious leaders towards the taxes demanded by the civil authorities, which they felt to be oppressive. Tibawi, *American Interests*, 108. Tibawi discusses this incident in Hasbayya without mentioning the involvement of Bishop Alexander and the Prussian consuls.

asked for spiritual support because of the hostility of the Greek clergy in Hasbayya. As a result, some of them had returned to the Greek Orthodox Church.[57] When Alexander briefly stopped in Beirut on his way to Jerusalem, the people from Hasbayya approached him with their request for spiritual support. Whereas the American missionaries in principle viewed the request from the Hasbayya people positively,[58] Alexander refused it.[59] The bishop based his decision on the view that the dogmas of the Greek Orthodox Church did not differ essentially from the Anglican Church he represented, so that a transfer from one church to the other was not justifiable. In addition, the "Statement of Proceedings" forbade him to interfere in the affairs of the Greek Orthodox Church. Alexander's refusal annoyed Von Wildenbruch, as he did not agree with Alexander's actions in this matter.[60]

This stance on the part of the bishop towards Greek Orthodox Christians who were willing to become Protestants was reason for concern to Prussia. Frederick William IV decided to interfere, taking into account the possible future efforts of a Prussian clergy. The King feared that if Greek Orthodox church members desired to convert to Protestantism, the Protestant bishop would order the (future) Prussian consulate-chaplain in Jerusalem to reject these potential proselytes. The consulate-chaplain, however, would be obliged to admit them according to the principles and practice of the German Evangelical Church. Frederick William IV thought it un-justifiable not to admit those who had left their church on grounds of conscience. He wanted Bunsen to discuss the matter with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Bunsen, however, put off the meeting, as he believed it to be pre-mature to discuss the matter, among other reasons because there was no Prussian

[57] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 135-136

[58] The American missionaries were in doubt as it offered a "golden opportunity" to gain so many converts and to prove to the Board that their mission was a success. For their deliberations, see H. Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings", 232-236. Cf. C.E. Farah, "Protestantism and Politics: The 19th Century Dimension in Syria", D. Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period. Political, Social and Economic Transformation*, Jerusalem, Leiden, 1986, 324.

[59] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 135-136. The Hasbayya-affair became an issue on diplomatic level. This paragraph, however, only focuses on the disagreement between Alexander and the Prussian representatives, and Frederick William IV's view of Alexander's attitude towards the Hasbayya-affair. For information about the attitude of the English and Prussian representatives, such as Rose and Wildenbruch, the American missionaries, the Greek patriarch and the Ottoman authorities in this affair, see Farah, "Protestantism", 320-340. Cf. Tibawi, *American Interests*, 108-112; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 135-139; Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings", 232-235.

[60] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 136-139.

chapel in the Prussian consulate yet. Such a discussion might lead to mutual distrust. Thereupon the King decided to postpone negotiations with the English prelates. However, before a meeting could take place, another conflict occurred.[61]

This disagreement between Alexander and Prussia was about the bishop's refusal to allow Prussian Protestants to use the LJS church after its completion. Alexander stated that he would only admit Anglican clergymen, consecrated by him and under his jurisdiction, to conduct a service in German. They were required to use the liturgy of the Church of England and to have the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He could not allow Lutheran ministers to conduct services.[62]

Schultz did not agree with this exclusion of Lutheran ministers. He wrote a document in which he listed his objections to the current situation of the bishopric in Jerusalem and its future. The consul even proposed to cancel the agreement between Britain and Prussia as a possible solution for the problems. Schultz criticised the position of the LJS regarding the bishopric; in his opinion, the Jerusalem bishopric almost seemed to be incorporated into the LJS. Apart from this hardly anything was done to promote the real aim Frederic William IV had had with the establishment of the bishopric: unity of action of the Protestants in the Ottoman Empire. On one point even this goal was directly obstructed; according to the consul, Alexander had been unfavourably disposed towards Protestant clergy who were not ordained Episcopals from the start. He asked for an agreement that would make it possible for ordained Prussian clergy to work as pastor under the jurisdiction of the bishop.[63]

The Prussian King asked Bunsen to discuss these conflicts with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The King wanted four issues or questions to be clarified. The first concerned Alexander's statement that in the Anglican Church no other rite than the Anglican was accepted. Secondly, Bunsen had to find out the possibilities for intercommunion; could German church members and Anglicans receive communion together? The third question was whether the Prussian clergymen who were sent to Jerusalem and had been ordained by the bishop would have the necessary freedom in exercising their office. Finally, Bunsen had to discuss the attitude of the Anglican Church concerning the switch of Greek Orthodox church members to

[61] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 137-138.
[62] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 140.
[63] For this and for more information about Schultz's criticism, which also led to differences between him and Bunsen, see Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 139-143.

the Protestant Church. With the matter of Hasbayya in mind, the King wanted his envoy to stick to the fact that Prussia had set itself no similar restrictions regarding the conversion of Eastern Christians.[64]

In the meantime the King stuck to his plan for an independent Prussian Palestine Mission which would cooperate with the bishopric in Jerusalem.[65] As the buildings planned and financed by the LJS only served the English interest, the King wanted a *firman* for Prussia allowing the building of a Prussian consulate, with a chapel, school and hospital as soon as possible.[66]

Death of Bishop Alexander

Early in November 1845 Alexander went to visit Egypt together with his wife and eldest daughter. From there they planned to travel to England. On 23 November 1845, while still on his way to Egypt, Alexander died at the age of 46. His body was returned to Jerusalem where he was buried in the English cemetery. Thirty-one Jews signed a letter of condolence to the bishop's wife, in which they praised Alexander's affecttionate love for Israel and his inspiring piety and exemplary life.[67]

With only a small number of Jewish converts, Alexander's mission does not appear to have been very successful. Nevertheless, existing LJS institutions were developed further and new ones were set up in cooperation with the bishop. During his short episcopate Protestant missionary activities had considerably increased and the Protestant bishopric had been instituted. Under Alexander's rule the foundation for future Protestant missionary efforts was laid. He acted in accordance with the "Statement of Proceedings" and directed his energies towards the mission to the Jews only. This mission was also very important to the people in Britain, as demonstrated by the memorandum of March 1845 in favour of the LJS church in Jerusalem, signed by thousands.

As a result of the efforts put in by Alexander and the LJS missionaries, the Protestant mission faced fierce opposition from the heads of the Jewish community. It seems that Alexander did not have any notable clashes with the other denominations

[64] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 143-144.
[65] See Chapter 2; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 144.
[66] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 144.
[67] Gidney, *the History of the LJS*, 240-241; Corey, *From Rabbi to Bishop*, 102-107.

in Jerusalem. This might easily be explained by the fact that he strictly refrained from making converts among the members of other churches. His attitude towards the Greek Orthodox in Hasbayya, who declared themselves Protestants, is an excellent example of his opinion on the conversion of Eastern Christians to Protestantism.

Alexander's treatment of the Greek Orthodox in Hasbayya, together with his view of the position of Prussian clergymen, caused conflicts with Prussia. The differences between the bishop and the Prussian representatives demonstrate that the Prussians held a different view on some issues stated in the "Statement of Proceedings": the bishopric's missionary aim, i.e., the mission to the Jews, the restrictions regarding receiving converts from the Eastern churches, and the position of the Prussian clergy and Prussian congregations within the Protestant bishopric. In view of these issues it comes as no surprise that after Alexander's death Prussia chose a candidate who suited the Prussian views better.

4

Samuel Gobat: A change of direction

Introduction

In 1846 Bishop Alexander was succeeded by Samuel Gobat. Under Gobat's leadership the bishopric's aim changed from 'mission among the Jewish people' to 'mission among Christians'. This change is reflected in Gobat's cooperation with missionary societies other than the LJS, especially with the CMS for which he had worked for years. His episcopate also saw the establishment of several Prussian institutions.

As the majority of the next chapters will be devoted to the missionary activities of Gobat in cooperation with the CMS, this chapter paves the way by sketching Gobat's personal background, his missionary policy, his cooperation with the CMS, and his involvement in the foundation of some Prussian institutes.[1]

[1] During the last years of his life Gobat started to write an autobiography, but died before he could finish it. As a result this autobiography is in two parts: the first, pp. 3-267, was written by Gobat himself in English in Jerusalem (1864-1873) and was translated into German by his daughter. The second part, pp. 268-550, was edited by his family on the basis of the bishop's (annual) letters. See Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*. The book contains a foreword by Christian Friedrich Spittler, one of the prominent figures in the revival of South Germany and the missionary movement. There is also an English version of Gobat's autobiography: *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem, His Life and Work. A Bibliographical Sketch Drawn Chiefly From His Own Journals*, New York, London, 1884 (2nd edition 1885). This was a translation from the German edition by Sarah M.S. Clarke, with a preface by Lord Ashley. Stunt mentions a French translation of the autobiography: *Samuel Gobat, missionaire en Abbyssinie et évêque à Jérusalem. sa vie et son oeuvre*, translated by A. Rollier, Basel, 1885. I have only seen the German version. T. Schölly wrote a new edition of Gobat's biography, meant for a wider circle: T. Schölly, *Samuel Gobat, evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem. Ein Lebensbild*, Basel, 1900. Authors who discuss Gobat are: A.L. Tibawi, A. Carmel, S.M. Jack, M. Lückhoff, and T.C.F. Stunt. Tibawi, *British Interests*; Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere*; S.M. Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem: The Anglican Bishopric, 1841-83", *The Journal of Religious History* 19/2, 1995, 181-203; Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession.* Lückhoff sheds some light on Frederick William's reasons for nominating Gobat as bishop, see Lückhoff, *Anglikaner und Protestanten.*

Samuel Gobat: from Basler Mission student to CMS missionary

According to the "Statement of Proceedings", in 1845 it was Prussia's turn to nominate the next bishop after Bishop's Alexander's death. On Bunsen's advice, King Frederick William IV nominated Samuel Gobat, a French-speaking Swiss, born on 26 January 1799 in Crémines, Jura. Gobat came from a devout family. In his autobiography he describes how in his earliest youth he loved to read the Bible. However, at the age of nine he began to have serious doubts about parts of it. He started to question the divinity of Christ, and doubted if the Bible really was the Word of God. From then on he gradually slipped away from God. Although he still went to church with his parents from time to time, he did not then consider himself to be a religious person.[2]

At the age of nineteen, however, Gobat experienced an overwhelming conversion in line with the conversion stories common in Evangelical circles. One Sunday he had danced the whole afternoon, but before going out again in the evening to play cards he felt God's presence. He took out his Bible, something he had not done for years. When he opened it, however, he did not have the courage to read because he considered himself unworthy in the eyes of God. He retired to his room, where he remained in spiritual suffering the whole night, praying, telling God that he was a lost sinner, and crying for most of the time. Finally, he promised God that he would remain faithful to Him, and suddenly felt that the burden of his sins had been taken away. He was in a state of euphoria and felt the loving presence of Jesus securing him remission of sins and reconciliation with God. Gobat later considered these nocturnal hours after his conversion experience the happiest and most blissful hours of his life.[3]

In 1821, a few years after his conversion, Gobat entered the Basel Mission Institute to be trained as a missionary,[4] where he stayed for more than two years. Besides

[2] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 3-9, 12. Due to a lack of other sources the sketch of Gobat's early life had to be based on his autobiography.

[3] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 12-14. Gobat's conversion story contains all the typical elements of Evangelical conversion narratives: reading the Bible, the awareness of being a sinner, praying, and, finally, its culmination in the feeling that all sins are forgiven in the process of 'justification' based on Christ's atoning death. For Evangelical conversion and conversion stories, see Chapter 6.

[4] The *Basler Mission* was founded on 25 September 1815 on the initiative of the Secretary of the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft*, Christian Heinrich Spittler. It was established after the foundation of various British missionary societies. The Basel Mission's first intention was to train missionaries who would be sent overseas by other missionary societies and would work for these. However, very soon it started to develop projects of its own. P. Jenkins, *A Short History of the Basel Mission*, Texts and Documents 10, Basel, 1989, 4-5; K.

English, he learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew and was educated in other subjects, such as church history, dogmatics, and exercise in preaching and catechising.[5] In 1823 he went to Geneva for health reasons.[6] In November 1824 he moved to Paris in order to study Arabic under Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), a well-known Orientalist at the time. During his stay in Paris he began to feel that he should link his preaching of the Gospel to the restoration of the Jews. Together with Professor Rostan he decided to direct his attention to the Jews living in Paris.[7] Once a week Rostan and Gobat tried to assemble as many Jews as possible in order to lead them to Christ by means of the Old Testament.[8] Furthermore, Gobat started on a thorough study of the Koran during his Parisian years, as he wanted to build up a comprehensive knowledge of the Islam. Through reading the Koran he began to feel sorry for all Muslims, as he considered their holy book to be a combination of nonsense, indelicacy, immorality, perversion of the truth, and blasphemy.[9]

After Gobat returned from Paris to Basel at the end of 1824, the Board of the *Basler Missionsgesellschaft* sent him to Britain in 1825 to work for the CMS. Just like the Basel Mission, the CMS had also been established under the influence of the religious revival in Europe. The Basel Mission was accustomed to send its missionaries to Britain to join the CMS, because, in Gobat's own words, the CMS had more money than it had people, whereas with the Basel Mission the opposite was the case.[10] The readiness of the Basel Mission students to go such distant places as Ethiopia (in which they differed from the CMS students), was a reason for the CMS to be pleased with them.[11]

Rennstich, "Mission-Geschichte der protestantischen Mission in Deutschland", U. Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwantigsten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte der Pietismus 3, Göttingen, 2000, 308-310.

[5] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 45-46.

[6] According to Stunt, in Geneva Gobat became "happily involved with the more radical participants in the life of the Genevan *réveil*". Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 82-83.

[7] Most probably this was the French Reverend J.C. Rostan, who had opened a Baptist church in Paris in the early 1830s. See W.A.M. Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America*, Boston, 1849, 265-266.

[8] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 54, 59-63.

[9] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 64.

[10] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 77-78. J. Pinnington is quoting Theophilus Blumhardt when he states that the cooperation which developed between the CMS and the Basler Mission was "very much that between the 'children of God in England' and the 'holy seed' on the Continent". J. Pinnington, "Church Principles in the Early Years of the Church Missionary Society: the Problem of the 'German' Missionaries", *The Journal of Theological Studies, new series* 20, Oxford, 1969, 525.

[11] Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 132. In a letter to Christian Gottlieb Blumhardt (1779-1838), Gobat states that he considered the English students too anxious to get married. He even feared that some of them

As a result of the cooperation between the Basel Mission and the CMS, many CMS missionaries came from the continent, especially from Germany and Switzerland. Before the CMS sent them overseas the majority of the continental missionaries were trained in the Church Missionary College in Islington for a couple of months. The students were not only instructed in Latin and Greek, but also in the languages of the mission field, such as Arabic. Furthermore, they received education in subjects such as divinity, logic and mathematics.[12] Gobat also followed this route. Before he left for Church Missionary College he received Lutheran orders on 25 February 1825.[13] He stayed in the Church Missionary College in Islington for a few months and studied more Hebrew and Arabic while also learning Ethiopian. In his autobiography, Gobat tells us that he went through an inner change during his stay in Britain. Until then his inner life had been very emotional, his mood alternating between the strong feelings of being a sinner on the one hand and feelings of happiness because of Christ's love (which he did not think he deserved) on the other. He was constantly aware of his condition before God. During his stay in Britain, his emotional life became more even-tempered.[14]

Late in 1825 Gobat was sent to Ethiopia.[15] He first travelled to Cairo via Malta and Alexandria.[16] Not counting a journey through Palestine, Gobat and his CMS colleague Christian Kugler (d. 1830) remained in Egypt for three years.[17] On 20 October 1829, they finally went to Ethiopia, where they travelled and worked for another three years.[18] Early in 1833, Gobat returned alone to London via Cairo and Basel, because

considered marriage, rather than missionary work, to be their first objective. Gobat to Blumhardt, 8 June 1825, in Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 132. Stunt comments on Gobat's statement that the Basel authorities were actually very critical of their missionaries getting married too early. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 133.

[12] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 266. See also Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 125.

[13] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 78. For the relation between the CMS and the Basel Mission and the difficulties caused by the different confessional backgrounds of the societies, see Pinnington, "Church Principles", 523-532.

[14] From then on he was only rarely subject to "extreme sorrow or excessive joy". Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 84-85. Gobat's inner change might indicate that he had started to move away from the more sentimental and devotional Pietism of the Continental awakening movement under the influence of his experiences in Britain, Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 131-132.

[15] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 84; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 86.

[16] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 88-100.

[17] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 99. For their journey through Palestine, see Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 100-112. During his journey through Palestine Gobat became very sad at the sight of the devastation of the Holy Land. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 112.

[18] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 123-187; Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere*, 61.

Kugler had died in Ethiopia.[19] Gobat wrote a journal about his time in Ethiopia,[20] in which he wanted to paint a clear picture of the traditions and religious views of the "Abyssinians".[21] As we will see, this journal was to be one of the motives to nominate Gobat for the Jerusalem bishopric, but would also cause opposition to his appointment.

On 23 May 1834, Gobat married Maria Zeller (1813-1879), a daughter of Christian Heinrich Zeller (1779-1860), one of the prominent personalities of the *Erweckungs-bewegung* in Switzerland.[22] They left for Egypt that summer in order to eventually return to Ethiopia. This journey, however, turned into a disastrous expedition. Gobat became very ill with cholera and they had to break their journey in the Ethiopian city of Adowa, where they stayed for twenty months. In September 1836 Gobat was taken back to Cairo; in 1837, Gobat and his family returned to Switzerland in order to regain their health.[23]

In the end, it took Gobat over a year to recover from his illness. In 1839 the CMS sent him to Malta to work on the revision of the Arabic translation of the Bible, and to help editing the missionary literature that was printed by the CMS Malta Press, about which more below.[24] When the CMS Station at Malta was closed he returned to Switzerland where he stayed for two years. In August 1845, Gobat was ordained an Anglican deacon by Blomfield, the Bishop of London. After that, he returned to Malta because the mission station was being revived again by a committee of clergy and laity in London under the chairmanship of Lord Ashley. This committee entrusted Gobat with the foundation and administration of a Protestant College, which opened on 3 February 1846. His work in Malta would not last long: Gobat received a letter from Frederick William IV in which the King asked him to become the next bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem.[25]

[19] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 187; Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere*, 61.
[20] S. Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London, 1834.
[21] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 133.
[22] In 1820, shortly after Gobat's arrival in Basel, he visited Zeller's house, where he met Maria Zeller, then six years old, for the first time. He and Zeller became friends. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 30. About his choice to marry Maria and the wedding, see Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 191-195, 199. About Maria Gobat's time in Ethiopia and Jerusalem, see C.F. Hayward, *Missionary Heroines*, London and Glasgow, 1927, chapters 1-4; E.R. Pitman, *Lady Missionaries in Foreign Lands*, London, 1889, 82-123.
[23] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 199-125; Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere*, 62.
[24] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 244; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 86; Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere*, 62.
[25] Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 174; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 86-87; Carmel, *Christen als Pioniere*, 62-63.

Prussia's choice of a new bishop

At the time of Alexander's death conflicts had arisen with the Prussian consuls Wildenbruch and Schultz.[26] From the start, Frederick William IV had had other ideas about the Protestant bishopric's aim than was laid down in the "Statement of Proceedings". The conflicts made apparent that the Prussians had different views on the bishopric's object and restrictions, and on various other subjects. One of these, for instance, concerned the bishop's attitude towards Greek Orthodox converts. The fact that it was Prussia's turn to choose a bishop made it possible to select someone who would think and act in line with Prussian ideas. The only possible obstacle to Prussia's choice might be the Archbishop of Canterbury, since it had been stipulated in the "Statement" that he had an absolute veto in the nomination of a new bishop, whether proposed by Britain or by Prussia.

When it was Frederick William's turn to nominate a new bishop, Bunsen advised him about possible candidates. Bunsen had three persons in mind: the LJS missionary John Nicolayson, who had already been working for the LJS in Jerusalem for years; John Lieder (d. 1865), CMS missionary in Cairo; and Carl Isenberg (1806-1864), who worked for the CMS in Ethiopia. All three knew Arabic, had been ordained as Anglican priests, and were used to the climate. Bunsen opted for Nicolayson. The fact that he was already working in the area of the bishopric made him a very suitable candidate for the office.[27]

Although the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Howley, had no objections to the candidature of Nicolayson, there was some opposition in Prussia. Frederick William IV had decided that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should approve the proposed candidature. However, the Ministry did not agree with Bunsen's suggestion. Nicolayson had supported Alexander when Prussia criticised the bishop's rule. In addition, reports submitted to the Ministry by Wildenbruch and Schultz did not support Bunsen's recommendation.[28] So, Nicolayson was rejected as a suitable candidate and a new one had to be found. Bunsen came up with a new list of three candidates to put before Frederick William IV. Besides Lieder and Isenberg, a new name appeared: that of Samuel Gobat. Gobat had been suggested to Bunsen by the secretary of the CMS, Dandeson Coates, who described Gobat as a natural bishop. Bunsen's own impression of Gobat was very

[26] For the Prussian consul's criticism of Alexander, see Chapter 3.
[27] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 148-149.
[28] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 149; Chapter 3

positive. He liked the fact that Gobat was an out-and-out German Evangelical.[29] Furthermore, Bunsen thought Gobat might counterbalance the Church of England's orientation towards the mission among the Jews. In this respect he would meet Prussian expectations.[30] Bunsen eventually proposed Gobat and Isenberg to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who believed Gobat to be the best choice. The archbishop thought that Gobat's *Journal of a Three Years in Residence in Abyssinia* showed his talent for winning people over. Finally, Frederick William IV nominated Gobat as the second Protestant bishop in Jerusalem.[31]

The conflicts between Prussia and Alexander, together with the Prussian objection to Bunsen's proposal of Nicolayson as a candidate, indicated that Prussia wanted a different policy. With the choice for Samuel Gobat a change of direction for the bishopric seemed possible: from mission to the Jews to a more open attitude towards the mission among members of other denominations as well.

On 7 March 1846 Bunsen wrote a letter to Samuel Gobat in which he offered him the office of bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem by command of King Frederick William IV. He first explained that it fell to the King to nominate a successor for Alexander as "Bishop of the Anglican Church at Jerusalem", and then explained why the King had selected Gobat. After listing various requirements for the new bishop, Bunsen stated that in Gobat Frederick William IV had found all these "necessary or desirable circumstances eminently united". One of the requirements was that the new bishop must have received Anglican orders, which Gobat had. It was also highly desirable that the bishop was acquainted with the "language and manners of the country" in which he was to reside. Furthermore, if the bishop was not an Englishman, he had to be able to preach in English, and if he was English, he had to know enough German to be able to superintend the German community in Jerusalem.[32]

Bunsen also stressed the importance for the King of Gobat's Evangelical background, mentioning that "His Majesty" considered him

[29] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 149-150.

[30] Bunsen to Frederick William IV, 6 February 1846, in Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 150. Referring to the same letter, Lückhoff states that Bunsen based the idea of Gobat as a counterbalance to the Mission among the Jews on Gobat's knowledge of "Oriental relations" (*orientalischen Verhältnisse*). It is not clear what is meant by "Oriental relations". Bunsen may be referring to Gobat's time as a CMS missionary in Ethiopia, during which he directed his energies towards Christians.

[31] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 150-151. Apparently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed to Gobat's nomination.

[32] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 130-131.

> intimately connected with the Church of the Gospel among all German nations by the course of your theological studies, and by the truly Evangelical spirit in which you have taught the Word of God and announced the faith in Christ amongst different nations of Africa and of Asia.[33]

In line with his own Evangelical views, Frederick William hoped that Gobat would see this offer as a "providential call" and accept it. Bunsen concluded by saying that it was "absolutely necessary that the See should be filled as soon as possible", one reason being that the building of the Protestant church had already started, fully sanctioned by the Porte.[34]

Gobat received Bunsen's letter on 15 March 1846. Gobat writes in his auto-biography that while reading the first part of the letter it fell out of his hand, and he shouted: "No, never ever!".[35] The next day he described his initial feelings in a letter to Bunsen. He had felt that he was unprepared to occupy the office and wanted to refuse. However, "suspecting" his own feelings, he then entrusted himself to God:

> I cast myself down before the Head of the Church, and I trust, I could say, with a sincere heart, not my, but Thy will be done, and since I have began to weigh the reasons on both sides, I find that, on the one hand, the more I examine myself, the more I feel disposed to say, "Lord, send whom thou wilt send." But on the other hand, I cannot but see weighty reasons in favour of my relying on the Lord, and accepting the office.[36]

Gobat accepted the nomination with the proviso that the Committee which had appointed him to the Protestant College at Malta should give its wholehearted approval. He said he would immediately send a letter to its Chairman, Lord Ashley, and did not expect any difficulties with the principal of the Malta College.[37]

Within a short time Gobat received letters from CMS secretary Dandeson Coates and from Lord Ashley, both urging him to accept the office. It was a position to which Lord Ashley believed Gobat had been called by God himself. By now Gobat himself was also convinced that God called him to Jerusalem. On 26 March 1846 he asked Bunsen to inform Frederick William IV that "I humbly accept the important office of a Bishop of

[33] Ibid.

[34] The church building project was to be accompanied by the building of a college, a hospice, and the Episcopal residence. Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, Documents, 132. For the building of Christ Church, see Chapter 2.

[35] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 255.

[36] Gobat to Bunsen, Malta, 16 March 1846, in Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 164.

[37] Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 164-165; Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 256.

the Anglican Church at Jerusalem, to which his Majesty has graciously been pleased to nominate me".[38] The appointment of Gobat as second bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem could now be officially announced.[39] Soon after accepting Frederick William's offer Gobat left for Britain, and arrived in London on 1 June 1846.

Opposition to Gobat's appointment in Britain

Gobat's appointment aroused protest from various sides in Britain. Soon after his arrival in London, Blomfield presented him with a letter addressed to Archbishop Howley, protesting against Gobat's consecration as bishop of the Church of England. The protest was based on Gobat's journal about his time as a CMS missionary in Ethiopia, the same journal which earlier had convinced Howley that he should support Gobat's nomination. Gobat ascribed the protest to "influential people". By these influential people he probably meant the Tractarians, because a note in Bunsen's memoir made at that time speaks of "Puseyites", who accused Gobat of "heresy on account of the work on Egypt".[40] The protest was directed particularly against Gobat's view on rebirth through baptism as he had discussed it with the 'Abyssinians', i.e., members and clergy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It stated that whereas the "vitality of the Christian religion is concerned in a right faith in the Incarnation of the Son of God, and in our incorporation into His mystical Body by baptism", Gobat's faith was "doubtful" on this point.[41]

Blomfield asked Gobat to react to the protest, which he gladly did. However, Gobat did have some difficulty with the issue of rebirth through baptism. He believed that people were only regenerated at the moment they had a conscious conversion experience, whereas the Anglican Book of Common Prayer stated that baptism was the

[38] Gobat to Bunsen, Malta, 26 March 1846, in Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 165; Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 256-257.

[39] For instance in the *Jewish Intelligencer*, the periodical of the LJS. On 17 April 1846, Bunsen wrote to the LJS that "the *nomination* (not the *appointment*) by H.M. the King of Prussia of the Revd. S. Gobat as Bishop of Jerusalem may be safely announced in the Jewish Intelligencer. Mr. Gobats' definitive answer having arrived on *Monday*". Bunsen to the LJS, 17 April 1846, Oxford/BL, Dep. CMJ d. 53/1.

[40] The 'Puseyites' criticised Bunsen for having been instrumental in Gobat's appointment as Protestant bishop in Jerusalem, 14 November 1846, see Bunsen, *A Memoir* 2, 118; Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 257.

[41] "Protest at his [Gobat's] appointment", 1846, London/LPL, WP, MS. 2143, ff. 223-224.

moment of somebody's rebirth.[42] Gobat feared that the Bishop of London and he differed considerably on this matter, but when he asked Blomfield about his view on baptism the latter answered that he understood it as a change of status, i.e., a transition from a state of non-conversion to a state of conversion. Through baptism the baptised person was introduced in the visible Church of Christ. Gobat found to his relief that he could not object to Blomfield's explanation. Although Gobat thought he might have pushed the discussion with Blomfield somewhat more, it seems that he considered Blomfield's answer conclusive, because he did not discuss the subject any further.[43]

In his answer to the protest Gobat explained his views on the matter of baptism, and other issues which he thought insignificant. He also explained his attitude towards the Ethiopian Church. It had not been his aim to turn it into a branch of the Church of England, but he had only intended to make the Ethiopian Christians aware of the necessity of church reform. The Bishop of London was content with Gobat's response and a few days later told him that on the whole the critics were pleased with his answers.[44]

According to Gobat's biographers, the LJS missionary Joseph Wolff, who seemed to have cherished hopes of himself becoming Protestant bishop in Jerusalem, also protested against Gobat's nomination. He complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury about Gobat's behaviour and moral character during his stay in Ethiopia. After he had examined Wolff's accusations, the archbishop rejected the objections.[45]

Another protest against Gobat's appointment came from Parliament. After the House of Lords had agreed to the appointment, the House of Commons opposed it because Gobat did not live in England, nor did he own property in England – two

[42] For this reason Evangelicals were sometimes accused of rejecting the doctrine of the Prayer Book. They came up with various answers to this problem. Some stated that an infant's baptism symbolizes the hope of the child's regeneration in the future. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 9. In the order for baptism in The Book of Common Prayer the child is declared regenerated at the end. (In Article 27 of the 39 Articles, baptism is mentioned a "sign of Regeneration or new Birth"). Cf. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 9-10.

[43] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 257-258.

[44] Gobat's autobiography does not give information about how exactly he answered the protest regarding his position on the issue of rebirth through baptism. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 257-259; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 153-154. When Gobat was Protestant bishop in Jerusalem he was very concerned with the 'Abyssinian' community in the city. In 1850 the King of Ethiopia and some influential priests asked him to become the protector of the 'Abyssinians' and their convent in Jerusalem; they wanted to place their property in Gobat's hands. Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 13 November 1850, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 229-231. Cf. Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 29 January 1851, RP, Add. 42798, ff. 234-239. Both: London/BL.

[45] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 346; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 154.

conditions necessary for his consecration as bishop of the Anglican Church. Thanks to Palmerston's mediation the objection to Gobat's appointment was withdrawn. Palmerston referred to the "Jerusalem Bishopric Act" of 1841, which allowed the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consecrate foreigners as bishops in foreign countries with a license from the Queen.[46] Consequently, with the consent of Queen Victoria, Gobat could be consecrated.

First, Gobat had to be ordained an Anglican priest. A general ordination was planned in St. Paul's Cathedral, which was, however, cancelled for fear that the opposition would disturb the ceremony.[47] Instead of the general ordination, Gobat was ordained priest in a private ceremony in Fulham Palace. On Sunday morning, 5 July 1846, Archbishop Howley, assisted by the Bishops of London, Lichfield and Calcutta, consecrated him at Lambeth Palace as bishop of the Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.[48] Gobat then went to Prussia, where he met Frederick William IV and the minister of Religious Affairs, Eichhorn. The Prussian King and Eichhorn felt confirmed in their feeling that with Gobat they had made the right choice.[49] Gobat met the Prussian wishes when he stressed to be willing to ordain Prussian clergy soon after his arrival in Jerusalem. Furthermore, he said that he was prepared to use the liturgy devised by Bunsen.[50]

Change of the missionary aim of the bishopric

After his visit to Berlin, Gobat travelled to Malta to meet his family, who had stayed there during the time Gobat had spent in Europe. In the middle of December 1846 Gobat and his family left for Palestine. On their arrival at Jaffa they were welcomed by Reverend Nicolayson. On 28 December 1846 they went to Ramle and from there travelled to Jerusalem. When the Gobats were about two miles from the city they found the consuls of Britain and Prussia, Finn and Schultz, waiting for them, together with a

[46] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner,* 154-155. For the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, see Chapter 2.
[47] The opposition was said to have instructed a lawyer to attend the ceremony and to voice a formal protest against Gobat's ordination. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 259; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 88.
[48] The Bishop of Calcutta preached on Isaiah 62, 1: "For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth". Smith, *The Protestant Bishopric*, 166; Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 259.
[49] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 155.
[50] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 155-156.

number of men and women on horses. On 30 December 1846 Gobat and his family entered Jerusalem, the start of a thirty-three-year career as bishop of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem.[51]

Unlike his predecessor, Gobat did not have a Letter Commendatory to show to the other patriarchs in Jerusalem. He nevertheless decided to visit the Orthodox and Armenian patriarchs. Like Alexander, Gobat neglected the representatives of the Latin Church, as he thought the ecclesiastical dignity of the Custody's head was not sufficient to justify first advances by the Anglican bishop. Furthermore, they had not demonstrated any courtesy either to Bishop Alexander or to himself.[52]

In his missionary work Gobat soon ran into difficulties concerning the conversion of the Jews. Jews who converted to Christianity lost their jobs and became the target of the mockery and disdain of their families and friends. This was a problem, as the majority was very poor and would become dependent on alms.[53] From Gobat's annual letter for 1848 it appears that he tried to 'solve' this difficulty by changing the mission's policy regarding the conversion of Jewish people. He now formulated the condition that all Jews who were serious about their conversion and wanted to be baptised should be willing to learn a trade, if they were able to work.[54] As a true Evangelical, Gobat linked to baptisms a "true conversion of the heart"; people's readiness to learn a craft would be proof of their sincerity. Furthermore, it was a pragmatic solution, making Jewish converts self-supporting and less dependent on alms. For this reason Gobat was glad that the House of Industry was reopened after a period of closure.[55]

Because of his stance on the issue of Jewish converts, Gobat was reproached more than once in LJS circles with having no heart for the Jews because he did not share the millenarian "poetical hopes", as he himself called it, for a rapid conversion of the people of Israel. He dissociated himself from all efforts especially directed at the Jews without proclaiming the Gospel to them. He did not agree with the underlying idea that the

[51] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 261-264.

[52] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 89.

[53] Gobat considered it the duty of the mission to take care of Jewish converts. However, he feared the consequences if the prayers for the conversion of many Jews came true, as the mission did not have the means to take care of them. Gobat therefore pushed the home public to donate money. First annual letter by Gobat, 9 November 1847, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 286-289.

[54] Consequently, if people were able to work but did not want to earn part of their living, Gobat refused to baptise them. Annual Letter of Gobat, 20 October 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 296-297.

[55] Gobat, Annual Letter, 20 October 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 296-297; Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 349 (note from Gobat's biographers). For the House of Industry, see Chapter 2.

return of the Jews in Palestine, their establishment, and the restoration of the temple would happen *before* they would recognize Jesus as their Messiah.[56]

It comes as no surprise that the cooperation between the bishopric and the LJS was not as close during the Gobat years as it was during his predecessor's episcopate, in which the mission of the LJS and the bishopric seemed to be united. As the memorandum in favour of the LJS church in Jerusalem in 1845 made clear, the mission to the Jews was important to many people in Britain.[57] Consequently, Gobat's attitude towards the LJS and its mission to the Jews, together with the fact that he did not share the millenarian expectations of many regarding the restoration of the Jews in Palestine, evoked much criticism from LJS members and supporters in Britain.

Gobat's distancing himself from the mission among the Jews was linked to his focus on other Christians. Although the "Statement of Proceedings" prohibited the Protestant bishop from interfering in the affairs of Christian denominations, Gobat's autobiography and his (annual) letters demonstrate that his missionary activities were mainly directed towards these denominations. He believed that it was not God's will to restrict the mission to Jews only. With an appeal to the apostle Paul he said that he considered it his duty to direct his energies not only towards the Jews, but also towards the Greeks, Barbarians, 'Papists', Armenians, the Turks etcetera. Moreover, he realised that the conversion of the Jews was not the real mission object of his Prussian patrons.[58] This extension of the focus of the bishopric is already reflected in Gobat's (first) annual report for 1847. From this account it appears that Gobat had appointed three Bible readers, who were required to read the Bible to people from various religious and denominational backgrounds. One of them was a Greek Catholic who had not yet formally separated from his church, but, according to Gobat, knew and loved the 'truth'. The other was a former Roman Catholic, and the third a converted Jew trained in Hebrew College. They read the Bible not only to Jewish people, but also to Muslims and Christians of various denominations.[59]

[56] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 348-349; W. Holsten, "Israel und Palästina im Missionsdenken des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Evangelische Theologie* 14, 1954, 215.
[57] For the memorandum, see Chapter 3.
[58] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 265-266.
[59] Gobat, Annual Letter, 9 November 1847, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 291. Gobat received the necessary money for his missionary activities from contributions and donations from different sources in Prussia and Britain, but also from Switzerland and other countries. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 107.

In Gobat's eyes the churches of the other Christian denominations in Palestine were stuck deeply into the mire of misconceptions. On this point he did not distinguish between the Orthodox and the Catholics. In his view they were both guilty of the same number of "errors" despite their theoretical differences. Protestant missionaries had to fight not only the "errors", but also the "ignorance" of priests and laity of all denominations.[60]

Gobat's missionary orientation towards both Catholics and Orthodox is also reflected in the letters by the CMS missionaries. When in 1851 the CMS decided to start a Palestine mission at Gobat's request, a missionary conference was held in Jerusalem under Gobat's chairmanship. There it was decided that the mission would concentrate on the Eastern Churches. The mission to the Jews was not discussed, and regarding the mission among Muslims the conference concluded that such an undertaking was impossible and might jeopardize the status of the mission in the Ottoman Empire.[61]

In a letter to Bunsen Gobat clearly explains his view on evangelisation: it was every Christian's duty, especially of every bishop and clergyman, to confess the truth of the Gospel openly and freely and to warn "his brothers, also of other denominations" of ways that led to destruction. He continues that the aim should not be to make people leave their churches and enter the Protestant community, but to lead them to Jesus Christ. After finding the truth people could stay in their own church to confess their faith in Jesus there. However, at the same time Gobat stated that when persons were expelled from their own churches because of their love for Jesus and thereupon asked to enter the Protestant community, he did not see how he could refuse their admission. Refusal would be like rejecting the Lord himself.[62]

Both Gobat's statement that he wished for reform of the other churches, and his stories about the actual making of Protestant converts are regularly found in his letters. They show Gobat's awareness of the fact that missionary activities among Christians of

[60] Gobat, Annual Letter, 20 October 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 301. The various Catholic churches were considered to be as full of errors as the Roman Catholic Church. As William Parry wrote: "Maronites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, and Chaldeans, are all under Roman bondage and they all despise us as Protestants". William Parry, Alresford Rectory (near Calchester), 15 February 1876, London/LPL, TP, 221, ff. 174-175. I am not sure who this William Parry is; he might have been the William Parry who was chaplain in Syria from 1869 to 1874. For Gobat and the CMS missionaries' idea of "errors", see Chapters 6-8.

[61] *Proceedings of the CMS* (1851-1852), 66-67, in Tibawi, *British Interests*, 105.

[62] Gobat added that he did not understand why he was not allowed to make converts among the Roman Catholics, considering the fact that they publicly made converts among the Protestants. Gobat to Bunsen, 4 March 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 293-295.

other denominations in order to reform them implied the possible secession of converts from their former churches. Until the end of his episcopate Gobat stressed that he did not aim at winning converts away from the other churches. In practice, however, Gobat and the CMS missionaries with whom he cooperated worked for conversions to the Evangelical type of Protestantism rather than the reformation of the other churches from within. In his annual letter for 1853 Gobat admitted that from the start he had expected "all members of the Greek and Latin Churches" who had started to read the Bible and wanted to live in accordance with it, to feel obliged to leave their churches.[63] This statement, and the fact that various Protestant communities came into being during Gobat's episcopate, together with his criticism of the other churches, all indicate that he actually aimed at making converts rather than reforming those churches.

By stating that he had to accept people who had been expelled from their own churches, Gobat acted contrary to the "Statement of Proceedings". Although the "Statement" declared that the bishopric might contribute to the cleansing of the Eastern Churches from their 'errors' and its bishop was allowed to assist these churches in educational work if so desired, the Protestant bishop was not allowed to make any converts. Gobat's letters demonstrate that he was well aware of these "restrictions which laid on the Angl. [sic] Bishop in Jerusalem, with respect to the Eastern Churches".[64] He repeatedly complained about these 'restrictions' and asked permission to admit members of other churches to the Protestant community if he considered it necessary. In a letter to the General Secretary of the CMS, Henry Venn (1796-1873) for instance, dated 9 January 1850, Gobat wrote that he

> must be allowed to have the Gospel preached to members of all churches and whenever any one, or many, see, at the hight of the Gospel, the errors and corruption of their respective churches and their conscience compels them to leave such churches, I must be allowed, to receive them into our Church and furnished with the means of building them up in our most holy faith.

If he was not permitted to do so, Gobat said he would be put into "an intolerable dilemma, whether I must either transgress the laws of men or the law of God, or withdraw". Gobat added that he was "not yet in such dilemma, though very near it".[65]

[63] Gobat, Annual Letter, 14 November 1853, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 363.
[64] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 January 1851, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 232-233.
[65] Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 9 January 1850, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/69.

Considering the conflict between Bishop Alexander and the Prussian consuls about the Protestant community in Hasbayya, we must conclude that Gobat's attitude regarding the admittance of Christians of other denominations into the Protestant Church must have been in line with Prussian hopes. Whereas Alexander declared himself bound by the "Statement of Proceedings" as to accepting Eastern Christians in the Protestant Church, Gobat did accept Christians from other denominations into the Protestant church.[66]

In his change of policy Bishop Gobat might have felt supported by a *fatwa* of the Mufti of Beirut, mentioned in his annual letter of 1847, which declared that the members of the various Christian communities were free to switch from one church to another. The Jewish and Druse subjects of the Porte were allowed to become Christians.[67] Another measure benefiting Gobat's policy was a *firman* proclaimed by the Ottoman Government in 1850, which legalised the conversion of Christian subjects of the Porte to Protestantism. From now on converts were allowed to set up new religious communities. The document stated that Protestants were free to "exercise the usages of their faith in security" and that none of the other communities were permitted to interfere with "any of their affairs, secular or religious".[68]

Thus, almost from the start of Gobat's episcopate there was a change of policy regarding missionary aims. Although Gobat, like Alexander, continued to cooperate with the LJS, the mission to the Jews no longer had priority. As we will see in the following chapters, during the Gobat years the mission among Christians from other churches remained the principal aim of the bishop and the CMS missionaries.

[66] Gobat's attitude towards Christians of other denominations was not the only issue in which he met Prussian wishes. He wanted, for instance, to permit German Evangelical ordained clergy who had not been ordained by him in Jerusalem to conduct a service in Christ Church (then still under construction). With this measure Gobat was hoping for an "Evangelical Ecclesiastical Alliance on Mount Zion" between the Church of England and the Evangelical Church of Prussia. Gobat, Annual Letter, 30 October 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 295; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 159-160.

[67] According to Gobat, the *fatwa* was declared in reaction to the persecution of a young Jewish convert, because of his confession of Christ, and the conversion of a Druse in Beirut. Gobat, Annual Letter, 9 November 1847, Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 290.

[68] For the text of the *firman*, see Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 156-158. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 104. It is difficult to say to what extent the *firman* influenced potential converts from other Christian denominations to Protestantism before 1850, i.e., during the Alexander years and the first years of Gobat's episcopate. Alexander's primary aim had been to convert Jewish people to Protestantism and, as we will see, until the early 1850s Gobat was still not officially allowed to make converts among Christians of other denominations.

Change of mission scene: the CMS and German institutions

Gobat's change of mission policy was also reflected in the collaboration between the bishopric and missionary societies and institutions other than the LJS. As we will see in the last three chapters, during his entire episcopate Gobat closely cooperated with the CMS, the organization for which he had worked for decades. The CMS had been established in April 1799, adopting as its first resolution that it was "a duty highly incumbent upon every Christian to endeavour to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen". In a second resolution it was decided that as the missions of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel" and the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" were directed towards (the British Plantations in) America and the West Indies, there was a need in the Church of England for a mission aimed at the "Continent of Africa, or the other parts of the heathen world". This was the objective for which the society was founded.[69]

In 1815 the CMS founded a 'Mediterranean Mission', with Malta as its centre, since the Committee regarded Malta as a "convenient base for extending operations in all directions".[70] The aim was to revive the Eastern Churches. It was believed that this revival would have an effect on the Muslims, who had to be evangelised by the Eastern Christians.[71] On Malta the society installed a printing press, which was sent from Britain in 1822. After some delays due to ill trained printers and defective fonts, the society started printing in Arabic in 1825. As we saw earlier, Gobat had also worked for the CMS printing press on Malta.[72] In 1842 the CMS printing press was closed, as

[69] At first the official name of the society was going to be "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East". In actual practice, however, it was often called "The Missions Society" or "The Society for Missions". Gradually the word "Church" was added, but not until 1812 did the society formally adopt the title "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East". Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 68-71.

[70] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 219.

[71] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 1, 222. Cf. Murray, *Proclaim the Good News*, 135; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 105. However, "it was not until the mid-1870s that the deeper involvement of the CMS in mission to Muslims really began", Murray, *Proclaim the Good News*, 136.

[72] The press printed Bible extracts, religious tracts, elementary textbooks for beginning readers, text books on grammar, English language, and books on arithmetic, history, astronomy, art, geography and zoology. In 1835 an Arabic atlas was also published. D. Glass and G. Roper, "Arabic Book and Newspaper Printing in the Arab World.", E. Hanebutt-Benz, D. Glass, G. Roper (eds.), *Middle Eastern languages and the Print Revolution. A Cross-Cultural Encounter* (English and German), Westhofen, 2002, 187-190. The history of the CMS printing press is linked to the history of the ABCFM in this area. See also G. Roper, "The Beginnings of Arabic Printing by the ABCFM, 1822-1841", J.F. Coakley, *Printing in the Mission Field*, Harvard Library Bulletin 9/1, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998, 50-63.

expectations had not been fulfilled. However, the reason officially given was lack of money.[73]

When only a few years after his arrival in Jerusalem Gobat invited the CMS to help him with his work, a promising field was opened for the mission society. Reverend John Bowen, the future bishop of Sierra Leone, had earlier offered himself to the CMS for a visiting mission to any part of the world at his own expense; the society accepted his offer and sent him on an "extensive mission of inquiry to the East". From 1849 onwards Bowen travelled for more than two and a half years. The lay missionary Charles Sandreczki (d. 1892), who was familiar with several Oriental languages, was appointed to accompany him. Bowen's journals stated that the Eastern Christians desired better instruction than the clergy of their own churches were able to provide.[74]

Bowen's inquiries, which confirmed Gobat's reports to the CMS, resulted in the decision of the CMS Committee to open a Palestine mission. In 1851, two missionaries were sent to Palestine: Frederick Augustus Klein and Charles Sandreczki.[75] Klein became head of this mission, which had Jerusalem as its headquarters. Like Gobat, he had studied at the Basel Seminary and had been educated at the Church Missionary College in Islington. Before he left for Palestine, he was ordained Deacon in the Church of England.[76] Sandreczki was appointed lay secretary of the CMS Mediterranean Mission.[77] During the following years the CMS sent more missionaries to Palestine, such as William Krusé (1799-1885), who started working in Palestine in 1853, and John Zeller, who left for Palestine in July 1855. Like Klein and Gobat, they had both studied at the Basel Seminary and subsequently at the Church Missionary College. Zeller married Gobat's daughter Hannah Maria Sophia four years after his arrival in Palestine, in 1859. Her sister Blandina Marianne Gobat also married a CMS missionary, Theodore Frederick Wolters, in 1874.[78] As mentioned earlier, the CMS missionaries closely cooperated with Gobat, although their mission was independent of the bishop, directing its efforts towards Christians of other denominations.

[73] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 104.
[74] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 2, 142-143; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 105.
[75] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 2, 143; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 106.
[76] Klein was to work in Palestine for 26 years. *Register of Missionaries*. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 106.
[77] Sandreczki was originally a Roman Catholic who was converted to Protestantism "by study of the Scriptures". He was to remain in Jerusalem for about 20 years. *Register of Missionaries*.
[78] *Register of Missionaries*. Zeller might have been related to Gobat's wife, Maria Gobat-Zeller. However, I have not found any information about this.

The instructions Klein received from the CMS reflect the society's aim. The instructions stated that over the past ten years it had become clear that the Eastern ecclesiastical authorities did not want any assistance from the Protestants.[79] Nevertheless some Eastern Christians had meanwhile become serious 'enquirers', so that the CMS felt it their duty to 'help' them.[80] The instructions concluded: "Act upon the Evangelical and Protestant principles by which the Society has been distinguished in all its operations. In maintaining them you will have the full countenance and support of the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, and may in all things look to him for counsel and direction in your work".[81]

Until Gobat's death in 1879, the bishop and the CMS remained close collaborators, especially in the educational field. Gobat presided over the meetings of the 'Local Committee of the CMS's Mission in Palestine' and of the 'Conferences of CMS missionaries in Palestine'. During these conferences mission policy was decided and local missionary matters were discussed, such as the training of local agents, self-support of local congregations, Bible classes, children's education, and the like. [82]

Gobat cooperated not only with the CMS in Palestine, but was also closely connected with the missionary movement in Germany and Switzerland, for instance with his former colleagues of the Basel Mission. During Gobat's episcopate a large number of German institutions were founded in Palestine, such as the *Brüderhaus* of the Basel Pilgrims Mission of St. Chrischona, the settlement of the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth in Jerusalem, the Syrian Orphanage, the *Jerusalemsverein*, the *Preussische Hospiz* (later called the *Johanniter-Hospiz*), and the Marienstift children's hospital.[83] In the following paragraphs some Prussian institutions will be briefly discussed. This will provide a broader view on the missionary activities among Christians during Gobat's

[79] The "Statement of Proceedings" declared that the Protestant bishop could only assist these churches if they wanted him to do so.

[80] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 106.

[81] Instructions quoted in Tibawi, *British Interests*, 107.

[82] The CMS Local Committee in Palestine consisted of the European missionaries in Palestine. Their meetings were held at intervals varying from a month to a year. The conferences of CMS missionaries in Palestine were attended by CMS missionaries from all parts of the Palestine mission. In October 1868 it was decided that these conferences would be held twice a year, rotating between Jerusalem, Nazareth and, if so agreed, Nablus. Keen, *Catalogue*, 15; "Minutes of a Conference of the Missionaries of the CMS in Palestine held at Jerusalem under the Presidency of the Bishop, on the 28th day of October 1868", Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1.

[83] For a survey of the Prussian institutions that (still) existed in the early twentieth century and information about their establishment and development, see Eisler, Haag and Holtz (eds.), *Kultureller Wandel in Palästina*.

episcopate, and also demonstrate that suggestions for the establishment of Prussian institutions in Palestine found a willing ear with Gobat. As we will see, with his appointment the first steps were taken towards an independent Prussian Palestine mission, in accordance with Frederick William IV's plan.

The first initiative for an independent Prussian Palestine Mission was the establishment of the *Brüderhaus*, or Brother House, of the *Basler Pilgermission* St. Chrischona in Jerusalem. Its initiator was Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782-1867), secretary of the *Christentumsgesellschaft* in Basel. In 1828 he had founded the Pilgrim Mission, which since 1840 had been located in St. Chrischona near Basel. With the Pilgrim Mission, Spittler wanted to send young men abroad, craftsmen rather than missionaries, who through their own faith and way of living might spread (Protestant) Christianity.[84]

As early as 1834 Spittler had discussed the idea of a Brother House in Jerusalem with Gobat. He stated that some initiative was needed from Jerusalem to spread the "light of the Gospel" through the Orient. Gobat supported Spittler's Palestine plan. However, the Brother House was not established in Jerusalem until Gobat's appointment, one of the reasons being the political situation in the Ottoman Empire.[85] With Gobat's appointment Spittler's plan began to move forward again, and on 6 September 1846 two Chrischona brothers, Ferdinand Palmer (1811-1879?) and Conrad Schick (1822-1901), started their journey to Jerusalem where they arrived on 30 October of that year. In 1848 two more Chrischona brothers settled in Jerusalem. The brothers were sent as craftsmen, with the intention that they should be an example of how Christians lived, prayed and worked together.[86] Spittler's "indirect mission", as he himself called it, was aimed at all people who were not 'Christians' or Evangelical Christians, which meant that it included both Muslims and Jews, as well as (Roman) Catholics and Eastern Christians.[87]

[84] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 165-166; E. Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft in der Zeit von der Erweckung bis zur Gegenwart. Texte aus Briefen, Protokollen und Publikationen*, Theologische Zeitschrift 4, Basel, 1974, 13, 19-21.
[85] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 168-169.
[86] Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft*, 21; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 171-172.
[87] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 167. According to Holsten, Spittler did not focus so much on Israel in connection with the restoration of the Jews, but rather on Palestine as the well-spring of Christianity. Holsten, "Israel", 217.

At the end of the 1840s the Brother House fell into decline because of financial difficulties, a lack of knowledge of local conditions, and Spittler's high demands. In 1854, however, Spittler tried to give the project a new impulse.[88] In consultation with Gobat and with the help of the brothers of the *Pilgermission* of St. Chrischona he re-established the mission to Ethiopia, which had been ended by the CMS in 1843. The Brother House in Jerusalem became the mission's base. After finishing their education at St. Chrischona, all brothers who were sent to Ethiopia were required first to go to the Brother House in Jerusalem, where they would be prepared for their mission, for instance through training in the necessary languages.[89] In the autumn of 1854 six Chrischona brothers were sent to Jerusalem, accompanying Johann Ludwig Schneller (1820-1896) and his wife. Schneller, who had worked as a teacher at St. Chrischona for seven years, was to be in charge of the Brother House in Jerusalem.[90]

In October 1858, after the mission in Ethiopia had started, Spittler proposed a plan to Gobat to establish a link between Jerusalem and Ethiopia. He wanted to set up twelve mission stations between Jerusalem and Ethiopia, named after the twelve Apostles of Christ: the *Apostelstrasse*. Spittler wanted the brothers who would be sent to these stations to combine manual labour with 'spiritual' work (praying and preaching). In reaction Gobat told Spittler to start with four stations at most. As it happened, during the 1860s only six stations were established and in the early 1870s the *Apostelstrasse* came to an end.[91]

Another German institution in Jerusalem founded during the first years of Gobat's episcopate was the institution of the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth. The man behind the Kaiserswerth mission was Theodor Fliedner (1800-1864), a pastor in Kaiserswerth from 1822 until 1849 and founder of the institution of the Deaconesses in Kaiserswerth (Düsseldorf). When in 1846, at Bunsen's request, Fliedner accompanied four deaconesses to London,[92] he met Gobat, who was waiting for his ordination as bishop in Bunsen's house. During this meeting Gobat expressed a wish to be able to use the

[88] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 173-174; Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 258-259.
[89] Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft*, 21.
[90] Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft*, 22; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 176.
[91] In 1860 the first station, St. Mark, was founded in Cairo and one year later a station was established in Alexandria, St. Matthew. Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft*, 23, 607-608; J. Veenhof, "Die Apostelstrasse", *Kerkhistorische Bijdragen* 7, Leiden, 1978, 354-361; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 183-189; Eisler, *Kultureller Wandel in Palästina*, 82. Spittler died on 8 December 1867.
[92] Bunsen was the Prussian envoy in London at the time. Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft*, 59.

deaconesses' help in his work in Jerusalem. Four years later Fliedner reminded the bishop of their conversation. Gobat asked for two deaconesses to help with the medical work in Jerusalem. He wanted the sisters to take care of the sick, and to teach in his school in Jerusalem during the hours they would not be required in the hospital. Fliedner discussed Gobat's proposal with Frederick William IV, who suggested sending four deaconesses instead of two. Two would take care of the sick, they would work for Gobat and would be paid by him. The other two deaconesses would teach in the school and take care of a hospice for Protestant pilgrims; they would be paid out of the Prussian *Kollekten-Fonds*.[93]

On 17 March 1851, Fliedner and the four deaconesses left Kaiserswerth, and arrived in Jerusalem one month later.[94] The deaconesses settled in "the house of Young", the former British Consul in Jerusalem, on Mount Zion. The house contained a small hospital, with a modest pharmacy, which was consecrated on 4 May 1851. A hospice was opened in July 1851.[95] The hospital was not restricted to one confession or denomination, but it was open to Muslims, Jews, and Christians of all denominations. This policy had been an explicit demand on the part of Frederick William IV.[96] The King's request not to restrict the hospital to the Jews also corresponded to Fliedner's views. Rather than converting Muslims, Fliedner wanted to 'reform' the local Christian churches.[97]

Shortly after their arrival, the deaconesses also started their educational work. They taught in Gobat's Diocesan School, too, where they alternated with the English teachers. In 1856 the deaconesses' school became independent. In the meantime it had become clear that more room was needed for the patients, and in 1860 a new hospital was built as an extension to the deaconesses' house. Only this extension was used as

[93] T. Fliedner, *Reizen in het Heilige Land naar Smyrna, Beiroet, Konstantinopel, Alexandrië en Kaïro, in de jaren 1851, 1856 en 1857* (translated into Dutch by T. Looman), Christelijke Huis-Bibliotheek 8, Amsterdam, 1860, 1-3; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 192-193.

[94] For their journey to Jerusalem, see Fliedner, *Reizen*, 4-89.

[95] Fliedner, *Reizen*, 186-189, 301; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 194-195, 198. Both Edward Macgowan from the LJS hospital in Jerusalem and Simon Fränkel (1806-1880), the Jewish doctor in Jerusalem, offered to help the sisters in their medical work. After having consulted Gobat, Fliedner chose Macgowan, because of his knowledge of the local diseases and his (Protestant) religion. Fliedner, *Reizen*, 189.

[96] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 198.

[97] According to Kaminsky, Fliedner wanted to evangelise through an "inner mission" abroad. On this concept, see Kaminsky, "German 'Home Mission' Abroad", 194. Kaminsky says that Fliedner was strongly anti-Catholic, an attitude reinforced by his political antipathy to France. Ibid.

hospital, and the rest of the old house now served as a school children's home.[98] In 1868 the deaconesses' educational activities were moved to a separate building outside Jerusalem, named "Talitha Kumi". In January of that year nine deaconesses settled in the building, together with 89 girls. Over the following years the number of girls increased 100 to 110 girls on average.[99] Although the number of girls had increased the sisters struggled with one problem: many girls were taken out of the school before their education was finished, in order to be given in marriage. Attempts to let parents sign a contract in which they promised to let their children stay in school for several years were useless as the children were taken from the school anyway.[100]

A third Prussian institution in Jerusalem was the Syrian Orphanage. In 1860, in reaction to the civil war in Lebanon at the time, Spittler set out to establish an orphanage in Jerusalem for Syrian children who had become orphans because of the war, of which Johann Ludwig Schneller was to be in charge. In October 1860 Schneller went to Beirut, together with the Prussian Consul in Jerusalem, Georg Rosen (1820-1891).[101] He returned with nine boys. On 11 November 1860 the 'Syrian orphanage' was consecrated.[102]

The program of the orphanage was *ora et labora*, pray and work. Its aim was to raise the children to be good members of the Church of Jesus Christ.[103] In the institute education was combined with manual labour in order to prepare the children for a life

[98] For this reason the deaconesses' house had also been extended with two rooms in 1852. Frederick William IV had put up much of the money necessary for this project. Fliedner, *Reizen*, 300-301. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 200, 204-205; Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 88-89.

[99] After 35 years the total number of girls educated by the deaconesses was 523. The majority of them, 306 girls, came from Greek Orthodox families; 6 girls came from Catholic families; 92 girls were Protestants (18 German and 74 Arabic); 55 of them were Muslims; 19 Jews; 13 Armenians; 8 Copts; and 3 Ethiopians. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 209.

[100] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 203, 206-207; Fliedner, *Reizen*, 302; Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission*, 70. For information about the deaconesses' institution in Jerusalem see also: Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 81-107 and R. Felgentreff, *Das Diakoniewerk Kaiserswerth 1836-1998. Von der Diakonissenanstalt zum Diakoniewerk – ein Überblick*, Kaiserswerther Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur am Niederrhein 2, Düsseldorf-Kaiserswerth, 1998.

[101] Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 57; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 234; Löffler, "Die langsame Metamorphose", 83; L. Schneller, *Vader Schneller, een Patriarch der Evangelische Zending in het Heilige Land. Met een levensschets van zijn echtgenote Magdalene Schneller* (translated into Dutch by R. Freudenberg), Rotterdam, 1908, 76-79.

[102] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 234. It was difficult for Schneller to take children with him for his orphanage; the members of the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Maronite churches did not want to send the children to a Protestant institution. Schneller, *Vader Schneller*, 80-81; Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission*, 85. Cf. Löffler, "Die langsame Metamorphose", 83.

[103] Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 58; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 234-235.

as a craftsman. To this end various workshops were founded during the first years of the Syrian orphanage, such as a bakery, a shoemaker's workshop and a tailor's shop.[104] The orphanage appeared to be successful. Already in the first year of its existence the number of boys increased to 41. From 1872 it also took in girls. Except for classes in needlework and domestic science, the girls took their lessons together with the boys, as Schneller did not want to give them a one-sided traditional education.[105] Over the years the Syrian orphanage developed into an extensive institute in Jerusalem. After sixteen years, by 1876, it had raised 210 boys and 8 girls. A majority, 173, were Christians, of whom 87 were Orthodox, 29 Catholics, 29 Maronites, 19 Protestants, and 9 Copts.[106]

With the establishment of various Prussian Protestant institutes during the Gobat years, the foundation was laid for an independent Prussian Palestine mission. Just like Gobat, these institutes did not restrict their missionary efforts to the Jews, but mainly directed their energies towards Christians of other denominations. As a result of the missionary activities of the Prussian institutes and the CMS in cooperation with Gobat, the Protestant mission increased significantly during the Gobat years. As we will see, this expansion led to serious rivalry with the Roman Catholics in Palestine. In the polemics between Protestants and Roman Catholics the existence of Prussian missionary institutions played a distinct role.[107]

Effects of Gobat's change of policy

Already during the first years of his episcopate Gobat's change of missionary policy had several effects, which will be discussed in this section. First, Protestant missionary work led to people leaving their churches and to the establishment of Protestant communities, which resulted in conflicts with the other denominations in Palestine. Secondly, the bishop's missionary efforts among Eastern Christians and the fact that some of them left their churches and formed Protestant communities led to conflicts with the

[104] Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 59-60. The education in the Syrian orphanage was modelled after the educational institute run by Gobat's father in law, Christian Heinrich Zeller, in Beuggen. For Zeller's institute see also Chapter 7. For the influence of Zeller's educational ideas on the Syrian Orphanage, see Löffler, "Die langsame Metamorphose", 84-85; Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission*, 49-52.
[105] Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 59-60; Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission*, 87.
[106] 113 of these came from Palestine and 72 from Syria and Lebanon. The others came from Egypt, Armenia and Africa. For their religious background see Sinno, *Deutsche Interessen*, 61.
[107] See Chapter 8.

Tractarians in Britain. Over the years, their criticism increased and in the early 1850s led to much protest against Gobat's proselytising activities. Gobat also clashed with British people living in Jerusalem; two of such conflicts will be the subject of this section.

As to the formation of the first Protestant communities, Gobat frequently stated that he did not want to make converts among Christians of other denominations. His first annual reports, however, already describe members of other churches being converted to Protestantism, people willing to leave their churches, and Protestant communities coming into being. In Nablus in 1848, for instance, several men declared that they had decided to leave the Greek Church after they had read the Bible. They wanted to set up a Protestant congregation. Gobat told them that he was willing to help them in searching for the "Evangelical truth", but that he did not want them to secede from their church. In a petition twelve family heads assured the bishop that they would follow his advice and remain connected to the Greek Church, but they asked the bishop's help regarding Bible education for their children. Gobat then bought a school house in Nablus and appointed a teacher; he also received a promise from the Pasha and the Governor of Nablus to protect the school. In September 1848 the school opened with 21 boys. Its opening evoked much hostility among the Greek Orthodox clergy. The Sunday after the school was opened all people who sent their children there were excommunicated in the name of the Greek Orthodox patriarch.[108]

Similar tidings about people who wanted to leave their church reached Gobat from Nazareth in the early 1850s. In a letter dated 30 July 1850 Gobat informed Frederick William IV about Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church members in Nazareth who experienced difficulties with their clergy. Their diligent reading of the Bible made them see the "errors" of their churches. They rejected these "errors", especially the

[108] Gobat, Annual Letter , 20 October 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 298-300; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 13 September 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 223-224. Gobat to mrs. Holmes, Jerusalem, 29 June 1848, Oxford/BL, Dep. CMJ c.250/1. For the education in the Protestant school in Nablus, see Chapter 7. With regard to Gobat's relations with the patriarchs of the various denominations, in his first years in office he mentions that he had a friendly relationship with the Armenian patriarch, the Syrian Bishop, and "even the Greek Catholic Patriarch". Gobat describes his first meeting with the Greek Catholic Patriarch Maximus as very warm. The Greek Orthodox patriarch and his clergy kept away from him. Although the Greek Orthodox patriarch provided part of the costs of the school in Salt in 1849, there was no real contact between him and Gobat. The same may be said of the relations between Gobat and the Latin patriarch, of which more in the following chapter. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 290, 295, 309; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 5 June 1847; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 11 October 1848, both: London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 199-200 and ff. 225-226.

worshipping of images and the invoking of saints. In reaction, the clergy was obstructive, forbidding their flocks to read the Bible; when they knew of people who did read it, they made them kiss an image, invoke Mary or a saint, or promise not to read the Bible anymore. When those who refused to do so were excommunicated, they asked Gobat for help. In his letter to the Prussian King Gobat wondered what he could do. On the one hand he was not allowed to make converts from the other churches. On the other hand he did want to teach these people the 'truth'. Gobat therefore stated that he would admit only those into the Protestant Church who had been excluded from their churches because of their desire to know the truth of the Gospel.[109] After a year, in 1851, it appeared that several heads of families in Nazareth, chiefly from the Roman Catholic Church, had indeed left their church because of the tyranny and persecution inflicted on them by their clergy for reading the Bible. They had "declared themselves *Protestant* Christian in public" and before the judge, and had begun to form themselves into a Protestant community.[110]

In the letter to the Prussian King mentioned above, dated 30 July 1850, Gobat also boasted that the year before he had daily received petitions and deputies from all over Palestine with requests for his supervision and for teachers to be sent. As Gobat was not allowed to do so, he told people to read the Bible, to stay in their churches, and try to reform them.[111] In practice, however, various Protestant communities came into existence during the Gobat years. Already in the late 1840s and during the 1850s Gobat's and the CMS missionaries' letters mention Protestant church services, Bible meetings and educational activities and the like in various towns and villages not only in Nazareth and Nablus, but also in Jaffa, Ramallah and, of course, in Jerusalem.

According to Tibawi, Gobat's "assault was directed mainly against the Greek Orthodox Church. The majority of pupils came from members of this Church, and almost all the converts were made from that community".[112] Although it is true that the Protestant missionary 'successes' for a large part took place among the Greek Orthodox,

[109] Gobat to Frederick William IV, 30 July 1850, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken* , 319-320.
[110] Gobat, Annual Letter, 30 October 1851, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 338; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 January 1851, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 232-233. In his annual letter Gobat mentions twenty heads of family, in his letter to Rose thirteen. This would mean that Gobat is either exaggerating the number in his annual letter, as these were often published for the home public, or that within nine months six more heads of families had separated from their church. For Nazareth, see also Chapters 6-8.
[111] Gobat to Frederick William IV, 30 July 1850, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 319.
[112] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 111.

it must be stressed that the missionary activities on the part of Gobat and the CMS missionaries were not aimed mainly at this group, but were also directed towards the Catholics. Moreover, from descriptions of the conflicts between Protestants and Roman Catholics by both sides it appears that the Roman Catholics not only reacted to the fact that both they and the Protestants directed their mission efforts to the Greek Orthodox church members. They were also afraid to lose their *own* church members to the Protestants.[113]

Gobat's proselytising efforts among Christians were closely watched not only by the British Consul General in Beirut, Hugh Henry Rose, but also by church leaders such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. They repeatedly warned Gobat regarding his missionary activities among Christians of other churches. In reaction to Gobat's establishment of the school in Nablus in 1848, Colonel Rose instructed the British Consul James Finn to read to Gobat the instructions the former British Consul had received from the Foreign Office in May 1842. This dispatch forbade Alexander to interfere in the "religious concerns either of the Mohamedan, or of the Christian Subjects of the Porte; and not to attempt to make Proselytes to the Church of England from either of those classes".[114] Gobat, however, responded to the instructions by saying that he kept a neutral position. He declared that he had not accepted Christians from other denominations who wanted to place themselves under his jurisdiction, but that he could not refuse giving Bible instruction to people who were under no ecclesiastical control.[115] In a letter to Rose Gobat stated that with respect to his attempts to make proselytes he "perfectly agreed with the Dispatch" of May 1842, although he thought that a Christian could not live in a world "without in some way or other interfering with the religious concerns of his neighbours".[116]

From the early 1850s onwards, many complaints about Gobat's proselytising activities among the Eastern Churches were heard in Britain. In April 1850 Blomfield informed Gobat's chaplain, Douglas Veitch, of a conversation he had had with Rose. He told Veitch about Rose's fear that if Gobat encouraged "in any way members of the Greek Church to join the Anglican, a flame will be fanned, if not kindled by the Russian

[113] See Chapter 8.
[114] Aberdeen to Young, 3 May 1842, in Hyamson, *The British Consulate* 1, 46; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 96. See also Chapter 2.
[115] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 96.
[116] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 9 August 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 217-220.

agency [i.e., the Greek Orthodox protecting power]; and the consequence may be a civil war". As a new mission area Rose proposed the mission to the Druses in Lebanon, a proposal with which Blomfield was inclined to agree. After he had repeated "one of the fundamental articles of the foundation of the Jerusalem Bishopric", which directed the bishop not to interfere with the Eastern Churches, Blomfield asked Veitch to inform Gobat of his scheme for a mission among the Druses.[117]

The proposal from Blomfield and Rose did not keep Gobat from his mission among Christians. As a result, criticism of Gobat increased. Again the Tractarians, who had also opposed the establishment of the bishopric and who had been among the protesters against Gobat's appointment in 1846, strongly objected to the bishop's policy. Contrary to Rose, whose fear was political in character, the Tractarians' opposition was of a religious nature. As we saw earlier, one of the arguments of the Tractarians against the foundation of the bishopric was that in their view Christianity was already represented in the Middle East by the Greek Orthodox Church,[118] which they considered a sister church of the Anglican Church.[119]

When the Greek Orthodox people in Nablus had started to read the Bible and had asked for Gobat's help, Gobat asked the new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner (1780-1862),[120] for advice about the restriction on interfering in the affairs of the other churches. As a result, on 16 October 1850, the archbishop and Bunsen wrote an official declaration concerning the relations between the bishop and the other churches in Jerusalem, especially with the Greek Orthodox Church. With this declaration Gobat actually received 'freedom of action'. Although Gobat was still expected not to take a hostile position towards the Greek Church, the declaration also stated that there was no justification for prohibiting the bishop from helping and supporting Greek Orthodox Christians that were unsatisfied with their own church, and sought a

[117] Blomfield to Veitch, London, 27 April 1850, London/LPL, BP, 49, ff. 287-290. In a letter to Rose, Gobat wrote that he had indeed begun "one mission among the Druses with a view of establishing schools for that people". Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 11 September 1850, London/BL, 27, Add. 42798, ff.227-228.

[118] See Chapter 2.

[119] Within the Church of England many saw the Anglican, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches as three branches of the one holy church of Christ. Although many Anglicans could not reconcile themselves with the papacy as it was at the time, they did cherish the ideal of a unity with the ancient Greek Orthodox Church. Gobat's biographers believed the situation of the Eastern Christians to be at odds with the positive idea the Tractarians had of the Greek Orthodox Church. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 350-352; Tibawi, *British Interests*, 113; Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem", 188.

[120] Sumner had succeeded Howley as Archbishop of Canterbury after the latter's death in 1848.

Scriptural community of faith, and had the impression that the Anglican Church was such a community in doctrine and constitution. This declaration by Sumner and Bunsen was, however, not made public in Britain and Prussia.[121] A few months later Gobat wrote to Colonel Rose that the restrictions laid on the Protestant bishop in Jerusalem regarding the Eastern Churches had been "authoritatively removed. But this is to be kept in strict confidence until a [case] of emergency arise[s]".[122]

Meanwhile criticism of Gobat in Britain increased, especially as a result of his annual report of 30 October 1851, the report he had written about the people in Nazareth who had declared themselves Protestants. He also mentioned conflicts with the Greek Orthodox monks and the bishop in Nablus regarding the Protestant school and the attendance of Greek Orthodox children.[123] To give their objections solid ground, Gobat's critics cited both the "Statement of Proceedings" and the Letter Commendatory Gobat's predecessor Alexander had brought with him when he arrived in Jerusalem.[124]

Gobat's missionary activities were also under discussion in various British journals. In December 1851, Gobat confided to Henry Venn that he was "at a loss to account for the opposition of the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Evening Journal* against the Evangelisation of the fallen Churches of this country. The parties cannot be ignorant of the crying evils of the Greek Church and her want of a thorough Reformation". He blamed his critics for favouring "error and wickedness" and in this way displaying "hatred against the Gospel Truth" – something the bishop found hard to accept.[125]

In September 1853 the criticism of Gobat culminated in a "Protest against proselytism attempted by Gobat". The process of drawing it up was directed by Reverend John Mason Neale (1818-1866), the warden of Sackville College, who thought

[121] More on this and on the declaration by Sumner and Bunsen, see Tibawi, *British Interests*, 101-104. Cf. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 353-354; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 226-227.
[122] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 January 1851, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 232-233.
[123] Annual Letter from Gobat, Jerusalem, 30 October 1851, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 330-339.
[124] One of the documents in the correspondence of Reverend Philip Bliss, Doctor of Civil Law, registrar of Oxford University, contains the passage from Alexander's Letter Commendatory about the relations between the Protestant Bishop and the other churches in Jerusalem, and extracts from Gobat's annual report of 30 October 1851. In the letter all passages which contain the bishop's criticism of the Eastern Churches have been underlined. London/BL, BC, 13, Add. 34579, ff. 446.
[125] Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 31 December 1851, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/71.

he "never before had anything that seemed" to him "so important as this".[126] The protest, which was written in English and Greek, was addressed to the patriarchs and Synods of the Orthodox Church.[127] It declared that Gobat entirely neglected the commands of the late Metropolitan [i.e., Howley] with regard to the Orthodox Eastern Churches. By doing so the bishop transgressed the injunctions which limited his authority. Gobat was harassing these churches by receiving proselytes from them and congregating them into "certain schismatical congregations". The protest objected to "all such acts done or now doing by that Bishop, as proceeding from himself alone, and receiving no sanction from our Church". More than 1,000 members and clergy of the Anglican Church signed the protest. Among those were Tractarian leaders, such as Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), whom Neale had also involved in the process of drawing it up.[128]

In reaction to the protest the Committee of the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund came with a declaration in October 1853, which stated their trust in Gobat in six points. Among other things, the document stated that Gobat's dealings had the "full sanction of the late, and present Metropolitan" [i.e., Howley and Sumner]. It also stated that the subscribers of the protest had attempted "to affix a meaning" to the Letter Commendatory written by the late Metropolitan for the late Bishop Alexander which it could not "properly bear". According to the Committee, this letter should be interpreted in relation to the "Statement of Proceedings". The "Statement" said that the immediate object of the bishopric was the mission to the Jews and the care for European Protestant congregations. However, one of the results of friendly relations with the Eastern churches was "preparing the way for their purification, in some cases for serious errors". The declaration stated that Gobat had always acted in a "mild, conciliatory spirit towards the prelates, as well as the people, of the Oriental Churches".[129]

[126] For the story of the actual writing of the protest, see Neale's letters edited by his daughter: M.S. Lawson, *Letters of John Mason Neale*, London, 1910, 221-223.

[127] The letter was addressed to the Archbishop of Constantinople, the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Patriarch of Antioch, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Synod of all the Russias, and the Synod of the Kingdom of Greece. "Protest against proselytism attempted by Gobat", 1853, London/BL, BC, 13, Add. 34579, ff. 409. Cf. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 355-358.

[128] "Protest against proselytism attempted by Gobat", 1853, London/BL, BC, 13, Add. 34579, ff. 409; Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 355-358; Lawson, *Letters*, 221-223.

[129] The Committee of the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Venn, Christian Bunsen, the Earl of Shaftesbury (chairman), Douglas Veitch (secretary) and others. Declaration of

On 1 November 1853 the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin also issued a public declaration in favour of Gobat, stating that the "Protest against proselytism" in no way derived from the United Church of England and Ireland, or "from persons authorized by that Church to pronounce decisions". The archbishops took this step because they wanted to "guard against the danger which might arise to our own Church from the example of the irregular and unauthorized proceedings of the memorialists". Furthermore, they sympathized with Gobat "in his arduous position" and felt assured that his conduct would be guided by "sound judgement and discretion".[130] However, despite the backing Gobat received from important Anglican church leaders, Neale continued to collect signatures for the protest against Gobat's proselytising. According to Neale the declaration of the archbishops had even caused several people to sign his protest.[131] The collection of signatures was to continue for months.[132]

Given the shared missionary aim of Gobat and the CMS missionaries it comes as no surprise that those who opposed Gobat's missionary efforts among the Eastern Christians also criticised the missionary actions of the CMS in Palestine. Only a few months after Klein and Sandreczki had arrived in Jerusalem in 1851 the society was attacked for "its intended aggression on the ancient Churches of the East".[133] A memorandum was sent to Blomfield who passed it to Henry Venn. In the memorandum the question was raised why the CMS directed its energies towards the Greek Orthodox instead of the 'heathen'. Furthermore, it reminded the readers of pledges made at the time of the establishment of the Protestant bishopric not to undertake any actions, such as proselytizing, regarding members of the Eastern Churches. According to the memorandum this pledge had been disregarded. Venn answered by stating that the CMS wanted to reform the Eastern Churches in order to enable them to evangelize among the 'heathen' and Muslims. With regard to the second accusation Venn replied that the

the Committee of the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund, 11 October 1853, London/BL, AP, 214, Add. 43252, ff. 135-136. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 228.

[130] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 134-135.

[131] Neale in his diary, 19 November 1853, in Lawson, *Letters*, 222.

[132] On 1 March 1854, for instance, *The Guardian* published a list containing many names of subscribers of the protest against Gobat. "Supplement to the Record, no. 2,851", 17 August 1854, Oxford/BL, Dep. CMJ d. 53/1-10.

[133] Stock, *The History of the CMS* 2, 143.

CMS had not been a participant in the agreement between Prussia and Britain. Therefore, the pledge did not apply to the CMS.[134]

The opposition to Gobat was not restricted to Britain. In Jerusalem there was also criticism of his missionary policy. One of the main sources of conflict in Jerusalem was the tension between Gobat and the British Consul James Finn. Finn had started his work in Jerusalem in the spring of 1846. He was the son-in-law of Alexander McCaul, who had been a candidate for the office of Protestant bishop in Jerusalem in 1841. Finn was a member of the Committee of the LJS and had dedicated himself to the restoration of the Jews in Palestine. He did not restrict his work to politics, but was also very involved with the mission. In the first years of Finn's consulate, he and Gobat seemed to be on good terms. However, only a few years after Finn's arrival disagreements between both men started to crop up.[135] Among other things, Finn condemned Gobat's allowing German Evangelical clergymen to celebrate a different liturgy than the Anglican in Jerusalem.[136] Another major problem for Finn was Gobat's attitude towards the Jews.[137]

The climax of the tension between them, however, was the "Rosenthal case", a political rather than a religious issue. This was the result of Finn's appointment of Simeon Rosenthal as acting consul during his (Finn's) absence in the autumn of 1857. Rosenthal was the first convert of the LJS in Jerusalem and had formerly worked for the society, but had been dismissed on suspicion of embezzlement. In 1857 Rosenthal, now a hotel keeper, also worked as a Dragoman of the English consulate in Jerusalem. When Finn decided to let Rosenthal act as his deputy, Gobat protested, together with the LJS-men Edward Macgowan, Edward Atkinson and William Bailey.[138] They stated that Rosenthal, who lived as a Prussian citizen in Jerusalem, did not "possess the confidence of British residents in Jerusalem" and was "under foreign protection". Furthermore, they claimed he was "incapable of discharging the obligations of an honourable and responsible post in a manner creditable to the British flag".[139]

An open quarrel followed in which Finn put Gobat under town arrest and Rosenthal was imprisoned by the Prussian Consul Rosen, whom Gobat had asked for

[134] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 111-112. Cf. Stock, *The History of the CMS* 2, 143-144.
[135] Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem", 189-190, 192.
[136] Cf. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 220-222.
[137] Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem", 192-193.
[138] Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 223; Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem", 198-199.
[139] "The original Protest which caused proceedings against the Bishop", Jerusalem, 16 October 1857, Oxford/BL, Dep. C.M.J. c.110.

help. The English Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Malmesbury (1807-1889), ordered Finn to lift Gobat's arrest. He also asked the Prussian Consul to release Rosenthal. Malmesbury assured the Prussian envoy in London, who had requested Finn's return from Jerusalem, to restore the bishop's dignity. Although Malmesbury did not recall Finn to Britain he did request the consul to avoid further collision with Gobat in the future.[140]

Finn was not the only one in Jerusalem to criticise Gobat. One of the other critics was William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), a well-known painter who lived in Jerusalem from 1854-1855. Hunt published a protest against the marriage between Hannah Hadoub, a former Roman Catholic whom Gobat had admitted into the Anglican Church, and the fourteen-year old Sophia Nicola. The painter objected to this marriage because Hadoub was said to have prostituted his former wife. In the end, however, Gobat decided to allow the marriage, because the accusation was not proven. In order to avoid possible scandals the bishop ordered that Hannah Hadoub and Sophia Nicola should marry in Nazareth instead of Christ Church in Jerusalem.[141]

The commotion about Gobat's missionary aim and efforts in Britain, together with the conflicts in Jerusalem, must have had an effect not only on the mission's morale but also on donations to the bishopric.[142] Nevertheless, Gobat did not give in and continued with his missionary activities among Christians of other churches all through his episcopate. A reason for this might have been that he was supported by various important people, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[140] Finn was consul in Jerusalem until 1863. Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 224-225. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 134ff; A. Blumberg, *A view from Jerusalem, 1849-1858. The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Anne Finn*, London, Toronto, 1980, 283-290. For this and other conflicts between Finn and Gobat, see Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem". The conflict was also fought in the media in England. According to Jack, the national press was opposed to Gobat. Jack, "No Heavenly Jerusalem", 199.

[141] For this and more information: "Correspondence and papers concerning objections to a marriage between Hannah Hadoub, stonemason, and Sophia Nicola, including letters from and evidence transcribed by William Holman Hunt, the artist, 1855", London/LPL, JEMF, MS. 2338, ff. 46-115. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 117-118. Another document used against Gobat was a pamphlet written by James Graham, *Jerusalem: Its Missions, Schools, Convents etc. under Bishop Gobat*, London, 1858. Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 119-120.

[142] Tibawi mentions a letter from Gobat in which the bishop states that the income was diminished, largely because of the influence of the critics. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 121.

Concluding remarks

Gobat was Protestant bishop in Jerusalem for thirty-three years. In February 1878, Gobat raised the subject of his resignation in a letter to the CMS, as he felt he could no longer fulfil "all the duties of the office" because of his age.[143] In the same year, the CMS received a petition from the 'Protestant Episcopal church in Palestine' in both Arabic and English, in which the church members expressed their difficulties with Gobat's possible resignation. They uttered their grief "both individually and as a body" at being deprived of their "Tender Father" and added that they had always found the bishop one of their greatest blessings.[144] However, before any formal decision could be taken, Gobat died on 11 May 1879 at the age of eighty. His wife Maria was to follow him three months later, on 1 August 1879.[145]

During the Gobat years the Protestant mission in Palestine had expanded enormously. Only a few years after Gobat's arrival in Jerusalem new Protestant communities were already being formed. An important reason for the growth of the Protestant mission was Gobat's change of policy regarding the extent of the mission. No longer was the Protestant mission aimed at making converts only among Jewish people; the chief object now was the mission among Christians of other denominations. Gobat thought both Catholic and Orthodox Churches were in decline and full of 'errors'. He therefore directed his attention to these denominations. The CMS, together with various Prussian institutions, shared the bishop's missionary aim. Although Gobat often emphasized that he wanted to cleanse the Eastern churches, his letters and autobiography suggest that he actually focussed on making converts to (Evangelical) Protestantism and forming Protestant communities, rather than reforming the Eastern Churches.

From the start, Gobat's change of the aim of the Protestant mission met with opposition. It was especially the Tractarians in Britain who strongly objected to the bishop's missionary efforts among the Eastern Christians. Already at the time of his nomination as Protestant bishop in Jerusalem Gobat had had difficulties with the same

[143] Gobat to the CMS, Jerusalem, 8 February 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/110; Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 21 November 1877, London/BL, TP, 234, ff. 280-283.

[144] "Protestant epicopal church in Palestine: against retirement of bishop of Jerusalem", 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 9/16.

[145] Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 528-530, 539. About a week after Gobat's death, the Protestant Episcopal community in Palestine suggested to the CMS that Gobat's son, Samuel, should succeed the late bishop. "Protestant Episcopal community in Palestine; for election of S.A. Gobat to inherit his father Samuel Gobat's place as bishop" (Arabic and English), 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 9/18.

group about his Evangelical ideas. Gobat's missionary course also caused strained relations with the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy. Gobat's change of missionary scope would even be one of the reasons to actually re-establish the Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem, as we will see in the following chapter.

5

The Roman Catholic presence during the Gobat years

Introduction

With the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric one more Christian denomination was added to the religious landscape in Palestine. Both the foundation of the Protestant bishopric and its missionary efforts affected the Roman Catholic Church there, especially during Gobat's episcopate, when the mission of the bishopric and the CMS was directed towards Christians of other denominations. These activities led to strained relations with the Roman Catholics, as both were fishing in the same pond; both directed their energies towards the Eastern Christians. What is more, the Protestant missionaries also tried to make converts among the members of the Roman Catholic Church itself, which intensified the rivalry between both churches.

Letters from the missionaries who worked for Gobat are filled with stories about their clashes with Catholics. Their reports will be discussed in the next chapters. The subject of this chapter is the Roman Catholic institutions and congregations in Palestine, concentrating on Joseph Valerga's patriarchate (1847-1872). Furthermore, the influence of the establishment of the Protestant bishopric and its mission on the Roman Catholic presence in Palestine at the time will be examined.

Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land

At the time when the Protestant Bishop Michael Solomon Alexander arrived in Jerusalem, the Franciscan friars were the main representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in Palestine.[1] Already during the Crusades (1095-1291) the Franciscans had

[1] For information about the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, see for instance Buffon, *Les Franciscains*; Buffon, "Les Franciscains", 65-91; Marcellino da Civezza (convent name of Pietro Ranise), *Histoire Universelle des Missions Franciscaines* 3: *Asie et Afrique*, Paris, 1898; G. Golubovich, *Serie Cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa […]; con due Appendice di documenti e firmani Arabi inediti, e d'un sunto storico de' conventi, santuari ed istituti di beneficenza dipendenti da Terra Santa*, Jerusalem, 1898. For

gained a foothold in Palestine.[2] In 1333 the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land was officially recognised by a treaty concluded by the sovereigns of Naples, Robert of Anjou (1277-1343) and Sancha of Majorca (1285-1345), with the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo.[3] In 1342, Pope Clement VI (1291-1352) issued the papal bulls *Gratias agimus* and *Nuper carissimae* from Avignon. With these bulls the Pope granted the *placet* of ecclesiastical authority to the Franciscans in the Holy Land.[4] *Gratias agimus* is generally considered to be the text by which the Franciscans were designated as permanent custodians of the Holy Places; it was the foundation of the 'Custodia Terrae Sanctae', or Custody of the Holy Land.[5] The bull contained regulations for the new ecclesiastical-religious organisation, and put the friars, who might come from all the provinces of the order, under the jurisdiction of the "superior (guardian) of Mount Zion in Jerusalem".[6]

Alongside the Franciscans, the Carmelites, i.e., the 'Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', also boasted a long-standing presence in Palestine. The order had been founded on Mount Carmel during the Crusades, but had left after these campaigns, to return in 1631. The Carmelites were in charge of the Latin parish of Haifa. In the early nineteenth century there were no other Roman Catholic orders or congergations in Palestine.[7]

In nineteenth-century Palestine the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land consisted of friars of various nationalities. Although the majority of the friars were Italian or Spanish, others came from countries such as France, Germany, Poland and America. Some of the friars were local Arabs.[8] The Custodian of the Holy Land, or Custos Terrae

the earlier centuries of the Franciscan presence in Palestine, see for instance P.L. Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner im Hl. Lande* 1: *Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1336-1551)*, Franziskanische Studien 4, Münster, 1916.

[2] In 1095 the first Crusade was proclaimed by Pope Urban II (1035-1099) at the Council of Clermont, and in 1099 Jerusalem was captured by the Crusaders. Godfrey of Bouillon was appointed the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem. In 1187 the Crusaders lost Jerusalem to Saladin, and in 1291 lost their last foothold on the mainland, Acre.

[3] The Franciscans received the Cenacle site on Mount Zion, and in exchange the Pope was to revoke the trade embargo against Egypt. Stransky, "Origins", 139. Cf. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 13; J.P. Valognes, *Vie et Mort des Chrétiens d'Orient. Des Origins à nos Jours*, Paris, 1994, 503-504.

[4] Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 13; Custodia di Terra Santa, *La Presenza Francescana in Terra Santa*, Jerusalem, 2003, 10. For the bull *Gratias agimus*, see *La Presenza*, 5.

[5] See for instance J. Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens Uniates du Proche-Orient*, Paris, 1962, 273; Stransky, "Origins", 139.

[6] Custodia di Terra Santa, *La Presenza*, 5, 10.

[7] Médebielle, *Le Diocese*, 66.

[8] P. Ladislaus, *Das heilige Land und seine katholischen Bewohner in kirchlicher und socialer Beziehung*, 1879, Münster, 1879, 6.

Sanctae, was the head of the Franciscans; regulations required him to be Italian,[9] and the Vicar to be French; it was the latter's task to replace the Custodian during his absence and to maintain relations with the French consuls. The fiscal-procurator, in charge of finances, had to be Spanish, since the majority of alms collected for the Custody came from countries which were dependent on the Crown of Spain. Besides the vicar and the fiscal-procurator, the council or *discretorium* of the Custos consisted of four other friars of Italian, French, Spanish and German nationality, respectively. The Custodian could not take any decision without consulting the *discretorium* first.[10]

The Custody maintained relations with various European courts by means of the so-called Commissariats of the Holy Land. The function of these national commissariats was to arouse European interest in the Holy Land and encourage financial contributions for the Holy Places.[11] Stimulated by papal bulls, collects for the Holy Places were held in several countries at least once a year.[12] The money was handed over to the bishops who gave it to the Commissariats of the Holy Land. Via these Commissariats the money reached Jerusalem, where it was collected by the Procurator and divided among the sanctuaries and convents, in line with the different needs decided by the Custody's *discretorium*. The expenses of the Custody were controlled by the Propaganda Fide.[13] With the financial support from Europe, the Franciscan friars were able to maintain the sanctuaries in the Holy Land.

The care of the Holy Places also entailed the care of the pilgrims who visited them. The Franciscans provided travellers with free accommodation. Special hospices, called *Case Nove*, were opened by the Custody. According to Consul Finn, the pilgrims in Jerusalem were entitled to free lodging for a whole month. In the other hospices in the country this period was limited to three days. Finn added, however, that European travellers usually gave "donations on their departure, equal to the amount of a fair

[9] The Custodian was nominated by the Minister General of the Franciscans and his council in Rome and confirmed by the Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 15.

[10] This was part of the regulations laid down by Pope Benedict XIV (1675-1758) concerning the functioning of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 15.

[11] France, Spain, Austria and Venice were the most important countries. The commissariats could also put pressure on the governments to gain their support in controversies, especially those with the Orthodox, about the Holy Places. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 14. To this day, the commissariats still aim at stimulating interest in the Holy Land.

[12] Marcellino da Civezza, *Histoire*, 85. These funds were collected especially round Easter (the "Good Friday collection").

[13] Ibid.

hotel-bill, and some very much more".[14] Bernhard Neumann, former doctor in the Jewish hospital "Mayer Rothschild" in Jerusalem, wrote the same and added that admittance to the *Casa Nova* in Jerusalem was very liberal. Travellers from all kinds of religions and denominations were welcome, and if necessary received medical help from the convent doctor.[15]

In addition to the tasks connected with the care of the Holy Places, the friars also felt responsible for the poor, whom they provided with food and clothing as well as free housing.[16] The Franciscan Marie-Léon stated that in Jerusalem "almost all Catholics lodged at the expense of the mission". He added that the practice of offering such material support to the parishioners aroused criticism from travellers and writers. He defended the Custody, mentioning that it wanted to reduce the number of people receiving free lodging, but that the Latin patriarch, Joseph Valerga, was opposed to this idea. Valerga was ordered by the Propaganda Fide to continue providing such support.[17]

In addition to hosting pilgrims and supporting the poor, the Franciscans also offered some medical help,[18] took in orphans in their orphanages and taught the youth in their schools. Furthermore, a printing press was set up in Jerusalem. In October 1845, the vicar of the Custody mentioned the necessity of the establishment of a printing press with Arabic and Latin typefaces. Having a printing press would enable the Franciscans to publish books in Arabic for the Roman Catholic education. These books could then prevent the damage caused by non-Catholic books, which were distributed for free

[14] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 42.

[15] B. Neumann, *Die Heilige Stadt und deren Bewohner in ihren naturhistorischen, culturgeschichtlichen* [sic], *socialen und medicinischen Verhältnissen*, Hamburg, 1877, 300.

[16] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 42; Ladislaus, *Das Heilige Land*, 6.

[17] Marie-Léon, *La Custodie Franciscaine de Terre-Sainte. Rapport rédigé par le R.P. Marie-Léon Patrem, Missionaire Apostolique, Discret français de Terre-Sainte et lu a l'assemblée générale des Oeuvres Catholique, le 16 mai 1879*, Paris, 1879, 50. Much later, the Dutch Franciscan E. van Kroonenburg mentions similar criticism of the Franciscans. He discusses several accusations found in a Roman Catholic paper regarding the Franciscans practice of offering "houses, bread and soup" to the poor parishioners in Jerusalem. According to Van Kroonenburg this criticism only demonstrated the excellent care taken by the Custody of people it considered to be in need. He did, however, think it too much to say that the pastor offered soup, since the "native people" never eat soup; Van Kroonenburg thought the description of a pastor offering pea soup to the poor a typically Dutch touch. E. van Kroonenburg, *De Missie-Custodie van het H. Land*, Weert, 1928, 20-21.

[18] According to Marie-Léon, in some towns, such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Jaffa, the Franciscans offered medical care for free and were available not only to Catholic people, but to people from other religious backgrounds too, *La Custodie*, 54-55. Already in 1352, the Franciscans erected their first hospital in Palestine, according to *The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land Yesterday and Today. Vatican Missionary Exposition (1925)*, Rome, 1925, 29.

by the Protestants in large numbers. In the vicar's opinion these books led to immense hate of the Catholic religion.[19] In July 1846 a printing press arrived in Jerusalem. The Archbishop of Vienna, Vincent Eduard Milde (1777-1853), arranged for Franciscans from Jerusalem to be trained as printers and bookbinders in Vienna.[20]

During the nineteenth century, the Franciscan friars were present in more than fifteen towns and villages near the Holy Places in Palestine, such as Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jaffa, and Ramle.[21] As mentioned earlier, the Franciscans had fought with the Greek Orthodox over the Holy Places for centuries. In these polemics both where supported by European nations: the Greek Orthodox by the Russians, and the Roman Catholics by France. Before the treaties or 'capitulations' between France and the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards, by which France had taken the role of protector of Catholicism in the Empire upon itself, the Franciscans usually asked the Italian representatives for help.[22] However, also after the capitulations the friars still preferred the support of Italy and Spain.[23] According to Finn, during the years of its existence (1843-1849) the Franciscans preferred the Sardinian Consulate to the French. Afterwards, with the establishment of the Austrian and Spanish consulates, the monks frequented these rather than the French. Finn added, however, that it would not be reasonable if the convents forgot the "long-continued favours" they had received from France. They had been "under the greatest obligations to that power".[24]

For centuries the Custodian of the Holy Land was the highest Latin authority in Palestine. He actually fulfilled duties the Latin patriarch had executed during the

[19] Giuseppe Maria Rodal to Mosetizh, Jerusalem, 22 October 1845, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 5, SK/599, 7.

[20] On 27 January 1847 the Franciscan Printing Press printed its first page. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem. The Old City*, 230. From 1846-1852, Sebastian Frötschner was in charge of the printing press. B. Haider, "Zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit. Kirch und Staat in Österreich (-Ungarn) und das Heilige Land 1843/49-1917", B.A. Böhler (ed.), *Mit Szepter und Pilgerstab. Österreichische Präsenz im Heiligen Land seit den Tagen Kaiser Franz Josephs*, Vienna, 2000, 60. For an overview of books printed by the Franciscan Printing Press between 1862 and 1884, see *Prospetto generale della custodia di terra Santa dall'anno 1862-1889*, Jerusalem, 1889.

[21] For an impression of the Franciscan presence in nineteenth-century Palestine, see Appendix II.

[22] Soetens, *Le Congrès*, 208. For the capitulations between France and the Ottoman Empire, see also Chapter 1.

[23] Stransky, "Origins", 148. As mentioned above, the majority of the Franciscan friars were Italian and Spanish.

[24] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 62-63. For the relations between the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land and Austria, see: Haider "Zwischen Anspruch", 55-74; B. Haider, "Das Generalkommissariat des heiligen Landes in Wien – eine Wiederentdeckung des 19. Jahrhunderts", Trimbur (ed.), *Europäer in der Levante*, 123-159.

Crusades.[25] However, during the nineteenth century the position of the Custody and the Custodian was to change.

First discussions about the restoration of the Latin patriarchate

In 1847, the special position of the Franciscan Custody in Palestine ended when the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem was re-established. Discussions about restoring the patriarchate had already started in the early 1840s. A major reason to put this on the agenda was the establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem by the Church of England and the Evangelical Church of Prussia, a reason which became even more pressing after its first bishop, Alexander, arrived in Jerusalem. When the Protestant bishopric was founded the whole Catholic world was up in arms.[26] Its foundation gave an immense impulse to the missionary activities of both the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Church.[27]

It is not surprising that the Roman Catholics saw the foundation of the Protestant bishopric as a provocative act against Roman Catholicism. As we have seen, from the start the Protestant bishopric represented anti-Roman Catholic sentiments; the "Statement of Proceedings" accused the Church of Rome of "labouring to pervert the members of the Eastern Churches" and bringing them "under the dominion of the Pope".[28]

The arrival of the first Protestant bishop soon led to reactions from the Roman Catholic side. In January 1842, the French ambassador in Rome, Count Latour-Maubourg,

[25] Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 14.

[26] Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens*, 275; Médebielle, *Le Diocese*, 28. According to Duvignau, in reaction to the establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem many petitions reached Rome. Duvignau provides no information about their contents. P. Duvignau, *Une Vie au Service de l'Église. S.B. Mgr. Joseph Valerga, Patriarch Latin de Jérusalem, 1813-1872* (hereafter *Joseph Valerga*), Jerusalem, 1972, 58. As mentioned before, Finn was amused by the "silly exaggerations" of Roman Catholic journals. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 138.

[27] Friedrich Heyer speaks of an "avalanche" of European activities, which started with the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem; as a result of the foundation of the Protestant bishopric every denomination, every Christian nation, wanted to have a representation in the Holy City. F. Heyer, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte des Heiligen Landes. Märtyrer, Mönche, Kirchenväter, Kreuzfahrer, Patriarchen, Ausgräber und Pilger*, M. Tamcke (ed.), Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 11, Hamburg, 2000, 249. Cf. Haider, "Zwischen Anspruch", 59; B. Haider, "'Austria in urbe sancta Jerusalem sit ultima!' Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Europäisierung der Welt", F. Glatz (ed), *Europäische und nationale Interessen*, Begegnungen Schriftenreihe des Europa Institutes Budapest 16, Budapest, 2002, 72.

[28] Hechler, *The Jerusalem Bishopric*, 108.

mentioned in a report that Rome [i.e., the Pope and his Curia] dreamt of the establishment of a Catholic prelacy in Jerusalem to counterbalance the "disastrous effects" of a Protestant bishop in Jerusalem.[29] At the proposal of Cardinal Giacomo Filippo Fransoni (1775-1856), prefect of the Propaganda Fide, a general meeting of the Propaganda Fide held on 28 February 1842 was dedicated to the study of the eventual "erection of the apostolic vicariate of Jerusalem". The Holy See was to take into consideration the project's advantages for the Roman Catholic faith. Furthermore, such a prelacy would impede the development of heresy and schism, which more and more menaced Catholicism.[30]

However, the decision to re-establish the Latin patriarchate was postponed indefinitely: on the one hand, Rome feared that such a decision might stimulate England and Prussia to press the Sultan for official recognition of the Anglican bishop, so that it might enforce rather than weaken the position of the Protestants in Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Minister General of the Franciscans objected to the plan, as he feared losing the autonomous position of the Franciscan Custody.[31]

Although no decision was made regarding the establishment of the Latin patriarchate, the French government in Paris decided to send a French consul to Jerusalem. In Rome, the Propaganda Fide officials were very pleased with this decision and one of them, Monsignor Cadolini, even suggested suitable candidates for the position. The French government, however, did not choose any of these, but appointed Gabriel de Lantivy.[32] The consul's responsibility was both religious and political in character. He had to protect the Catholic religion, its adherents and the institutions dependent on it. He also had to extend "the action and effects of a patronage of which

[29] Latour-Maubourg, 8 January 1842, cited in Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 484.
[30] Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 484-485; Stransky, "Origins", 148 ; Stransky, "La Concurrence", 211.
[31] Soetens, *Le Congrès*, 247-248 ; Stransky, "Origins", 148; Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 485.
[32] Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 485; Stransky, "Origins ", 148.

France will always take the glory as much as possible".[33] Moreover, the consul would be able to keep an eye on the actions of the Protestant bishop in Jerusalem.[34]

Like the Franciscans, the French government, with François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), himself a Protestant, as its Minister of Foreign Affairs, was opposed to the restoration of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem. Guizot considered the plan unnecessary, as the Custodian of the Holy Land was already invested with the rights and jurisdiction of the Episcopal dignity. According to Guizot, the inevitable conflicts between the Franciscans and the new Latin prelate would be a further embarrassment to the French consul, who was already busy keeping peace among the Franciscan friars themselves. Such conflicts would be a cause for joy and would provide an extra "weapon" for the enemies of Catholicism. Besides this, Guizot feared that the Roman Catholic prelate might turn out an adversary rather than a supporter of French (religious) protection. He might be an Austrian or Sardinian and prefer the 'protection' of these countries.[35]

The new French consul in Jerusalem was also opposed to the restoration project. In a report, Lantivy analysed the establishment of a "Latin bishopric" in Jerusalem.[36] He discussed the positive and negative sides of the project. As advantages Lantivy mentioned, among other things, that the "Catholic bishop" might help the Greek and Armenian Christians to abandon the yoke of their convents. As disadvantages he presented possible causes of rivalry between the Franciscan custodian and the Latin prelate. Like Guizot he wondered what would happen if the Latin prelate was Austrian or Sardinian and would try to withdraw the Catholics and the Catholic institutions from the French religious protectorate. The consul proposed a way in which all advantages could be gained without having the disadvantages of the re-establishment of the patriarchate: sending French missionary organizations to Palestine. These societies

[33] The letter also stipulates that the establishment of a French Consulate in Jerusalem would show the dedication of the French government to the Catholic interests in the Levant before the Holy See. Guizot to Reneyval, the successor of Latour-Maubourg as French ambassador in Rome, cited in Stransky, "Origins", 148 and Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 489. According to Finn, the French consul "became the visible representative and embodiment of the French protectorate of Christianity". Finn, *Stirring* 1, 76.

[34] "Chancellerie de l'Ordre de Jérusalem en France" to the Custodian of the Holy Land. This letter was probably written soon after the establishment of the French consulate in Jerusalem, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 2, SK/596, 161.

[35] Guizot to Latour-Maubourg,15 June 1844, cited in Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 491-492.

[36] Report, dd. 29 August 1843 or 1844. It is not clear whether Hajjar dates the report to 1843 or 1844. Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 493; Stransky, "Origins", 148.

would be controlled by the French consulate in Jerusalem and would be under French protection. They could be a counterforce to the Anglican missionary activities, whose successes Lantivy had discussed in an earlier report. The consul concluded by saying that he was utterly opposed to the establishment of a Roman Catholic Episcopal See in Jerusalem.[37]

The re-establishment of the Latin patriarchate

For some years the restoration of a Latin prelacy remained low on the agenda of the Propaganda Fide. However, in 1846, a few months after Pius IX (1792-1878) had become Pope, the project was discussed again. Since the first plans for a Latin prelacy in 1842 there had been some changes concerning the Orthodox and Protestants in Palestine, which most probably contributed to the fact that a Latin prelacy was again subject of discussion.[38] As to the Orthodox, Russia had sent an Archimandrite, Porfiri Uspenski, to Palestine in 1843 in order to investigate the best methods by which Russia could support the Orthodox Church in Palestine. Uspenski had to collect information about the "real demands" of the Eastern clergy and the "aims, successes and spirit of the Catholics, Armenians and Protestants".[39] In Uspenski's report about his stay in Jerusalem and his excursions to other towns he summarized the problems of the Orthodox Church, such as the poor status of the Greek clergy and the work of non-Orthodox missionaries. He considered the greatest danger to come from the French, who protected the Uniates. Furthermore, the Anglicans with their new bishop were to be feared. Uspenski recommended a permanent representation in Jerusalem.[40] In 1847, a Russian Palestine mission was eventually established.[41] Furthermore, on the Orthodox side

[37] Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 492-496; Stransky, "Origins", 148.

[38] According to a pilgrim's memoir, the Holy See had re-established the Latin patriarchate mainly to resist the invasion of the Russian Schismatics and the Protestants. "Mémoire confidentiel adressé à N:N:S:S: les Évêques de France, par un Prêtre pèlerin de Terre-Sainte, au sujet du rétablissement de la quête du Vendredi saint", dated ca. 1859, Rome /AGOFM, TS, 8, SK/602, 43-46.

[39] Hopwood, *The Russian Presence*, 34, 36. Russia's decision to send an Archimandrite was triggered by the appointment of the Protestant bishop Alexander. Hopwood, *The Russian Presence*, 33.

[40] Hopwood, *The Russian Presence*, 39-40.

[41] E. Astafieva, "Imaginäre und wirkliche Präsenz Russlands im Nahen Osten in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts", Trimbur (ed.), *Europäer in der Levante*, 174. Elena Astafieva states that the establishment of a Protestant bishopric and the restoration of the Latin Patriarchate might have accelerated Russia's initiative to establish a Palestine mission, but not caused it; a view that, according to Astafieva, is common in French

Athanasios, the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, was succeeded by Cyril II after his death in 1845. Unlike his predecessors, who had resided in Constantinople, Cyril II decided to have his residence in Jerusalem.[42]

Of the changes in the religious climate in Palestine, it is especially Gobat's appointment that is frequently mentioned as having given a major impulse to the restoration project of the Latin patriarchate.[43] In a general assembly of the Propaganda Fide on 25 January 1847 the institution of a Latin bishop or patriarch of Jerusalem was discussed. Before this meeting, a petition from an Italian painter, Constantino Giusti, on the subject had caught the attention of the Pope and the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide, and was explicitly mentioned during the discussion. In his petition, Giusti, who had travelled in the Middle East for several years, voiced the Franciscans' desire for a Latin bishop in Jerusalem.[44]

The report of the Propaganda's assembly of 25 January shows that the creation of a Latin prelacy in Jerusalem was considered to serve the prestige of Catholicism and the needs of the mission in Palestine. A "bishop" near the Holy Places, where there were "schismatics and many heretics", and "recently" even Anglicans, would be of crucial importance.[45] Twelve days later, on 6 February 1847, the Secretary of the Propaganda informed the Minister General of the Franciscans in Rome, Luigi di Loreto, about the project. Loreto's reaction was not very encouraging. He took the view that the plan

historiography. Astafieva, "Imaginäre", 171. For Russia's (missionary) presence in Palestine and the relation between Russia and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, see also Hopwood, *The Russian Presence*; D. Hopwood, "Die russische Präsenz in Pälestina-religiöse Motive, politische Ambitionen", Y. Perry and E. Petry (eds.), *Das Erwachen Palästinas im 19. Jahrhundert. Alex Carmel zum 70. Geburtstag*, E.W. Stegemann (ed.), Judentum und Christentum 9, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, 2001, 47-52; E.M. Kane, "Pilgrims, Piety and Politics: The Founding of the First Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem", Tamcke and Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness*, 177-197.

[42] Hopwood, *The Russian Presence*, 42. Cyril II was Patriarch from 1845 until 1872.

[43] See for instance Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens*, 278; Médebielle, *Le Diocese*, 28; Kroonenburg, *De Missie-Custodie*, 33. In the assembly of the Propaganda Fide about the restoration of a Latin prelacy the new Protestant bishop is indeed mentioned in the context of the general wish for a Latin prelacy. L. Lemmens, *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Terra Santa* 2, 1721-1847, G. Golubovich (ed.), Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano, Firenze, 1922, 117.

[44] In 1831 Giusti had travelled in the Middle East together with the Greek Catholic Patriarch Maximus Mazlum and the first Jesuits of the new mission in Syria. After that he travelled through the Orient and placed himself in service of the Catholics, especially in Palestine. Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 499. For the text of Giusti's petition, see Lemmens, *Acta*, 119-121.

[45] Lemmens, *Acta*, 117; Stransky, "The Origins", 148; Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 499.

conflicted with the privileged position of the Custody of the Holy Land. The new project would jeopardize the institution of the Custody itself.[46]

In the meantime, at the instigation of a Neapolitan priest who lived in Constantinople, the Ottoman Sultan took up the idea to establish direct relations with the Holy See.[47] He asked his ambassador in Vienna to inform Pope Pius IX about his plan, which the ambassador did in an audience on 20 February 1847: the Sultan would allow an apostolic representative in Constantinople, under the authority of the Propaganda Fide. The new prelate could then play the role of delegate of the Holy See in favour of the Uniate Churches in the Ottoman Empire.[48] The Sultan's promise might have stimulated the final decision of the Propaganda regarding the Latin patriarchate.

On 3 May 1847, Cardinal Acton (1803-1847) presented a report about the nomination of a "bishop" in Jerusalem, in which the objections of the Minister General of the Franciscans were discussed and rebutted. The report contained 37 questions about the structure and organization of the new prelacy, for instance about the candidate, whether the Order of the Holy Sepulchre would be under the authority of the new prelate or not,[49] etcetera. Following these questions, Acton added that in case the new prelate did not have to be a Franciscan the missionary Joseph (Guiseppe) Valerga would be an excellent candidate. Acton regarded Valerga's competence highly: his righteousness, missionary zeal, his many intellectual capacities, such as his knowledge of Oriental languages, and his understanding of the mission in the Orient. Acton also proposed some Franciscan candidates, in case the new prelate was required to be a Franciscan, but no one seemed to have all the qualities Valerga possessed.[50] In a Papal audience, on 16 May 1847, the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide, represented by one of its officials, Jean-Baptiste Palma, advised Pius IX to grant the new prelate the title of 'Latin patriarch'. Furthermore, Joseph Valerga was recommended for the office.

[46] Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens*, 278; Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 500. For the text of the letter to Loreto and Loreto's reaction to it, see Lemmens, *Acta*, 121-124.

[47] Soetens, *Le Congrès*, 250. Soetens does not mention the name of the Neapolitan priest, or give any information about the priest's relationship with the Ottoman Sultan.

[48] The apostolic delegate "would represent the Pope as the spiritual head of the Catholics, not as the secular head of a foreign state". Soetens, *Le Congrès*, 250; Stransky, "The Origins", 149.

[49] The Custodian of the Holy Land possessed the right of making 'knights of the Holy Sepulchre'.

[50] Lemmens, *Acta*, 124-130; Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 500. It seems that national-political arguments did not play a part in Acton's choice of Valerga.

Pius IX approved of both proposals and nominated Valerga as Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.[51]

In the second week of July 1847, final decisions were taken about the jurisdiction of the patriarch. His authority should not extend to the personal and religious life of the Franciscans, who were to remain under the authority of the Custodian. The exact relationship between the patriarch and the Custody would be defined later, as would the financial aspects regarding the Holy Places.[52] On 23 July 1847, the papal bull *Nulla celebrior* was issued; with this publication, the restoration of the Latin patriarchate was a fact. In the bull, Pius IX ordered that the patriarchate should consist of the same regions that were under the authority of the Custodian of the Holy Land.[53] Since the bull had been issued Valerga could be officially nominated and consecrated.

Patriarch Valerga and the French reaction to his nomination

Joseph Valerga was born on 9 April 1813 in Loano (Liguria) as the son of Joseph Valerga and Jacinthe Ferrando. After finishing school, Joseph entered the seminary, and after that continued his studies at La Sapienza University in Rome, where he studied theology and law and received his doctor's degree in both. Valerga also studied Oriental languages, such as Arabic and Hebrew. On 17 December 1836 he was ordained priest. He started to work for the Propaganda Fide, for which, among other tasks, he translated Greek, Latin and Arabic documents.[54] When in 1841 the apostolic delegate in Lebanon, Monsignor Vilardell, asked the Propaganda Fide for a secretary, Valerga was sent out.[55]

Valerga started to work for Vilardell; he studied the records of the apostolic delegate of Syria and Mesopotamia, explored the region, and tried to learn the spoken

[51] Lemmens, *Acta*, 131; Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens,* 279; Hajjar, L'Europe, 501. With the title 'Patriarch', the new prelate would be treated the same by the Ottoman authorities as the other Patriarchs of the Uniate Churches. Soetens, *Le Congrès*, 250-251.

[52] The Patriarch would govern the Catholic missions and all its parishes, including the churches run by the Carmelites of Haifa and Mount Carmel. Hajjar, *L' Europe*, 503. On 10 December 1848, the Propaganda Fide drew up an instruction, containing the detailed regulations concerning the relations between the Patriarch and the Custody. Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 77. For the "Instructio Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide", see Lemmens, *Acta*, 136-138.

[53] *Nulla celebrior*, Rome, 23 July 1847 [printed], Rome/AGOFM, TS, 11, SK/605, 212-215. For an Italian translation, see A. Possetto, *Il Patriarcato Latino di Gerusalemme (1848-1938)*, Milano, 1938, 25-29.

[54] A. Perrin, *Centenaire du Patriarcat Latin de Jerusalem, 1847-1947*, Jerusalem, 1947?, 6; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 1-20.

[55] Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 21.

languages of the people. According to his biographer, Valerga had already had one deception before he arrived in Lebanon: after many years of studying and translating Arabic, he had not reckoned with the huge difference between written literary Arabic and the spoken language. When, after some time, fatigue prevented Vilardell from visiting his delegate and his apostolic Vicariat of Aleppo, he ordered Valerga to go. For this purpose Vilardell appointed Valerga Vicar General (*vicair général*). During his journey Valerga was moved by the situation in which he found the Catholics, which he considered to be deplorable. In December 1841, he told the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide that he would be willing to work among the Christians in Mosul. Valerga's proposal was accepted and from then on he worked as a missionary in Mesopotamia.[56]

As we have seen, on 3 May 1847, Cardinal Acton presented Valerga as a suitable candidate for the office of patriarch (or bishop, since the title of the new prelate had not been decided at the time). On 12 June 1847, the Propaganda Fide sent Valerga a letter requesting him to come to Rome as soon as possible, because the Propaganda had to discuss important affairs with him in the name of the Holy See.[57] In Rome the Pope informed Valerga of the restoration of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem and the decision to nominate him for the office of patriarch. On 4 October 1847, the Pope officially 'preconized', or recommended, Joseph Valerga to the consistory. The result of this consultation was largely favourable,[58] and six days later, on 10 October 1847, Valerga was consecrated by Pius IX in the chapel of the Quirinal in Rome.[59]

With the consecration of Valerga, Pius IX and the Propaganda Fide had opted for a Sardinian patriarch. With the French objections to the patriarch project in mind, it is not surprising that the French government opposed Valerga's candidature. One week before Valerga's preconization, the French Ambassador in Rome, Pellegrino Rossi (1787-1848), had a meeting with Pius IX. In this meeting Rossi underlined the French objections against a Sardinian patriarch, one of these being the "intrigues of the Sardinians in the Orient" against France. Pius IX, however, assured him that although

[56] Perrin, *Centenaire*, 6; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 22-27.
[57] Perrin, *Centenaire*, 6; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 40.
[58] About the voting for Valerga as Patriarch Pierre Duvignau relates that when the Pope discovered a few black balls among the many white ones, he placed his skullcap on the black balls, saying: "You can see it, they are all white". Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 72.
[59] Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 70-74.

Valerga was a Sardinian he could be considered Roman because of his education, habits, and domicile. The Pope also confirmed that the Propaganda Fide had been unanimous in its choice of Valerga. He promised that if the French government had concrete and justified complaints about (Catholic) clergy in the Orient in their relations with the French representatives, the government only had to inform him and he would intervene.[60] Before Valerga left for Palestine, he had assured Rossi that he intended to live in harmony with the French consuls in the Orient. Furthermore, the Minister General of the Franciscans also promised his formal cooperation. Consequently, at the time Valerga embarked for Palestine it seemed that the French government and its representatives had every reason to be optimistic about the future cooperation with both the Latin patriarch and the Custody of the Holy Land.[61]

On 15 January 1848 Valerga arrived in Jaffa. From there he travelled with an escort to Ramle, where he stayed with the Franciscans in accordance with pilgrimage tradition. On the next day he travelled from Ramle to Ain Karim to the convent of St. John's. That evening he received the certificate of 'Knight of the Holy Sepulchre' in the name of the Custodian of the Holy Land. With this symbolic gesture, the right to create knights of the Holy Sepulchre was taken from the hands of the Custodian; from then on it was one of the prerogatives of the Latin patriarch.[62] On 17 January 1848 Valerga entered Jerusalem. He was accompanied by the Custodian, the Custodian's council and many other Franciscans, the French and Sardinian consuls, a deputation from the Turkish authority, and many Latins. When the patriarch came within view of the city, shouts of joy and musket shots were heard. According to Finn, it was "superfluous to mention that these demonstrations were not assisted by the Christians of any other communion".[63]

A few days after Valerga's arrival in Jerusalem, the French consul, Joseph Helouis Jorelle wrote an enthusiastic letter to the Procurator General of the Franciscans in Rome. After mentioning the patriarch's safe arrival and solemn entrance in Jerusalem,

[60] Report by Rossi, in Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 508.
[61] Hajjar, *L'Europe*, 510-511.
[62] Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 78-81.
[63] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 46-47; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 81; Raffaele M° Bettoni to Franciscan curia in Rome, Jerusalem, 19 January(?) 1848, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 5, SK/599, 306. Finn also wrote that especially for this occasion the Sardinian consul wore a new uniform of brilliant scarlet instead of his usual gear. He was informed that on this occasion the consul regarded himself not so much as consul but as 'Envoy of the King of Jerusalem', a title claimed by the King of Sardinia. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 47-48.

he stated that the good reputation that had preceded the patriarch was well-founded. Jorelle was convinced that the Holy Land would follow a completely new avenue now that it had a patriarch, a new "Custodial Vicar", at its head, who was young in age but old in experience.[64]

The Franciscans, though, were not overly enthusiastic about the restoration of the patriarchate. During Valerga's patriarchate relations between the patriarchate and the Custody were strained and full of conflicts, partly about jurisdictions, but especially concerning financial matters, as the patriarch was financially dependent on the Custody. During the first years of the patriarchate the Custody relied on Austria in these disputes, whereas Valerga felt supported by France. In order to end the rivalry Rome issued a decree on 9 September 1851 intended to define the respective jurisdictions of the two institutions.[65]According to Finn, however, the efforts from Rome to end the conflicts were fruitless, as "even when some amount of reconciliation was effected, the smart of past wounds would yet remain".[66]

Bishop Gobat's first reaction to Valerga

Unlike the French Consul the Protestant bishop was not very optimistic about future relationships with the Latin patriarch. A few weeks after Valerga had arrived in Jerusalem, Gobat wrote to Colonel Rose that he did not see how he could enter into any friendly relations with the patriarch. Gobat wanted to be "on good terms with all parties, as far as consistent with the profession of Protestant Truth, on the one hand, and of the position I hold as the representative of the Church of England, on the other". However, he considered the arrival of the Latin patriarch a turning point in the relations between Protestants and Roman Catholics, as since that time Roman Catholic anti-Protestantism had started "again". Until then, Gobat stated, he never had "the least relation, nor indeed any difficulty" with the (Roman Catholic) monks and priests in

[64] Consul of France to Antonio Maria de Rignano, Jerusalem, 27 January 1848, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 5, SK/599, 304-305.
[65] It was not until 1923 that all canonical questions were solved. The appointment of the Franciscan Louis Piavi as Patriarch in 1889, however, eased the tension between Custody and Patriarchate. Heyer, *2000 Jahre*, 253-254; Haider, "Zwischen Anspruch", 65-66; Haider, "Das Generalkommissariat", 142-144.
[66] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 51.

Jerusalem. The situation had changed when Valerga arrived in Jerusalem. According to Gobat, already on the very day of his arrival Valerga

> not only preached publicly, though not very bitterly, against the Protestants, but on that same day and the following, he also spoke against the Protestants in his house to those who visited him; and tried to dissuade the members of his Church from serving in Protestant houses.[67]

As a result a servant of Gobat's had decided to leave his service. For Gobat this was reason enough to lose all desire of meeting the new patriarch, until he "should see and hear more of his doings". However, by that time the Roman Catholic priests had begun to preach against the Protestants. One of them, for instance, had from the pulpit rebuked all Roman Catholics "for purchasing or keeping Bibles and other Protestant books in their houses". The priest exhorted his audience to deliver these books to him so that he could burn them. Under such circumstances Gobat considered it beyond his power "to take the initiative towards a friendly intercourse" unless conditions outside his control put him "into the way of doing it".[68]

In Gobat's annual letter for 1848, which he wrote about eight months later, he was still pessimistic about his relations with the Latin patriarch. His tone, however, seems to be more conciliatory. He wrote that there was a gap between him and the patriarch that neither Valerga nor he had created. Neither of them had reason to complain about hostility, except that Valerga had warned his people against the Protestants. Gobat added that the patriarch thought this to be his duty, and had not been very bitter.[69] Consul Finn wrote that the Latin patriarch and the Protestant bishop "made no advances towards each other; but they met sometimes at public celebrations in the British Consulate, and joined in conversation when this was commenced by other persons". The consul himself always continued on "friendly personal terms" with the patriarch, with whom he could converse about topics of European politics or "Oriental learning".[70]

[67] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 February 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 209-214.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Gobat, Annual Letter, 30 October 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 295.
[70] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 49-50. Unfortunately, I have not found any document reflecting Valerga's opinion about the Protestant bishop.

Roman Catholic missionary efforts during the Valerga years

During the Valerga years, the Catholic missionary efforts increased considerably: a seminary was opened to train young men for the priesthood, about ten mission stations were established, and the Roman Catholic mission was reinforced by three missionary societies from France.[71] When Valerga arrived in Palestine, his first concern was to form a secular clergy. He considered it to be necessary for the mission and therefore decided to found a seminary to educate priests. At the end of 1851 Valerga obtained from the Custody a house adjoining his patriarchal residence in Jerusalem, and at the end of 1852 the seminary was opened. In a letter dated January 1853, the patriarch wrote that the seminary consisted of 16 students, all "born in this Patriarchate". Three boys came from Jerusalem, three from Bethlehem, two from Nazareth, one from Haifa, two from Jaffa, and five from Cyprus. Valerga was convinced that in the future these young men would be of great value "for the religion in Palestine". Because they were Arabs, they would be able to found new missions more easily. They could deal directly with the local inhabitants, with whom they would have natural and frequent contact. According to Valerga, it was also a benefit to have "native" defenders of the rights of the Catholics in the Ottoman authorities.[72]

An overview of seminary students ordained between 1852 and 1952 shows that, in line with Valerga's intention, during his patriarchate the majority of the seminarians came from Palestine (especially from Jerusalem and Nazareth) and other parts of the Middle East. Only few students came from Europe.[73] The number of seminarians generally ranged from 20 to 25. For five years the patriarchal seminary was located in Jerusalem; in September 1857 it was transferred to Beit Jala, a village near Bethlehem. Its dedication followed two months later.[74]

The curriculum at the seminary consisted of subjects such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, church history, and the Holy Scriptures. In the

[71] For an impression of the mission of the Latin Patriarchate during the Valerga years and the first years of the patriarchate of his successor Vincent Bracco, see appendix III.
[72] Valerga to the members of the Central Board (Conseils centraux) of the *Propagation de la Foi*, Jerusalem, 20 January 1853, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. Recueil Périodique des lettres des évêques et des missionnaires des missions des deux mondes, et de tous les documents relatifs aux missions et à l'œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* 25, Lyon, 1853, 267. Cf. Médebielle, *Le Séminaire*, 8, 12.
[73] From the start of the twentieth century, however, many seminarians (about half of them) came from Europe, especially from Italy. Médebielle, *Le Séminaire*, 67-70.
[74] Médebielle, *Le Séminaire*, 16-18.

Bulletin de l'Oeuvre des Pèlerinages en Terre-Sainte the seminary was called an excellent institution. As an example the author mentioned its public examinations, especially that of 1857. According to him, all persons present, both Catholics and "dissidents", had been astonished at the remarkable level of proficiency of the students.[75] This was confirmed by the Protestant minister of Christ Church in Jerusalem, Henry Crawford. He had been present at one of these examinations, which were periodically held at the patriarch's house and to which "English travellers and others" were often invited. Crawford thought that the purpose of inviting these others was to show the superiority of the Roman Catholic over the Protestant schools. He had been there together with some Jewish proselytes of the Protestant mission. The examination was conducted in Latin; it "consisted chiefly of mathematical problems, and the foundation of syllogisms" after Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. According to Crawford, one of the proselytes was completely misled by this examination: although he had not understood a word of it, he was so impressed that he believed the school to be "some smooth and easy road to fortune and to fame". This made the proselyte criticize the Protestant mission and Bishop Gobat, because they did not provide a similar education for the Jews.[76]

Before the seminary was transferred to Beit Jala, the patriarchate had already established a Roman Catholic mission in the village. It was the first patriarchal mission station Valerga founded. Shortly after his arrival in Jerusalem in 1848, some Latin inhabitants of the village, whose population was mainly Greek Orthodox, asked Valerga to found a mission there.[77] However, this did not happen until five years later, in 1853, because no missionary was available before then. On 25 October of that year the first pastor of the mission arrived in the person of Jean Morétain (1816-1883). During his first year in Beit Jala, there was fierce opposition against the Latin mission from the Greek Orthodox, who were even said to have threatened to kill Morétain.[78] Valerga

[75] The people present at the examination came from different European countries, such as Britain, Prussia, Russia and France. Claubry, *État*, 9-10.

[76] Crawford, "The Diocesan Schools at Jerusalem; to the editor of the Record", November 18? (presumably around 1856), Oxford/BL, Dep. C.M.J. c. 110.

[77] Médebielle, *Le Patriarcat*, 39; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 144. However, according to Finn, all Christian inhabitants of Beit Jala were Greek Orthodox, as the Latin inhabitants had emigrated into Bethlehem. Nevertheless, these still possessed lands in Beit Jala. Finn adds that on this basis Valerga projected and carried out a plan "for recovering [...] a paramount position at Beit Jala for the Latin Church". Finn, *Stirring* 1, 360-361.

[78] Perrin, *Centenaire*, 37; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 144.

decided to go there in order to help Morétain. However, the resistance against the patriarch and his missionary continued. If Finn is to be believed, bullets were even fired at Valerga's windows and at the windows of his chaplain and secretary to frighten them away.[79] The French consul in Jerusalem, Paul Emile Botta (1802-1870), a close friend of Valerga's, decided to go to Beit Jala and take the patriarch and his retinue to Jaffa as a sign of protest against the passivity of the Ottoman authorities.[80] As a result the case even made the European press. Finally, in the summer of 1854, a *firman* was obtained which permitted the establishment of the Latin mission and the building of a church in Beit Jala, and which put an end to the fighting.[81]

From the second half of the 1840s, the arrival of Roman Catholic missionary institutions in Palestine which went hand in hand with the restoration of the Latin patriarchate also gave renewed impetus to the Roman Catholic mission. At the start of the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic mission in general had almost collapsed. Among the reasons for this breakdown were the religious paralysis as a result of the French revolution, and Napoleon's endeavours to establish a French Church, which would be independent from Rome. Moreover, during Napoleon's occupation of Rome in 1808, the property and archives of the Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide in Rome, the "central organ" for the Roman Catholic missionary activity, were transferred to France. With the end of Napoleon's regime in 1815 the Catholic world began to change. In 1817 the Propaganda Fide resumed its activities and the revival of missionary activities became a major concern of the Vatican. Many new religious communities and missionary societies were established, focussing on foreign missions.[82] During Valerga's patriarchate the Roman Catholic mission in Palestine was reinforced by three women's institutions from France, which all cooperated with the Latin patriarchate: *Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition*, *Religieuses* (or *Dames*) *de Nazareth* and *Notre-Dame de Sion*.

[79] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 362.

[80] Botta and Valerga were friends ever since they had met in Mosul when Valerga was a missionary and Botta was stationed there as Consul for France. Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 30-32. Botta was also a famous archaeologist. Soon after his arrival in Mosul in 1842 he started excavations in Kuyunjik and Khorsabad, where the palace of Sargon II was discovered. This was the start of the large systematic excavations in Iraq (the Ottoman Mesopotamia). Botta also published a study on cuneiform writing.

[81] Perrin, *Centenaire*, 37-38 ; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 146-151. The Latin Church of Beit Jala was consecrated on 18 April 1858. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 362; Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 154.

[82] Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives*, 16; Stransky, "Origins", 138-139.

Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition, or the Sisters of Saint-Joseph, founded by Émilie de Vialar (1795-1856) in 1832, was the first Roman Catholic congregation to establish a mission in Palestine. The sisters were asked to work in Palestine, and arrived in Jerusalem on 14 August 1848.[83] In December of that year the sisters and the Custody of the Holy Land came to an agreement about the schools in Jerusalem and Jaffa, which was confirmed by patriarch Valerga and Mother Émilie Julien from the Sisters of St. Joseph. The agreement covered several points, including the following: "Terra Santa" would pay 2,000 French francs a year for four sisters, and was to provide them with a home, furniture for this house and school, and candleholders and the like for the sisters' chapel; "Terra Santa" also had to furnish drinking water, school desks, pens, paper, needles and thread, etc.; the friars, too, were required to give them supplies, such as oil, butter and soap. The sisters in turn were obliged to teach the girls the catechism, teach them to read Arabic, Italian and French, knitting and the like, in order to make the girls into "good Christians" and "faithful" mothers.[84] The Sisters of St. Joseph opened a girls' school in Jerusalem in 1848. They also worked in the hospital, which was opened in 1851. Their activities were not restricted to Jerusalem, and they started to work in other towns and villages as well, such as Jaffa (1849), Bethlehem (1853), Ramle and Ramallah (both in 1872/1873).[85]

A few years after the Sisters of Saint-Joseph had come to Palestine, the *Dames de Nazareth*, or Sisters of Nazareth, founded by Élisabeth Rollat in 1820-1822, set foot in the Holy Land. Their institution had been stimulated by the Protestant missionary

[83] Both Valerga and the Franciscans (or its Custodian) are mentioned as having asked the Sisters of Saint-Joseph to work in Palestine. The opinion that Valerga had called in the sisters is, for instance, supported by Médebielle, *Le Patriarcat*, 42. Buffon, however, cites a letter from Serafino Milano, Custodian of the Holy Land from 1863-1873, in which he states that he had called upon the Sisters of Saint-Joseph concerning girls schools. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 61. This view is supported by Ladislaus, *Das Heilige Land*, 8 and Marie-Léon, *La Custodie*, 52. Most probably, the truth is somewhere in the middle: Valerga had called the sisters to Palestine and the Custodian had expressed his willingness to defray the expenses. This view is shared by Claubry, *État*, 12 and Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 101.

[84] "Accordo fatto tra le religiose di San Giuseppe dell' Apparizione per le Scuole di Gerusalemme e di Giaffa, con la Terra Santa", Jerusalem, 20 December 1848, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24, 267. This agreement is part of a letter from Emilie Julien, Marseille, 1 April 1868. In the same year Julien wrote to Barnabo, prefect of the Propaganda Fide, that the mission in Palestine was very hard for the sisters, because of the discord between the Custody and the Patriarchate. The problem was, she wrote, that the Patriarch was the sisters'spiritual leader, but fell under the secular jurisdiction of the Custody. Emilie Julien to Barnabo, Marseille, 17 November 1868, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24, 343-345.

[85] Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 193-200; C. Langlois, "Les Congrégations Françaises en Terre Sainte au XIX^{e} Siècle", Trimbur and Aaronsohn (eds.), *De Bonaparte à Balfour*, 228-229.

activities. On 27 January 1854 the chancellor of the Latin patriarchate, Théophane Dequevauviller (1811-1864), wrote a letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda, in which he requested attention for the project of establishing some nuns in Nazareth. Dequevauviller considered this not only useful and necessary, but also urgent, as the Protestants tried to found a permanent mission in Nazareth. According to the chancellor, the Protestants took advantage of the "ignorance and the poverty of the inhabitants". The establishment was to have a twofold aim: the Christian education of the "little compatriots of the Holy Virgin", who had been very neglected, and the care for the sick at their homes. The sisters were also expected to have a beneficial effect on the hearts of the Muslims and the dissidents. In the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* Valerga had expressed the wish for a house of nuns in Nazareth.[86] According to Dequevauvillier, the patriarch's wish was granted when the *Dames de Nazareth* had promised to come to Palestine. The chancellor asked the Propaganda for money to found an establishment for the nuns.[87] In January 1855, Mother Charbelet and three other nuns settled in Nazareth. In October they opened a school and a year later they founded a small orphanage. They also looked after the sick and poor. The *Dames de Nazareth* soon spread their wings and started to work in other towns, such as Haifa (1858) and Shefa Amer (1864).[88] As we will see, their presence in Nazareth and Shefa Amer would cause fierce rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics.[89]

The third women's society, *Notre-Dame de Sion*, or Our Lady of Sion, founded by Théodore Ratisbonne (1802-1884) in 1843, started its activities in Palestine in 1856. The brother of its founder, Alphonse Ratisbonne (1814-1884), went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1855. He decided to stay in Jerusalem and to start a settlement of Our Lady of Sion in Palestine, a plan for which he received the support of Valerga. In 1856 Alphonse arranged a house to accommodate the sisters. Here they started their educational work, awaiting the new premises to be built at the Ecce Homo Arch, then

[86] Dequevauviller must refer to a letter from Valerga dd. 20 January 1853, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 25, 1853, 254. In this letter Valerga expressed his wish for a house for nuns dedicated to the Christian education of small Latin, Greek Catholic, Maronite and Greek Orthodox girls. Two sisters might also care for the sick at home.

[87] From the moment the sisters worked in Nazareth, they would be able to support themselves. Dequevauviller to Fransoni, Rome, 27 January 1854, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 21, 635-636.

[88] Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 201-202; Langlois, "Les Congrégations", 230.

[89] See Chapter 8.

situated in the middle of ruins. The move took place on 21 January 1862. The sisters also worked in an orphanage in Ain Karim founded by Alphonse in the 1860s.[90]

Valerga was patriarch for almost twenty-five years. On 2 December 1872, his suffragan bishop, Vincent Bracco, sent a telegram to the Propaganda Fide saying that the patriarch had died "sacredly" that day.[91] Valerga was succeeded by Bracco as Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.[92] He carried on the work of his predecessor. During Bracco's patriarchate new missions were established and the number of Roman Catholic congregations settling in Palestine grew. Unlike the congregations that arrived in Palestine during the Valerga years, which were all women's societies, these new institutions were both men's and women's groups.[93]

Concluding remarks

Since the arrival of Gobat in 1846, the Roman Catholic mission had increased substantially, partly in reaction to the Protestant presence and mission. The establishment of the Protestant bishopric and the arrival of its first bishop was one of the reasons why the subject of a Latin patriarchate was put on the agenda of the Propaganda

[90] Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 202-206; Langlois, "Les Congrégations", 231-233.

[91] Bracco to Barnabo, Jerusalem, 3 December 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24, 851. A funeral oration for Valerga was read in the chapel of the "Civita Vecchia" on 19 February 1873, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24, 918-930. For Bracco, see: Giacomo da Castelmadama, *Éloge Funèbre prononcé par le Révérendissime Père Jacques de Castelmadame, Custode de Terre Sainte, Jour des Funérailles de Monseigneur Bracco, Patriarche de Jérusalem, traduit par un Père Franciscain de Terre Sainte*, Jerusalem, 1889; Perrin, *Centenaire*, 14-19; Médebielle, *Le Séminaire*, 19-21; P. Duvignau, *Une Vie pour Dieu et les Âmes. S.B. Mgr. Vincent Bracco Patriarche Latin de Jérusalem, 1835-1889*, Jerusalem, 1981 (hereafter *Vincent Bracco*).

[92] Bracco was born in Torrazza on 14 September 1835 (Liguria). In October 1854, he entered the seminary in *Genoa* and on 18 June 1859 he was consecrated priest. On 26 May 1860, Bracco arrived in Jerusalem. Valerga nominated him Professor of Philosophy at the seminary in Beit Jala. Two years later, he was appointed rector of the seminary. In May 1866 Bracco was consecrated as Valerga's suffragan bishop. Besides this he continued his work at the seminary. He died on 19 June 1889.

[93] During Bracco's patriarchate (1873-1889), thirteen Roman Catholic missionary societies settled in Palestine. As reasons for this increase of (especially French) missionary institutions Langlois gives the "late" florescence of male missionary societies in France, which coincided with the awakening of pilgrimages to the Holy Land and renewed interest in the Holy Places. Furthermore, the disappearance of the Papal State in 1870 was compensated for, by, among other things, an interest on the part of Roman Catholics in the roots of Catholicism. Langlois, "Les Congregations", 223, 234-235. Between 1873 and 1879 (the last years of Gobat's episcopate) five of these new Roman Catholic congregations also arrived in Palestine: in 1873 the Carmelites (female), in 1874 *Notre Dame de Sion* (male), in 1876 the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* (male), in 1878 the *Pères blancs mission. d'Afrique* (male), in 1879 *Betharram* (male) and in the same year the Brothers of Saint John of God (male). Langlois, "Les Congregations", 223.

Fide. The postponement of the project was also influenced by the fear that it might stimulate Britain and Prussia to press the Sultan for official recognition of the Protestant bishop. Gobat's appointment was an impetus to the actual restoration of the Latin patriarchate. The settlement of Roman Catholic institutions and congregations in Palestine was sometimes stimulated by the Protestant missionary efforts, as was the case with the Franciscan Printing Press and the Sisters of Nazareth. The Protestants in turn considered the restoration of the Latin patriarchate in 1847 a turning point in the relationship between both denominations. According to Gobat, the anti-Protestantism had started again after Valerga's arrival in Jerusalem. In the following chapters the rivalry between the Protestants and Catholics will be further discussed.

6

"True Christianity": expectation versus reality

Introduction

In his annual report for 1858 the lay evangelist Samuel Muller, one of the Protestant missionaries in Nazareth, wrote to the CMS about a young man who visited his house four times a week and on Sundays in order to 'improve' himself. In earlier times this person had often gone to the gardens near the village to steal fruit. However, since he visited Muller's house to hear and read the "Word of God" he despised his former bad habits. Muller wished that Christ's love would have "an effect upon him to become a true Christian".[1]

The reports written by Evangelical Protestant CMS missionaries and by Gobat are full of similar stories. The authors frequently express the wish that people might become so-called 'true Christians', but are also often disappointed because people have not become real converts or 'true Christians' yet. This chapter discusses the missionaries' definition of 'true Christianity' and 'true Christians', and the tension between their ideal of 'true Christianity' and the reality of the mission field. To this end, conversion narratives from the mission field will be compared with typical Evangelical conversion stories. As we shall see, the ideal of 'true Christianity' was accompanied by criticism of the material support the other churches offered to their church members. Furthermore, an overview of the methods used in mission work and conversation topics favoured by the missionaries will be provided, which may demonstrate the importance of the Evangelical principles to their work.

Since Gobat closely cooperated with the Protestant missionaries of the CMS, this chapter and the following concentrate on the experiences of both Gobat and the CMS missionaries in the mission field, collected mainly from their letters to the CMS.

[1] Muller to CMS, Annual report, Nazareth, 31 December 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 54/3.

Making converts: the missionaries' expectations

What is 'true Christianity' and how did the Protestant missionaries formulate it? As may be expected they found a model in Evangelical conversion stories. One of such stories, which is deemed a classic, is the conversion story of Sampson Staniforth (1720-1799), a Methodist preacher.[2] Staniforth had a conversion experience when he was a soldier in the British army. One night it was his turn to stand sentinel. When he was alone, he experienced a serious religious crisis: he "kneeled down, determined not to rise, but to continue crying and wrestling with God, till He had mercy" on him. Staniforth did not know how long he was in "agony", but when he looked up to heaven he saw Jesus there, hanging on the cross. In Staniforth's words: "At the same moment these words were applied to my heart, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee'. My chains fell off; my heart was free. All guilt was gone, and my soul was filled with unutterable peace". His fear of death and hell evaporated.[3]

Staniforth's story is in many ways typical of Evangelical conversion stories, among which also the story of Gobat's conversion. Gobat had also experienced a night of spiritual suffering, praying and crying constantly. He considered himself a lost sinner and was immensely relieved when he felt that his sins had been taken away. Like Staniforth, he also experienced the presence of Jesus and became filled with peace. In the period leading up to Gobat's crisis of faith, reading the Bible was of great importance.[4]

Such stories focus on the conversion crisis, i.e., the time just before the actual conversion. This crisis could be preceded by a (long) 'pre-conversion' period of inward debate and struggle. The crisis itself then was the breaking-point of this inward conflict; in the end it turned out to be a moment of complete surrender, after which a person was converted.[5] A central element of people's conversion experience was their sense of

[2] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 5; According to Bebbington, Matthew Arnold "pinpointed" Staniforth's conversion account as a classic. D.B. Hindmarsh, "'My chains fell off, my heart was free': Early Methodist Conversion Narrative in England", *Church History* 68/4, 1999, 910-929. Hindmarsh discusses Staniforth's conversion story as one of many conversion experiences, a distinct literary genre, in order to highlight the conventions of these stories as they were assumed on the part of author and reader, or speaker and audience. Hindmarsh, "My chains fell off", 910-911.

[3] Hindmarsh, "My chains", 910; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 5.

[4] As mentioned earlier, God's presence had made him realize that the Bible was the Word of God, but at the same time that he was unworthy to read it. For Gobat's conversion, see Chapter 4.

[5] According to Frederick Bullock the conversion crisis was a point of "entire surrender of the will to what is conceived to be the Will of God". F.W.B. Bullock, *Evangelical Conversion in Great Britain 1696-1845*, St. Leonards on sea, 1959, 196-197, 200, 207. Bullock examines thirty conversion experiences.

sin, which was connected with the theological doctrine of justification by faith: human beings are sinful and therefore estranged from God. The only way to win salvation is trust in Christ as Saviour. In their conversion experiences, both Staniforth and Gobat were fully aware of the fact that they were sinners, and both in the end put their trust in Jesus as their Saviour.[6] For Evangelical Christians it was very important that people should experience such a conversion. To quote David Bebbington: "The line between those who had undergone the experience and those who had not was the sharpest in the world. It marked the boundary between a Christian and a pagan".[7] A person who had experienced a recognizable conversion was, in the language of the Protestant missionaries, a 'true Christian'.

If persons had genuinely been converted they felt a great desire to convert other people, because they wanted to share their salvation. This 'activism' is clearly reflected in the fact that Gobat and the CMS missionaries went to Palestine to spread the Gospel.[8] Their own conversion must have incited them to spread Christianity, or (Evangelical) Protestantism abroad. Although the Protestant missionaries did not explicitly formulate what they meant by being a 'true Christian',[9] with the typical Evangelical conversion stories in mind one might conclude that they expected their future converts to have a similar conversion experience, containing all the typical elements of such a change: inward struggle and debate, prayer, sense of sin, complete surrender, and finally trust in Jesus as their Saviour. Only then did a person become a 'true Christian'.

Conversion narratives: reality of the mission field

Although it was the mission's primary aim to make converts, few typical Evangelical conversion stories are found in the letters of Gobat and the CMS missionaries. They did, however, regularly write about people who had inwardly changed, had improved their behaviour, or desired to become Protestants. In their reports to the home front, the missionaries used such stories as proof of the accomplishments of the Protestant missions. In addition, these success stories also contained 'full-life stories', deathbed narratives, and stories about group conversions. Although the missionaries must have

[6] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 6; Bullock, *Evangelical Conversion*, 200.
[7] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 5.
[8] Cf. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 3. See also Chapter 1.
[9] The expression 'true Christianity' was probably considered to be generally known to the home front.

wanted to stress the success and necessity of the Protestant mission to the Home Board Secretary and the home public,[10] such stories also shed light on the tension between the missionaries' expectations regarding conversions and the reality of the mission field.

'Full-life stories'

Of the different kinds of success-stories the so-called 'full-life stories' come closest to the typical Evangelical conversions. In general 'full-life stories' describe a person's life before conversion, the conversion itself, life afterwards, and the deathbed. Two 'full-life stories', both written to the home front in the 1870s, stand out: the tales of Elias Essafourih and Oudi Azzam. These two were considered "the first fruits" of the Protestant mission in Palestine.[11]

The conversion and death of Elias Essafourih of Kafr Kana, a village near Nazareth, were described by CMS missionaries Michael Kawar and James Huber, both from the Nazareth mission. Elias Essafourih had passed away in 1873 after a "lingering illness". His death was a reason for Kawar and Huber to look back on his life. According to Kawar, he himself and Essafourih were the "first fruits of the faith in the Gospel in Galilee". Where Huber only tells us that Essafourih "got his conviction by reading the Word of God and searching the Holy Scriptures", Kawar gives a more detailed account of Essafourih's conversion.[12] Formerly, Essafourih used to be a "singer in the Greek Church". One day in church, he was singing the hymn text: "Do not worship the creature, but only the Creator; the perfect in judgment (wisdom), the rich", when at the same time the priest went to the altar to bow before the images in worship. According to Kawar, Essafourih suddenly saw all the 'errors' of the Greek Church: "All at once, the thought struck his mind: that what he now saw before him, was exactly the worshipping of creatures". This realization was the start of a period of inward struggle. Every time he attended divine service he remembered what he had experienced during

[10] As already mentioned in the Introduction, the missionaries' reports were sometimes published in the CMS publications.

[11] "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's report of the quarter ending June 30th 1873" (original in Arabic), part 2, Nazareth, 13 October 1873, C M/O 40/3; Huber to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending Sept. 30th 1873", Nazareth, 30 September 1873, C M/O 34/81. Both Birmingham /UL.

[12] Huber to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending Sept. 30th 1873", Nazareth, 30 September 1873, C M/O 34/81; "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's report of the quarter ending June 30th 1873", part 2, Nazareth, 13 October 1873, C M/O 40/3. Both Birmingham/UL.

the hymn. He therefore started "to search the Holy Scriptures; for the Protestant Books were already diffused in Galilee".[13]

During this period of inward debate Essafourih met Kawar in Nazareth. Kawar stated that as he "was more advanced in the knowledge of the Word of God" he had helped Essafourih "to leave all the traditions of the Greek Church, and to follow the way of salvation as revealed in the pure Word of God".[14] According to Huber, through reading the Bible Essafourih "became wise unto salvation", he "boldly confessed Christ also before the Mohammedans" and was able to give good advice to and answer the questions of both Christians and Muslims. Huber added that Essafourih's faith was sparkling until the end. "The more his bodily weakness increased the more ripened his spirit" became in preparation to enter "another and better world".[15] On 4 August 1873 Essafourih died.

Huber and Kawar clearly wanted to use the story about Elias Essafourih to highlight one of the Protestant mission's successes in Palestine. However, in their accounts Essafourih's conversion differs from the typical Evangelical conversions. Huber and Kawar do not mention that Essafourih was in agony, had feelings of sin or repentance, and had accepted Christ as his Saviour. Most probably, Essafourih did not experience this type of conversion crisis; otherwise Huber and Kawar would certainly have mentioned it in their letters to the CMS.

The 'full-life story' of one of the members of the Jerusalem congregation, Oudi Azzam, shows more similarities with the 'classic' Evangelical conversion accounts. Some months before he died in February 1876, Oudi Azzam had described his conversion to the Protestant minister Chalil Jamal, who recounted it in his Annual Letter to the CMS. Oudi Azzam was born and bred in Nazareth. As a fifteen-year old, he served as a deacon in the Greek Orthodox Church.[16] He first heard about the Protestants when the ABCFM missionary Jonas King visited Nazareth.[17] He then discovered

[13] "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's report of the quarter ending June 30th 1873", part 2, Nazareth, 13 October 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 40/3.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Huber to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending Sept. 30th 1873", Nazareth, 30 September 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 34/81.
[16] Although Jamal does not mention that Oudi Azzam was a deacon, we might assume he was, as his tasks were to light the candles, to put fire and frankincense in the censer, and to read Psalms and prayers.
[17] For Jonas King see Chapter 1. From Jamal's letter it appears that King had visited Nazareth in the early 1830s.

that Protestants believed neither in 'fastings' nor in the Virgin Mary. He therefore did not want to have anything to do with these "unbelievers", as he considered these two aspects "the foundation stone of Christianity". Looking back on his past, Oudi Azzam told Jamal that his "religion then consisted in observing the outward forms and ceremonies of the Church". He believed that he was justified by fasting only, as he "knew nothing then of the value of the precious Blood of Christ, or the Blessed Working of the Holy Spirit in the heart".[18]

When he was nineteen years old, Oudi Azzam moved to Nablus where he met a Protestant minister from Mosul. Oudi Azzam admired his "readiness in quoting and repeating passages from the Bible". The minister advised Oudi Azzam to read the Bible. Reading it thoroughly, Oudi Azzam went through a serious religious crisis. His "faith in the traditions of the fathers, began to totter and shake, two stones of the old and rotten traditions remained, viz. the intercession of the Virgin Mary […] and fastings". These two traditions caused "great mental trouble". At that time Oudi Azzam considered himself neither a Greek Orthodox nor a Protestant. He prayed to God that the Holy Ghost might enlighten his mind and understanding, and felt that God was working "mysteriously" within him. One day, Oudi Azzam went to Jerusalem to visit Bishop Gobat, who "explained" to him "several subjects". No information is given about Gobat's explanation, but afterwards Oudi Azzam returned to Nablus "rejoicing in the Lord" and became a Protestant. Jamal considered Oudi Azzam a "most zealous man, and a very earnest and sincere Christian" after becoming a Protestant. The missionary tells us that Oudi Azzam did not lose any opportunity to speak about Jesus to Christians, Jews and Muslims in order to spread the faith. He never missed family prayers and every day read a chapter of both the Old and the New Testament. He used to write down "every passage that forbids the taking or making of images or pictures" plus the passages about "Christ as the only mediator or intercessor". In the meantime Oudi Azzam and his family had moved to Jerusalem, where he died of a heart attack at the age of sixty. A few hours before he died, he was heard saying: "The Saviour, the Saviour who came to

[18] Jamal to the secretary of the CMS, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 29 November 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/8.

save the world is come".[19] A couple of months before Oudi Azzam's death he had even made a will in favour of his wife and of the Protestant poor in Jerusalem.[20]

From Jamal's story it appears that Oudi Azzam came to feel a spiritual need as a result of reading the Bible. In accordance with typical Evangelical conversion accounts, he prayed to God, and although nowhere a moment of complete surrender is mentioned his full-life story tells us that he finally accepted Christ as his Saviour and as the only intercessor. The period before his conversion and his conversion crisis make up the main part of the story, which contains hardly any references to Azzam's life after his conversion and his deathbed. Nevertheless, Jamal's account makes it clear that Oudi Azzam felt a need to spread the faith after his conversion. His last words before dying 'completed' the story; he died in peace meeting his Saviour.[21]

The story about Elias Essafourih focuses on his life before conversion. Apart from his inward struggle, hardly any information is given about his actual conversion, his life afterwards and his deathbed. In the stories about both Elias Essafourih and Oudi Azzam, reading the Bible is a central element in their 'awakening process' towards conversion. Their 'religious crisis' concerns the doctrines and traditions of their former church. The fact that both narratives focus on their doubts about the 'errors' of their former church rather than their anxiety about their own sinfulness is striking. In this way the missionaries stressed the errors of the traditions and religious beliefs of both men's former church, and presented Protestantism as the 'true religion' as opposed to these churches.

[19] Jamal to the secretary of the CMS, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 29 November 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/8.

[20] As to the money for the Protestants, an annual amount was given to the Native Evangelical Society, which was established on 8 July 1875 with Klein as its president and Jamal as its secretary. Furthermore, money was given to the orphans and Protestant widows in Jerusalem. The relatives of Oudi Azzam tried to annul the will, as they were excluded from it. Annual Letters from Jamal to the CMS, Jerusalem, 17 November 1875, C M/O 36/7 and 29 November 1876, C M/O 36/8. Both: Birmingham/UL. Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 12 April 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234, ff. 276-277.

[21] The story about Oudi Azzam is reminiscent of the 'full-life stories' written by missionaries of the ABCFM about their Assyrian converts, which they published in the volume *Nestorian Biography: Being Sketches of Pious Nestorians who have Died at Oroomiah, Persia, by missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M.*, Boston, 1857. All stories in this book consist of four parts: life before conversion, conversion, life after conversion, sickbed and deathbed. The stories focus on this last part; the sickbed was an especially effective gauge of one's piety. See H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "'Full many a flower..'. Conversion and Revival in the Church of the East", paper presented at the Boston NAMP Symposium, 24 June 1998 (unpublished).

Deathbed narratives

The CMS missionaries also sought to display the mission's success by discussing the deathbeds of members of their flock. In contrast to the 'full-life stories' which focused on people's pre-conversion lives and their becoming Protestants, these particular narratives were restricted to a sketch of people's last moments. The missionaries wanted to show the dying person's piety and faith at the moment of death. In general, these accounts offer hardly any background information about the persons in question. The missionaries cared for the dying by reading the Bible, praying and often administering the Lord's Supper.

In their letters the missionaries emphasized that the members of their congregation had died 'exceedingly happy' and had been at peace; they had not been afraid of death but had trusted in Jesus. For the missionaries it was of the utmost importance that their congregation members died as pious and faithful persons, since the moment of death was considered the time that people would meet their Saviour.[22] For instance, when a member of the Protestant congregation of Shefa Amer had died, the catechist of the place, Nicola Dabbak, stressed that the dying man's "faith was strong and he was trusting upon Christ and not fearing from death".[23] As was customary in pietistic circles, the missionaries were keen on describing people's last words. They wanted to illustrate a peaceful death and wrote about people who died with the name of Jesus on their lips or reciting Bible texts. In some cases the last words of the dying person were mentioned. Kawar, for instance, described the deathbed of Abd Allah Essafoureh [sic.], a Protestant from Kafr Kana.[24] Before his death, the dying man had asked his brother to read the Bible to him and to pray with him. Until "his spirit departed from his body", Abd Allah Essafoureh kept repeating the words of Psalm 119, 132: "look upon me, and be merciful to me, because I love thy name".[25]

[22] This view was in line with the Evangelical line of thought. Murre-van den Berg also mentions the importance of people's 'happy death' in the 'full-life stories' from the ABCFM missionaries about the Assyrian converts in Urmia. For these missionaries, death set the crown on the conversion stories. They saw dying as reaching the final goal, as the converts would meet their Saviour then. Murre-van den Berg, "'Full many a flower".

[23] Dabbak to Wright, Shefa Amer, 30 December 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 20/1.

[24] Most probably Abd Allah Essafoureh was related to the abovementioned Elias Essafourih from Kafr Kana.

[25] "Translation of the Report of Revd. Michael Kawar of the Quarter ending March 31st 1874" (original in Arabic), Nazareth, 31 March 1874, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 40/4.

Sometimes people were baptized on their deathbed. This was the case with Azizah, a woman from the Jerusalem congregation. Azizah, a Muslim by birth, had been sold as a slave to a Greek Catholic family when she was young. When she became very ill, the family took her to the Deaconesses' hospital, where the Bible was read to her. Although at first she did not want to have anything to do with it, she finally started to listen and became a regular attendant at the Protestant church services. She received "instruction" in the Bible and wanted to be baptized. However, her former illness returned. When it appeared that she would not recover, the missionary Klein decided to baptise her on her deathbed. She did not fear death and died in peace, Klein tells us.[26] The deathbed stories imply that the dying persons, who almost all belonged to the Protestant congregation, had died as 'true Christians'. However, if this were true we might expect to find many more of the typical conversion stories in the missionary correspondence, but, as already stated, such stories are generally lacking in the CMS documents.

In some rare cases the deathbed narratives mention a person's conversion during the process of dying. Such an exception concerns a member of the Protestant congregation in Jerusalem. Although he already was a member of the Protestant community, his deathbed was the moment of his actual conversion. During his life there was "hardly anything promising in him", although "his character was not bad".[27] However, at death's door, he had a conversion experience. He confided to his minister, Chalil Jamal, that he was afraid to die; he considered himself "a great sinner", because he had not loved Jesus during his life. Jamal told him that Jesus would forgive all his sins if he believed in Him; he read out some passages from the Bible about trust in Jesus and the remission of sins.[28] In reaction, the dying man repented, saying: "Yes I am a sinner, a great sinner, but now I believe, yes I believe that He [Jesus] accepts repenting sinners". Then he exclaimed: "Lord Jesus pardon my sins, wash me with thy precious blood". After administering the Lord's Supper Jamal left. When he returned a couple of hours later, the man's fear of death had completely disappeared and had been replaced by trust in Jesus and by faith. The "penitent sinner" felt Jesus' presence and was convinced that he was going to

[26] Klein to the CMS, Annual Report 1857-1858, Jerusalem, 23 February 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/283.
[27] Jamal, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 11 January 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/9.
[28] Ibid. He read 1 John 2, 1-2: "Jesus is the remedy for the defilement of the sins of all the world"; 1 John 1, 7-9: "if we walk in the light, we are being cleansed from every sin by the blood of Jesus and if we confess our sins, God is just and may be trusted to forgive our sins"; Acts 16, 31: "Put your trust in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved"; Isa. 1, 18: "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be like wool".

heaven, saying: "Tomorrow I shall be at rest from this trouble, for I shall go to heaven… Jesus, there is rest, there is rest". When Jamal prayed with him, he repeated these words until he attained a delirious state. Two hours later he died.[29]

With this story, which contained all characteristics of a typical Evangelical conversion crisis (spiritual suffering, praying, feeling Jesus' presence and a moment of complete surrender), Jamal wanted to illustrate the mission's success. Although he observed that the "spiritual growth" of the congregations in Jerusalem and its outstations in general was "feeble and slow", in his eyes this deathbed narrative "proved" that the Holy Spirit was working in the dying man's heart. Jamal considered it the missionaries' task to "sow the seed of the Word in the ground of their [i.e., people's] hearts, and wait patiently for the quickening water and the life-giving warmth of the sun". He considered Bible and prayer meetings instruments for 'sowing'. Other CMS missionaries cherished similar views; although 'true' converts were rather an exception, "the way for the Lord Jesus Christ" was being prepared through Protestant missionary labour.[30]

Group conversion stories

In the deathbed stories it is unclear whether the main characters had experienced a genuine Evangelical 'true' conversion before dying. However, it is clear that the majority of them were members of the Protestant congregation when they died. This tension between already belonging to the Protestant church and being a 'truly' converted Christian, that is, an Evangelical Protestant, is also reflected in stories about 'group conversions'. One of the group conversion stories comes from Girgis, who worked for the CMS as a catechist. In 1864 he wrote to the CMS about "a number of brethren" in Ramallah, whose hearts had changed. A year earlier, these people had asked him to open a school and to pray with them daily. They wanted to leave "the name of Greeks and to take upon them the name of Evangelical, Protestant Christians". Their wishes were recorded down in a petition which was sent to Jerusalem. As Gobat was on a journey at the time, it was Frederick Klein who replied to the petition instead. He sent Joseph Jahu Abu Girgis to work in Ramallah for three months; after that time, they would see whether the members would "remain firm" as they had promised. The

[29] Jamal, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 11 January 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/9.
[30] Ibid.

catechist settled in Ramallah on 15 March 1863. When he wrote his account one year later he stated that the community was still progressing.[31] Except for their 'change of heart', no complete conversion experiences for individual persons from these Ramallah people was mentioned. On the contrary, Klein expressed his doubts regarding their sincerity in wishing to become Protestants, telling Joseph Jahu Abu Girgis to first wait to see if the people of Ramallah would stick to their decision.

Similar 'group conversion stories' stem mainly from Gobat. The Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox families in Nazareth mentioned earlier, for instance, which had separated from their churches, had declared themselves Protestants and had formed a Protestant congregation.[32] Although in his reports Gobat regularly says that people's eyes were opened as a result of reading the Bible, nothing is mentioned about individual conversions. Rather than focussing on conversions of the group members, Gobat discusses the process of their separation from their former churches and their desire to form a Protestant congregation. His accounts of groups willing to join the Protestants regularly served his plea for permission to receive Christians from other denominations into the Protestant church.[33] In addition, such stories reflect Gobat's and the CMS missionaries' ambivalence towards forming Protestant communities and making 'true' converts. There was a tension between their ideas on 'true Christianity' and the desire of both the Protestant missionaries and local Christians to form Protestant communities. On the one hand, if the Protestant mission was dependent on 'true' converts to establish Protestant congregations, hardly any Protestant church would be established. On the other hand, by admitting whole families and groups to the Protestant community, it was unlikely for the groups' individual members to have experienced a characteristic Evangelical conversion. In this way, however, it would be more likely that Protestant communities could be established, with some 'true Christians' among them but mainly consisting of people who were merely interested in Protestantism.

It seems that Gobat and the CMS missionaries were inclined to choose the second option: they showed an openness to admitting groups into the Protestant church, with the idea that it was the first step towards changing the groups' individual members into

[31] Joseph Jahu Abu Girgis to the CMS, Journal extracts (in English and Arabic), 1864 (received on 17 September 1864), Birmingham/UL, C M/O 27/1.
[32] See Chapter 4.
[33] Gobat discussed group conversions in various types of writing such as annual reports, and letters to the CMS administrators, Rose, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

'true Christians'. This view is confirmed by a letter from Klein of February 1855, in which he remarked that "*personal* religion, personal responsibility is yet little known" among the Palestinian people. Many considered religion "an heredity thing; but if one or two of the chief members of the family 'change their religion' or 'turn Protestant' as they call it; then all the other members of the family and relations are expected to turn that way too". The Protestant congregation frequently received members by this route. Klein realised that if the Protestant mission "strived to have a pure Church, a community consisting solely of converted individuals" [i.e. 'true' converts], they had to reject such members. Nevertheless, he wanted the mission to receive these people, even though they had not been converted, as in this way they might "have the means of having the Word of God, of searching the Scriptures and receiving light on the most important subject of Salvation through Christ's merits, by *faith* alone". Klein added that he was against rules and regulations concerning converts and the reception of new members into the Protestant congregation. This may imply that there had been discussion within the Protestant mission about the admission of people to the Protestant Church. Apparently, Klein supported a more pragmatic approach that seems to be shared by Gobat and the majority of his colleagues in the mission field.[34]

Such a shift in expectations regarding the acceptance of people in the Protestant Church and making 'true' converts was not restricted to the CMS Palestine mission. The ABCFM missionaries in Lebanon and Syria also adapted their expectations. According to Habib Badr, they had at first been unable to report any progress of their mission, because they only wanted to accept individuals or groups into the church if there was "credible evidence of piety", viz. a recognizable conversion experience, and a "visible outer change in their moral and social behaviour". After pressure from the Board's Prudential Committee, the missionaries saw themselves forced to adjust their expectations of possible converts in order to be able to found a church "of some sort".[35]

With the 'full-life stories', deathbed narratives and group conversion accounts, it seems that the Protestant missionaries not only wanted to stress the mission's progress and necessity. By emphasizing their church members' improvement in faith, their piety at death's door, and the like, they may also have wanted to legitimize their decision to

[34] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282.
[35] In a report about the first people received into the communion of the church, no mention was made of a conversion experience. Badr, "American Protestant Missionary Beginnings", 234-236.

admit to their congregation people not yet truly converted. Accepting these people into the Protestant Church offered the missionaries the opportunity to work on faith and behaviour and to turn them into 'true Christians' in the end. The missionary reports and letters to the home front contain numerous stories about congregation members showing signs of improved behaviour and progress in faith.[36]

Some missionaries openly admitted that although people were making progress they could hardly be considered 'true Christians'. One of them was Christian Fallscheer, who was in the service of the CMS in Nablus. He wrote in 1877 that many Christians in the country had "left the superstition and bigotry of these Eastern Churches", but that they [i.e. the Protestant missionaries] wanted "real conversions […] men who saw the heavenly light with their Spiritual eyes".[37] More than twenty years earlier Gobat had expressed a similar thought about some parents in Nablus, who had decided to send their children to the Protestant instead of the Greek Orthodox school. Gobat stated that he did "not pretend to say that these Protestant people are really inwardly converted", but emphasized that he firmly believed some of them to be "under the influence of the grace of God".[38] According to John Zeller from the CMS Nazareth mission, the Arab Christians should not be compared to the true Evangelical Protestants at home: "it would be unjust to measure them [i.e., Arab Christians] with the same standard which we must apply to the life of a truly converted man at home. It would not be just to expect from these Arabs the same *deep* conviction of sin which becomes the turning-point to a new independent life in Christ".[39]

[36] For instance, Joseph Jahu Abu Girgis's story about Moses Elkuri, who was a member of the Protestant congregation in Ramle. From his youth Moses had stolen, lied, drank, cursed and quarrelled. Since he had "received the true lessons of the Gospel", Moses repented of his former sins. He even advised his old companions to leave their bad ways. Joseph Jahu Abu Girgis to the CMS, Journal extracts, 1864, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 27/1.

[37] Fallscheer to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending June 30th 1877", Nablus, 22 June 1877, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 24/3.

[38] Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 16 June 1854, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/73.

[39] Zeller to Fenn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, December 1872, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/277. According to Christian Fallscheer the Arab Christians should be taught in the same way as the heathen in India and Africa. Fallscheer to the committee of the CMS, Annual Letter, Nablus, 18 December 1877, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 24/4.

Reaching the people: mission methods

In order to spread the Gospel the CMS missionaries used the usual methods. In their accounts they describe in detail their efforts in all sorts of Bible and prayer meetings, church services, special tours to distribute the Bible, educational activities and conversations with people. As the missionaries often mentioned the Bible as an important element in the 'awakening process' towards conversion, it logically held a central position in all Protestant missionary activities. In this section I will provide an overview of the ways in which the Protestant missionaries commonly tried to spread the faith.

Bible classes were generally held several times a week. During these meetings the Bible was read and discussed. Sometimes the participants were asked to memorize a text from the Bible, which they had to recite at the next meeting. In Nazareth the attendants of the 'nightly meetings' had to learn a "verse from the word of our salvation" by heart and recite it the following week.[40] Some missionaries organized Bible meetings every evening. According to the Dutch lay evangelist George Nyland, who worked for the CMS in Ramallah, every evening about twenty or thirty men came to his house to discuss the Bible. They started the meeting with "general conversations to allow time for sipping a cup of coffee and making a pipe". After that, Nyland read a chapter from the Bible, which was "subject of conversation for the rest of the evening". The evening was concluded with prayer. On two evenings a week, these meetings had the character of a "regular Bible class", at which the Old and New Testaments were read alternately.[41]

Prayer meetings were dedicated to all kinds of subjects, such as the "invocation of the Holy Spirit", the "spread of God's Kingdom" in the country, "the increase of love; and for Christian union".[42] Hymn-singing evenings were also organized, together with meetings in which other books than the Bible were read, such as John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's progress*.[43] For women "Mothers' meetings" and sewing circles were set up,

[40] Boutaji to the CMS, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 7 December 1878 (most probably a translation from Arabic), Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/20.
[41] Nyland to the CMS, Annual Letter, Ramallah, December 1877 (translation from German), Birmingham/UL, C M/O 57/3.
[42] Macgowan to the LJS, (Jerusalem?), 3 March 1859, Oxford/BL, Dep. C.M.J. c.110; "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's letter, Nazareth, 30 November 1874" (translation from Arabic), Birmingham/UL, C M/O 40/7.
[43] For instance in Salt, where two nights a week were dedicated to reading *The Pilgrim's progress*. Jamal to the secretaries of the CMS, Annual Letter, Salt, 29 November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/11.

usually by the missionaries' wives. George Nyland and his wife organized one sewing meeting a week, during which they told the women "about our Lord and Saviour", read Christian books to them and prayed with them.[44] According to the missionaries, these various meetings were attended not only by members of the Protestant Church, but also by people from the other churches, which made them a perfect instrument of conversion.

Bible classes, sewing circles, hymn singing and prayer meetings were all means to reach adults and teach them the Word of God. Besides these classes, however, much of the mission's time and money was spent on the education of children in the Protestant mission schools. Gobat and the CMS missionaries considered the schools a central instrument in making converts. Through the children the missionaries were able to reach the parents and families. The schools held a central position in the missionary work; for a discussion of the educational activities and principles of Gobat and the CMS missionaries, see the next chapter.

Obviously, church services were another way to reach the people and to teach them the Bible. From the missionaries' letters we may conclude that sermons served to make listeners familiar with central Evangelical doctrines: salvation by grace through faith in Jesus Christ and Christ's atoning death at the cross.[45] Their sermons also pointed out the importance of a 'conversion by heart', or inward conversion. William Krusé from the CMS Jaffa mission, for example, proclaimed that in the Christian Church there were "true Christians" and "Christians by name only".[46] He incited his listeners to ask themselves to which class they belonged, as it was of great importance "to know the real state of our hearts". He linked this thought to the "final day of account […] when the great separation shall take place"; on that day one person would go to the right, and the other to the left. The latter would "go away into everlasting punishment, but the

[44] Nyland to the CMS, "Report about the outstations near Jerusalem", Ramallah, 25 March 1880, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 57/1.

[45] See for example Huber to Chapman, "Journal extracts for the Quarter ending September 30th 1858", Nazareth, 9 October 1858, C M/O 34/74; Zeller to Fenn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, December 1872, C M/O 72/277; Huber, "Report of the quarter ending September 30th 1875", Nazareth, 30 October 1875. All Birmingham/UL.

[46] This differs from the ABCFM missionaries in Lebanon, who used the term 'nominal Christians' for people who were not 'true Christians'. The CMS missionaries did not use this phrase, but instead wrote about 'Christians in name only' or people who were not 'true Christians'.

righteous into life eternal".[47] The Protestant church services were also attended by members of other denominations. The missionaries assumed that not all of these 'guests' had sincere intentions. According to Huber, the church services of the Nazareth congregation were generally attended by several "strangers of the other denominations", some of whom only came to see whether they could find "any faults" in the service.[48]

With the church services, Bible classes and prayer meetings, the Protestant missionaries reached especially those people who were already interested in Protestantism, who were involved with the Protestant missionary activities, or who had already become members of the Protestant community. Therefore, the missionaries sought other ways to spread the Gospel among those people who did not visit the Protestant services and meetings. They made special tours to read and explain the Bible to the people and to distribute it. John Gruhler, catechist in Ramle, was convinced that the distribution of the Bible was "the most effectual means of missionary work in the country"; it was the mission's duty to "use every means for that purpose".[49] In 1860 he went on a Bible distribution tour together with Samuel Muller and Frederick Klein. One of the villages they visited was Beir Zeit. They entered a mosque, where a crowd assembled. The missionaries asked a man to read a chapter of the Bible, which he did; after that they had a long conversation with those present. According to Gruhler, everybody listened eagerly and one man even said: "Your words are better than money, and sweeter than honey". The missionaries sold one Bible. When an old man asked for one, he was disappointed; Gruhler explicitly says that they had decided not to give Bibles away for free.[50]

The decision not to distribute Bibles for free was in line with the missionaries' conviction that people had to be genuinely interested in the Bible. The 'Word of God' should not be taken for granted and people had to show themselves willing to make an effort to receive it. This view sometimes confronted the missionaries with a dilemma. Michael Kawar once complained that on a tour he had distributed some tracts and one

[47] Krusé to the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.
[48] Huber, "Report of the Quarter ending September 1856. To the Committee of the Church Missionary Society London", Nazareth, 22 September 1856, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 34/73.
[49] Gruhler to Sandreczki, Annual Letter, Ramle, 18 January 1861, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/17.
[50] Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 1 February 1860, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/9.

Gospel at his own expense, as the Protestant missionaries were "not allowed to give books gratis". On the same tour, a certain dr. Parry, who was not restricted by this prohibition, had distributed many Bibles, as Kawar reported.[51] In some cases the missionaries did give away a Bible for free when they thought the end justified the means. When on one of his tours Muller asked an old man to buy a Bible, the man asked for the Bible to be given to him for free. At first Muller did not want to give one away, but when the other people present convinced him that the old man would also read out the Bible to them, the missionary decided to give him a copy.[52]

In addition to Bible distribution tours, an important instrument of evangelisation among non-Protestants were the conversations with people about religious topics in the streets, shops, the bazaar, and at home.[53] According to Zeller, the Word of God was often "preached through conversations" for which there were many "suitable opportunities". Zeller exemplified such a 'suitable' occasion by describing his visit of condolence to a Catholic man, whose daughter-in-law had just died. Zeller felt the man's grief and anger and apparently considered this the right moment to point out to those present "how the love we bore to our relatives could in a measure teach us the love of God towards us". In reaction, the man said that death only impressed humankind "with the awful wrath of God against us sinners". This led Zeller to speak about Christ and the "necessity of faith in Christ", who had "borne our guilt and regained us the full assurance of the divine goodwill". This is one of many examples of the CMS missionaries' sparing no trouble or expense to proclaim the Gospel and the central Evangelical doctrines.[54]

In order to be able to teach the people in Bible classes, to preach to and to converse with them, it was important to know Arabic.[55] Gobat considered missionaries who did

[51] "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's Annual Letter" (translation from Arabic), Nazareth, 25 November 1872, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 40/5. This dr. Parry might be the same as the William Parry mentioned in Chapter 4, n. 60.
[52] Muller to the CMS, Annual Report, Bethlehem, 31 December 1859, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 54/4.
[53] The missionaries sometimes complained that it was difficult to meet the men at home, since many of them were employed outside the town or were busy with their work. See, among others, Paddon to the CMS, Annual Report, Nazareth, 28 December 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 60/9.
[54] Zeller to the CMS, Annual Letter for 1874-1875, Nazareth, January 1875, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/278.
[55] Learning the languages of the mission field was part of the training in the Church Missionary College in Islington, see Chapter 4.

not know Arabic "scarcely […] of any use".[56] Learning Arabic was an issue in many of the missionaries' letters. The CMS missionary William Paddon repeatedly wrote about his progress in Arabic. He thought that he could comprehend "the spiritual state of those who have already professed the pure religion" or of those who were "wavering", until he could converse freely with the church members in Arabic.[57] Klein translated hymns from English and German into Arabic and adapted them to the "native tunes". According to him, these hymns pleased the people exceedingly.[58] However, not all missionaries appreciated the Arabic tonality and preferred to stick to the way in which hymns were sung back home. When the CMS missionary Henry Johnson, for instance, visited a church service in Salt, he observed that the singing "marred what would otherwise have been a fi[n]e specimen of Evangelical worship". According to him, the Arabs "exhibit but little skill in their musical performances". Johnson described the cantor as having "hills, rocks, and villages in his voice which prevented the music from going straight".[59]

Proclaiming the Gospel: topics of conversation

The missionaries loved to describe their conversations with people from various religious and denominational backgrounds. In their letters they also reported on discussions started by their dragomans, schoolmasters, schoolchildren, and church members. The subjects of these discussions are interesting, as they reflect the Protestants' central ideas and values. By stressing their own religious views, the missionaries often rejected the views of the people they were talking to. Descriptions of these conversations are often polemic in character and full of criticism of the other churches and religions.

[56] In some of his letters, for instance, Gobat expresses his worries about the missionary Franklin Bellamy, who he said made hardly any progress in Arabic. Gobat thought that Bellamy should apply himself to the regular study of Arabic, as otherwise he would not be of any use for the mission. Gobat to Wright, Jerusalem, 8 March 1877, C M/O 28/107; Gobat to Wright, Jerusalem, 28 April 1877, C M/O 28/108. Both: Birmingham/UL.

[57] Paddon to the CMS, Nazareth, August 1868, C M/O 60/2; Nazareth, 30 April 1868, C M/O 60/1; Nazareth, 16 March 1869, C M/O 60/5. All: Birmingham/UL. Cf. Johnson to Hutchinson, Jerusalem, 5 February 1874, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 38/1.

[58] Klein added that he often wished for a small organ. Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282.

[59] Johnson to Hutchinson, Jerusalem, 25 November 1875, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 38/9.

According to Krusé, "controversies" between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Jaffa occurred almost daily, and always on the same subjects: "the saints, the fasts, the traditions, transubstantiation etc. in short, the mother church with all her superstitions".[60] These topics, the majority of which had already been discussed since the Reformation, often figured in the missionary reports. One of the main topics of discussion was the intercession by the Virgin Mary and the saints, which Protestants rejected, because this belief contradicted the Protestant dogma that there was only one mediator between God and mankind: Jesus Christ. When a Catholic asked Seraphim Boutaji, a catechist in the service of the CMS, why the Protestants did not pray for the intercession of Mary and the saints, Boutaji explained that "the love of Christ is greater than the love of Mary or saints". Moreover, Mary and the saints did not hear people when they needed to. Christ was the only mediator between God and men and by asking the saints and Mary for intercession, Christians "set aside Christ's office".[61]

Another popular theme in the missionaries' discussions with members of other churches was that of justification. Whereas Protestants believed that faith in Christ alone was sufficient for the salvation of sinners, for Roman Catholics acquiring justification could not be separated from doing good works. Gruhler, who called the subject "the old theme", found it a "hard point", as people did not want to "take salvation freely", but wanted to deserve it.[62]

Transubstantiation was also a classic theme in the polemics. Although the Protestant missionaries most probably did not have the same perception of the eucharist among themselves, as they came from different backgrounds, the CMS missionaries were united in their rejection of transubstantiation.[63] When people's 'eyes were opened' to the Protestant faith, they particularly rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, as

[60] Krusé to the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.
[61] "Report of the quarter ending June 30th 1866. By Seraphim Boutaji [translation from the Arabic]", Shefamer, June 1866, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/10.
[62] Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 1 February 1860, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/9.
[63] Most Prussian missionaries would have taken a Lutheran view of the eucharist, which means that they followed the doctrine of consubstantiation: Christ is present *together with* the substance of bread and wine. The Anglicans rejected transubstantiation on the basis of Article 28 of the 39 Articles of the Church of England, the gist of which is that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner".

the CMS missionaries tell us.[64] The Protestant missionaries loved to write about the ridiculous arguments by which clergymen of the other churches defended this doctrine. According to Zeller, a Catholic priest of Shefa Amer wanted to prove their doctrines by referring to Bible stories about Christ miraculously feeding the 5,000 and the Last Supper. The priest was said to have stated that when Christ fed the 5,000 he only *thanked*, but at the Last Supper Christ also *blessed* in breaking the bread. The priest considered this argumentation "undeniable proof" of the doctrine of transubstantiation, so Zeller.[65] Other popular topics of discussion were praying the rosary, the use of Latin in church, and the supremacy of the Pope.[66]

In their conversations the Protestants loved to use Bible quotations. Although their opponents did sometimes quote from the Bible, the Protestants generally believed the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox clergy did not have sufficient knowledge of the Scriptures. In accordance with this view, the missionaries considered Catholic and Orthodox church members 'ignorant' as to Bible texts. Klein even claimed it was generally acknowledged that no one could "overcome the Protestants as long as they bring their hated proofs from Scripture."[67] In various accounts the Protestants contrasted their own Scriptural knowledge with the so-called ignorance of clergy and members of other churches. According to the CMS documents, the Protestants' knowledge of Bible texts and use of Bible quotations were not appreciated by their discussion partners. In Nazareth, Klein's servant Farach regularly went to the barber shop to have discussions with the Greeks and Latins, as well as with a Maronite priest. He told Klein that "on several occasions when they disputed and he (Farach) [produced] proof from the Scriptures the proud but ignorant priest went away cursing and excommunicating him, while the assembled people laughed at the good priest's dilemma".[68]

[64] The Greek families in Nablus mentioned earlier, for instance, rejected not only the worship of Mary and the saints, but especially the doctrine of transubstantiation, according to Gobat. Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 9 January 1850, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/69.

[65] Zeller, "Extracts from Journals", Nazareth, August 1867, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/265.

[66] When Boutaji discussed the Pope's supremacy with a Catholic and the latter wanted to prove it by referring to the traditional passage in Matthew 16, 18, Boutaji explained that Jesus' words "were not spoken with regard to the superiority of S^{t} Peter above the others, because Christ himself had expressly forbidden all rivalry between his disciples and had commanded that none of them should be called 'Father' on earth, because one is our Father who is in heaven". However, he did not succeed in convincing either this man or other Catholics present. "Report of the quarter ending June 30th 1866", Shefa Amer, June 1866, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/10.

[67] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/ 282.

[68] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282. The schoolmaster of Lydda, Hannah Damishky, wrote that when she visited a sick Greek Orthodox man, the

In their criticism of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, the missionaries contrasted Protestantism with the other denominations, and were highly critical of the doctrines and traditions of the other churches. The Protestants' negative attitude towards the other denominations was also reflected in their choice of words.[69] Protestants frequently used the traditional derogatory terms 'popery' and 'popish' for (Roman) Catholicism and (Roman) Catholics. For the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek Orthodox monks they used the terms 'monkery' and 'monkish'. Klein, for instance, wrote about the Greek Orthodox Church that "the fruits of this monkish thraldom and religious police-supervision […] are either a blind and slavish subjection to monkery and the monkish religion, awful bigotry and consequent bitter opposition and enmity to the pure religion of the Gospel". He added, however, that he thought the Greek clergy in general less fiercely and openly opposed to the Protestant missionary efforts than the "Latin monks".[70] The use of pejorative language contributed to the polarization between Protestants and the other denominations.

By describing their discussions about traditional theological themes, the missionaries not only created a negative image of the other churches, but also emphasized their own Evangelical Protestant views and identity: Christ as the only mediator instead of Mary and the saints, the usage of the vernacular instead of Latin in church, sound biblical knowledge versus 'ignorance', justification through faith only versus good works.[71]

patient told her about two Greek Orthodox priests who had come to see him the night before. The priests discussed a biblical topic on which they did not agree. When a third person asked them to take their Bibles to see who was right, they answered that they did not possess a Bible. On hearing this account, Damishky fetched her Bible and explained the matter. Damishky to the CMS, Lydda, 1 November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 22/5.

[69] For the polemic between Protestants and Roman Catholics, see also Murre-van den Berg, "Simply by giving to them maccaroni…", 63-80. Murre-van den Berg discusses the anti-Roman Catholic language in Protestant missionary publications, for instance the use of the term 'Jesuit' for Roman Catholic missionaries whom the American Protestant missionaries encountered, also if from other orders. Murre-van den Berg, "Simply by giving to them maccaroni", 71-72. The CMS missionaries in Palestine, however, were better able to distinguish between the various Roman Catholic groups, the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, the Latin patriarchate, and some French women's missionary societies.

[70] Klein to the CMS, Annual Report 1857-1858, Jerusalem, 23 February 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/283.

[71] Although the majority of these disputes were about traditional theological themes, it seems that the Protestant missionaries and Greek and Latin priests sometimes had discussions simply to nag each other. In the streets of Shefa Amer, for instance, a Catholic priest accused the Protestant ministers to preach only "for the sake of their salary". Zeller, "Extracts from Journals", Nazareth, August 1867, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/265.

Material support: an obstacle to making true converts

When making converts to or members of the Protestant Church, the Protestants saw the material support offered by the Catholic and Orthodox convents as "a great [stumbling block] […]: for they bind their congregations with golden bands, by giving them houses to live in, and bread to most of them […] and this besides the doctors and medicines with which they supply them gratis".[72] Material support made people dependent on their churches. People risked losing their houses, jobs and social circle, not only when they converted to Protestantism, but even when they started to read the Bible, sent their children to the Protestant school, or attended Protestant Bible and prayer meetings, so the missionaries tell us. According to Gobat, as soon as people started "more or less earnestly seek the truth", their Latin, Greek or Armenian priests immediately ordered them to desist. If they did not obey, they were driven out of their dwellings, in most cases the property of the convent. Gobat stated that people's poverty made them particularly dependent on the convents.[73]

Even when people were convinced of the 'truth of Protestantism' and wanted to enter the Protestant Church, the fear to lose so much could, according to the missionaries, be enough to stay in or return to the (former) church. This was the case in Jaffa; when two Greek Orthodox men had decided to join the Protestants "the Greeks made all efforts to bring them back again", so Krusé. They threatened to take away both men's employment and their daily bread. As a result, both "were obliged to stay away". They declared themselves Protestants, but could not openly confess it. They would read their Bibles at home and would not go to the Greek Orthodox Church until times had improved.[74] Such stories seem to imply that more people would have become Protestants if there had been no hindrances. At the same time, the CMS missionaries were concerned that people who wanted to join the Protestants might expect the same support as they received from the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. They saw people

[72] Jamal to the CMS, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 17 November 1875, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/7. Idem, Nyland to the CMS, Annual Letter, Ramallah, December 1877, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 57/3.

[73] "Extracts from an [encyclical] of Bishop Samuel Gobat, successor of the Late Bishop Michael Alexander" [printed in the Jewish Intelligencer of January, 1852], Jerusalem, 30 October 1851, London/BL, BP, vol. 13, Add. 34579 ff.446. These extracts derive from Gobat's annual report for 1851, see Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 330-339.

[74] Krusé to the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.

return to their former churches after finding that the Protestants did not offer this kind of support.[75]

When people did return to their former church some missionaries blamed them for a lack of faith. When, for instance, in 1855 a Greek Catholic family in Nazareth returned because they did not receive the expected "worldly support and protection", Klein considered it a "painful confirmation of the indifference of the Arab Christians to *truth*, even saving truth when some worldly advantage can be gained by denying it".[76] Much later, in 1877, Boutaji made a similar comment, blaming the "love of this world and its vain glory" for holding the Catholics of Shefa Amer back from joining the Protestants.[77] However, once in a while some of the missionaries modified this view, expressing an understanding of the social realities the people lived in and referring to people's poverty. According to Gobat, some people in Ramallah had begun to "give signs of spiritual life and energy; but their excessive poverty and difficulties of finding the means of earning their livelihood from the moment they disagree with their priests, prevent for a long time the development of the […] seed which they have been able to understand and receive".[78]

The missionaries' reports fully reflect their disapproval of this type of material support. Of course, these reports to the Home Board served to explain the lack of converts made by the Protestant mission and to stress the hindrances the missionaries experienced in their work. However, the criticism of Gobat and the missionaries went deeper than their concern about losing church members. In their eyes, the 'material religion' of members of other denominations was at odds with 'true Christianity'. Whereas 'material religion' was connected with worldly motives and made people dependent on their churches, 'true Christianity' was not bound by such motives because it

[75] In Jaffa, for example, two Roman Catholics, both Italians, wanted to become Protestants. As the Protestants could not arrange employment for them, they decided not to join. Krusé to the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.

[76] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282.

[77] "Translation of the Report of Serafim Boutagi, for the quarter ending, March 31st 1873. Shefamer", Shefa Amer, 31 March 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/13. Jamal explained people's returning to their churches by stating that they had "no faith to resist this temptation [i.e., receiving material support]", but also "no means to provide houses for themselves". Jamal to the CMS, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 11 January 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/9.

[78] Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 21 March 1863, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/83. See also Gobat, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 30 October 1851, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 335; Jamal to the secretary of the CMS, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 29 November 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/8.

was purely 'spiritual' in character. This 'spiritual religion' was about freedom rather than dependency. It was about a free choice from the heart. Instead of 'worldly expectations', real piety should be people's motive to join the Protestants. The tension between 'spiritual' or 'true' Christianity and material religion was not characteristic of only the CMS missionaries. The ABCFM missionary William McClure Thomson (1806-1894) also thought the other religions at the time, Christian and otherwise, to be mainly characterized by their "intensely mercenary" character.[79] Although the CMS missionaries did not put it this way and chose a different terminology, the many examples, among which those mentioned above, show a similar attitude.[80]

People's dependence on material support offered by the other churches, together with the fact that Protestant converts frequently returned to their former church, made the CMS missionaries doubt the sincerity and faith of their current and potential church members. The missionaries feared they might have entered the Protestant church for worldly motives or with worldly expectations rather than spiritual motives. These members might leave the Protestant congregation any time. The catechist of Salt, Francis Bourazan, even doubted the sincerity of *all* members of the Protestant congregation. He expected many to leave the Protestant Church as a result of the Protestants' lack of material support.[81]

The fact that the missionaries had toned down their ideal of founding a Protestant congregation with 'true' converts only, by also admitting those who were interested in Protestantism but were not 'truly' converted yet, must have fed the missionaries' insecurity and doubt. They adjusted their expectations about conversion, but at the same time wanted people to become Protestants for 'spiritual' reasons only, without any material expectations. Although they criticised the other churches for providing housing, food, and the like, the missionaries were not blind to the poverty of the

[79] For a discussion about Thomson's famous book *The Land and the Book* and the fundamental opposition Thomson created between the spiritual religion of the Protestants and the material religion of the other religions, see Murre-van den Berg, "William McClure Thomson", 43-63, esp. 51-54, 62-63.

[80] Fallscheer is one of few CMS missionaries who did use the same terminology, criticising the "mercenary spirit" of the Christians in Palestine. Fallscheer to the CMS, Nablus, 1 July 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 24/1.

[81] According to Bourazan, all people who were coming to prayer expected money from the Protestants. This statement was somewhat exaggerated as it was based on the fact that "already" two men had asked him for money in return for their coming to prayer. One of them asked money for his wedding, and the other wanted Bourazan to pay his debt. The latter promised he would always come to prayer if Bourazan did what he asked. Bourazan, Salt, 4 February 1874, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/96A.

people. The Protestant mission founded orphanages, provided medical care and education for free, and sometimes gave alms.[82] The missionaries, however, probably saw their own help as different from the support the other churches offered, believing it to be some sort of diaconal work, which was generally accepted in Evangelical circles. This diaconal work helped people without making them dependent. That ultimately this was not very different from the backing the other denominations offered was not taken into consideration.

Concluding remarks

In their reports Gobat and the CMS missionaries only rarely described typical Evangelical conversions. Although the missionaries stressed the importance of being a so-called 'true Christian', this ideal collided with the reality of the mission field, which made them adjust their expectations about making converts. It seems that they chose a pragmatic approach; by admitting people into the Protestant congregation without demanding a 'true' conversion, the mission was able to establish Protestant communities and churches. Still, Gobat and the CMS missionaries did not abandon their Evangelical principles; they believed that in this way they could work on the faith and conduct of their church members, which in the end might lead to 'true Christianity'. The CMS documents are full of stories about the improvement of people's piety, faith and behaviour. These 'success stories' sent to the home front were intended to illustrate the Protestant mission's advancements and necessity. Moreover, they had to secure financial support from the home public. In addition, the missionaries' success stories may have served to legitimize their decision to admit people not yet 'truly' converted into the Protestant congregation.

However, Gobat's and the CMS missionaries' experiences in the mission field and their pragmatic approach also had a downside. By admitting people who were not yet completely converted into the Protestant church, the CMS missionaries became

[82] For instance, from time to time the Protestants in Ramle received money from Gobat, though the missionaries' means were very limited, as Gobat himself sometimes stressed. After Gobat's death in 1879 there was no money to support these Protestants anymore. According to Odeh, many of them left the Protestant congregation and went back to their former priests. Odeh to Wright, Ramle, 1 November 1879, C M/O 58/2. Gobat to Lake, Jerusalem, 9 March 1876, C M/O 28/98; Gobat to Wright, Jerusalem, 29 June 1876, C M/O 28/100. All: Birmingham/UL.

insecure about the motives of their own church members to join the Protestants, not knowing whether they were 'spiritual' or 'material'. The missionaries criticised the material support offered by the other churches, because this made people dependent. They made a distinction between their own 'true' religion and the 'material' religion of the other denominations. In contrast to 'material' religion this 'true' or 'spiritual' religion was about a free choice from the heart and real piety.

Besides disapproving of the material support, Gobat and the CMS missionaries also criticised the doctrines and rituals of the other denominations. Discussion themes concerned topics that had been traditional subjects of dispute between Protestants and Roman Catholics since the Reformation. In their criticism the Protestants stressed their Evangelical Protestant identity. This is also reflected in their missionary efforts and views: their main aim of making 'true' converts, the position of the Bible, which they considered a central element in the process of conversion, the importance of the doctrine of justification by faith through Christ's atoning death on the cross, and their 'activism' in spreading the faith. All these aspects correspond to Bebbington's characteristics of Evangelicalism: conversionism, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism.[83]

In the following chapter three of these characteristics, biblicism, conversionism and crucicentrism, will serve as the background for a discussion of the Protestants' central instrument of making 'true Christians': the Bible schools run by Gobat and the CMS missionaries.

[83] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 2-17.

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Gobat and the CMS missionaries: educational principles and activities

Introduction

In his autobiography Samuel Gobat describes his visit in 1823 to the school run by the famous Swiss educational pioneer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) in Yverdon. At the time Pestalozzi's school was already in decline. It took Gobat only half an hour to see that there was no unity among the teachers in the establishment, and a few years later the school did indeed collapse. According to Gobat, its decline was the result of the fact that Pestalozzi had based his "otherwise excellent system" on a mistaken concept, that is, "on the supposition that human nature in children is good, and only needs a sound development; wherefore it was impossible that in the long run he could realise his sanguine expectations". Gobat adds that Pestalozzi had seen his "error" when he visited the school run by Gobat's future father-in-law Christian Heinrich Zeller in Beuggen in 1826. Although Zeller's teaching was based on the same educational system, Gobat continues, his school was not founded on the idea that the nature of children is good, but rather on the opposite concept: the depravity of human nature is already seen in young children. When Pestalozzi had observed Zeller's school for four days, he is said to have exclaimed: "This is what I have been seeking all my life!".[1]

In my opinion, Gobat's account reflects the core of his pedagogical ideas, because it shows how strongly the central Evangelical views influenced his policy. In his criticism we hear the doubts of a firm and traditionalist Evangelical about the theological

[1] "Bishop Gobat on Pestalozzi", *Journal of Education. A monthly record and review* 7, 1885, 65. Cf. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 50-51. The story about Pestalozzi's visit to Zeller's school and his conclusion that this was what he had always wanted also figures in other accounts about Zeller's school in Beuggen. See for instance, J. de Liefde, *Vruchten des geloofs: ingezameld op den akker van het Protestantisme* 2, Amsterdam, 1867, 47. Arnd Götzelmann concludes that in the story about Pestalozzi's visit to Zeller's school, Zeller was described as the "Testamentserfüller des pädagogischen Meisters". A. Götzelman, "Die Soziale Frage", U. Gäbler (ed.), *Geschichte des Pietismus* 3, *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanstigsten Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, 2000, 282.

implications of Pestalozzi's educational principle.[2] There was a central element of the Evangelical faith that Pestalozzi, who himself was a pietist as well as an adherent of Rousseau, did not share, namely the doctrine of justification by faith. He did not believe that mankind's collective sin was taken away by Christ's death on the cross.[3] Consequently, although Zeller and others within the intercontinental Awakening movement had taken up Pestalozzi's pedagogical ideas, some Evangelicals had reservations with regard to his theological views.[4] Although the objections to Pestalozzi's educational principles were not restricted to the Evangelicals, Gobat's criticism perfectly illustrates how much the bishop was concerned with the views and ideas of Evangelicalism. One only has to read through Gobat's letters to see that during his years as a bishop in Jerusalem his educational policy had been influenced by his Evangelical background. His personal history in the European Evangelical network, his connection with the CMS, and his strained relations with the Tractarians also demonstrate how much he was involved in the Evangelical movement.[5]

In this chapter the influence of the Evangelical religion on Gobat's educational views will be discussed, concentrating on the joint activities of Gobat and the CMS missionaries in the educational field in Palestine. The primary schools run by Gobat and the CMS will be examined against the background of three out of the four characteristics of Evangelicalism formulated by David Bebbington: biblicism, conversionism and crucicentrism.[6] In what way are these three characteristics reflected in the educational principles and activities of Gobat and the CMS missionaries? As we will see, biblicism is a prominent feature in the schooling provided by Gobat and the CMS missionaries. As

[2] On this point I do not agree with Tibawi, who blames Gobat for just being arrogant and naive when he calls Pestalozzi's educational system wrong and flawed. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 155. Cf. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 165. See also K. Silber, *Pestalozzi. The Man and his Work*, London, 1960, 291-292.

[3] Pestalozzi did not consider men to be guilty of original sin. For more information about Pestalozzi, his theological ideas and his view on the nature of mankind, see also F.P. Hager, "Stufen der religiösen Entwicklung bei Pestalozzi", F.P. Hager and D. Tröhler (eds.), *Philosophie and Religion bei Pestalozzi. Pestalozzi Bibliographie 1977-1992*, Bern, Stuttgart, Wien, 1994, 7-45; A. Brühlmeier *Wandlungen im Denken Pestalozzis. Von der 'Abendstunde' bis zu den 'Nachforschungen'*, Zürich, 1976. See also Brühlmeier's website: http://www.bruehlmeier.info/fundamental_ideas.htm. For Zeller the *Erlösungsbedürftigkeit* of people and their belief in the Saviour Jesus was the core of his anthropology (Götzelmann, "Die Soziale Frage", 281).

[4] A fervent Evangelical follower of Pestalozzi's teaching methods was John Synge (1788-1845). Synge was very worried about the fact that some people objected to Pestalozzi's principles. Silber, *Pestalozzi*, 291-292. Cf. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, 156, 165.

[5] See also Chapter 4.

[6] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 2-17.

the number of schools significantly increased during the Gobat years, and with Gobat's missionary aim in mind, it is also interesting to examine how the missionaries themselves described the results of the CMS schools, and the reactions from other denominations to these schools. Before going into these matters I will provide a general survey of the schools run by Gobat and the CMS missionaries.

Survey of Protestant schools

When Gobat arrived in Palestine, there were no Protestant schools. Although his predecessor Alexander had already appointed a schoolteacher in Jerusalem, this functionary had not been able to lay a firm foundation for a Protestant school. In 1847, Gobat opened the Diocesan School in Jerusalem. In January of the following year, he wrote that the school was under the direction of Miss Lucy Harding (d. 1872) who had been sent out for this specific task by the FES. The school started in 1847 with nine pupils, in January 1848 there were twelve children, and, according to Gobat, within three weeks this number had increased to seventeen.[7]

During Gobat's episcopate many schools were established, a fact he loved to boast about. Two years before he died, for instance, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882), that when he started his career as a bishop there had not been a single Christian school in the whole of Palestine, but now, in 1877, there were 37 so-called "Bible Schools" in Judea, Samaria and Galilee.[8] Although this was not completely true (there had already been schools of other denominations in Palestine for a long time),[9] this and similar quotes illustrate the importance of the foundation of schools to the bishop.[10] The majority of the Protestant schools were established by Gobat in cooperation with the CMS. From the moment the CMS

[7] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 21 November 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234, ff. 280-283; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 26 January 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 207-208; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 February 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 209-214. Lucy Harding was the first agent the FES sent to Palestine. She arrived in Jerusalem in October 1847. In May 1851 she returned to Britain because of a serious conflict with Gobat and his wife. See Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 154-156.

[8] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234, ff. 280-283.

[9] In his annual report for 1871 Gobat also mentions that there were no Christian schools in Palestine when he arrived, but adds that there were Latin monks who instructed about twenty boys in Italian. Gobat, Annual Report, Jerusalem, 10 November 1871, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 483.

[10] For a discussion of Gobat's claims to be an educational pioneer and the presence of schools run by other denominations in Palestine long before Gobat's time, see Tibawi, *British Interests*, 156-158.

missionaries had arrived in Palestine in 1851, Gobat and the CMS missionaries closely collaborated in the educational field.[11]

It is difficult to give an overview of Protestant schools, numbers of pupils, years of establishment and towns because the missionary sources are inconsistent and often incomplete on this point.[12] From the missionaries' letters we learn that besides Jerusalem, over the years schools were founded in other towns and villages, such as Bethlehem, Fuhais, Gaza, Jaffa, Lydda, Nablus, Nazareth, Ramallah, Ramle, Salt, Shefa Amer, Taybeh, and Yaffa. In some towns Gobat or the CMS established more than one Protestant school. The numbers of pupils varied from a dozen in the small village schools to more than sixty in larger towns.

The education in the schools run by Gobat and the CMS was free of charge. When in 1868 the question of school fees was discussed on a 'Conference of Missionaries of the CMS in Palestine' chaired by Gobat, it was decided that the training offered in their schools would remain free. This decision was made because the conference thought that people's knowledge of the value of education was "still very imperfect". Moreover, the schools run by other denominations were also free. According to the conference, in some cases parents were even paid for sending their children to these schools.[13] Fallscheer, for instance, complained that the Orthodox in Nablus promised to give a "Turkish dollar" at Christmas to all children who came to their school. As a result many pupils had left the Protestant for the Orthodox school. In line with Protestant criticism on the material support offered by the convents, Fallscheer considered this proof of the "mercenary spirit" of the Christians in the country.[14]

Some promising pupils from the Protestant schools were trained as catechists or schoolmasters in a training institution or Preparandi Class, established especially for this

[11] The Evangelicals believed in 'Social Christianity' and the foundation of schools and hospitals among the local and often poor people fitted this principle. See also P. Sangster, *Pity my Simplicity. The Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children 1738-1800*, London, 1963, 20.

[12] For a rough overview, see the table of schools run by Gobat and the CMS, years of establishment and attendance figures in Appendix I.

[13] "Minutes of a Conference of the Missionaries of the C.M.S. in Palestine, held at Jerusalem under the Presidency of the Bishop, on the 28th day of October 1868", C M/O 2/1. See also a report by Zeller from 1878, in which he stated that the pupils of the Diocesan School or orphanage at Jerusalem must be received free of charge, since the other "religious bodies" maintained "Free Schools". Zeller, "Appeal for the Diocesan School, Jerusalem" [printed], Jerusalem, March 1878, C M/O 71/101B. Both documents: Birmingham/UL.

[14] Fallscheer to the CMS, Nablus, 1 July 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 24/1. For the Protestant criticism of material support, see the previous chapter.

purpose.[15] This class aimed at providing the students with a "thorough knowledge of the Bible and of the chief doctrines of Christianity". The students were also taught other subjects necessary for a schoolmaster, such as geography, history and mathematics. English and Arabic were also offered.[16] The young men sometimes went out to discuss the Bible in the streets. Ferdinand Palmer, who was attached to the Diocesan school and the Preparandi Class in Jerusalem, wrote that some of the preparandi went to a neighbouring village on Sunday to converse with the inhabitants and to preach the Gospel to them.[17]

From the letters to the CMS one gets the impression that to the missionaries and Gobat teaching methods were of minor importance, especially in the smaller village schools.[18] Some elements of the CMS schools are reminiscent of the British 'Charity Schools'. In both the Mission and the Charity schools, education centred on religious instruction. Just as the Charity Schools, the CMS schools were free of charge and aimed at teaching the (poor) children the principles of the Christian religion in order to let them grow into good people and faithful servants of God.[19] The CMS missionary William Francis Locke Paddon compared the Protestant boys' school in Nazareth with the Charity and Sunday schools in Britain and concluded that it would "not be found wanting tho' examined with reference to" these schools. He considered the boys' school the most hopeful, cheering and important part of the mission's work and was convinced that the school's results might be "inestimable".[20] It seems that in some cases the schools had introduced the monitorial system of teaching. In Shefa Amer, for instance, the eldest pupil replaced the schoolteacher Nicola Dabak when he went to Nazareth as a

[15] Gobat to the CMS, Jerusalem, 5 October 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/104.
[16] *Proceedings of the C.M.S. (1876-7)*, 60-61, cited in Tibawi, *British Interests*, 165. See also Gobat to the CMS, Jerusalem, 5 October 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/104.
[17] Palmer to the CMS, "Annual report of the Diocesan School 1878", Jerusalem Mount Zion Orphanage, 4 November 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/124B. Palmer had come to Jerusalem as Chrischona Brother together with Conrad Schick, to live and work in the Brother House (see Chapter 4).
[18] Cf. Tibawi, *British Interests*, 155.
[19] According to Holmes "at the beginning of the nineteenth century the English missionaries had rather few models from which to choose in establishing schools. Charity schools had been set up at home and abroad", B. Holmes, "British Imperial Policy and the Mission Schools", B. Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools. Case Studies from the British Empire*, London, 1967, 25-26. Cf. H.C. Barnard, *A Short History of English Education. From 1760-1944*, London, 1947, 6.
[20] Paddon to the CMS, Nazareth, 28 December 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 60/9.

teacher.[21] In Gobat's Diocesan school reading classes were also partly supervised by "monitors", i.e., the elder pupils.[22]

A difference between the Charity schools and the schools run by Gobat and the CMS, however, seems to be that the former combined religious instruction with training in manual labour, which was also the case in the institution led by Christian Zeller in Beuggen, mentioned above, after which the Syrian Orphanage was modelled.[23] In this way the children would learn to work and had the opportunity to become labourers or domestic servants.[24] As to the schools run by Gobat and the CMS missionaries, there is no mention in the CMS reports of such a combination of manual labour with religious instruction. The only exception seems to be the bishop's Diocesan School in Jerusalem. John Zeller, in charge of the school in the late 1870s, wrote about "Bishop Gobat's school" and the boy's orphanage that outside school hours some of the boys were "initiated in trades, as shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry and bookbinding". Others were "employed at the Printing Press of the mission". Besides this, the children were also employed in domestic work.[25] This difference between the Diocesan School in Jerusalem and the schools run by Gobat and the CMS in other villages and towns might lay in the fact that the former was an orphanage where the children stayed on after school hours. Furthermore, especially in the village schools children were needed by their parents to assist them in agricultural work. From time to time the missionaries lamented the small number of pupils in their schools because of this.[26]

[21] Zeller to Fenn, Nazareth, December 1872, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/277.

[22] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 8 August 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 215-216.

[23] Götzelman, "Die Soziale Frage", 281-282; Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission*, 50-51, 91. See also Chapter 4.

[24] On the Charity schools, see Barnard, *A Short History*, 5-8; A. Digby and P. Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England*, London, 1981, 75-77.

[25] Zeller, "Report of Bishop Gobat's School on Zion", Jerusalem, July 1880, C M/O 72/284. Cf. Zeller, "Appeal for the Diocesan School, Jerusalem", Jerusalem, March 1878, C M/O 71/101B; Zeller, "Report of Bishop Gobat's Orphanage on Mount Zion", Jerusalem, June 1879, C M/O 72/282. This is a printed version of a letter from Zeller to Wright, "Report of the Diocesan School and Orphanage [to its subscribers]", Jerusalem, 4 June 1879, C M/O 72/283. All: Birmingham/UL.

[26] When Huber, for instance, visited the Protestant school in Yaffa, he only found a small number of children, as many children were "still engaged in thrashing and other agricultural occupations". Huber to Chapman, "Journal extracts for the Quarter ending September 30th 1858", Nazareth, 9 October 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 34/74; Zeller to Fenn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, December 1872, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/277. Krusé complained that many boys were taken from the school "and put into a trade" when they were able to read Arabic tolerably. Krusé to the secretaries of the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa station for the month of August. 1855", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.

Another difference between the Diocesan school and the other schools run by Gobat and the CMS in Palestine was the level of education, which in the Diocesan School seemed to be highest. According to Zeller, the higher classes of the Diocesan School furnished the Protestant mission with "suitable candidates for the preparandi institution" in which pupils were trained as teachers and evangelists. This was important, according to Zeller, because he believed that no other Protestant school in Palestine was able "to prepare such candidates for their [i.e. the Protestant or CMS mission's] future work".[27]

Many wives of the CMS missionaries participated in the mission's work and took the initiative to instruct girls. Gobat's wife Maria, for instance, and the wives of the CMS missionaries Fallscheer, Huber, Muller, Krusé and Zeller were all very active in the mission field.[28] The girls' education consisted of a combination of religious instruction and needlework. The CMS missionaries frequently underlined the importance of educating the girls with an eye to their future task as mothers. They wanted to teach the girls (Evangelical) Protestant Christianity, and wanted them to be able to read the Bible so that they could later read it to their children. Both male and female missionaries, however, combined this desire with the wish to raise good Christian housewives and mothers, which involved domestic training such as needlework and housekeeping. In this way the girls would be able to establish a 'Christian home' in the future.[29]

In view of the girls' future as mothers, Gobat and the CMS missionaries also stressed the importance of teaching the girls the Bible in their vernacular; therefore, Arabic had to be the main language in the Protestant schools. Missionaries such as Klein criticised schools and institutions in which this was not the case; they thought that after finishing their education the girls would forget the (foreign) language they had learned in school and would not be able to read the Bible in Arabic.[30] One of the institutions regularly criticised by the CMS missionaries was the school of the Deaconesses of

[27] Zeller, "Report of Bishop Gobat's Orphanage on Mount Zion", Jerusalem, June 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/282.

[28] Some of them, among whom Mrs. Krusé, the wife of the CMS missionary William Krusé, were in the service of the FES. Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 123.

[29] For the missionaries' view on what constituted a 'Christian home' and a 'good housewife', see Chapter 8. Cf. Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 113-115.

[30] It saddened Klein that the girls of his congregation in Jerusalem, who were students of Gobat's girls' school, could not read a single sentence in their own language. He did not blame the school, however, because as he saw it, it was meant for the children of Jewish proselytes, and therefore most attention was paid to the English language. Klein to the CMS, Annual Report 1857-1858, Jerusalem, 23 February 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/283.

Kaiserswerth in Jerusalem, in which, according to Wolters, German was the main language and Arabic was "treated as a secondary object".[31]

As mentioned earlier, at the end of his episcopate Gobat handed over many schools and mission stations to the CMS "with a view of securing that for the future the work which he [had] been carrying on for twenty-nine years, [should] be conducted in the same spirit as hitherto".[32] In March 1876 Gobat recorded that he would "transfer the Diocesan School with all the property belonging to it" to the Society.[33] About four months later, he mentioned that from 1 January 1877 the CMS would "take charge of the schools of Ramleh, Lydda, and Nablous including four other schools". He also wrote that he was able to hand over to the CMS all his schools in Palestine including the Diocesan School or orphanage, "together with the Revd. Mr. Fallscheer of Nablous".[34] In November of the same year, Gobat stated that he had transferred nine schools to the CMS as well as his missionary and catechist at Nablus, with the exception of his orphanage on Mount Zion. The CMS was now in charge of twelve 'native' Protestant congregations and 22 or 23 schools with children of various denominations.[35] Gobat also transferred two of his schools, those in Bethlehem and Beit Jala, to the Berlin *Jerusalems-Verein* in 1871.[36]

Biblicism: the Protestant "Bible Schools"

The first prominent characteristic of Evangelicalism reflected in the schools run by Gobat and the CMS is biblicism. As mentioned earlier, the Bible occupied a central

[31] Wolters to Fenn, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, December 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 71/155. According to Michael Kawar, in this institution the children learned the catechism in German and were not able to explain it in their own language. Kawar to the CMS, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, December 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 40/12. For the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth in Jerusalem, see Chapter 4.

[32] Zeller, "Appeal for the Diocesan School, Jerusalem", Jerusalem, March 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 71/101B. Cf. Gobat, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, November 1877, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 526.

[33] Gobat to Wright, Jerusalem, 9 March 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/99.

[34] Gobat to Wright, Jerusalem, 29 June 1876, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/100. Cf. Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions*, 248. Johann Christian Fallscheer was in charge of Nablus under Gobat since 1864. After Gobat had transferred him 'in local connection' to the CMS in 1876 he continued to work there. See *Register of Missionaries*, 175. For Fallscheer, see E.J. Eisler, "Gewalt gegen die protestantische Mission in Nablus und die nachfolgende Versöhnung (1854-1901)", *Mission und Gewalt. Der Umgang christlicher Missionen mit Gewalt und die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Afrika und Asien in der Zeit von 1792 bis 1918/19*, Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv 6, Stuttgart, 2000, 47-53.

[35] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 21 November 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234, ff. 280-283.

[36] Gobat, Annual Report, Jerusalem, 10 November 1981, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 483.

position in Evangelical circles. Evangelicals held the Bible in the highest regard and were devoted to 'searching' the Scriptures. For Gobat and the CMS missionaries the Bible was the guiding principle in their work, and their writings are full of Bible quotations. Furthermore, they considered it a significant element in the process of conversion. As "literacy was a precondition for reading the Bible" the schools were very important.[37] Shortly after his arrival as bishop in Jerusalem, Gobat wrote that he thought that the Word of God should be woven into all aspects of education as much as possible, and teaching it should proceed from a "lively conviction of the teacher". What counted for him was the "simple reading of the Bible, with short observations in a free conversational or catechetical manner". For Gobat, religious education did not consist of teaching the "creeds" or "catechisms" and "least of all the theoretical differences existing between different churches", but of teaching "the positive, historical, dogmatical and moral truths of the Word of God".[38] Gobat's emphasis on the centrality of reading the Bible, his desire to weave it into all aspects of education, and the importance of a lively conviction on the part of the educator to create faith in the child remind us of the pedagogy of Christian Zeller, after whose institute in Beuggen Schneller's Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem was modelled. These were all elements of Zeller's pedagogical principles.[39]

Referring to his own views on religious education Gobat stated that, considering the fact that he was dependent on the British public for funds, a system based on his educational views would "not meet with any supporter". With this statement Gobat referred to the school funding controversy in Britain at the time, adding that some people wanted to support a school in which only religion was taught, whereas other people preferred schools in which religion was not taught at all.[40] Nevertheless, reading the letters written by Gobat and the CMS missionaries, one cannot escape the impression that, especially in the small village schools, education was centred on the Bible,

[37] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 12-14, 123. According to Bebbington, throughout Protestant Northern Europe reading skills had long been fostered primarily for the purpose of reading the Bible, often by informal methods outside the schools.
[38] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 13 October 1847, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 205-206.
[39] Hanselmann, *Deutsche Evangelische Palästinamission*, 150-151, 191.
[40] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 13 October 1847, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798 ff. 205-206.

which often was the only subject taught in the schools. It is not without reason that the Greek patriarch once characterised the schools as "Bible schools".[41]

The central position of the Bible in education is demonstrated by the Protestant school in Nablus, which Gobat had opened in 1848. For this school the bishop had appointed a teacher whose main task was to teach the children the Bible. It was the only religious book in the school and the focus of education. It did not even seem to matter who the instructor was, because in this case the teacher was a Greek Orthodox. This seemed to be of negligible importance as long as the Bible was taught. According to Gobat, the Bible lessons had been fruitful, as schoolmaster and boys, all Greek Orthodox, made rapid progress in the knowledge of the Bible. The children started to read the Bible to their parents, who began to see their own so-called 'ignorance' and desired instruction, too.[42] Gobat did the same in Salt as he had done in Nablus: he opened a Protestant school for which he had "appointed a Greek priest as teacher without making any important condition, but that he should teach the children to read the Bible".[43]

In his annual report for 1853 Gobat explains why he sometimes appointed teachers from other denominations. In towns or villages where members of other churches asked him to open a school (as their own clergy refused to open one), Gobat established a school and let the people choose a teacher of their own denomination in order not to offend their clergy. He had one condition: only the Bible was to be read to the children, no church doctrines were to be taught. Gobat's demand to read the Bible seems innocent. However, in the same report he states that people who read the Bible and wanted to live in accordance with it would feel obliged to leave their churches.[44] This strongly suggests that Gobat was convinced that a deeper knowledge of the Bible would induce people to leave their original (Orthodox, Catholic) churches, which of course would greatly offend their clergy.[45]

[41] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 21 November 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234, ff. 280-283. According to William Parry, the Greek patriarch called Gobat's schools "Bible schools" by way of reproach. Parry to Tait, Alresford Rectory near Calchester, 15 February 1876, London/LPL, TP, 221, ff. 174-175.
[42] Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 9 January 1850, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/69. For the hostile reaction to the Protestant school in Nablus, see Chapter 4.
[43] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 17 July 1873, London/LPL, TP, 195, ff. 280-282.
[44] Gobat, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, 14 November 1853, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 362-363.
[45] Ibid. See also Chapter 4.

The Bible formed a major part of the children's education, especially in the smaller village schools. Reading lessons consisted of reading the Bible, but it was also taught by means of discussion. Furthermore, scriptural knowledge formed a major part of the children's examinations. From the missionary reports it appears that attention was also given to learning the Scriptures by heart. In the school at Lydda, for instance, the children were examined on all the events described in the "books of Moses", and on the New Testament: the birth, parables, miracles, crucifixion, appearance and ascension of Christ. According to the Protestant schoolteacher Hannah Damischky one of the schoolboys knew the first sixteen chapters of the Gospel of Matthew by heart.[46] Descriptions of the elementary curriculum suggest that in most CMS schools the children were taught the Bible and Bible-related subjects, while some attention was given to writing, arithmetic and sometimes also to geography and history.

In the majority of schools the curriculum had probably been expanded during the Gobat years, and at the end of his episcopate there may have been hardly any schools left in which only the Bible was read.[47] Nevertheless, in Gobat's and the missionaries' descriptions of Protestant education and examinations in the 1860s and 1870s the Bible still held a prominent position. Someone who seemed to be very concerned with the centrality of the Scriptures in the CMS schools was Gobat's son-in-law Wolters, from the CMS Jerusalem mission. As a result of his visits to several CMS schools in Palestine he was worried about the education offered there. Although he thought that from certain points of view teaching subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic was useful, he failed to see "any adequate efforts" of the schoolteachers "to make the boys acquainted with the Word of God in such a way that they might be attracted by the stories [therein?] contained and especially by the picture of our Lord's Life and Death there given and by all the teaching therewith connected, and led to Christ". He added that the teachers had to be made aware of their responsibility; "they were directed to pay the greatest attention possible to the Scripture lessons, and to seek in every way to bring the children entrusted in their care, to Jesus as their Saviour". On his suggestion, his

[46] Damishky to the Committee of the CMS, Report, Lydda, 1 November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 22/5. In the CMS missionaries' Bible classes adults were also sometimes asked to learn Bible texts by heart. See Chapter 6.

[47] Bourazan, however, in 1874 mentions a boys' school in which the children were still used to reading only the Bible. Bourazan did not approve and started to teach arithmetic, geography and Bible history. Bourazan to the CMS, Salt, Jerusalem, 4 February 1874, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/96A.

brother-in-law, John Zeller, also stationed in Jerusalem at the time, had made a school plan in order to secure greater uniformity in teaching. According to Wolters, this plan specified "the number of hours which must be devoted to Scripture lessons and the way in which these lessons must be given". When completed and after other missionaries in Palestine had commented on it, Wolters intended to distribute the plan to all school-masters in the CMS schools in the country.[48] Whether he succeeded in implementing it is uncertain.

Evangelical education: opportunity for making converts

As we have seen in the previous chapter, for Evangelical Christians a 'true conversion of the heart' was of the utmost importance. As the missionaries considered the Bible an important element in the process of conversion,[49] biblicism and conversionism were closely connected. We have seen that Gobat was convinced that people who read the Bible and accepted it as their guiding principle could not remain members of their church.[50] The reports by Gobat and the CMS missionaries all demonstrate that they considered their 'Bible schools', in Zeller's words, a "very valuable means of spreading the truth as it is in Christ".[51] Bourazan even believed the mission schools the "only means the missionary can work upon", as they were important in teaching children the Word of God and bringing them up in the way of Christianity in order to make a new generation. Bourazan thought that preaching to the 'old' generation was not effective at all.[52] The multidenominational and multireligious background of the pupils made the schools perfectly placed to spread the fundamentals of (Evangelical) Protestantism. The schools were attended by children from various denominations: only a small part of the parents had any fixed ties to Protestantism, and most of the children belonged to one of the other churches or religions. They came from Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox,

[48] Wolters to Fenn, Annual Letter, Jerusalem, December 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 71/155.
[49] See Chapter 6.
[50] See chapter 4.
[51] Zeller to the Secretaries of the CMS in London, Annual Letter for 1874-75, Nazareth, January 1875, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/278.
[52] Bourazan, 4 February 1874, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/96A.

Greek Catholic, Muslim or Jewish families.[53] Converting the future generation to the Protestant-Evangelical version of Christianity was considered of crucial importance for the future of Christianity in Palestine.

Besides the children's various denominational backgrounds, the missionaries considered the Protestant schools an ideal opportunity to reach the children's parents, families and other relations.[54] One way in which parents came to know the Bible through their children seemed to be by simply attending some of the children's classes. According to William Krusé, some mothers of pupils in the Protestant school of Jaffa took delight in stopping at the school whilst the children were being catechised. This led him to think that by educating the rising generation they got "at the hearts of the parents" as well. He daily thanked God for the mission school which led to so much real good.[55]

However, the most common way in which the children's newly-acquired knowledge reached their parents and families were the children's own stories about what they had learned in school, or their reading the Bible to their parents, as was the case in the Protestant school in Nablus. Gobat and the CMS missionaries loved to write about this effect of their schools. A girl from the Protestant school in Lydda, for example, had heard the story of Isaac in school. After school she went to her grandfather, who was a Greek Orthodox, and told him: "'my Grandfather' you are as Isaac […]. The master at school told us, that Isaac has blessed the children of Joseph". According to the schoolmaster who told this story, the old man knew nothing of the Bible and was astonished to hear this little girl telling him such a religious story. He asked the girl to bring her Bible the next day and to read it to him and so she did. The old man promised to bless her before he died. The schoolmaster ended his story by expressing the hope that the "light of Christ" would enter the girl's heart one day.[56]

The CMS missionaries seemed to consider the school examinations another valuable tool for spreading the Gospel. From the missionaries' stories about examinations in

[53] To quote William Paddon, the children of Muslims, Greeks and Latins in the Protestant schools were "brought under the daily sound of the Gospel". Paddon to the CMS, Nazareth, August 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 60/2.

[54] See for instance Gobat's annual letter for 1871, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 485.

[55] Krusé to the Secretaries of the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station, first quarter 1858", Jaffa, 22 April 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/175.

[56] Damishky, "Abstracts of God's vineyard at Lydda God's providence May 30th 1879", Lydda, 15 August 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 22/2.

the mission schools it appears that these were open to the public, since they regularly mention the presence of other people. These could be other Protestant missionaries, but also clergymen of the other denominations, and important people from the local community.[57] Probably the children's parents were also present. Since an important part of the examinations consisted of testing the children's scriptural knowledge and the catechism, this information would also reach those present. Occasionally, pupils of the Protestant schools were 'spontaneously' examined in school, or even in the streets, when a Protestant missionary visited their town or school.[58]

Although the Protestant missionaries considered their Bible schools a central means for evangelisation aimed at making converts, stories about children who were actually converted are generally lacking in the CMS documents.[59] In the 'success stories' the missionaries wrote about their schools they did mention the inner change of their pupils or their good or 'improved' behaviour, sometimes mentioning several characteristics of typical Evangelical conversion stories.[60] For instance, Samuel Muller once wrote that, although the boys of the school had not been truly converted yet, a great change of character had taken place in them over a short time; they were "abhorring their bad habits and loving the truth".[61] In the Protestant school at Salt the boys had even started their own prayer meetings. When the minister of Salt, Chalil Jamal, asked the boys what blessing they had found as a result of the prayer meetings, the boys told him that they realized they were sinners and that they felt the weight of sin more than

[57] For instance, in the Protestant school at Salt the pasha and mufti of nearby Nablus were invited, as was the judge of Salt. Jamal to the secretaries of the CMS, Annual letter, Salt, 29 November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/11. In the Diocesan school in Jerusalem Gobat himself was present at the children's examinations. Palmer to the CMS, "Annual report of the Diocesan School 1878", Jerusalem, 4 November 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/124B.

[58] When, for instance, the missionaries Johnson, Jamal and Kawar visited Fuhais, three boys from the CMS school were brought to them for an examination. After the Protestant schoolmaster had examined the boys on three catechisms, in which the children performed wonderfully well, Jamal continued by asking questions on Old Testament History. Johnson to Hutchinson, Jerusalem, November-December 1875, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 38/9.

[59] In his annual report for 1871, Gobat mentions that of the women and men who were educated in the Protestant schools some were truly converted. A larger number, however, had joined the Protestant church but were not 'truly' converted. The majority did know the truth, but had stayed in their own church under the pressure of their parents. Gobat, Annual Report, Jerusalem, 10 November 1871, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 484.

[60] See the previous Chapter.

[61] Muller to Chapman, Annual Report, Nazareth, 31 December 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 54/3.

before. On asking what they thought to be the remedy of sin, the boys answered Jamal that the remedy for sin was "the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ".[62]

The positive effect of their education on the children's behaviour is a favourite theme in the letters written by Gobat and the CMS missionaries. They wrote about children who criticized and corrected the behaviour of their parents or fellow pupils, for instance by telling their parents not to swear, or preventing their schoolmates from stealing, referring to the Ten Commandments.[63] With such stories the missionaries obviously wanted to convince the home public of the success and the fruitful effect of their schooling, and to show that the children had adopted Protestant views. However, the 'positive' effect of the Protestant schools on the children should probably be nuanced, as the missionaries might have exaggerated the results of their education in order to obtain the support of the home front.

Teaching doctrines and discussing the Bible: polarization through education

Conversionism is also closely linked to another characteristic of Evangelicalism: crucicentrism. The doctrine of the cross was the heart of Evangelical faith. It stressed the importance of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. With his atoning death Christ had died as a substitute for sinful mankind.[64] The doctrine of the cross was bound up with two central Evangelical principles: Christ as the only mediator between God and mankind, and justification through faith instead of good works. Through faith only, people could take part in the atonement and could attain salvation.[65] George Nyland wrote in his "report about the outstations near Jerusalem" that his first aim in his work was always "to show [Catholic and Orthodox people] the love of God through Jesus Christ to us sinners and then to teach them that we cannot of ourselves by our good works, fasting and

[62] Jamal to the secretaries of the CMS, Annual Letter, Salt, November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/11.
[63] For instance, a girl from the CMS school in Lydda told her mother not to swear, reminding her of the Commandment she had learned in school "Thou shalt not to swear or take the name of the Lord thy God in vain". Damishky, "Abstracts of God's vineyard at Lydda God's Providence", Lydda, August 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 22/2.
[64] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 14-17, here 15.
[65] Cf. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 6.

praying, gain our salvation and reach heaven as they [members of other churches] are taught by their priests to believe".[66]

Rather than teaching the doctrine of the cross and other central Evangelical doctrines as such, Gobat and the CMS missionaries taught the schoolchildren the Evangelical principles by reading and discussing the Bible; the Bible led them to the main Evangelical doctrines. Although reading and discussing the Bible was central to the curriculum of the 'Bible schools', in many Protestant schools the catechism was also part of the programme. John Robert Longley Hall insisted that all children in the schools of Jaffa and its outstations should learn the Church Catechism. He was anxious that the children should clearly see and understand what the Protestants believed, because if the children did not know what the Protestants believed, they would "return as a rule to the Church of their infancy" after they had left school.[67] This statement underlines the importance of doctrines in relation to the other denominations.[68]

According to Paul Sangster, Evangelicals in general used all the methods they knew to install religious principles in children. Catechizing was the most obvious and easiest way. In the eighteenth century the Evangelicals 'revived' the old-fashioned method of catechizing by changing it into a "lively method of instruction which children would not merely endure, but enjoy". The doctrines were taught not only by means of repetition, but by asking supplementary questions, "both to make the information more interesting and to ensure that there was real understanding".[69] From the missionaries' correspondence it appears that their Evangelical views and principles were transmitted in the same way; by means of discussing the catechism but especially the Bible with the pupils, putting questions and answering them.

As was the case with the missionaries' conversations, these discussions were often punctuated with criticism of the doctrines and rituals of the other churches. Zeller, for instance, wrote that in the school in Nazareth the story of Elisabeth and Zacharias was

[66] Nyland, "Report about the outstations near Jerusalem", Ramallah, 25 March 1880, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 57/1.

[67] Hall to Fenn, Annual Letter for "Jaffa, Ramleh and Lydd stations", Jaffa, 6 December 1877, Birmingham/UL, 31/36.

[68] Gruhler was also convinced that the Christian pupils of other denominations would "be preserved from the superstitions of their church and learn the pure Word of God" as a result of the Protestant education. Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 24 December 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/7.

[69] Sangster, *Pity my Simplicity*, 40. Sangster gives an example in which the teacher asks the children how they expected to be saved. The children answered: 'By believing in the Lord Jesus Christ'. After that the master went on asking and the children answering. Sangster, *Pity my Simplicity*, 40-41.

discussed. When the children were asked what Zacharias' duty was in the temple, they answered "to burn incense". To Zeller's question what the duty of the priests in the churches of Nazareth was the children gave the same answer. When he asked for what purpose they burned incense, a girl answered: "It is done for the pictures of Saints". Zeller went on to ask why the Greeks and Latins burned incense and the Protestants did not. A seven-year old girl replied that Latins and Greeks still stuck to the Old Testament, whereas Protestants had adopted the New Testament.[70] This discussion is in line with the general rejection by the missionaries of outward form and profession of the faith. By comparing these rituals with the Old Testament customs, the missionaries clearly relegated them to the past. They presented the New Testament as the Protestants' guiding principle, which was about the truth as it is in Christ, a spiritual religion rather than about outward appearance.[71]

In his catechizing Zeller not only taught a Protestant religious principle, but at the same time he also contrasted Protestantism with the other denominations. Another example of such polarization comes from the Protestant school in Yaffa, a village near Nazareth. When the catechist Seraphim Boutaji entered the school, he heard the children reading a Psalm: "Thy word is *clear* teach me thy ways". When Boutaji asked them what the word 'clear' meant, one boy answered that it was easy to understand. At this answer, Boutaji responded: "If David declares the word of God to be clear, why do the priests say, that it was *not* clear and therefore had better not to be read by common people?". He went on to ask whose word had to be obeyed first, the word of God or the words of the priests, who are men. The boy answered Boutaji without hesitation that the order of the priests had to be obeyed first.[72] With this story, not only the use of Latin in church and people's adherence to their priests were criticised, it also pointed to the so-called 'ignorance' of the children and the need for Protestant education.

[70] Zeller to the Secretaries of the CMS in London, Annual Letter for 1874-1875, Nazareth, January 1875, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/278.

[71] This view also appears in William McClure Thomson's book *The Land and the Book*. In her discussion of this book, Heleen Murre-van den Berg states that the comparison of religious practices of other denominations and other denominations with Old Testament customs entitled "these religious practices to a certain amount of respect and understanding, but at the same time relegates them safely to the past". Murre-van den Berg, "William McClure Thomson", 53. The CMS missionaries in Palestine, however, so fiercely disapproved of all outward appearance that it is almost impossible to discover any respect for and understanding of these customs.

[72] Zeller, "Extracts from Journals", Nazareth, August 1867, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/265.

The effect of the criticism of the other churches in the Protestant education is sometimes reflected in the CMS missionaries' descriptions of discussions between 'their' schoolchildren, and teachers and clergymen from other denominations. Such stories had to prove the success of Protestant schools, as they described children not only spreading Evangelical beliefs but also defending them. It seems that the pupils of the Protestant schools closely imitated their teachers in their discussions with people they wanted to convince of the Protestant viewpoint. Both pupils and missionaries liked to quote the Scriptures. In their eyes the clergy of the other denominations and their church members did not know the Bible. Just like the missionaries' conversations, the children discussed traditional subjects of dispute: the worship of the Virgin Mary, Mary and the saints as mediators between God and man, and similar matters.

Jamal described such a discussion between a Greek Orthodox boy of the Protestant school in Salt, named Wakeem, and the Roman Catholic schoolmistress. Accused by the Latin priest that he had insulted the crucifix, Wakeem and his father went to the convent where they met the Latin schoolmistress. She asked Wakeem why he did not worship the Virgin Mary and the Cross. The boy answered: "Because it is written […] 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him *only* shalt thou serve, also the Angel said to St John Worship God'". When the teacher replied that the Virgin Mary was their advocate and intercessor, the boy denied, again quoting the Bible: "there is *one God* and *one mediator* between God and men, *the man Christ Jesus*". The schoolmistress went on and told the boy that they [i.e. Mary and the Saints] were the way to heaven. One last time the boy cited Jesus' words from the Bible: "I am the way, the truth & the life. […] No man cometh unto the Father but by me". The teacher turned aside angrily and told the boy's father to take his son from the Protestant school before he was completely spoiled and corrupted. However, the father answered that if she called this corruption, he wanted his son to be corrupted and spoiled more than he was now.[73] Thus, Jamal wanted to show that the "young soldiers of the Cross", as he called the schoolboys, were doing wonderfully well, they had an excellent knowledge of the Bible and knew central Evangelical doctrines. The boys were even aware of the 'errors' in the other churches.

These examples indicate that the Protestant missionaries liked to emphasize what they thought to be the 'errors' of the other churches in their education. This indicates that Gobat's and the CMS missionaries' actions were in contradiction with Gobat's

[73] Jamal to the secretaries of the CMS, Annual Letter, Salt, 29 November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 36/11.

statement that controversial matters should be avoided in Protestant teaching, and his claim that he did not want the "theoretical differences existing between different churches" to be stressed in Protestant education.[74]

Reactions of the other churches to the Protestant schools

In view of the examples above it comes as no surprise that other denominations fiercely opposed the presence of the Protestant schools. The correspondence of Gobat and the CMS missionaries is full of stories about conflicts between them and the clergy of the other churches regarding the Protestant schools. Of course, the fact that the Protestants were a new denomination in Palestine and rapidly established schools throughout the country was bound to evoke a reaction from the other churches. The fact that Protestant education contained a liberal sprinkling of criticism of other denominations and was considered to be a perfect tool for making converts must also have contributed to a negative reaction to the Protestant schools.

According to the Protestant missionaries, other denominations started to found schools to counterbalance the Protestant schools. In 1877 Gobat wrote that in thirty years not only thirty-seven Protestant schools were established, but also "nearly as many Roman Catholic and Greek schools, established at first with a view of counteracting" the Protestant schools.[75] He was not the only one who noticed the growing number of Roman Catholic and Orthodox schools. In 1867 Zeller observed that the Latin monks were building a church and schoolhouse in Yaffa to counterbalance the Protestant activities there, and that they had opened a school in Shefa Amer across from the Protestant school.[76] More than ten years earlier Klein had seen "the efforts of the Latins [in Nazareth] doubled".[77] Clearly, the Protestants considered the growing number of Greek Orthodox and especially Roman Catholic schools an act of opposition

[74] Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 13 October 1847, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798 ff. 205-206; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 February 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798 ff.209-214. This was written by Gobat against the background of criticism in England of his orientation on the Eastern Churches.
[75] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234, ff. 280-283.
[76] Zeller, "Extracts from Journals", Nazareth, August 1867, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/265.
[77] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282.

to their work. Seraphim Boutaji of Shefa Amer, for instance, wrote that the Latin monks and nuns used every means to ruin the Protestant school there by opening theirs.[78]

According to CMS reports, the reaction to the missionary educational activities was not restricted to the opening of schools by Catholics and Orthodox. The CMS documents contain numerous accounts of the fierce opposition of Catholics and Orthodox to the schools run by Gobat and the CMS, such as the excommunication of members of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches by their clergy for sending their children to the Protestant school.[79] The Protestant missionaries considered excommunication a threat to the continuation of their schools, as it put pressure on people and often led them to remove their children from the Protestant schools. In Lydda, for instance, the Greek priest excommunicated all parents who sent their children to the newly opened Protestant school. In response to this measure the majority of the children were taken from the school. Only three children remained in the school, which had started with twelve pupils.[80]

The missionaries also complained about the Catholic and Orthodox clergy persuading parents to send their children to the denominational schools, by offering 'their' pupils meals, clothes and other presents. Assad Saleem complained that the children of the Protestant school in Beit-Sahur were offered meals by the "Popish priest" if they left the Protestant school and would attend the Roman Catholic school instead.[81]

Children from other denominations often attended the Protestant school because of the lack of a school of their own church. If such a school was established nearby, most parents would send their children there. If for whatever reason this school was closed, the children often went back to the Protestant school. This could lead to children switching schools rather often. In Ramle, for instance, the Greek Orthodox school

[78] "Translation of the report of Seraphim Boutagi, for the quarter ending, March 31st 1873. Shefamer", Shefa Amer, 31 March 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/13.

[79] A certain Assad Saleem wrote that some Roman Catholics in Beit Sahur were even excommunicated when they came within twenty yards of the Protestant school. Saleem, Jerusalem, 25 May 1871, Birmingham/UL, 8/83B.

[80] Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 18 June 1864, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/15. According to Gobat, in Nablus in 1850 the Greek patriarch not only excommunicated the Greek Orthodox who sent their children to the Protestant school, but he also asked the government of Nablus to destroy the school and to burn the schoolbooks. Because of Gobat's friendship with the governor of Nablus and the Pasha in Jerusalem, the patriarch did not succeed. Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 11 September 1850, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 227-228. We will return to the subject of excommunication in the next chapter.

[81] Assad Saleem to the CMS, Jerusalem, 25 May 1871, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/83B.

was closed and re-opened several times. When the school was closed, many parents sent their children to the Protestant school; when the Greek Orthodox school was re-opened, they moved them back to the Orthodox school again. This happened several times and every time the children came back to the Protestant school, the parents promised not to take them away again. For a long time, the CMS missionary in Ramle, John Gruhler, did not say anything when the parents moved their children in and out of his school. However, when a new Greek Orthodox schoolteacher arrived, Gruhler told all children that if they left the Protestant school this time he would never take them back.[82]

During the same period that Gruhler complained about the children switching schools, the schools in Ramle were also subject of discussion between Bonava da Solero, Custodian of the Holy Land (1857-1863), and the Patriarch Valerga. In January 1860 the Custodian wrote about the necessity of opening an Arab school for the Greek Catholic youth in Ramle. These children had visited the Greek Orthodox school in the past, but after it closed they had gone to the only other school in the village, which was Protestant. In order to heal the damage done to these children and because of the benefit of the Roman Catholic school for all Catholic children and the children of other religions, the Custodian thought that a Roman Catholic school should be opened in Ramle. With his letter he asked the patriarch for his approval.[83] According to Valerga, however, the Greek Orthodox school had not been closed down as the Custodian thought. He also stated that none of the five schoolboys included in the Catholic population of Ramle went to the Protestant school. However, Valerga approved the appointment of a teacher.[84] In 1861, a Roman Catholic school was established.[85]

In such stories about excommunication, giving presents, and children switching schools, the parents are often depicted as very dependent on their clergy and having no influence at all. To some extent this might be true, as many of them were very poor and had to be supported by their churches. However, it seems that the missionaries could not comprehend that parents just might have preferred to send their children to a

[82] Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 1 February 1860, C M/O 29/9; Gruhler to Sandreczki, Annual Letter, Ramle, 18 January 1861, C M/O 29/17. Both in Birmingham/UL.
[83] The Custodian wanted the language in this (free) school to be Arabic and he wanted a secular teacher to be appointed. "Terra Santa" was to pay for this school. Bonava (Bonaventura) da Solero to Valerga, Jerusalem, 15 January 1860, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 8, SK/602, 8.
[84] Valerga to Bonava (Bonaventura) da Solero, Jerusalem, 24 January 1860, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 8, SK/602, 7.
[85] Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, *Franciscan Schools of the Holy Land.* 29.

school run by their own denomination. It is especially the stories about children switching schools that suggest that parents above all wanted their children to receive education, and if possible in a school of their own church. Having different schools to choose from put parents in a position of power.

Some missionaries provide us with information about parents who did not want to give in to the pressure of their clergy and kept their children in the Protestant school. In Gaza a Greek Orthodox superior begged some parents not to send their children to the Protestant school after he had found out that there were only ten children in the Greek schools, and that the other Greek children attended the Protestant school. When their parents answered that they were pleased with the Protestant education and did not want to give it up, he threatened them with excommunication. Alexander Schapira, the CMS missionary in Gaza, did not know what influence this threat might have on these parents.[86] Maybe parents used the Protestant schools to put pressure on their own clergy to improve the denominational schools. If the education in the schools run by their own denomination improved, they might send their children there. This seems to have been the case in Nazareth in 1855 where the number of pupils in the Protestant school had diminished. Klein thought the school's decline was caused by the improvements made in the Orthodox school by a Greek Orthodox teacher who was sent by the Greek patriarch for fear of "the Protestant's heresy". This encouraged the Greek Orthodox to send their children to their own school rather than the Protestant one. Not surprisingly, Klein did not see it this way; he blamed the Greek Orthodox parents' lack of faith, stating that many Greeks Orthodox would in fact "gladly" join the Protestants, but that their faith was not yet strong enough to enable them to chose "the way of truth even at the risk of being persecuted or ill-treated".[87]

The CMS documents give the impression that parents took their children from the Protestant school mainly as a result of the measures taken by the clergy of other denominations, their dependence on their clergy, or their lack of faith. The level of education in the Protestant schools in comparison with schools run by other denominations is discussed only rarely or not at all. Most probably the educational levels of the schools hardly differed, especially at the small village schools, where education was

[86] Schapira to Wright, Annual Letter, Gaza, December 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 64/8.
[87] According to Klein, the Latins had also improved their school, fearing the "spreading Protestant heresy". Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282.

very basic. In the missionaries' eyes, the fact that in the Protestant schools the Bible was read actually made them superior to the other schools, because, as mentioned earlier, they frequently accused the Catholic and Orthodox clergy of a lack of biblical knowledge.

The CMS documents also reveal that the competition and rivalry between the Protestants and the other denominations regarding the schools sometimes resulted in harassments and even sabotage and riots. Simple bullying was used to prevent children from going to the Protestant schools. In Shefa Amer, for instance, the Catholic priests stood before the school door trying to prevent the schoolboys from attending. When Michael Kawar asked them what they wanted, they answered him that they wanted to take away 'their' children. Kawar replied: "You are monks and have no children, but the children in my school belong to their parents; [if] their parents themselves came and asked me to take charge of them and only to them I will give them back". This answer made the priests furious, and they went away cursing and threatening that they would take the children by force. However, it seems that Kawar was on good terms with some people of the Catholic congregation, as he gathered a number of influential Catholics after the incident and told them what had happened. They felt ashamed and promised Kawar to reprove these priests for their impudence.[88]

Another incident is described by Zeller. In 1864 the Roman Catholics had "caused much damage and danger to the Protestant school by obstructing the regular watercourse, which in the raining season runs through the Latin Quarter and having broken in the door at the back of the premises they caused a destructive inundation in the garden and in the school".[89] In Salt, the establishment of a Protestant school was even said to have led to a terrible riot. Three weeks after Gobat had opened a school, for which he appointed a Greek priest as teacher, the Greek patriarch forbade the priest to continue and the school was closed. After a year Gobat appointed a layman as teacher and re-opened the school. The Greek patriarch apparently offered some Muslim sheiks

[88] Zeller, "Extracts from Journals", Nazareth, August 1867, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/265.

[89] Zeller listed many 'grievances' in a "petition for more effectual protection of Protestantism". "Petition Principal grievances of the Protestants at Nazareth and its neighbourhood since 1852", written by Zeller, 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1; Zeller, "Protest against the proceedings of the Turkish Government with regard to attacks made by Latins and Greeks upon the Mission premises in Nazareth and Reneh in November 1864", Nazareth, C M/O 72/40B. I will return to this petition in the next chapter.

money to destroy the school. This resulted in a battle in the streets of Salt, in which on both sides several people were killed.[90]

Concluding remarks

The letters written by Bishop Gobat and the CMS missionaries reveal how much their schools reflected their Evangelical beliefs. Of Bebbington's characteristics of Evangelicalism, biblicism is especially prominent in the educational principles and activities shown by Gobat and the missionaries. Although attention was given to other subjects, the Bible was at the centre of the education in the schools. Reading the Bible was important to the process of conversion, and literacy was a precondition for reading the Bible. In some cases the education in fact chiefly consisted of reading the Bible. The importance of the Bible in education is also stressed by the fact that even a Greek Orthodox could be appointed as teacher, as long as the children read the Bible.

For Gobat and the CMS missionaries the schools were an important instrument for achieving conversions. The multireligious backgrounds of the children made them ideal tools for evangelisation. Through their pupils the missionaries could also reach the children's parents and families. It seems that the central Evangelical doctrines were taught especially by discussing the Bible. These discussions were interspersed with criticism of the other denominations, by which the missionaries contrasted Protestantism with the other churches. By their accounts of the children's good behaviour the missionaries wanted to demonstrate the successes to the home public. However, this achievement should probably be qualified: the missionaries could not claim many 'truly' converted children. They themselves largely attributed this lack of actual conversions, implicitly or even explicitly, to people's lack of faith, their dependence on their clergy, and especially to the structural influence and opposition from the clergy of other churches.

Besides the mere presence of Protestant mission schools, the rivalry between the Protestants and the other denominations must have been stimulated by Protestant criticism in their education of the doctrines and rituals of the other churches. According to the CMS documents, the rivalry between the Protestants and the other churches became manifest in the opening of schools by the other denominations, but it also

[90] Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 17 July 1873, London/BL, TP, 195, ff. 280-282.

resulted in a struggle for children and in harassments, and even led to sabotage and riots. In the next chapter the rivalry between Protestant missionaries and the other churches will be further examined in the light of the Protestant anti-Roman Catholic and the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics.

8

Rivalry and riots between Protestants and Roman Catholics

Introduction

The previous chapters have shown that Protestant missionary activities were not easily accepted by the other churches. Relations with especially the Roman Catholic Church soon became strained. The CMS missionaries' letters suggest that many conflicts developed, ranging from small skirmishes to violent riots. As can be expected, these reports are hardly neutral, full as they are of anti-Roman Catholic rhetoric. Although neither Catholic nor Protestant sources are likely to provide us with the details concerning these interdenominational clashes, a study of these sources may help us to analyse the main themes in the Protestant-Catholic rivalry.

Considering the prominence of this rivalry as a theme in missionary sources, studies of these polemics have so far been surprisingly scarce.[1] This chapter seeks to examine the characteristic elements of the Protestant anti-Catholic polemics in the CMS missionaries' reports.[2] However, in order to understand and evaluate the anti-Catholic polemics, it is also worthwhile to contrast these with the corresponding Roman Catholic anti-Protestant writings. This will help us to gain a better insight into not only the actual bones of contention between the two parties, but also the defining elements and functioning of the interdenominational rivalry itself. After an analysis of a riot in Nazareth in 1852, which may illustrate the anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant polemics as well as the kind of issues at stake, several characteristics of these will be discussed.

[1] See also the introduction to this book.

[2] As the missionaries considered the opposition from the Catholics to be fiercer and more of a hindrance in their missionary work than the resistance from the Greek Orthodox, this chapter will focus on the Protestant *anti-Catholic* rhetoric. Gobat, for instance, stated that although the Greek Orthodox also caused conflicts with the Protestants the clashes with the Protestants were mainly caused by Roman Catholics. Gobat to Sarafin-Forcat, Jerusalem, June 1865, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 452.

The Nazareth riot of 1852: anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant polemics

In 1868, John Zeller, a member of the CMS Nazareth mission, listed "principal grievances of the Protestants at Nazareth and its neighbourhood". It was part of a "petition for more effectual protection of Protestants" addressed to the Committee of the CMS and contained various kinds of complaints about the other denominations, especially the Roman and Greek Catholics, and in some cases also about the Ottoman authorities.[3]

Zeller started his list with the description of a riot between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Nazareth in 1852, the year in which "the persecution on the part of the Latins" had really begun.[4] By having his list of grievances start in the early 1850s, Zeller hooked into a time of critical importance in the relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Europe. Whether or not this focus was intentional is not clear, but by referring to this period he must have aroused memories in the home public in Britain of several events that led to strained relations between both denominations. One of them was the restoration of a Roman Catholic hierarchy by Pope Pius IX in 1850-1851, the so-called 'papal aggression'.[5] The restoration resulted in a great 'No-Popery' outburst among Protestants in Britain. Many organizations were established in order to resist the 'papal enemy', such as the Scottish Reformation Society (December 1850) and the Protestant Alliance (June 1851).[6] Furthermore, many anti-Catholic pamphlets, books and

[3] Zeller, "Principal grievances of the Protestants at Nazareth and the neighbourhood since 1852", added to the "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", discussed at a conference of CMS missionaries in Palestine held at Jerusalem under the presidency of Gobat on 28 October 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1. Zeller also mentioned the Nazareth riot and other 'grievances' in several letters to Colonel Fraser, the British commissioner for Syria, in the early 1860s. Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, April 1861-June 1862, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912, ff. 243-252 and 44913A, Add. 44913A, ff. 30-34, 113-114, 154-157, 161-163, 168-173.

[4] It seems that on the Protestant side the Nazareth riot is only described in retrospect. Zeller to Fraser, "Persecution of the Protestants in Nazareth by the Heads of the Greek and Latin Communities in connivance with the Moslim authorities of that place", Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912, ff. 243-252.

[5] The Catholic hierarchy was also restored elsewhere. In the Netherlands this happened in 1853, and in reaction to this the Protestant "April Movement" was founded. W. Janse and G.N.M. Vis (eds.), *Staf en Storm. Het herstel van de bisschopelijke hierarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie*, Hilversum, 2002. Catalysts of anti-Catholicism in Britain were the arrival of Roman Catholic Irish immigrants; the anti-Maynooth campaign in 1852, which was about state subsidy for a Roman Catholic seminary in Maynooth (Ireland); and the emergence of pre-millenarian eschatological views, in which the Pope was considered the anti-Christ. Cf. Wolffe, "Anti-Catholicism", 192. For Maynooth, see Wallis, "Anti-Catholicism", 8-9.

[6] Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper was an enthusiastic participant in anti-Catholic societies, such as the Protestant Alliance. Wallis, "Anti-Catholicism", 4-7; Klaus, *The Pope*, 214-215, 245-246.

articles were published, and sermons against 'popery' were delivered.[7] The British government responded to the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy by introducing the Ecclesiastical Titles Act in 1851, which forbade Roman Catholics to assume an Episcopal territorial title within Britain.[8]

Other events also contributed to the anti-Roman Catholic climate in Europe. For instance, the Syllabus of Errors of Pius IX (*Syllabus Errorum*), issued on 8 December 1864, resulted in the intensification of anti-Catholicism. As to Protestantism, the Syllabus denied that this was another form of the same true Christian religion, equally pleasing to God as the Catholic Church.[9] The 'triumph' of ultramontanism after the declaration of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870 did not help either. All in all, the enmity between Protestants and Roman Catholics was not restricted to the Middle East.

The Nazareth riot took place only two years after a small Protestant congregation had begun to form. As the majority of its members had separated from the Roman Catholic Church, from the start the atmosphere between both denominations was tense.[10] However, according to Gobat, these Protestants had relied on a *firman* proclaimed by the Sublime Porte granting protection to Protestants "especially against the opposition of the clergy of the churches from which they have separated". Apparently, relations between the denominations worsened, as only a few months after their separation the Protestant families sent Gobat a petition asking him to help them "to the enjoyment of the protection which the Sublime Porte has promised". In reaction, Gobat

[7] An example of "a Sermon on 'Papal Aggression', 1850" is printed in E.R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, Historical Problems: Studies and Documents 1, London, 1968, 167-175.

[8] Cf. Klaus, *The Pope*, 331-332. Colin Barr considers the German term *Kulturkampf*, which he defines as a clash that must involve (a serious prospect of) state action, appropriate for the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. Although anti-Catholicism did not stop after 1850-1852, in Barr's view there was no sign of a *Kulturkampf* in England. The Act was "the last piece of explicitly anti-Catholic legislation to pass through Parliament". He states that Britain seemed to have been fundamentally different from other European countries on this point. C. Barr, "An Irish Dimension to a British Kulturkampf?", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56/3, 2005, 475-476, 495.

[9] This part of the syllabus was first published in the Encyclical *Noscitis*, 8 December 1849. The Syllabus was controversial in Roman Catholic circles, as it was directed against all expressions of modern culture; it condemned notions such as freedom of religion and denounced progress, liberalism and modern civilisation.

[10] According to Gobat, a number of families had seceded from their churches in the early 1850s. They had started to read the Bible and as a result were tyrannized and persecuted by the clergy of their former churches. "A certain Girgis El-Garoob" was chosen as head of the community. Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 January 1851, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 232-233, London/BL. Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 319-320, 338. For information about the foundation of the Protestant community in Nazareth, see also Chapter 4.

asked Consul General Rose to procure an order in which the *firman* was brought to the notice of the Nazareth authorities.[11] Their request did not seem to have prevented the continuation of the rivalry, which eventually led to the 1852 riot. This disturbance, in which according to Zeller only Latins took part, is mentioned in both Protestant and Roman Catholic sources.

According to Consul Finn, who described the riot several years later, apparently to illustrate his diplomatic commitment, one Sunday a popular Franciscan preacher, "Fra Angelo", preached against the Protestants. "He stamped and tore his hair, vociferating that 'The Protestants, the cursed Protestants, had dared to come even here, even here! in the city of Jesus Christ himself and his holy Mother!'". He ended his sermon by excommunicating certain individuals and putting their names on the church door.[12] From Zeller's account we learn that Roman Catholics "who had joined the Protestants were publicly excommunicated and partly laid under the ban of the Pope, and all Latins were most strictly forbidden to have any intercourse with missionaries or with Protestants".[13]

According to Finn, Fra Angelo's sermon and the excommunications caused a group of Roman Catholics to assemble in the streets of Nazareth and start rioting. They began to demolish the Protestant school during school hours.[14] Led by a Michael Gebran, "a badly reputed creature", according to Zeller, they "beat and wounded several Protestants, attacked the house of the missionaries, demolished the door, and threw stones at them". One of the Protestants received serious head injuries.[15] At the same time, Zeller

[11] Gobat did not mention what kind of protection these Protestants expected from the authorities. Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 January 1851, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 232-233. Although in his letter to Rose Gobat mentioned this *firman* as proclaimed about two or three weeks earlier, he probably meant two or three months earlier. In that case, he would be referring to the *firman* of (November) 1850, which declared that the other communities should in no way interfere with any of the Protestant secular or religious affairs. For this *firman*, see Chapter 4.

[12] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 150-151.

[13] Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912, ff. 243-252. With the distinction between 'public excommunication' and 'partly laid under the ban of the Pope', Zeller probably means the difference between major (in this case a public one) and minor excommunication, i.e., the prohibition of receiving the sacraments. For excommunication, see the next section.

[14] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 150-151. Zeller does not mention Fra Angelo and his sermon. He does say that the Latins were "instigated by the Franciscan monks"; according to Zeller, the principal agitator of the riot was a Louis Haleel, the head of the Latin congregation, who was also the dragoman of the Franciscan convent. Zeller, "Principal grievances", Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1; Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912, ff. 243-252.

[15] A Mr. Schwartz. From Finn's account it follows that he was the Protestant schoolmaster. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 151.

continues, many Bibles and other books distributed by the Protestant missionaries were "publicly burnt in the courtyard of the Franciscan convent" in front of their church. Zeller blamed the Ottoman authorities for doing nothing to stop the riot.[16]

After the Protestants had informed Finn of what had happened and had asked him for protection, he went to Nazareth. When he entered the town "children of the Latins" yelled at him and even threw some stones at him from a distance. Next day, he found stones from the wall of the school in the street where the assault had taken place. Finn collected statements from witnesses and sent these to the Pasha of Acre, in order to have the case judged. Furthermore, he pointed out to the Ottoman governor that "violence was not to be allowed" and impressed on the mind of the people that "inquiry would surely follow upon any outrage".[17] According to Zeller, Michael Gebran was punished and the governor was fired. Thanks to Finn's efforts the Latins were intimidated for a while. However, they found another way to 'persecute' the Protestants: they bribed the Ottoman authorities not to take action whenever there was an instance of Catholics oppressing Protestants.[18]

Back in Jerusalem, Finn visited Patriarch Valerga to discuss the events. Valerga condemned the "resort of public tumult and personal injury", but, as was to be expected, did not disapprove of expelling church members who disobeyed the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church, claiming that "every human association has a right to expel members who infringe its known regulations".[19]

In a letter to the *Propagation de la Foi*, dated 20 January 1853, Valerga also gave an account of the Nazareth riot. According to him, the riot had not been instigated by the Roman Catholics, but was actually caused by the fact that the Protestants had taken advantage of the misery of the inhabitants of Nazareth. The Protestants had attracted dissatisfied believers with the help of the former dragoman of the Latin convent. He had been fired by the Franciscans "for many good reasons" and wanted to take revenge

[16] Zeller, "Principal grievances", 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1; Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912, ff. 243-252. According to Finn, Fra Angelo had been watching the events from round the corner. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 151.

[17] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 152.

[18] Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912, ff. 243-252.

[19] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 152-153. When Finn replied that the "posting of excommunicated names upon the church-door was a needless measure after the fact of extrusion was accomplished", Valerga answered that the scandal had not been very great as the church door was inside the courtyard, which was not a place of public access.

on the friars. The dragoman's intrigues had caused a division within the flock, and the provocations and insults to the Catholics had led to turbulent scenes.[20] According to a Roman Catholic leaflet entitled *Nazareth autrefois et aujourd'hui*, as a result of the fight the "poor English" were lying almost dead in the streets.[21] Valerga visited the town for ten days, a time he used to restore peace and to make those who had gone to the Protestants return to the Mother Church. Valerga boasted that when he left Nazareth only two people were still associated with the Protestants. A year later the patriarch stated that these last two had also returned to the Catholic fold, but only after they had accepted and performed a public penance "to repair the scandal" they had caused. At that time no Latins had religious relations with Protestant ministers. Valerga added, however, that the presence of the Protestant mission would always form a danger for those who were dissatisfied and weak in their faith.[22]

Apart from saying that the echo of the scenes had even reached Constantinople, Valerga does not mention any measures taken by the Ottoman authorities to resolve the conflict. According to *Nazareth autrefois et aujourd'hui*, however, Britain interfered in the conflict in favour of the Protestants: 600 soldiers were sent, and thirty "poor Nazarenes" were imprisoned for a couple of months. They were eventually freed by the help of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land and the French Consul. The booklet states that the English had taken advantage of the situation, as they obtained the right to establish schools and Protestant missions throughout Galilee as satisfaction for the injury inflicted on the English during the riot. By emphasizing the Protestants' vigorous efforts to make the Catholic religion disappear, the text spurred on the Catholics to imitate their zeal.[23] Although Finn says nothing about the number of soldiers, he does refer to orders from Constantinople stating that a police force would be placed in Nazareth to assure tranquillity and to "arrest and punish the persons who have dared to commit the outrage".[24]

Both Protestant and Catholic descriptions of the riot contain characteristic elements of the way they portrayed one another. In Roman Catholic sources the

[20] Valerga, Jerusalem, 20 January 1853, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 25, 1853, 253.
[21] The book names the former Latin dragoman as Giries-el-Jacoub. Although the description of the outrage is similar to Valerga's and Zeller's accounts, the booklet dates the riot in 1859 instead of 1852. *Nazareth autrefois et aujourd'hui, avec une notice sur l'Orphelinat de Jésus Adolescent*, Nice, 1908, 25.
[22] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 25, 1853, 253.
[23] *Nazareth autrefois et aujourd'hui*, 25-27.
[24] Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 153, 158.

Protestants are often described as having many financial resources at their disposal, being extremely active in their missionary efforts, and taking advantage of the misery of the Catholic poor. Protestant sources first mention book burnings and excommunications, recalling the Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe.[25] Secondly, the Roman Catholics are generally described as ignorant people with wicked and impious values and behaviour. As we have seen earlier, Protestant writings breathe the missionaries' feelings of moral superiority throughout. Thirdly, the Protestants criticise the Ottoman authorities for failing to support them in their conflicts with the other denominations. They portray themselves as the underdog. These three aspects will be discussed in the following sections.

Excommunications and book burnings

Like Zeller, CMS missionaries from various other towns and villages in Palestine also reported book burnings and excommunications due to contacts between Christians of other denominations and the Protestant missionaries. Reading their letters one cannot escape the impression that the missionaries wanted to symbolically compare the Protestants in nineteenth-century Palestine to the Protestants in sixteenth-century Europe, who fought for their faith in spite of all opposition.[26]

While the events the missionaries refer to might have had an impact on the community, excommunication seemed to be a regular measure taken by Catholic and Orthodox clergy to prevent their church members from associating with the Protestant missionaries. According to the CMS missionaries, Roman Catholic clerics in Palestine easily and frequently excommunicated their church members for even the smallest misconduct: people could be excommunicated for sending their children to Protestant schools,[27] visiting Protestant church services or Bible classes, and the like. According to Frederick Klein, the Roman Catholics in Nazareth "used the authority committed to them by St. Peter" and "thundered down their 'small' and 'great' excommunication" on all those who became Protestant, who sent their children to a Protestant school, or who

[25] It is interesting that in the description of the Nazareth riot Zeller mentions the book burning, while Finn does not.
[26] This corresponds to the Protestants' characteristic topics of discussion and conversation, which had been the traditional subjects of debate between Roman Catholics and Protestants since the Reformation.
[27] See Chapter 7.

even talked to a Protestant.[28] By 'small' and 'great' excommunication, Klein refers to minor excommunication, which implied exclusion from receiving the sacraments, and major excommunication, that is, complete exclusion from the community of the faithful. Although the excommunicated still remained Christians, due to the permanent character of baptism, they were regarded as strangers to the church. It was the most serious penalty the church had at its disposal.

The missionaries' accounts of Roman Catholic clergy burning Bibles and other books distributed by the Protestant missionaries contributed to the Reformation metaphor.[29] Klein writes that in 1855, to "crown the whole of their impious efforts" the Latin missionaries "sent by the Holy Father the Pope" had called upon "their spiritual children" to hand over all Protestant books in their possession. After that a "fire was kindled in the court of the Convent and a number of Bibles, New Testaments and other books were committed to flames". However, Klein also states that some people remained firm, such as a former Roman Catholic, now belonging to the Protestant congregation. In reaction to the Bible burning this man told Klein: "They [the Latins] have burned the Word of God […] Servants of the devil!" On Klein's question whether he, as a former Latin, had handed over his Bible, the man replied that "he had indeed been asked to deliver up his Bible but that he would rather have his throat cut off than deliver his Bible into the hands of the priests". According to this man, many Roman Catholics were greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of their clergy. Klein is convinced that it would "certainly open the eyes of many and lead them to see the perverseness of such spiritual guides who *dare* to destroy the Word of God". He adds that there were many other examples of "poor ignorant men's and children's standing up in defence of the Word of God which the priests had condemned to be committed to the flames".[30]

By means of these stories the CMS missionaries wanted to demonstrate the difficulties encountered by the Protestant mission in their endeavours to make converts. Furthermore, such reports also reflect a typical feature of Protestant anti-Catholic

[28] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282.

[29] The majority of the missionaries' accounts of book burnings are about Roman Catholics who burned Bibles and Protestant books. Only rarely are Greek Orthodox mentioned in relation to book burnings.

[30] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282. Among the stories of book burnings are reports from Gobat and one Assad Saleem; for instance, Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 15 February 1848, London/BL, RP 27, Add. 42798, ff. 209-214 and Assad Saleem, Jerusalem, 25 May 1871, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 8/83B.

rhetoric: the authors intended to expose the Roman Catholics' wicked behaviour, at the same time implying the Protestant missionaries' moral superiority.

Corruption and fights: Protestants emphasizing Roman Catholic wickedness

In the CMS missionaries' accounts of Roman Catholics putting up fights and Roman Catholic corruption, the missionaries not only wanted to show the difficulty of their work, they also intended to demonstrate Roman Catholic depravity, illustrating this by describing the way in which the Latins collected taxes from Protestants and how they bribed their church members and the Ottoman authorities.

The missionaries working in Nazareth primarily complained about the arbitrary way in which the taxes were collected from the Protestants. In their view, the Roman Catholics together with the Greek Orthodox used it as a particular means of oppression.[31] Zeller pointed out that the privileges the Protestants had received through the *firman* of 1850 were never actually carried out.[32] The Protestants were not acknowledged as an independent body. As a result they "were forced to pay their taxes to the Heads of the Greek and Latin communities", which levied higher taxes from the Protestants "in the most arbitrary manner".[33] The missionaries' stories portrayed the Catholics as oppressive persecutors of Protestants. When, for instance, a member of the Protestant congregation, a former Roman Catholic, wanted to pay his taxes to the Protestant congregation instead of to his former church, he was beaten up by a Latin. Although present at the scene, the son of the governor did nothing, because neither son nor father knew the meaning of justice, according to James Huber.[34]

[31] In 1861, Zeller observed that whereas the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox were usually enemies, "now Greeks and Latins at Nazareth (as once Herod and Pilate) have become friends and joined one another in the persecution of the Protestants here". Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912 ff. 243-252.

[32] For this *firman*, see Chapter 4; for a translation of the *firman*, see Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 156-158.

[33] Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 30 April 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44912 ff. 243-252. A month later Zeller moaned about the levying of taxes by the heads of the Catholics in Shefa Amer. They assessed the taxes in the "most arbitrary and unjust manner and demanded their immediate payment from the Protestants". When they objected to the injustice "they were treated as rebels" who refused to pay taxes. No help was forthcoming from the Ottoman authorities, so Zeller. Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 24 June 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 30-34.

[34] Huber to the CMS, "Report of the quarter ending September 1856", Nazareth, 22 September 1856, C M/O 34/73. Cf. Huber to Chapman, "Journal extracts for the Quarter ending September 30th 1858", Nazareth, 9 October 1858, C M/O 34/74. Both: Birmingham/UL.

The CMS missionaries also pointed to the corruption of Roman Catholics. They wanted the home public to believe bribery was a common method by which Catholics oppressed Protestants. They used bribery not only to persuade people not to read the Bible or have relations with the Protestants,[35] but also to get the Ottoman authorities on their side. Kawar criticised the Franciscan monks in Nazareth for giving presents to the Turkish authorities. Every time a new governor or judge arrived, they paid him an official visit with much display of power "as if they were Consuls of European powers" and discussed politics. When the officials returned the visit, the monks showed "all possible politeness" promising them all assistance. The monks demonstrated the extent of their power, stressing that all European Roman Catholic powers protected them and their convent, and that the letters of their Prior carried great weight. Soon after the visit the monks sent fine wine and food to the officials' houses, and presents such as a watch, carpet or a spyglass to the judge, as he generally did not drink any spirits. As a result the convent had a strong influence with the Ottoman authorities, and in conflicts between Protestants and Latins the "present" judge always sided with the latter, according to Kawar. When the government wanted to punish Latins for offending members of other churches the convent exercised its power: in such cases, the prior would visit the governor to tell him that it was an affair of the convent.[36]

The missionaries intended to convince the home public of the Latins' immorality by frequent accounts of Catholics beating up Protestants. By stressing the opposition they met, the missionaries again wanted to demonstrate the difficulty of their work and, naturally, to raise more money for the mission. In these accounts the Roman Catholics were portrayed as wicked, ignorant and under the influence of their clergy. The CMS sources are full of stories about Protestants suddenly attacked by Latins, most of the

[35] When Valerga heard that a Protestant missionary had visited the sheik of Beit Jala, the patriarch was said to have offered the sheik money and presents in order to make him forbid the missionary to visit him again and for delivering to Valerga all Protestant books in his possession. When the sheik refused to do so, he did not receive a present from the convent as in other years. Muller to the CMS, Annual Report, Bethlehem, 31 December 1859, C M/O 54/4.

[36] "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's report of the quarter ending June 30th 1873", part 1, Nazareth, 13 Juli 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 40/3. The Protestants also accused the Greek Orthodox clergy of corruption. According to Gobat, in 1848 the Greek Orthodox patriarch had bribed the Turkish authorities to arrest one of his Scripture readers to prevent the latter from visiting towns and reading the Bible to the people. Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 17 July 1873, London/LPL, 195, ff. 280-282.

time for no apparent reason.[37] One of the missionaries, for instance, tells about his Roman Catholic landlord being beaten by his priest for having taken the missionary into his house. In spite of that, the landlord and his wife kept coming to see the missionary and reading the Bible with him.[38]

Frequently, the sincerity of the person beaten up was emphasized. Thomas Mifsud, for instance, a shoemaker in Jaffa, was attacked and severely beaten by a Latin for no apparent reason at all. As a result "for nearly a whole month he could not work". According to Krusé, Mifsud had not done anything wrong. Krusé refers to the "moral and respectable life" the shoemaker was leading, his regular attendance of the Protestant services, and his "always steady" conduct.[39] This and similar stories were clearly aimed at showing the contrast between the righteous, faithful and innocent Protestants and the ignorant, erroneous and wicked Catholics.

Although it is difficult to know to what extent the accounts of fights and bribery reflect reality, it is obvious that besides a feeling of moral superiority the CMS missionaries also cherished a feeling of being the underdog: the small Protestant community against the grand Roman Catholic Church.

Protestant criticism of the Ottoman authorities

The Protestant missionaries criticised the Ottoman authorities for failing to protect them in their conflicts with other denominations, for siding with the other churches, and for being susceptible to their influence, violence and bribery. They regularly turned

[37] An event that had quite an impact was the story of the Protestant Chalil Rosa from Shefa Amer. While sitting at the door of his house he was purposely pushed against the wall of his house. When he reproached his attacker, Rosa was beaten with sticks and stones by a number of Greek Catholics. The situation got completely out of hand, led to several trials, and finally to British intervention. In the end Colonel Fraser stationed a substantial number of soldiers at Shefa Amer. According to Zeller, Rosa never obtained compensation. Zeller, "Persecution of the Protestants at Shef-Amer near Nazareth", 1863, C M/O 72/28B; "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", 1868, C M/O 2/1. Both: Birmingham/UL. Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 22 May 1862, 25 May 1862, 29 May 1862, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 154-155, ff. 156-157 and 161-163; "Rapport de Seraphim Boutaji de Chef Amer en date du 24 mai", FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 159-160; Zeller to Fraser, Shefa Amer, 13 June 1862, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 168-173; Hanna al-Madawir, "Report of outrage at Shefa Amer", 13 June 1862, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 174-175; Mansur Muisa, "Report of outrage at Shefa Amer", 13 June 1862, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 176-177; Chalil Rosa, "Report of outrage at Shefa Amer", 13 June 1862, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 178-179. All: London/BL.

[38] Muller to the CMS, Annual Report, Bethlehem, 31 December 1859, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 54/4.

[39] Krusé to the Secretaries of the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.

to the British representatives and the CMS for more effectual protection. To emphasize their need for support, they pointed to the protection the Roman Catholics received from the French, and the Orthodox from Russia.

Annoyed with the French support of the Latins, the CMS missionaries did not hesitate to draw attention to the influence of the French representatives on the Ottoman authorities. According to Krusé, hardly anything could be done for the Protestants in Jaffa when the French consul interfered in their conflicts with the Roman Catholics. The Ottoman governor was "afraid to do anything against the will of the French Consul" and everyone who had the consul's who enjoyed the consul's favour could do whatever he pleased without fear.[40] In some cases the missionaries blamed the other denominations for the lack of Ottoman support. When after an incident in Nazareth Zeller concluded that all his "enemies, Latins and Greeks together with Sheick Ameen" [i.e. the judge] tried to drive him out of Nazareth, he added that he did not think the Muslims and the Ottoman authorities were themselves strongly opposed to the Protestants. They were just "unceasingly instigated by Greek and Latin Ecclesiastics together with their influential adherents and protectors". As a result the Protestant missionary efforts met with insurmountable difficulties.[41]

Yet the missionaries did blame the Ottoman authorities for not executing the *firman* of 1850 in favour of the Protestants and the reform edict *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856.[42] In their eyes neither of these edicts were properly carried out. In 1868 the frustration led to the abovementioned petition addressed to the Committee of the CMS "regarding the political condition of the native Protestant congregations under our care". The petition was signed by Zeller (Nazareth), Klein (Jerusalem), Paddon (Nazareth) and Sandreczki (Jerusalem). They begged the CMS to help them "by taking such steps as may be calculated to secure to these congregations a fuller recognition of the rights and privileges granted to them by special *Firmans* of the Sublime Porte".[43] Besides pointing to the imperial orders and edict by which the Protestants were

[40] Krusé to the Secretaries of the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 45/169.
[41] Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 20 February 1862, London/BL, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 113-114.
[42] For the *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, see Chapter 1.
[43] "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1. As mentioned earlier, Zeller's list of "principal grievances" was part of this petition.

protected and recognized as a separate congregation, the petition also reflected the missionaries' feeling of not being taken seriously.

One reason for writing the petition concerned the Protestant representation in town councils.[44] Formerly the Protestants had had the "privilege of having regular members in the *medjlesses* [town councils]". In 1865, in accordance with imperial *firmans*, new regulations were drawn up, which prescribed that town councils of smaller towns should consist of three Muslims and three Christians or non-Muslims, to be recruited from the three denominations with the largest number of adherents.[45] In all towns the Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics outnumbered the Protestants, except for Nablus. Consequently the Protestants were excluded from all other town councils and were also deprived of participation in the elections. "Although orders were given, that the Protestants might have a temporary and unpaid representative [in the town council] in case the affairs of one of their number were discussed", the missionaries considered such a temporary representative completely inadequate. Moreover, the local authorities failed to support the Protestant member. As a result Muslims, Latins and Greeks imposed "their share of taxation" upon the Protestants. Complaints from Protestants, which they had to bring before the same tribunal, were often treated with "extreme unfairness". To the missionaries this proved that the Protestants were ignored in every way and considered a despised and uninfluential community.[46] They appealed to the *firman* of 1850 to stress that the separate Protestant representation was formally acknowledged; they considered it as "their principal guarantee against persecution".[47] The missionaries also referred to the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* to emphasize that all creeds were equal and that protection and religious liberty should be guaranteed to every creed irrespective of its number of adherents.[48]

[44] The majority of complaints about the Protestants position in the town councils originated from Nazareth.

[45] It is not clear to what imperial order or decision the missionaries refer.

[46] "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1.

[47] They also refer to certain instructions of similar purport issued by the Sultan to Yacoob Pasha of Jerusalem in 1852.

[48] "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1. Six years after the petition was drawn up the Protestant representative in the town council of Nazareth, Michael Kawar, still complained about his own position in the council. The Latins and Greeks repeatedly tried to persuade the government that he was not a "legal spiritual member of the town council", so Kawar. "Translation of the Report of the Revd. Michael Kawar of the Quarter ending March 31st 1874", Nazareth, 31 March 1874, C M/O 40/4; "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's letter", Nazareth, 30 November 1874, C M/O 40/7. According to Boutaji the Greek Catholics in Shefa Amer also "endeavoured very much" to prevent the government of

A second reason for setting up the petition concerned that part of the *firman* of 1850 which proclaimed that the Protestants should have "every facility and every needful assistance" in "all their affairs, such as procuring cemeteries and places of worship"; other communities should not interfere with any of the Protestants' religious or secular affairs, so that the Protestants might "be free to exercise the usages of their faith".[49] Notwithstanding this declaration, the missionaries took the view that especially the Protestant congregation in Nazareth had been "very imperfectly protected in the exercise of these privileges and in their public property as schools, places of worship and cemeteries".[50] Besides Nazareth, complaints about obtaining burial ground also reached the CMS from other towns. John Robert Longley Hall from the Jaffa mission complained that when the Protestants tried to buy burial ground in Lydda after a long time of petitioning, the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox made it impossible for them to purchase land. They were finally able to persuade some Muslims to sell them land.[51]

The petition reveals not only the missionaries' conviction that life and work of the Protestants in general and the missionaries in particular would improve if the regulations of the 1850-*firman* and the reform edict were observed, but together with the missionaries' correspondence it also seems to reflect the tendency to believe that the Protestant community would increase if the Protestants were free to exercise their faith without the other denominations interfering in their affairs. This may imply that the missionaries assumed that the members of the other denominations would become Protestants if their clergy did not hinder them. For instance, a Greek Catholic, whom Huber met in Kafr Kana, wanted to become a Protestant, but gave up this intention

Acre from permitting the Protestants to put a member in the town council. This attempt, however, did not succeed. Boutaji, Annual Letter, Shefa Amer, 26 November 1874, C M/O 16/16. All: Birmingham/UL.

[49] *Firman* as cited in the petition. "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1. Cf. Finn, *Stirring Times* 1, 157.

[50] "Petition for more effectual protection of Protestants", 1868, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 2/1. According to Zeller, the Protestants desire for burial grounds must "bring them into collision with Greeks and Latins". In a letter to Colonel Fraser, he asked the colonel to use his influence in order to secure burial grounds for the Protestant communities in Nazareth, Reneh, and Kafr Kana. Zeller to Fraser, Nazareth, 24 June 1861, London/BL, FP, Add. 44913A, ff. 30-34.

[51] Hall to Fenn, Annual Letter, Jaffa, November 1877, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 31/37. However, one year later the schoolmaster of Lydda wrote that the dragoman of the Greek patriarch from Jerusalem, together with the superintendent priest of Ramle and servants, raged through the cemetery and demolished the plants, claiming the land to be theirs. Damishky to the CMS, Lydda, 1 November 1879, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 22/5.

when his bishop punished him for his decision by giving him a beating.[52] The CMS missionaries in Palestine were not the only ones to cherish such feelings towards the Ottomans. The missionaries of the ABCFM in Lebanon also blamed the Ottoman authorities for their lack of converts because they did not recognize the Protestants as a separate community. Ussama Makdisi sees a likely basis for their disillusionment in the fact that from the beginning they "refused to abandon their unshakeable conviction that an individual with the freedom to choose […] would inevitably choose to be a Protestant".[53] It seems that Gobat and the CMS missionaries blamed the other churches together with the Ottomans for the lack of missionary successes, rather than taking the blame upon themselves. Although the other denominations were sometimes held responsible for the lack of protection from the Ottoman authorities', in general the CMS missionaries criticised the Ottomans for not being strong enough to resist the Catholics' influence and bribery.

The Protestant criticism of the Ottoman authorities also shows the ease with which Gobat and the CMS missionaries expected the Ottoman authorities to observe the reforms, if necessary under European pressure.[54] Consequently, when it was found that the reform edicts were not executed properly and the other churches did interfere in the affairs of the Protestants, British and Prussian representatives were in turn thought to be free to interfere in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire.

Rivalry between Protestants and the Sisters of Nazareth

In Nazareth and Shefa Amer the rivalry between the CMS missionaries and the Roman Catholics also contained a gender element. As soon as the Latin Sisters of Nazareth, partly in reaction to the Protestant establishment in the city, settled in Nazareth in 1855 the rivalry between both missionary societies started and concentrated on a struggle for

[52] Huber to Chapman, "Journal extracts for the Quarter ending September 30th 1858", Nazareth, 9 October 1858, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 34/74.

[53] According to Makdisi, the missionaries could not or did not want to comprehend a living multi-religious society and recorded only a segregated society. They believed that the only way in which Muslims, Jews and Christians interacted was by violence. Makdisi, "Bringing America Back into the Middle East", 58-59.

[54] We have seen the same attitude when in 1856 Gobat placed a bell in Nablus and rang it, referring to the *Hatt-ı Hümayun (*see Chapter 1). This incident demonstrates not only Gobat's lack of sensitivity towards the society he lived in, but also his self-confidence, relying on the support of Great Britain and Prussia.

the "neglected females".[55] As early as 1856, Huber complained that the "French 'Sisters of mercy'" had established a large girls' school "by means of giving presents of every description".[56] More than a hundred girls were taught in the Roman Catholic school soon after its establishment,[57] whereas the Protestant educational efforts for girls did not seem to have been well-established at the time. In 1856 Huber mentioned that his wife instructed thirteen girls at home. However, two years later Mrs. Huber died.[58] When in 1859 Hannah Zeller arrived in Nazareth, she wrote that soon after her arrival some girls had asked her for instruction so that she now kept a small day-school of about eight girls.[59] In 1863 she asked the FES for an agent to assist in the missionary work among women, a request that was granted. In 1864 the FES missionary Mrs. Hobbs took over the education of the girls in Nazareth, and the school now began to have a settled character. In 1867 the FES opened an orphanage for girls.[60] Two years earlier, in 1865, John Zeller had appealed to the FES to found such an institution, referring to people's poverty and to the Sisters of Nazareth. Zeller stressed that an orphanage might counter-act the "baneful influence of Popery, and the active efforts of the Popish sisters", which he considered a great hindrance to the Protestant work.[61]

As to the Sisters of Nazareth, the CMS missionaries' anxiety was twofold: they worried about the sisters' influence on the pupils in the Roman Catholic girls' school, as they considered the girls' education very important in relation to their future task as mothers. Furthermore, the Protestants were concerned about the lack of Protestant marriageable girls, and accordingly about the mixed marriages between Protestant men and Catholic women. In their eyes these wives were "one of the greatest obstacles

[55] Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 41/282; Dequevauviller to the Propaganda Fide, Rome, 27 January 1854, Rome/ASCPF, SCTC, 21, 635-636. For the Sisters of Nazareth, see also Chapter 5.

[56] Huber, "Report of the quarter ending September 1856. To the Committee of the Church Missionary Society London", Nazareth, 22 September 1856, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 34/73.

[57] According to Duvignau 120 girls were enrolled in the school of the Sisters of Nazareth when it was opened. Duvignau, *Vincent Bracco*, 202.

[58] Huber, "Report of the quarter ending September 1856", Nazareth, 22 September 1856, C M/O 34/73. Muller to Chapman, Annual Report, Nazareth, 31 December 1858, C M/O 54/3. Both Birmingham/UL.

[59] Letter from Hannah Zeller, Nazareth, 26 November 1859, quoted in the unpublished version of Stockdale's dissertation *Gender and Colonialism in Palestine 1800-1948. Encounters Among English Arab and Jewish Women* (University of California Santa Barbara, 2000).

[60] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 138, 213. See also N. Stockdale, "An Imperialist Failure: English Missionary Women and Palestinian Girls in Nazareth, 1864-1899", Tamcke and Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness*, 216.

[61] Annual Report #32, 1866 [re: 1865], *Female Education Society 1853-1872 Annual Reports*, 31, quoted in the unpublished version of Stockdale's dissertation *Gender and Colonialism in Palestine*.

against a firmer establishment of our [the Protestant] congregations and a more consistent life of our converts". They kept their Protestant husbands from establishing a "truly Christian home" and made their lives miserable, as the women stuck to their former priests and superstitions "on account of their ignorance".[62]

What Zeller, and other CMS missionaries with him, meant by a "truly Christian home" and the position of women in it, becomes clear in Zeller's sermon at the consecration service of the FES orphanage in Nazareth. In his address Zeller entered into the reasons for an orphanage, stating that it was not the man but the woman who builds or ruins a house. If the woman was "bad, all the diligence and wisdom of the man will not prevent his ruin". Nobody liked to enter a house with a "filthy housewife in it", but he continued that "a wise woman is an honour to her house, and a light for them, brings innumerable blessings upon those around her, – yea, leads them towards eternal life".[63]

Nancy Stockdale considers this part of the sermon an "assertion that Victorian values of domesticity were the touchstone of both material and otherworldly successes",[64] but I would prefer to speak of 'Evangelical values of domesticity', remembering that Zeller and his co-missionaries and their wives had their background in the *Erweckungsbewegung* in Switzerland and Germany.[65] With their different nationalities, the CMS missionaries were first and foremost formed by their Evangelical background, not by Victorian values. In his sermon Zeller painted a picture of 'Evangelical motherhood',[66] clearly referring to Proverbs 31 about the 'virtuous wife', who "watches over the ways of her household […] and fears the Lord".[67] Women were considered the

[62] Zeller to Fenn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, December 1872, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/277. The missionaries regularly complained that if the women belonged to another denomination (or religion) they prevented their husbands from converting to Protestantism, did not want to live with their husbands when they were converted, or did not want to follow their Protestant husbands. For instance: Krusé to the Secretaries of the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station, first quarter 1858", Jaffa, 22 April 1858, C M/O 45/175; Muller to the CMS, Annual Report, Bethlehem, 31 December 1859, C M/O 54/4. Both: Birmingham/UL; Cooper to the LJS, "Appeal, from a resident in Jerusalem on behalf of the School of Industry for Jewesses", Jerusalem, 1 September 1850, Oxford/BL, Dep. C.M.J. d.58/14.

[63] Annual Report quoted in Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 151-152.

[64] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 152.

[65] The Nazareth missionaries Zeller and Huber both came from Würtemberg. They had entered the Basle Mission, just like the former Nazareth missionary Klein. Huber's wife, Julia Huber-Berger, came from Prussia.

[66] Heleen Murre-van den Berg introduces the term 'Evangelical motherhood' in her article on nineteenth-century Protestant missions and Middle-Eastern women, see H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Middle-Eastern Women: An Overview", I.M. Okkenhaug, *Gender, Religion and Change*, Oxford, New York, 2005, 106

[67] Proverbs 31: 27, 30.

driving force behind the Christian family.[68] As to the orphanages' aim, Zeller went on to say that it had to teach the girls the love of Christ, which "makes obedient, and humble, and modest […] faithful, and true, and pure, and holy". If the love of Christ filled the girl's hearts, their (future) houses would "be built upon a rock".[69] Because of the importance of the education of the girls and their future task as 'virtuous wives' in their 'truly Christian homes', the efforts of the Sisters of Nazareth were an abomination to the Protestant missionaries.

Seraphim Boutaji, who worked for the CMS in Shefa Amer, expressed his great anxiety about marriages between Protestant men and Catholic women. He thought that the Latin nuns had a stronghold on the minds of Catholic women.[70] These women were subject to "the deceits of the nuns", who used all means to keep the women from going to Protestant services and even looking at Protestant missionaries.[71] This view was confirmed by Zeller, according to whom, as a result of the demoralising influence of the Latin nuns, the Protestant men in Shefa Amer had to lock their wives in their houses, because otherwise they would run off with the children.[72]

Boutaji worried about the shortage of Protestant girls. Because of this, young Protestant "lads" would be "obliged to take girls from the Catholics" and would be "exposed to many troubles and temptations". Referring to original sin, he continued that these men were no stronger than "their father Adam, who could not withstand the temptations of Eve" and might therefore be drawn away from the Protestant congregation because of their wives.[73] To illustrate his anxiety, Boutaji mentioned a Protestant adolescent betrothed to a Catholic woman. Although this young man wanted

[68] Murre-van den Berg, "Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions", 106.

[69] Sermon by Zeller quoted in Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 152. For the mission to Arab women, female missionaries in Palestine and gender issues, see Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*; Stockdale, "English Women"; Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living*; Melman, *Women's Orients*. For an overview, see Murre-van den Berg, "Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions", 103-122.

[70] By 'Catholic' Boutaji probably meant Greek Catholic, as the Christians in Shefa Amer chiefly consisted of Greek Catholics, see Zeller, "Persecution of the Protestants at Shef-Amer near Nazareth", 1863, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/28B.

[71] Boutaji to the CMS, Annual Letter, Shefa Amer, 26 November 1874 (probably a translation of the Arabic), Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/16.

[72] As some of the girls also went to the Protestant school, according to Zeller the "French nuns went round into all houses threatening the women, and thus preventing their coming". Zeller, "Extracts from Journals", Nazareth, August 1867, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 72/265.

[73] "Translation of the Report of Serafim Boutagi, for the quarter ending, March 31st 1873. Shefamer", Shefa Amer, 31 March 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/13.

to marry in the Protestant Church, his fiancée was unwilling to do so. Consequently, he was "obliged" to marry in the Catholic Church. Before the wedding the man promised Boutaji that although he was getting married in the Catholic Church he would attend the Protestant church services every Sunday from then on. However, the man did not return to the Protestants, which made Boutaji conclude that "the love for his wife was greater than the love for truth". Boutaji took every opportunity to talk to the man and prayed for him, but was uncertain whether he would ever return.[74]

Boutaji's preoccupation with the bad influence of the Roman Catholic sisters and mixed marriages was probably nourished by the fact that there was no Protestant girls' school in Shefa Amer at the time (the early 1870s), whereas the Sisters of Nazareth had already settled in the town in 1864. Boutaji saw a solution to the problem of mixed marriages in the establishment of a Protestant girls' school, "governed by a good, pious female teacher", who would be able "to preach the Gospel to the women" too.[75] The foundation of such a school would free the women and girls "from the heavy yoke of the nuns" and the number of marriageable Protestant girls would increase.[76]

The rivalry between the CMS missionaries and the Sisters of Nazareth is more or less confirmed by a serial in a Catholic journal dedicated to the Sisters' mission.[77] According to this journal, the mission of the Sisters of Nazareth in Shefa Amer had been very promising from the start. However, the Protestants, referred to as "the devil", were working in Shefa Amer as well. They had substantial financial resources at their disposal and had exceptional talents for proselytising. When the sisters arrived, holes had already been picked in the status of the Catholic religion. Therefore, the sisters immediately started to direct their energies towards the "heresy" committed by some Catholic women; they tried to bring them under their influence. As a result, these women

[74] Boutaji feared that through their wives the Protestant men would come under the influence of the Roman Catholic priests. "Translation of the Report of Serafim Boutagi, for the quarter ending, March 31st 1873. Shefamer", Shefa Amer, 31 March 1873, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/13. Boutaji was also concerned about the upbringing of the children from mixed marriages. He gave the example of a Protestant man whose Catholic wife never showed up when a child was baptized. According to Boutaji, she was not the only one, as almost all Catholic women of Shefa Amer were much the same. "Extracts of the journal of the Rev. Serafim Boutagi Quarter ending June 30th 1872", Shefa Amer, 30 June 1872, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/11.

[75] Boutaji, Annual Letter, Shefa Amer, 26 November 1874, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 16/16.

[76] "Extracts of the journal of the Rev. Serafim Boutagi Quarter ending June 30th 1872", Shefa Amer, 30 June 1872, C M/O 16/11; "Translation of the Report of Serafim Boutagi, for the quarter ending March 31st 1873. Shefamer", Shefa Amer, 31 March 1873, C M/O 16/13. Both: Birmingham/UL.

[77] "Feuilleton. L'Institut de Nazareth en Orient", *Les Missions Catholiques. Bulletin hebdomadaire illustré de l'œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* 5, Lyon, 1873, 242-344.

learned to prefer the "satisfaction of their conscience to all material advantages". The Protestant minister, annoyed about the "females' apostasy", accused the men of weakness and giving in to their wives too easily, and invited them to bring their spouses to the Sunday sermon. Although some Catholic women agreed and accompanied their husbands to the Protestant services, the majority went to the convent looking for encouragement, comfort and also refuge, fearing their husbands would be outraged.[78] As to mixed marriages, the serial does not provide us with further information. Unlike the Protestant documents, the Roman Catholic documents examined do not express concerns about mixed marriages. Discussions of such marriages seem to focus on canonical questions only.[79] I will continue with the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics in the next section.

A "peaceful crusade": Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics

The Roman Catholic archival sources seem to contain fewer descriptions of the rivalry between Protestants and Catholics than the Protestant sources. As many Catholic documents are about the struggle with the Greek Orthodox about the Holy Places or about intra-Catholic rivalry, one would be inclined to think that the Roman Catholics in Palestine were less preoccupied with the Protestants than the other way around. Nevertheless, although a relatively small number of writings are dedicated to the Protestants, the Franciscans and the people connected to the Latin patriarchate did express worries about the Protestant presence and missionary efforts ever since the establishment of the Protestant bishopric.[80] At the end of the 1860s and in the early 1870s, Catholic sources show an increase of anti-Protestant polemics; this applies especially to the documents written by French Catholics, which are full of anti-Protestantism. This comes as no surprise as relations between Roman Catholic France and Protestant Prussia had been strained since the late 1860s, which led to the war in 1870. At the

[78] "Feuilleton. L'Institut de Nazareth en Orient", 279-282. To illustrate the success of the Latin mission success, an example was given about a Catholic woman, who went to her father's house rather than going to the Protestant church service. While at her father's house, she sent word to her husband that she would not come home, unless he guaranteed her free exercise of her own religion. "Feuilleton. L'Institut de Nazareth en Orient", 280-281.

[79] For instance Bracco to Barnabo, Jerusalem, 12 March 1870, 573-574; Valerga to Barnabo, Jerusalem, 7 January 1872, 749-750; Valerga to Barnabo, Jerusalem, 4 August 1872, 804-805. All: Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24.

[80] See also Chapter 5.

same time, the hostility in Prussia against Catholicism was fierce as a result of the *Kulturkampf*, i.e. the 'war' against Catholicism led by Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898).[81] These documents give us a fair idea of the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics.

Someone who frequently took up the pen against the Protestants was the Frenchman Louis Poyet (d.1893). His writings are valuable illustrations of the anti-Protestant polemics, as the same arguments are also found in other French Roman Catholic documents and journals at the time. Poyet had been connected with the Latin patriarchate since the early 1850s. He worked as a teacher at the patriarchal seminary and became the patriarch's Protonotary Apostolical in 1880. His articles about the position of Catholicism in Palestine were published in a Roman Catholic journal, *Les Missions Catholiques* of the *Propagation de la Foi*.[82] Besides the political and religious tension between France and Prussia, Poyet's anti-Protestant rhetoric cannot be separated from other events and developments at the time: the rivalry between the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land and the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem,[83] and the anti-Protestantism and increasing nationalism in France.[84]

Although Poyet regularly described the Muslims and Greek Orthodox as 'enemies' of the Roman Catholic Church in Palestine, he was mainly preoccupied with the "invasion of Protestants" and the presence and activities of Protestantism "with its thousands of sects" in Palestine.[85] The whole tenor of the anti-Protestant utterances in the Roman Catholic documents about the Nazareth riot appears in Poyet's writings: the

[81] See for instance M.B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism. Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany, Ann Arbor, 2004, MI, 240-291. According to Buffon the Franco-Prussian war, together with the struggle about the Holy Places in Bethlehem between Catholics and Orthodox, had contributed to the decrease of French power in the Middle East, Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 76.

[82] Even when the journal only mentions a correspondent in Jerusalem (in the vicinity of the patriarchate) as author of the account, this correspondent turns out to be Poyet: part of the text overlaps with letters he wrote to the Propaganda Fide. For Poyet, see Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 166-167.

[83] For the relation between France and the Custody of the Holy Land, see Buffon, *Les Franciscains*.

[84] This led to French criticism of the Franciscan Custody and of the fact that most patriarchal offices were taken by Italian priests. Cf. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*; Buffon, "Les Franciscains", 65-91.

[85] The Muslims had put an "iron yoke" on the Christians in the Holy Land for centuries and the Greek Orthodox had taken the Catholic sanctuaries. Poyet, "Mémoire sur la Terre Sainte, Octobre 1872", Rome, 20 October 1872, SCTS 24, 827; Poyet to Franchi, Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Jerusalem, 2 September 1874, SCTS 24, 1263-1264; Poyet to Barnabo, Jerusalem, 22 July 1868, SCTS 24, 308-309. All: Rome/ASCPF. In SCTS 24, 308-309, the Armenians rather than Muslims are mentioned as the antagonists of the Catholics, in a text stating that Greek Orthodox, Armenians and Protestants were completely united in their opposition to Catholicism.

increase of the Protestant missionary establishments, the huge amount of Protestant financial resources, and their abuse of the Catholics' poverty.

The enormous increase of Protestant institutions in Palestine was one of Poyet's main concerns. The Holy Land was overrun with Protestants, who were extremely rich as a result of donations from biblical and Evangelical societies.[86] Several times he listed all Protestant, especially Prussian, establishments in Jerusalem and added that it would take too long to record all Protestant institutions in the towns and villages outside Jerusalem.[87] Poyet added arguments for his anxiety by citing a French "noble pilgrim", who, pained by the sight of so many Prussian institutions in Jerusalem alone, wondered whether he was "in Jerusalem or in Prussia".[88] The pilgrim stated that the Protestants in Jerusalem had more or less imitated the Catholics, as they had a bishop, minister-missionaries, clergy and deaconesses, and were the protectors of travellers and the sick.[89]

Besides the Prussian Protestant institutions, Poyet also paid attention to British Protestant missionary efforts, but stressed that Prussia was usurping Britain's supremacy in the Holy Land. Poyet added that "Prussia reigned in Jerusalem through the power of Bismarck", thus referring to the anti-Roman Catholic climate under Bismarck at the time.[90] This seems to have been a common feeling in Roman Catholic circles. The Custodian of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, for instance, also uttered the

[86] Poyet, "Mémoire sur la Terre Sainte", Rome, 20 October 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS, 24, 827.

[87] Such as hospitals, orphanages, agricultural colonies, and schools "in all Christian villages" all founded to persuade Catholics to embrace Protestantism. Poyet, "Mémoire sur la Terre Sainte, Octobre 1872", Rome, 20 October 1872, SCTS 24, 828-829; Poyet to Franchi, Jerusalem, 2 September 1874, SCTS 24, 1263-1264. Both: Rome/ASCPF. *Les Missions Catholiques, bulletin hebdomadaire illustré de l'oeuvre de la Propagantion de la Foi* 16.

[88] This pilgrim had visited Jerusalem in 1869. Poyet mentions him both in a letter to the Propaganda Fide and in an article for *Les Missions Catholiques*. Poyet, "Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 825-833; *Les Missions Catholiques* 16, 1874, 54.

[89] Poyet, "Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 828. Poyet's story about the 'noble pilgrim' had earlier been published in *Le Monde*, 10 January 1870, quoted by Buffon. According to Buffon this article was written by a certain Barrier, presented in *Le Monde* as 'a French pilgrim'. In the article Buffon discusses the rising French nationalism. Although the pilgrim was preoccupied with the growing (Prussian) Protestantism and the (Prussian) Jewish efforts, he was also worried about the inefficiency of the Catholics, the majority of whom still were Italian. Buffon places the article in the context of a "French crusade against the German Protestants and Jews", Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 54-59. Poyet's version of this text does not mention the Jews at all.

[90] *Les Missions Catholiques* 16, 1874, 54.

fear that the Franciscans began to feel the anti-Catholic influence of Bismarck in Palestine.[91]

Poyet was also concerned with the moral corruption of Catholic children in the Protestant schools, especially in their orphanages. The majority of children in these orphanages were born from Christian families, "Greek Orthodox […] and even Greek Uniates and Latins". The Protestants exploited the poverty of the children's parents by promising them a decent education for free, on condition that they left their children in the care of the orphanage for five years. The parents, "blinded by these beautiful promises", voluntarily agreed. However, if they wanted to take their children out of the orphanage within five years, they had to pay an enormous amount of money, which these poor people could not afford. Five years in a Protestant orphanage was enough to "infect these young children with the Protestant *virus*"; the Protestants could encourage "a lively repulsion of the Papists" and the cult of the Virgin Mary in the children.[92]

Claude Girard, an advocate from Grenoble and founder of the journal *La Terre Sainte et les Églises orientales*, who had visited the Holy Land several times as a pilgrim, shared Poyet's anxiety. Girard also stated that the Protestant schools perverted Catholic children, and that their parents had sold them to the Protestants out of poverty. His worries were part of his criticism of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, who had made "a tomb from the cradle of religion". They had neither protected the Holy Land from Protestantism, nor protected the Holy Places from the Greek Orthodox. Girard also blamed the Franciscans for Italianizing the Middle East.[93]

[91] He expressed this view as a result of a "suspicious" visit of the Prussian Consul. Letter to Giovanni Simeoni, secretary of the Propaganda Fide, Rome, 2 March 1874, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 1160.

[92] They had to pay one French franc for each day their children had been in the orphanage, according to Poyet, "Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 829. Fliedner, the man behind the Kaiserswerth mission, also mentions that parents sometimes signed a contract with the deaconesses concerning the time they would leave their children in the deaconesses' institute. Although he states that some parents nevertheless took their children away within five years, he does not mention that in that case they had to pay a fine. Fliedner, *Reizen in het Heilige Land*, 302. Stockdale mentions that parents who entrusted their children to the FES orphanage in Nazareth were made to sign a contract indicating that they could only remove their daughters "by payment of a cash indemnity until the girls reached a certain age". Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, 137-139.

[93] "Les ouvrages et Colonies contre les Franciscains de Terre Sainte", 1865, Extracts in the Franciscan archives, Rome/AGOFM, TS 2, SK/596, 46-55. In a letter to the Propaganda Fide, the Minister General of the Franciscans in Rome responded to Girard's criticism. Bernardino de Portogruaro to Barnabo, March 1870, Rome/AGOFM, TS 2, SK/596, 56-69. Cf. Buffon, *Les Franciscains*, 50 (for Claude Girard); Buffon, G., "Les Franciscains", 65-91.

Poyet considered a "peaceful crusade of prayers and good works" a perfect solution for the Protestant threat.[94] Catholicism should unite all forces in order to oppose the invasion of the "Protestant sects" by with soldiers of charity and prayer.[95] With the expression "peaceful crusade" and his view of a 'Protestant invasion', Poyet concurred with a common view held by Roman Catholics in France at the time: the use of military metaphors was common at the time.[96] The idea that Palestine was flooded with Protestants, together with events involving the Greek Orthodox in Bethlehem, had put the Catholics in a wretched and dangerous position. Poyet and other Roman Catholics considered the so-called 'peaceful crusade' the solution for the problem of how to strengthen Catholicism in the Holy Land. An unknown author wrote to the Propaganda Fide that it was "the moment to battle, to fight, and for fighting one needs soldiers".[97] Whereas Ussama Makdisi refers to a "gentle crusade", "in a sense that most travellers imagined themselves to be involved in a historic clash between Christian progress and Islamic despotism", Poyet and kindred spirits translated the expression of a "peaceful crusade" mainly into 'a crusade against Protestantism'.[98]

In order to resist the Protestants and create a 'peaceful crusade', Poyet was convinced that the Holy See should open the gates of Jerusalem to all religious congregations willing to settle in Palestine. Because the Franciscans had been the only Catholic

[94] Poyet to the Propaganda Fide, Rome, 22 October 1872, SCTS 24, 835; Poyet, Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, SCTS 24, 830-833. Both: Rome/ASCPF. *Les Missions Catholiques* 16, 54 and 17, 318.

[95] Poyet, "Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 830.

[96] Chantal Verdeil discusses the view of a 'peaceful' crusade' within the frame of her research about the Jesuits in nineteenth-century Syria. Verdeil, *Les Jésuites de Syrie (1830-1864)*, 205-207; Verdeil, "Between Rome and France", Tamcke and Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness*, 29-30. Cf. Heyberger and Verdeil, "Spirituality and Scholarship", 35-39.

[97] Unknown author to the Propaganda Fide, Jerusalem, 8 June 1873, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 1015-1016. Girard also asked for a 'peaceful crusade'. Bernardino de Portogruaro to Barnabo, March 1870, Rome/AGOFM, TS 2, SK/596, 56-69.

[98] Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*, 16. Of course the expression 'Crusades' implies the idea of a battle between Christianity and Islam. In the writings of Poyet and fellow Catholics, however, the view of a peaceful crusade first and foremost served the Roman Catholic, especially French, interests, as opposed to Protestantism. Verdeil also states that the 'peaceful crusade' was "less directed against Muslims than it was directed towards Catholics: it was felt necessary to consolidate Churches threatened by Protestantism" […] from the second half of the 16th century the Catholic Church worried more about the expansion of Protestantism than of Islam". Verdeil, "Between Rome and France", 30. According to Alexander Schölch the idea of the continuation of the crusade by other means was spread among both Catholics and Protestants. However, as far as I know the term 'peaceful crusade' is not used by the CMS missionaries. A. Schölch, *Palästina im Umbruch, 1856-1882. Untersuchungen zur wirtschaftlichen und sozio-politischen Entwicklung*, Berliner Islamstudien 4, Stuttgart, 1986, 64-68.

presence in Palestine for such a long time, Protestantism had been able to grow.[99] Furthermore, Poyet asked the Holy See to restore the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Holy Land. He wondered whether the time had come to reinstate the Latin patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople. To enforce the benefits of such a reinstatement he referred to the success of the restoration of the papal hierarchy in Britain and the Netherlands.[100]

Poyet's negative view of the state of Catholicism in Palestine was not shared by the Latin Patriarch Vincent Bracco. In reaction to Poyet's writings Bracco modified Poyet's view, emphasizing that Poyet had not taken into account all Catholic establishments outside Jerusalem. Nevertheless, Bracco admitted that in some aspects the Catholics occupied an inferior position compared to the Orthodox, with their institutions supported by Russia, and the Protestants, with their numerous philanthropic institutions. He shared Poyet's view that the Catholics should be able to compete with their "rivals". He foresaw serious disadvantages, however, if the gates were opened to all Catholic religious congregations, as this might be harmful for the position of indigenous clergy. Moreover, some orders desired to settle in Palestine, seeing it as a place of devotion, rather than for the missionary cause. They might be an obstacle instead of a help.[101]

Bracco's reaction should be seen in the light of the relationship between both men and their national backgrounds. From Poyet's correspondence it appears that he was critical about the Latin patriarch as Bracco only loved his books and his study, was often ill, and was cool in his relations with people.[102] Furthermore, in French circles there was criticism of the fact that the majority of offices within the patriarchate were still filled by Italians. In reaction to the proposal of an Italian priest for the office of Vicar

[99] Poyet, "Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, SCTS 24, 825-833; Poyet to the Propaganda Fide, Rome, 22 October 1872, SCTS 24, 835; Poyet to Franchi, Jerusalem, 2 September 1874, SCTS 24, 1263-1264; All: Rome/ASCPF. Others, such as Girard, also appealed for an opening of the gates to other religious societies; "Les ouvrages", 1865, Rome/AGOFM, TS, 2, SK/596, 46-55. Poyet's demand to open Jerusalem's gates implied criticism of the Franciscans and the patriarchate. In one of his letters he stated that during all those years the Franciscans had done "nothing or almost nothing" to resist the Protestants. Poyet to Franchi, Jerusalem, 2 September 1874, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 1263.

[100] Poyet, "Mémoire", Rome, 20 October 1872, SCTS 24, 825-833; Poyet to Franchi, Jerusalem, 2 September 1874, SCTS 24, 1263-1264. Both: Rome/ASCPF. In his letters of 1874 Poyet also mentioned a third way to create a 'peaceful crusade', i.e., increasing the number of pilgrims and pilgrimages to the Holy Land. This means was especially directed towards the Greek Orthodox Church and its grand number of pilgrims and pilgrimages.

[101] "Bracco sulla memoria presentatta al S.C. da Mr. Poyet", 10 July 1873, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 1028-1029.

[102] Poyet to Franchi, Jerusalem, 3 September 1874, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 1263-1264.

General of the patriarchate, the French Consul, for instance, complained about the exclusion of French priests from prominent offices within the patriarchate.[103]

Concluding remarks

Both Protestants and Roman Catholics availed themselves of polemics to blacken each other. Naturally, both denominations tried to persuade the home front to donate more resources for the mission. The Protestant missionaries also wanted to explain the lack of missionary successes. The Protestants' anti-Catholic polemics served to explain the difficulties they met. By putting the blame on the Catholics and the Ottoman authorities, they implicitly claimed that much more members of other churches would probably become Protestants if they were not prevented by their clergy.

Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestants had to fight for a position among the other religions and denominations in Palestine. The Protestant anti-Catholic writings indicate that the CMS missionaries cherished a feeling of being the underdog: the small, sincere Protestant community in battle with the giant Roman Catholic Church. As we have seen in earlier chapters, the missionaries often stressed their (Evangelical) Protestant identity and religious beliefs in describing numerous conversations emphasizing the theological 'errors' of the other denominations.

Although the number of Roman Catholic writings dedicated to the Protestants is smaller than the other way around, these do reflect a serious concern with the Protestant missionary work: the Protestants' huge resources, their exploitation of Catholics' poverty, and the increase of the Protestant missionary institutions. The Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics were hardly, if at all, concerned with Roman Catholic identity or Protestant theological beliefs. This might be because the Roman Catholic Church had been an established church in Palestine for centuries. As the Roman Catholics in Palestine struggled with internal division, the anti-Protestant polemics, especially among French authors, also served to convince the Propaganda Fide that it should permit other societies to settle in Palestine. This would end the monopoly of the Custody and the Latin patriarchate in the Holy Land.

[103] He did, however, admit that there were hardly any capable French priests and suggested that Poyet should fulfil the office, albeit only temporarily: he knew Poyet's character was difficult. French Consul to the ambassador of France in Rome, Corcelles, 3 February(?) 1874, Rome/ASCPF, SCTS 24, 1277.

Conclusion

The Protestant British-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem has served as the entry into this study, because its establishment brought the rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics to the surface. An examination of this foundation process has demonstrated that from the start the mission of the Protestant bishopric was accompanied by anti-Roman Catholic sentiments. Its guidelines for future bishops were very negative about the Roman Catholic Church, emphasizing the 'encroachments' of the Roman See, which tried to 'pervert' the Eastern Christians. The guidelines stipulated that the aim of the bishopric should be the mission to the Jews. During the Alexander years these guidelines were followed. In his mission to the Jews, Alexander closely cooperated with the LJS. Although this cooperation resulted in the foundation of several missionary institutions, the Protestant community was still very small when Alexander died.

During Gobat's episcopate the missionary policy of the bishopric changed. From the start Gobat directed his missionary efforts towards Christians of other denominations. He regularly stressed that he only wanted to reform the churches, but Gobat's letters and autobiography demonstrate that the bishop actually worked towards making converts to (Evangelical) Protestantism, and forming Protestant communities instead of reforming the Eastern churches. Although in the early 1850s the Tractarians in Britain fiercely opposed Gobat's proselytizing activities among Eastern Christians the mission among Christians remained the primary objective during the Gobat years, probably because the bishop was supported by various important people, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Gobat was deeply involved in the intercontinental Evangelical movement; he had been a student at the Basel Mission and had worked for the CMS for years. The importance of Evangelical principles to his actions and views already became evident in the discussion with the Tractarians about rebirth through baptism at the time of his appointment. During his entire episcopate Gobat closely collaborated with the Evangelical CMS missionaries, who shared his missionary views and orientation. Gobat's change of missionary policy soon evoked reactions from the other churches. For instance, his opening a Protestant school in Nablus in 1848 led to opposition from the Greek patriarch. The establishment of the Protestant bishopric and Gobat's arrival in Palestine had been an impetus for the restoration of the Latin patriarchate. During the

Gobat years the relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants became strained, as both were fishing in the same pond, directing their efforts towards the Eastern Christians. In addition, the Protestant missionaries tried to make converts among Roman Catholic church members.

One of the major findings of this research is the strong influence of Evangelicalism on the missionary work of Gobat and the CMS missionaries. This element is frequently overlooked or taken for granted in literature about Protestant missions in nineteenth-century Palestine. Stockdale's study on English missionary women, for instance, evaluates the British missionary activities from the colonial perspective rather than paying attention to the influence of the missionaries' Evangelical principles on their efforts, and so seems in danger of underestimating the importance of these principles. Although many German studies on the Prussian mission in nineteenth-century Palestine (such as those by Lückhoff and Sinno) discuss its Evangelical background, the majority do not specifically go into the importance of Evangelicalism to the Prussian missionaries' labours, probably because they already presuppose this. However, if we are to understand Gobat's and the CMS missionaries' actions correctly, the strong influence of Evangelicalism cannot be ignored. I hope to have shown in this study that all their activities were strongly coloured by their Evangelical principles. The mission's policy and actions can be traced back directly to its Evangelicalism.

The importance of Evangelicalism to the missionaries' work is especially reflected in their view of the Bible: it held a central position in all their efforts. Gobat's reports strongly suggest that he was convinced that a deeper knowledge of the Bible would encourage people to leave their original churches and to join the Protestants. The biblicism of Gobat and the CMS missionaries was a leading principle especially in their educational activities. The Bible was at the centre of education during Gobat's episcopate. In some smaller village schools the education in fact chiefly consisted of reading the Bible. In the catechizing in the schools, as well as the conversations the CMS missionaries had with local people, Evangelical doctrines were stressed, such as justification by faith alone through Christ's atoning death on the cross and Christ being the only mediator.

The Evangelicalism of Gobat and the CMS missionaries also deeply influenced the kind of conversion they expected from local Christians. They came to Palestine expecting to make 'true' converts, or 'true Christians', in line with the conversions typical in

Evangelical circles. 'True Christianity' was about a 'true conversion of the heart' and real piety; it was a 'spiritual' religion. However, their Evangelical expectations regarding conversion collided with the reality of the mission field. The missionary accounts have shown us that a 'true conversion of the heart' in missionary terms was a rare exception. In reaction, the missionaries adjusted their expectations to reality and chose a pragmatic approach. Admitting people into the Protestant Church without demanding a 'true' conversion of them offered a better chance that Protestant communities could be established and the Protestant mission would turn into a success. The fact that the missionaries modified their expectations about conversion might give the impression that they had discarded their Evangelical beliefs. However, although they had adjusted their expectations, the missionaries did stick to these principles, believing that admitting people who had not been 'truly converted' into the Protestant church was the best way to create 'true' Christians in the end. Although they remained faithful to their Evangelical ideas, their pragmatic approach also had a downside. The result of their lenient policy regarding admission into the Protestant church was that the missionaries regularly doubted whether the motives of their new church members were 'spiritual'.

A second major finding of this study is the apparent fierceness of the rivalry between Gobat and the CMS missionaries and the other churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. As mentioned earlier, this competition has so far only been the subject of a limited number of articles or has been briefly discussed in a few books, which generally deal with only the Protestant or the Roman Catholic side. Nevertheless, the rivalry Gobat and the CMS missionaries experienced in their work cannot be ignored in an evaluation of their missionary efforts, as it influenced their actions and was inextricably bound up with their Evangelicalism. In this book I have not only discussed the rivalry Gobat and the CMS missionaries experienced with the other churches, but also contrasted the Protestant anti-Catholic writings with the Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics. This comparison has provided a clear impression of the specific bones of contention.

The writings by Gobat and the CMS missionaries point to a number of elements of the competition between Protestants and Catholics. First of all, they indicate that the CMS missionaries cherished the position of underdog. The Protestant missionaries' anti-Catholic polemics picture a small, sincere, persecuted community up against the giant corrupted Roman Catholic Church. Secondly, the missionaries' complaints about

bribing on the part of the Roman Catholics and the material support they offered to their own church members implicitly reflect the CMS missionaries' conviction that many more members of other churches would probably become Protestants if they were not prevented from doing so by their clergy, and if the people were not dependent on the material support their churches offered. The Protestants supported this view with accounts of people who had read the Bible and wanted to become Protestant, but remained in their own church, for instance because their clergy threatened them or because they lived in houses owned by their church. At the same time the missionaries were often also convinced that people's lack of faith and craving for 'worldly advantage' would induce them to remain in or return to their original churches. A third aspect of the rivalry between Protestants and Catholics is the fact that it sometimes led to physical violence, ranging from small wrangles to violent riots. A remarkable example of the ferocity of the competition between the two is the Nazareth riot in 1852. The descriptions from both denominational sides contain all elements of Protestant anti-Roman Catholic and Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics. A fourth element of the competition is the ease with which Gobat and the CMS missionaries expected the Ottoman authorities to observe the Tanzimat reforms, if necessary under European pressure. Their writings indicate that in interdenominational conflicts both the Prussian and British representatives and the representatives of Roman Catholic countries felt free to interfere in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the number of documents in the Roman Catholic archives dedicated to the Protestants is smaller than the other way around, the rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics is also reflected in Roman Catholic anti-Protestant polemics. These writings demonstrate the Roman Catholics' frustration about the enormous financial resources the Protestants had at their disposal, their taking advantage of the Catholic poor, and the expansion of the Protestant mission. Although the Roman Catholic Church had been an established church in Palestine for centuries and the Protestants did not threaten its identity, it was seriously concerned about the Protestant presence and missionary efforts among Catholics and Orthodox.

A last finding of this study is the close connection between the Evangelical views held by Gobat and the CMS missionaries and the rivalry they experienced. Their Evangelical principles went hand in hand with criticism of the other churches. In their conversations and teaching they contrasted their own Evangelical Protestant values with the

doctrines and rituals of the other denominations: justification through faith alone versus good works, Christ as the only mediator instead of Mary and the Saints, sound biblical knowledge versus so-called 'ignorance', etcetera. All these themes had been traditional subjects of dispute between Protestants and Roman Catholics since the Reformation. By stressing the so-called 'errors' of the other churches Gobat and the CMS missionaries in fact confirmed their own Evangelical Protestant identity. The emphasis on their Evangelical identity was also reflected in the missionaries' 'conversion' narratives and other 'success' stories. In all such stories the 'errors' of the other churches were compared with their own 'superior' Evangelical beliefs.

Gobat's and the CMS missionaries' concept of 'true Christianity' as a 'spiritual' religion made them criticise the material support offered by the other churches to their own members. In the missionaries' eyes this 'material' religion was the opposite of 'spiritual' religion, because it made people dependent. However, the reality of the mission field, i.e., people's poverty, led to the missionaries' also providing people with education, medical care, alms, and so on. They did not view the help they offered as similar to the support provided by the other churches, as they believed their own activities to be diaconal work, which was generally accepted in Evangelical circles. Their strong disapproval of the other churches' housing and feeding of their own church members continued throughout Gobat's episcopate.

Looking back on the Gobat years we may conclude that his mission in cooperation with the CMS has been successful in terms of its own goals. The Protestant community in Palestine had increased considerably during Gobat's episcopate. Many schools and mission stations were opened in towns and villages, and were maintained and further expanded by the CMS.

After Gobat's death in 1879, it fell to Britain to nominate a new Protestant bishop. This was Joseph Barclay (1831-1881), a former LJS missionary who had worked in Jerusalem from 1861 to 1870. Consecrated on 25 July 1879, he arrived in Jerusalem on 3 February 1880. Barclay had no mission stations and schools under his control, because Gobat had handed them over to the CMS. By his death in October 1881 Barclay had not yet been able to put his stamp on the bishopric.[1]

[1] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 215-216; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 273-274.

After this, it was the turn of Germany to choose a new candidate. However, no new Protestant bishop was appointed, because in 1886 the bishopric as a joint enterprise came to an end, for reasons ranging from German foreign policy to objections against the bishopric from German church leaders.[2] From then on the Jerusalem bishopric was to continue as an Anglican bishopric. The first Anglican bishop was George Francis Popham Blyth, consecrated on 25 March 1887. Under Blyth the bishopric's object became the mission among Jews, Muslims and Druses; the mission among Christians of other churches was abandoned. With the new bishop, the cooperation between the bishopric and the CMS also came to an end.[3]

[2] For information about the end of the joint Protestant bishopric, see Tibawi, *British Interests*, 216-219; Lückhoff, *Anglikaner*, 285-293.
[3] Tibawi, *British Interests*, 222, 224-225. The relations between Blyth and the CMS were strained. For more information, see Tibawi, *British Interest*, 236-250.

Appendix

I Overview of the Protestant schools run by Gobat and the CMS

The table below presents an overview of the locations of Protestant schools in Palestine and their attendance figures. With a few exceptions, these figures are based on letters and reports by Gobat and the CMS missionaries, and do not include schools run by other Protestant organizations. As mentioned in Chapter 7, at the end of Gobat's episcopate the CMS was in charge of twenty-two or twenty-three schools. In the table below only those schools are included for which the missionaries mentioned the number of pupils in their reports.[1]

The table reflects the fact that in the letters and reports years, towns, and attendance figures are often incomplete and inconsistent. A reason for this inconsistency is that it sometimes is difficult to tell whether the figures concern one or more schools, and whether there was only a boys' school or also a girls' school. Furthermore, it is not always clear if the missionaries give figures for schools in just one town or if outstations are included. Another reason for the inconsistencies is that in some villages or towns the schools were sometimes closed for a time, because of the death of the schoolmaster or as a result of the competition with schools of other churches. As we have seen, according to the missionaries the rivalry with other denominations also (temporarily) affected attendance in the Protestant schools. In Lydda in 1864, for instance, there were twelve boys in the school, but after the Greek priest had excommunicated all people who sent their children to the Protestant school there were only three children left, according to Gruhler.[2]

[1] Consequently, CMS schools for which I have not found any attendance figures are not included, for instance Gaza, Jifna or Fuhais. Schapira mentions a school in Gaza. A new school in Jifna is mentioned by Nyland in 1880 and Johnson refers to a school in Fuhais. Schapira to Wright, Annual Letter, Gaza, December 1879, C M/O 64/8; Nyland, "Report about the outstations near Jerusalem", Ramallah, 25 March 1880, C M/O 57/1; Johnson to Hutchinson, Jerusalem, 25 November 1875, C M/O 38/2. All: Birmingham/UL.

[2] Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 18 June 1864, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/15.

Town or village	Number of schools and/or pupils
Akka[3]	1875: 16 children 1876: more than 30 boys
Beir Zeit	1878: 20 children
Beit Sahur[4]	May 1871: 5 children June 1871: 8 children
Jaffa[5]	1855: 30 girls in the girls' school and ca. 12 boys in the boys' school 1877: 3 schools: 154 children: 91 boys and 63 girls 1879: 5 schools: 264 children: 171 boys and 93 girls
Jerusalem[6]	1847: 9 children 1848: 12 children (in January), 17 (Februari) 1850: 35 children (boys and girls) 1851: 47 pupils 1878: 5 schools: 182 children (boys and girls) and 10 preparandi[7]
Lydda/Lod[8]	1864: 3 1868-1879: average of 70-100 children every year 1877: 2 schools: 30 in boys' school and 39 in girls' school 1879: more than 100 children in the schools after the summer 1879: 2 schools: 49 boys in the boys' school and 48 girls in the girls' school
Nablus[9]	1848: 21 boys 1854: 80 children 1878: 41 girls in girls' school (boys in the boys' school are not mentioned) 1879: 5 schools (number of children is not mentioned)
Nazareth[10]	1855: 30 children 1856: 26 boys 1857: 54 children: 34 boys and 20 girls 1868: 42 boys 1872: 6 schools: 152 boys and 6 preparandi

[3] Huber, "Report of the quarter ending September 30th 1875", Nazareth, 5 October 1875, C M/O 34/86; Boutaji, Annual Letter, Shefa Amer, 30 November 1876, C M/O 16/18. Both: Birmingham/UL.

[4] Saleem, Jerusalem, 25 May 1871, C M/O 8/83B; Saleem, Jerusalem, 23 June 1871, C M/O 83C. Both: Birmingham/UL.

[5] The figures of the 1870s probably apply to Jaffa and its outstations. Figures for Jaffa are based on: Krusé to the Secretaries of the CMS, "Journal of the Jaffa Station for the month of August", Jaffa, 4 September 1855, C M/O 45/169; Hall to Fenn, Annual Letter for "Jaffa, Ramleh and Lydd stations", Jaffa, 6 December 1877, C M/O 31/36; Hall to Fenn, Annual Letter for Jaffa, Ramle and Lydda, Jaffa, November 1877, C M/O 31/37. Both: Birmingham/UL.

[6] The figures for Jerusalem are based on: Gobat to Tait, Jerusalem, 21 November 1877, London/LPL, TP, 234. ff. 280-283; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 26 January 1848, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 207-208; Gobat to Rose, Jerusalem, 11 September 1850, London/BL, RP, 27, Add. 42798, ff. 227-228; Gobat to Venn, Jerusalem, 31 December 1851, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 28/71; Jamal to the CMS, Jerusalem, 11 January 1878, Birmingham/UL , C M/O 36/9.

[7] These are the figures for Jerusalem and outstations.

[8] The figures for Lydda are based on: Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 18 June 1864, C M/O 29/15; Hall to Fenn, Annual Letter for "Jaffa, Ramle and Lydd stations", Jaffa, Jaffa, 6 December 1877, C M/O 31/36; Damishky to Wright, Lydda, 1 June 1879, C M/O 22/1; Damishky to the CMS, Report, Lydda, 1 November 1879, C M/O 22/5; Odeh to Wright, Ramle, 1 November 1879, C M/O 58/2. All: Birmingham/UL.

[9] The figures for Nablus are based on: Annual Letter of 1848, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 300; Gobat to the CMS, Jerusalem, 16 June 1854, C M/O 28/73; Fallscheer to the CMS, Annual Letter, Nablus, 18 December 1878, C M/O 24/5; Fallscheer to Fenn, Annual Letter, Nablus, December 1879, C M/O 24/6. All: Birmingham/UL.

	1873: 6 schools: 250 boys 1874: 7 schools: 260 boys and 4 preparandi
Ramallah and outstations[11]	1878: 137 boys
Ramle[12]	1858: 32 children: 30 boys and 2 girls 1860: 20 children[13] 1861: 36 children 1877: 2 schools: 60 children: 30 boys and 30 girls. 1879: 2 schools: 69 children: 30 boys and 39 girls[14]
Salt[15]	1877: 1 school: 25/30 boys and girls 1879: 50 children: 36 boys and 14 girls
Shefa Amer[16]	1872: 25 children 1873: 48 children 1874: 30 boys 1876: 65 children
Taybeh[17]	1878: 25 children
Yaffa[18]	1858: 1 school: 20 children: 16 boys and 4 girls

[10] The figures for the 1870s probably apply to Nazareth and its outstations. Figures for Nazareth are based on: Klein to Venn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 11 February 1855, C M/O 41/282; Huber, "Report of the Quarter ending September 1856", Nazareth, 22 September 1856, C M/O 34/73; Müller, Annual Report, Nazareth, 3 March 1857, C M/O 54/2; Paddon, Annual Report, Nazareth, 28 December 1868, C M/O 60/9; Zeller to Fenn, Annual Letter, Nazareth, December 1872, C M/O 72/277; Kawar, "Translation of the Revd. Michael Kawar's Annual Letter", Nazareth, 10 December 1873, C M/O 40/6; Zeller to the Secretaries of the CMS in London, Annual Letter for 1874-1875, Nazareth, January 1875, C M/O 72/278. All: Birmingham/UL.

[11] By the outstations of Ramallah Nyland means: Taybeh, Beir Zeit and Beit Sahur. Nyland, Annual Letter, Ramallah, December 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 57/4.

[12] The figures for Ramle are based on: Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 24 december 1858, C M/O 29/7; Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 1 February 1860, C M/O 29/9; Gruhler to Sandreczki, Annual Letter, Ramle, 18 January 1861, C M/O 29/17; Hall to Fenn, Annual Letter for "Jaffa, Ramleh and Lydd stations", Jaffa, 6 December 1877, C M/O 31/36; Odeh to Wright, Ramle, 1 November 1879, C M/O 58/2. All: Birmingham/UL.

[13] In his Annual Report for 1860, Gobat mentions that about 40 children visited the Protestant school in Ramle. However, Gruhler says that there were indeed 40 children in the school, but that several children had left the school when a Greek Orthodox schoolmaster arrived. As a result the average number of children visiting the Protestant school was 20. Gobat, Annual Report, Jerusalem, 6 December 1860, in Gobat, *Leben und Wirken*, 428; Gruhler to Sandreczki, Quarterly Report, Ramle, 1 February 1860, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 29/9.

[14] The figures for the other years might also be based on two schools, one girls' school and one boys' school.

[15] Wolters to Fenn, Annual Letter, 20 December 1877, C M/O 71/154; Jamal to the secretaries of the CMS, Annual Letter, Salt, 29 November 1879, C M/O 36/11. Both: Birmingham/UL.

[16] The figures for Shefa Amer are based on: "Extracts of the journal of the Rev. Serafim Boutagi Quarter ending June 30th 1872", Shefa Amer, 30 June 1872, C M/O 16/11; "Translation of the Report of Serafim Boutagi, for the quarter ending, March 31st 1873. Shefamer", Shefa Amer, 31 March 1873, C M/O 16/13; Boutaji, Annual Letter, Shefa Amer, 26 November 1874, C M/O 16/16; Boutaji, Annual Letter, Shefa Amer, 30 November 1876, C M/O 16/18. All: Birmingham/UL.

[17] The figures for both Taybeh and Beir Zeit come from Nyland, Annual Letter, Ramallah, December 1878, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 57/4.

[18] Muller to Chapman, Annual Letter, Nazareth, 10 February 1859, Birmingham/UL, C M/O 54/3.

II Franciscan presence in nineteenth-century Palestine

The table below provides an overview of those towns and villages in Palestine[19] where the Custody of the Holy Land was present, together with the sanctuaries under their care, and their convents and hospices (*case nove*) during the nineteenth century.[20]

Town or village	Convents	Sanctuaries and other Holy Places	Hospices for Pilgrims
Acre	St. Francis		
Ain Karim or St. John in the Mountains	St. John	Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary Church of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist Desert of St. John the Baptist	Casa Nova
Bethlehem	St. Catherine	Basilica of the Nativity: Altar of the Manger Site and altar of the Adoration of the Magi Tomb of the Holy Innocents St. Jerome's Grotto Altar of St. Joseph Tomb and altar of St. Jerome Tomb of St. Eusebius Tomb of St. Paula Tomb of St. Eusiochium Cistern of David House of St. Joseph Milk Grotto Grotto of the Shepherds	Casa Nova
Bethany		Tomb of Lazarus	
Jericho		Chapel on the spot of the house of Zacchaeus	
Cana		House of the First Miracle and of Saint Bartholomew	
Capernaum		House for guarding the Holy Place	
Emmaus	St. Cleophas	Sanctuary of Emmaus	Casa Nova
Yafa (Galilee)		Chapel of St. James	
Jaffa (Judea)	St. Peter	Site of St. Peter's vision	Casa Nova
Jerusalem and environs	St. Saviour Holy Sepulchre Flagellation	Holy Sepulchre: Chapel of the crucifixion Chapel of the apparition Chapel of the Invention of the	Casa Nova

[19] The entire area of the Custody covered Palestine, Lower Egypt, Syria and Cyprus.

[20] This table is based on: Marcellino da Civezza, *Histoire*, 338-340; *Prospetto generale […]1862-1889*, 3-41; Marie-Léon, *La Custodie Franciscaine*, 43; Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, *Franciscan Schools of the Custody of the Holy Land*; *Famiglie Religiose della Oss. Custodia di Terra Santa*, Jerusalem, 1889; Claubry, *État*, 7-8; P. Kinsel and L. Henry, *The Catholic Shrines of the Holy Land*, London, 1951; Golubovich, *Serie Cronologica*, 194-210, 249-258.

		Cross Alter of the Addolorata Stone of Unction Tomb of the Redeemer Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene Grotto of the Agony Gardens of Gethsemane Holy Sepulchre Dominus Flevit Via Dolorosa Mount of Olives Bethphage	
Mount Thabor	Transfiguration	Sanctuary of the Transfiguration	Casa Nova
Naïm		Sanctuary on the site of Jesus' raising the widow's son from the dead	
Nazareth	Annunciation	Sanctuary of the Annunciation Workshop of St. Joseph Mensa Christi Mount of Precipitation	Casa Nova
Ramle	St. Nicodemus	Sanctuaries of the Saints Joseph and Nicodemus (this is the former Arimathea)	
Sephoris		House of St Anna	
Tiberias	St. Peter	Sanctuary of St. Peter	Casa Nova

III Patriarchal Missions established in the period 1848 - 1879

In order to give an impression of the status of the mission of the Latin patriarchate during the Valerga years and the first years of his successor Patriarch Vincent Bracco (between 1848-1879), the table below presents an overview of the towns or villages were the patriarchal mission was established, the year of its foundation, and indicates whether the *Dames de Nazareth*, *Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition*, or *Notre Dame de Sion* were present. In some cases the names of the first missionaries of the patriarchal mission in a town or village are given.[21]

[21] This table is based on: Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 177-210; *Missiones Patriarchatus Latini Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, n.d.; *Le Patriarcat Latin de Jérusalem, fondé en juillet 1099-réconstitué le 23 juillet 1847: Statistique Générale*, Jerusalem, 1928 ; Posetto, *Il Patriarcato*, 109-131.

Mission	Foundation	Patriarchal mission and Missionary society
Acre	1861	*Dames de Nazareth*
Beir Zeit	1859	Patriarchal mission (Joseph Coderc)
Beit Jala	1853 1875	Patriarchal mission (Jean Morétain) *Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition*
Beit Sahur	1859	Patriarchal mission (Jean Morétain)
Bethlehem	1853 1863/1864	*Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition* Orphanage founded by Antonio Belloni[22]
Ermémim	1873	Patriarchal mission
Fuhais	1874	Patriarchal mission
Gaza	1879	Patriarchal mission
Haifa	1858	*Dames de Nazareth* (besides the Carmelites)
Jaffa	1849	*Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition*
Jerusalem	1848 1856	Restoration Patriarchate *Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition* *Notre Dame de Sion*
Jifneh	1856	Patriarchal mission (Barthélemy Cardito: first missionary)
Karak	1875	Patriarchal mission
Lydda/Lod	1856	Patriarchal mission (Aldobrando de Matélica: first missionary)[23]
Madaba	1879/1880	Patriarchal mission
Nablus	1862	Patriarchal mission
Nazareth	1855	*Dames de Nazareth*
Rafidia	1865[24]	Patriarchal mission
Ramallah	1857 1872	Patriarchal mission (Pierre Cotta) *Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition*
Ramle	1873	*Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition*
Reneh	1878	Patriarchal mission
Salt	1866	Patriarchal mission
Shefa-Amer	1864 1879	*Dames de Nazareth* Patriarchal mission
St. John in the Mountains (Ain-Karim)	1863	*Notre Dame de Sion*
Taybeh	1860	Patriarchal mission (Philippe Uhlenbrock)
Yafa (near Nazareth)	1866	Patriarchal mission

[22] Antonio Belloni (1831-1903) had started the orphanage in Beit Jala, where he was a teacher at the seminary. About a year after its establishment the orphanage was transferred to Bethlehem. It was the first Catholic orphanage for boys in Palestine. Cf. Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 207-210; *Relazione per l'anno 1882 dell'opera della S. Famiglia in Betlemme*, Isernia, 1882.

[23] The Franciscan Aldobrando belonged to the mission in Ramle, but also took care of the mission in Lydda until 1858. In this year Valerga nominated Simon Kajabegow as pastor of Lydda. Duvignau, *Joseph Valerga*, 182-183. According to *Missiones Patriarchatus* the mission in Lydda was opened around 1864. *Missiones Patriarchatus*, 19.

[24] The foundation date given in the *Statistique Génerale* is 1879. *Statistique Génerale*, 7.

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Hannah Damischky (C M/O 22)

Christian Fallscheer (C M/O 24)

Joseph Jahu Abu (C M/O 27)

Samuel Gobat (C M/O 28)

John Gruhler (C M/O 29)

John Robert Longley Hall (C M/O 31)

James Jacob Huber (C M/O 34)

Chalil Jamal (C M/O 36)

Henry Johnson (C M/O 38)

Michael Kawar (C M/O 40)

Frederick Augustus Klein (C M/O 41)

William Krusé (C M/O 45)

Samuel Müller (C M/O 54)

George Nyland (C M/O 57)

Nasir Odeh (C M/O 58)

William Francis Locke Paddon (C M/O 60)

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Samenvatting

Bekering en rivaliteit in Palestina. De zending van de *Church Missionary Society* en de protestantse bisschop Samuel Gobat

Op 5 juli 1846 werd de Franstalige Zwitser Samuel Gobat gewijd tot tweede bisschop van het protestantse bisdom in Jeruzalem. Hiermee begon een episcopaat van bijna 33 jaar. Gedurende deze periode werkte Gobat nauw samen met de Britse *Church Missionary Society* (CMS), waarvoor hij zelf jarenlang als zendeling had gewerkt. Het zendingswerk van Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen was voornamelijk gericht op de bekering van christenen die behoorden tot de andere kerken in Palestina. De bisschop en de zendelingen hadden een gedeelde achtergrond in de Europese opwekkingsbeweging. In hun brieven aan het thuisfront komt de invloed van hun evangelicale achtergrond op het zendingswerk duidelijk naar voren. Uit de correspondentie blijkt tevens een sterke rivaliteit met de andere christelijke denominaties in Palestina. Deze dissertatie richt zich op de invloed van de evangelicale principes van Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen op hun zendingswerk, op de rivaliteit die zij ervoeren met de andere kerken in Palestina en op de relatie tussen de evangelicale opvattingen van Gobat en de zendelingen en hun houding ten opzichte van de andere denominaties.

Hoofdstuk 1 behandelt de historische context waarin de werkzaamheden van Gobat en de CMS zich afspeelden. Na Napoleons veldtocht door Egypte en Palestina in 1798-1799 raakten Europese mogendheden steeds meer geïnteresseerd in het Midden-Oosten. In die tijd werd het Osmaanse Rijk steeds zwakker en nam de Europese invloed in het Rijk toe. Als gevolg van verdragen die in voorgaande eeuwen waren gesloten, functioneerden Rusland en Frankrijk als beschermers van respectievelijk de oosters-orthodoxe en rooms-katholieken christenen in het Osmaanse Rijk. Groot-Brittannië en Pruisen probeerden in de negentiende eeuw eenzelfde protectoraatfunctie te vervullen voor de protestanten. Onder invloed van de protestantse opwekkingsbeweging in Europa nam, naast de politieke interesse, ook de religieuze interesse in Palestina toe. Vanaf de vroege negentiende eeuw richtten verschillende zendingsorganisaties hun aandacht op het Heilige Land. Hun pogingen zich te vestigen in Palestina werden vergemakkelijkt door de hervormingen onder de Egyptische heerser Mohammed Ali, die tussen 1831-1840

Palestina bezette. In deze periode werd Palestina ontsloten voor Europa: een eerste Europees consulaat werd gevestigd in Jeruzalem en zendingsactiviteiten werden ontplooid, onder andere door de *London Jews Society* (LJS).

In het Osmaanse rijk waren moslims en niet-moslims ongelijk voor de wet. Tijdens de Egyptische bezetting verbeterde de situatie voor de christelijke minderheden in Palestina, terwijl ook in het Osmaanse rijk, in 1839, een hervormingsedict werd afgevaardigd waarin moslims en niet-moslims gelijke burgerrechten verkregen. Dit edict werd geconsolideerd door een tweede hervormingsedict dat in 1856 werd afgekondigd. Nadat in 1840 Palestina met de hulp van Groot-Brittannië en Pruisen weer in Osmaanse handen was gevallen, was het klimaat gunstig voor beide Europese landen om een protestants bisdom te vestigen in Jeruzalem.

De vestiging van dit protestantse bisdom in 1841 is het thema van hoofdstuk 2. Drie gepassioneerde evangelicalen, de Pruisische diplomaat Christian Carl Josias Bunsen, de Britse Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper en de Pruisische koning Friedrich Wilhelm IV, speelden een belangrijke rol in de ontwikkeling van het plan om een protestants bisdom in Jeruzalem te vestigen, in de onderhandelingen tussen Pruisen en Groot-Brittannië daarover en bij de uiteindelijke oprichting van het bisdom. Bunsen werd gedreven door het theologische ideaal van een wereldwijde protestantse oecumenische eenheid en liet zich daarbij inspireren door eschatologische verwachtingen. Daarnaast speelden anti-rooms-katholieke sentimenten een rol. Bunsens anti-rooms-katholicisme en zijn eschatologische verwachtingen werden gedeeld door Lord Ashley. Ashley verbond, als fervent millenarist, de eschatologische verwachting met de idee van de terugkeer van de joden naar het beloofde land. Friedrich Wilhelm IV hoopte met de vestiging van een protestants bisdom in Jeruzalem de positie van de protestanten in het Heilige Land te verbeteren en zag in het bisdom een mogelijkheid om in de toekomst zelfstandige Pruisische zendingsactiviteiten in Palestina te ontwikkelen.

De richtlijnen voor de toekomstige bisschoppen van het bisdom, de *Statement of Proceedings*, bepaalden dat de bekering van de joden het hoofddoel van het bisdom was. In de *Statement* was verder bepaald dat de protestantse bisschop geen bekeerlingen mocht maken onder de oosterse christenen en vriendschappelijke betrekkingen met de oosterse kerken diende te onderhouden. De *Statement* was echter zeer negatief over de rooms-katholieke kerk, onder andere onder verwijzing naar haar verderfelijke invloed op de oosterse christenen.

Michael Solomon Alexander was de eerste bisschop van het bisdom. Zijn korte episcopaat, van 1841 tot zijn plotselinge dood in november 1845, is het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 3. In overeenstemming met de *Statement of Proceedings* richtte Alexander zijn zendingswerk alleen tot de joden. Hij werkte nauw samen met de LJS. Tijdens zijn episcopaat werden gevestigde instituten van de LJS verder ontwikkeld en nieuwe instellingen opgezet. Waar de zending onder de joden leidde tot conflicten met de leiders van de joodse gemeenschap in Jeruzalem, lijkt Alexander geen noemenswaardige conflicten te hebben gehad met de christelijke denominaties. Dit kwam waarschijnlijk doordat Alexander zijn zendingswerk alleen op de joden concentreerde en niet probeerde christenen van andere kerken te bekeren tot het protestantisme.

Met Samuel Gobat, Alexanders opvolger, ging het roer van de zending om. Tijdens zijn episcopaat stelde Gobat de zending onder de joden niet langer centraal, maar richtte zich op de bekering van christenen, zowel de oosters-orthodoxe christenen als de katholieken. In hoofdstuk 4 staan Gobat en zijn zending onder de christenen centraal. De bisschop stond zeer kritisch tegenover de leerstellingen en rituelen van de andere kerken. In zijn brieven benadrukt Gobat bij herhaling dat hij de andere kerken wilde *hervormen*, hetgeen volgens de *Statement of Proceedings* was toegestaan, maar in de praktijk bleek dat hij de leden van andere kerken juist wilde *bekeren*. Ook de CMS-zendelingen richtten zich in hun werk op de bekering van andere christenen. Het zendingswerk van Gobat en de CMS leidde tot een gespannen relatie met de rooms-katholieke kerk in Palestina, omdat beide denominaties hun zending en missie op de oosterse christenen richtten en omdat Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen probeerden rooms-katholieken te bekeren.

De vestiging van het protestantse bisdom in Jeruzalem en Gobats benoeming hebben bijgedragen tot het herstel van het Latijnse patriarchaat van Jeruzalem in 1847. Dit patriarchaat, dat tijdens de kruistochten had bestaan, was sinds die tijd niet meer door een prelaat ter plaatse bezet geweest. Tot 1847 was de Franciscaanse Custodie van het Heilige Land de voornaamste vertegenwoordiging van de rooms-katholieke kerk in Palestina. In januari 1848 kwam de eerste patriarch van het herstelde Latijnse patriarchaat, Giuseppe Valerga, aan in Jeruzalem. Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt het herstel van het patriarchaat en Valerga's episcopaat. Uit dit hoofdstuk blijkt dat de protestantse zendingsactiviteiten ook leidden tot andere rooms-katholieke missionaire initiatieven in Palestina, zoals de vestiging van de vrouwencongregatie van de *Dames de Nazareth*. De protestanten beschouwden het herstel van het patriarchaat als een keerpunt in de

relaties tussen protestanten en rooms-katholieken. Volgens Gobat was het anti-protestantisme in Palestina sterker geworden als gevolg van de komst van Valerga.

Hoofdstuk 6 behandelt de verwachtingen die Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen koesterden ten aanzien van het maken van, in hun eigen woorden, '*ware*' of '*echte*' christenen. Een vergelijking van de bekeringsverhalen in de protestantse correspondentie met de typische evangelicale bekeringsverhalen uit Europa of Noord-Amerika wijst uit dat een persoon als een 'waar' christen gold als deze een overweldigende bekeringservaring had meegemaakt. Een dergelijke ervaring bestond uit innerlijke strijd, gebed, besef van de eigen zondigheid, volledige overgave en vertrouwen op Christus als de Heiland. De Bijbel nam vaak een belangrijke plaats in in het bekeringsproces. Volgens de zendelingen onderscheidde een dergelijke bekeringservaring christenen van niet-christenen. Naar aanleiding van hun ervaringen in het Midden-Oosten pasten de zendelingen echter hun verwachtingen over bekering aan en kozen voor een pragmatische benadering. Ze besloten mensen tot de protestantse gemeente toe te laten zonder van hen te verwachten dat ze 'echt' bekeerd waren. Zo waren de zendelingen toch in staat protestantse gemeenten en kerken te stichten, ondanks het gebrek aan 'ware' bekeerlingen. Dit betekent niet dat Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen hun evangelicale principes opzij zetten. Zij waren ervan overtuigd dat zij konden werken aan het geloof van hun gemeenteleden, wat er toe kon leiden dat mensen 'echte' christenen zouden worden. 'Echte' bekeringen worden echter nauwelijks genoemd in de CMS-documenten. 'Succesverhalen' over de ontwikkeling van mensen op het gebied van vroomheid, geloof en gedrag worden daarentegen veel vaker vermeld. Met deze verhalen wilden de zendelingen de noodzaak en vooruitgang van de protestantse zending aantonen en zich verzekeren van de financiële steun van het thuisfront.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt het onderwijs in de scholen van Gobat en de CMS tegen de achtergrond van drie kenmerken van evangelicalisme: bibliocentrisme, conversionisme en crucicentrisme. Uit brieven van Gobat en de CMS blijkt hoezeer het onderwijs in hun scholen doordrongen was van hun evangelicale principes, met name van hun biblicisme: in sommige gevallen bestond het onderwijs zelfs alleen uit het lezen van de bijbel. Aangezien de kinderen uit verschillende religieuze achtergronden kwamen, beschouwden de zendelingen de scholen als een zeer belangrijk middel om mensen te bekeren. Via de leerlingen konden zij ook de ouders en families van de kinderen bereiken. De centrale evangelicale ideeën werden op de kinderen overgebracht door bijbelverhalen te bespreken en erover te discussiëren. Deze discussies, bijvoorbeeld over

Christus als middelaar tussen God en mens in plaats van Maria, waren doordrongen van kritiek op de andere kerken. Op deze manier werd het protestantisme tegenover de andere denominaties geplaatst en werd tegelijkertijd de eigen (evangelicale) protestantse identiteit benadrukt. De scholen waren een bron van rivaliteit tussen de verschillende denominaties. Volgens de zendelingen leidden hun scholen tot de opening van scholen door de andere kerken, tot een strijd om leerlingen, tot pesterijen en zelfs tot rellen.

Hoofdstuk 8 gaat dieper in op de rivaliteit tussen de protestanten en de rooms-katholieken. Uitgangspunt hierbij is de protestantse anti-rooms-katholieke polemiek en de rooms-katholieke anti-protestantse polemiek. Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen bekritiseerden in hun brieven regelmatig de 'wandaden' van de katholieken, zoals bijbelverbrandingen door katholieke geestelijken en excommunicaties van katholieken die contacten hadden met de protestanten. De zendelingen beschouwden zulke daden als verdorven en aanstootgevend. Zij hekelden tevens de materiële steun van de katholieke kerk aan hun gemeenteleden; deze weerhield mensen ervan over te stappen naar de protestantse kerk. Aan de ene kant portretteerden de protestanten zichzelf zo als de 'underdog' en riepen zij het beeld op van een kleine, oprechte, vervolgde protestantse gemeenschap tegenover een grote corrupte rooms-katholieke kerk. Aan de andere kant toonden de protestantse documenten een superioriteitsgevoel ten opzichte van de andere kerken. De protestantse correspondentie toont ook het gemak en de vanzelfsprekendheid waarmee zowel protestanten als katholieken de hulp van Europese mogendheden inriepen om in te grijpen in conflicten tussen de verschillende denominaties in het Osmaanse Rijk.

De rooms-katholieke anti-protestantse correspondentie toont bezorgdheid over het protestantse zendingswerk. Over de protestanten wordt vaak vermeld dat zij veel inkomsten hadden, zeer actief waren in hun zendingswerk en dat ze misbruik maakten van de armoede en ellende van de katholieken in Palestina. In tegenstelling tot de protestanten maakten de rooms-katholieken zich in hun correspondentie nauwelijks druk over de eigen identiteit.

Het onderzoek leidt tot drie belangrijke bevindingen: allereerst, de grote invloed van de evangelicale opvattingen van Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen op hun zendingswerk; al hun activiteiten waren doordrenkt van hun evangelicalisme. Een tweede bevinding is de hevigheid van de rivaliteit tussen de protestanten en de katholieken, die soms zelfs

leidde tot fysiek geweld tussen beide partijen. Uit de protestantse teksten spreekt, vaak impliciet, de overtuiging dat meer mensen protestants zouden worden als hun geestelijken dit niet zouden verhinderen, bijvoorbeeld door excommunicaties en de materiële steun die zij boden. Een derde bevinding is het verband tussen de evangelicale opvattingen van Gobat en de CMS-zendelingen en de rivaliteit met de andere kerken. Vanuit hun evangelicale principes benadrukten de zendelingen de zogenaamde 'dwalingen' van de andere kerken. Zo plaatsten zij het protestantisme tegenover de andere denominaties en bevestigden zij tegelijkertijd hun eigen evangelicale protestantse identiteit.

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Curriculum Vitae

Charlotte van der Leest werd op 31 maart 1973 geboren te Breukelen. In 1991 behaalde zij het Gymnasiumdiploma aan het Comenius College te Hilversum. Vanaf 1991 studeerde zij Godgeleerdheid aan de Universiteit Leiden en vanaf september 1998 volgde zij ook de kerkelijke opleiding vanwege de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk verbonden aan de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid te Leiden. In 2000 legde zij haar doctoraalexamen in de Godgeleerdheid af, met als hoofdvak Antieke Religies en als bijvak Assyriologie. In dat jaar legde zij tevens haar kerkelijk examen af. Hierna werkte zij enige tijd als plaatsvervangend studiecoördinator van de kerkelijke opleiding aan de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid te Leiden. Van 1 mei 2001 tot 1 mei 2005 was zij als assistent in opleiding verbonden aan de Leidse Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, afdeling Geschiedenis van het christendom, in het kader van het project "New Faith in Ancient Lands, Protestant Missionary Encounters with Eastern Christians" onder leiding van dr. H.L. Murre-van den Berg. Dit project werd gefinancierd door het College van Bestuur van de Universiteit Leiden als een Leidse aanvulling op de Aspasiafondsen van NWO. Haar onderzoek bracht haar in Birmingham, Oxford, Londen en Rome. Vanaf eind 2006 is zij werkzaam bij de Nederlandse Onderzoekschool voor Theologie en Religiewetenschap (NOSTER) als ambtelijk secretaris en opleidingscoördinator.