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THE FORGOTTEN WAY

LEWIS WAY, JEWISH EMANCIPATOR
AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSEMITE



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THE FORGOTTEN WAY.

LEWIS WAY, JEWISH EMANCIPATOR AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSEMITE

Lewis Way (1776-1840) is well known within CMJ as one of the founders and the financial saviour of the London Jews Society (LJS)¹ in 1815, but especially for his deep love for Jewish people.² Philosemitism means a love and respect for Jewish people (philo Gk. for love),³ and it was said of Way “that he was the first in modern times to convince the Jews that a Christian can truly love them”.⁴ A forgotten element about him is the important contribution that he made to Jewish emancipation, evidenced by his speech in October 1818 promoting Jewish rights and equality for them in Europe.⁵

The bi-centenary of this speech was celebrated by CMJ on 13 October 2018 at the Hebrew chapel that Way had built at his large country house at Stansted Park, near Chichester in West Sussex.⁶ Way spoke at the Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) Peace Conference to the crowned heads of Europe, including the leaders Metternich and Wellington, following the Napoleonic Wars. He was invited to speak by Czar Alexander I (1777-1825) of Russia, ‘the most powerful man in Europe’. Aix was chosen by the Czar because of the historic links to Charlemagne (742-814), called the ‘Father of Europe’, who had established it as his imperial capital. Kohler observes that “certainly not until latterly have we been regarding Russia as taking the lead in work of this nature [Jewish emancipation]”.⁷ This article seeks to honour Way’s legacy.

Way had been educated at Eton, where he was a close friend of the Duke of Wellington, and at Merton College, Oxford. He originally trained as a barrister at the Inner Temple, which he hated; he smuggled theology books into his office to read when

he was bored. His father had firmly stated that “he was too intelligent to become a clergyman”.⁸ His forebears included Puritan ministers from Bristol, one of whom was ejected from the Anglican church in 1662. His family lived at Denham, near Uxbridge in Buckinghamshire. In 1817, he became an evangelical Anglican clergyman.

Jewish historians and commentators, who have always regarded Way as a hero,⁹ celebrated the centenary of his speech in 1918 by publishing *Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna 1814/15 and Aix-la-Chapelle 1818* by Max Kohler, which is a book about him and his Protocols requesting emancipation.¹⁰ Way had been introduced to the Czar by his uncle, Edward Cooke, who had arranged a letter of introduction from Sir George Rose, the H.M. Ambassador in Berlin. Way met the Czar Alexander I four times: in Moscow in January 1818, and later in May at Sympherol in the Crimea.¹¹ The Czar was planning a community of ‘Christian Israelites’ in Crimea, and then Way stayed there helping to establish this plan. Way had toured Europe and Russia in 1817/18 to meet the Jewish communities. He called it ‘a mission of enquiry’, yet left behind Mary, his pregnant wife and four children.¹² The LJS later established mission bases in the key cities highlighted by Way. At the LJS annual meeting in May 1817, it was reported that “the Emperor Alexander had been particularly interested in their [Jews] favour from their fidelity to him at the time of the French invasion”.¹³ The Czar had sympathy with the persecuted Jews, and consequently he sought to challenge Christians to treat them with compassion and to improve their civil rights. The Czar had great influence in Europe, yet he became a close friend of Lewis Way; they studied the Bible together, they prayed for his speech and this venture at Aix, as directed by the Czar. In a letter to William Wilberforce (1759-1833), Way explained that “it was not the audience of a private man with an Emperor, but rather a most friendly exchange of views of a Christian with a fellow Christian”.¹⁴

On this European stage, Way issued a Protocol in 1818 with the Czar’s imprimatur, giving his significant speech in French. The Principles, the summary, recommended:

All civil and social rights ought to be accorded to the Israelites without any difference from those enjoyed by Christians.

The governments ought to induce their priests, and especially the bishops, to preach to their fullest ability, both by their example and their speech, the widest charity toward the children of Israel.

Oppose and refute those who will not support this Petition for Jewish Rights and of Israelites to civil rights.

Finally, this committee would undertake to ascertain the best means of reforming and perfecting the civil, moral and religious state of the children of Israel, to spread and promote mutual education among them and the taste for the mechanical and liberal arts.¹⁵

Way pleaded for the Jews to be treated with greater respect throughout Europe. He confessed to his hearers the sin of the church regarding antisemitism over the centuries, particularly from the Council of Nicaea in 325CE onwards when most of the Jewish elements were erased from the church. At that time, the date of Easter was purposely changed from the previous shared date of the Jewish Passover in an attempt to abandon the Jewish roots of the Christian faith. This resulted in 1500 years of active persecution and condemnation of Jewish people by the church. The significance of Way's speech was that he challenged the prevailing errors of the clergy and the prejudiced laity in a public forum designed to rebuild Europe, as he sought to chart a new direction and to promote unity. This was a massive challenge for one man.

During Way's speech in French, in his excitement he briefly broke into English:

What I plead for on behalf of this distressed people is civil and political freedom – an entrance into the great family of Society. It is vain to ask the Jews to become Christians otherwise!¹⁶

Way felt excited after his speech and declared that “it is certain that such an appeal has not been made for the poor Jews since the days of Mordecai and Esther”.¹⁷ Kohler explains that Way was encouraged by the immediate response to his speech, “the Conference recognises the justice of [Way's] general tendency...in order to clarify a [Jewish] problem, which must claim the attention equally of both the statesman and the humanitarian”.¹⁸ The leaders, Metternich, Richelieu, Castlereagh, Wellington and others, signed the document in November 1818, and later published a report of 78 pages. But then they did nothing. They had listened with respect, but then ignored him. Following the Congress, Way never saw the Czar again.¹⁹ However, it was still a very important event in the movement within Europe for Jewish rights.

The strategic importance of Way's Principals was found amongst Metternich's papers in 1881 showing evidence that he had used Way's arguments for his paper *On the Question of the Jews*; but it was never published. Fienberg asserted that "it took the initiative of an English clergyman to achieve something that the Jews had not been able to do for themselves before 1818",²⁰ which was a clear reference to his pioneering international speech, promoting Jewish emancipation.

JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN ENGLAND

Way's speech followed in the development of the formal debate about Jewish Emancipation in Europe. Following the 1789 French Revolution,²¹ Paris was influenced by a new sympathy for the status of the French Jews. Surprisingly, Napoleon in many ways was philosemitic. In 1807, he accepted a Grand Sanhedrin in Paris. Before his earlier campaigns in Palestine around 1799, he quoted Isaiah. It is clear that scriptural principles influenced his attitude towards the possible return of the Jews to their land. He was finally defeated by the British at Acre later in 1799. When Napoleon conquered Germany, "some measure of civil rights was given to the Jews".²² The earlier Congress of Vienna in 1815, directly after the Napoleonic wars, had debated the issue of 'Jewish Rights'. It was "probably for the first time in modern Jewish history that Jewish emancipation was officially passed upon at a conference of the nations".²³ The Treaty of Vienna had promised action, but nothing had happened. In 1818, the fresh impetus was coming from Russia, encouraged by the Christian faith of the Czar, who saw that his personal influence in Europe would be strengthened by promoting Jewish Emancipation through Way's speech.

For most of the latter part of the eighteenth century, and into the nineteenth century, the Jews in England had been hoping for more acceptance as full citizens within British society. There had been a Jew Bill in 1753, that was passed, but then quickly withdrawn following vicious antisemitic agitation. Eventually, Catholic emancipation was granted in 1829. This legislation raised their hopes, and it prompted moves to petition for similar civil rights for the Jews, another excluded group.²⁴ It is most surprising that the senior members of the LJS, including Lord Shaftesbury²⁵ and Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786-1855), MP for Oxford University and the treasurer of the LJS from 1819, opposed emancipation. It has been speculated that they thought that if Jews were more fully absorbed into society, then they would be less willing to

convert. In effect, their social exclusion aided the perception for the Jews themselves that to be a proper Englishman, they had to become Christians.

WAY, THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSEMITE AND MILLENNIALIST

Way has been recognised as a leading philosemite and he was called by God to this Jewish ministry in 1811 through a story he was told when he was riding past the house of two old ladies between Exeter and Exmouth. The Parminter cousins, who came from Huguenot roots, believed that God still had an eternal covenant with the Jews, and they had reportedly instructed in their will that their oak trees at A la Ronde, near Exmouth, should remain standing until the Jews were restored to the Holy Land.²⁶ This sparked Way's interest in the nascent LJS. Earlier in 1804, he had inherited £300,000, a fortune, from a namesake, John Way (1734-1804), who instructed him to use the money "for the glory of God".²⁷ He used this legacy to fund the almost bankrupt LJS in 1815, and he also invested in Palestine Place at Bethnal Green, East London, the Jewish outreach centre that incorporated an Episcopal Jews' Chapel.²⁸ His vision was to meet better educated Jews. This prompted his European journey that extended for nearly 18 months from August 1817 to December 1818. In London there were only about 13,000,²⁹ who were mostly the poor Ashkenazis. The LJS was surprised by his regular reports, when he reported that he was generally welcomed by the European Jews, even though he sought to convert them. As soon as the Jews realised that he was sympathetic to them and their cause, they supported him. He visited many synagogues and debated with them there, offering them copies of the Hebrew New Testament, recently published by the LJS in July 1817.

At his large country mansion in West Sussex, which he bought in 1805, he established a small community of sixteen converted Jews, even though some of them later stole his silver spoons. Stirling comments that "he was warm-hearted and ardent, but he was too generous to be suspicious".³⁰ There at Stansted Park in 1815, he rebuilt the estate chapel with Hebrew features, which was dedicated by his friend, Thomas Burgess, the Bishop of St David's. The formal consecration was in January 1819 by Dr Henry Ryder, the Bishop of Gloucester; the service was attended by John Keats, the poet.³¹ Keats explained the "this chapel is built by a Mr Way, a great Jew converter – who in that line has spent £100,000. He maintains a great number of poor Jews [at Stansted]".³² Samuel Wilberforce later preached his first sermon there. This chapel can still be visited today. His generosity was abused by Joseph Frey, the original founder of the LJS, and then by Jacob Josephson (1782-1845), who robbed

him of £600.³³ Wilberforce sent his son, Samuel, later the Bishop of Oxford, to be tutored at Stansted with Albert (1805-1874), Way's son, as well as Henry Hoare of the banking family. The Wilberforces spent many weekends and holidays at Stansted, especially when Way was in Europe and Russia, to support his wife.³⁴ Samuel records a great affection for Way, who called him, Wilbur. Lord Macaulay (1800-1859) wrote a verse about Way:

Each, says the Proverb, has his taste. 'Tis true

Marsh loves a controversy, Coates a play,

Bennet a felon, Lewis Way, a Jew,

The Jew, the silver spoons of Lewis Way.

When Way returned from Europe, he wanted to establish a Hebrew college at Stansted to prepare missionaries to the Jews. Charles Simeon (1759-1836),³⁵ the vicar of Holy Trinity Cambridge for 54 years, and others met with him at Wilberforce's house at Marden Park in Surrey on 31 December 1818, because they were concerned that Way would deprive his family of their inheritance. They agreed that Way had made adequate provision for his family. A nascent Hebrew college was formed, but it required the recognition of the Anglican church, which was not granted. Dr Alexander McCaul (1799-1863) and Dr Joseph Wolff (1795-1862) studied there for a while. The college was later transferred to Palestine Place in London and McCaul became the Principal in 1840.

Sadly, Way broke with the LJS and Simeon in 1824 over premillennialism; he had been influenced by Edward Irving (1792-1834) and then the Albury prophetic conference in 1826. This conference was founded by Way and held at Albury Park, Henry Drummond's (1786-1860) country house in Surrey.³⁶ Simeon had warned about "an unhealthy preoccupation with prophecy...some of his closest associates were involved [at Albury]".³⁷ Way revealed his anguish and mental distress during the dispute, "I have enough to do if my life is to be spared, and as it was devoted to the cause of Israel before I belonged to your Society, it will be so when that connection has ceased".³⁸ His uncle, Edward Cooke, harshly criticised him and wrote to him, "you have bid adieu to the beggarly elements of Common Sense and Discretion. Do you not fly from your friends who reason with you and oppose you? Then you

resort to those who flatter you”.³⁹ His daughter, Druscilla (1804-1886), said he was stubborn to cut himself off from his close spiritual friends. He had become involved with the prophetic end-time extremists, when he chose to move from the post-millennial position of the Clapham Sect, and instead, embrace the resurgent literalist pre-millennial theology. This new movement seriously fractured evangelical unity and unfortunately, Way had chosen to be divisive. The LJS did not want any contention over the place of the Jews in the last days; they had always asked Way and their members for toleration of other eschatological views. But Way was fixated on the Millennium, which he considered to be imminent. He had written several articles during 1822 under the pseudonym, Basilicus, in the LJS house journal, the Jewish Expositor. The LJS had warned in The LJS General Instructions to their Missionaries 1824, “be careful then, not to weaken your strength by entering into too minute expositions of unfulfilled prophecy”. Interestingly, a copy of these instructions is to be found in Way’s personal papers, with his extensive handwritten notes.⁴⁰

This became a divisive topic. Meyir Verete, the Jewish historian, records that “over forty books were written between 1796 and 1799 about the Millennium by Protestants”.⁴¹ Henry Gauntlett (1762-1833),⁴² a leader of the LJS in Gloucester and London, unmasked Basilicus and challenged Way, “as a person, his piety, zeal and benevolence in the case of Religion, justly renders him the object of esteem and the gratitude of every Christian Philanthropist; but as an expositor of the Millennium...I differ with him in toto”.⁴³ Way insisted upon promoting Edward Irving, the founder of the early charismatic and tongues movement, and a leader in the growing obsession with the prophetic. Irving was later charged with heresy over his Christology, and then dismissed from his post in the church of Scotland.⁴⁴ Another leader was Henry Drummond, who later founded the divisive Catholic Apostolic Church, in which he held the offices of “a prophet, apostle and evangelist”.⁴⁵ One of their churches remains today at Gordon Square in Bloomsbury, close to the heart of London University; it has been reused by the Anglican church. This prophetic group following Albury, then developed into holding prophetic conferences at Powerscourt, near Dublin, where Lady Powerscourt invited John Nelson Darby to speak.⁴⁶ His influence was very strong. He founded the Brethren movement, and later in America he promoted his doctrine of Dispensationalism. This root has resulted in the American Christian Zionist lobby observed today.

Way began to run out of money so he rented out Stansted and he moved his family to Nice in 1822 for his health. A chapel was opened in a house on Advent Sunday 1822 and he became the chaplain to the English community, who nicknamed him 'Louis d'Or'. While he was there, he established a close relationship with the local Jewish community; the Rabbi attended his new chapel one day. In return, Way and Druscilla were invited to visit the synagogue, when a wedding was in progress. Druscilla read a passage publically from the Torah in Hebrew, and Way was invited to the front by the Rabbi with the request, "sit thou on my right hand".⁴⁷

The stress of his divisive behaviour in England had taken a toll on both his body and his mind. From Nice he made a final journey in 1823 towards Jerusalem, with the aim of founding a missionary training college in Lebanon. He travelled via Leghorn, visiting the Jewish community there of 15,000. En route, he had a personal audience with Pope Pius VII in Rome. The Pope offered him a former Jesuit college in Antoura on Mount Lebanon, and he had the legal papers prepared. This was a kind gesture, which followed this significant encounter with an English Protestant clergyman. Way challenged the Pope about the weekly 'forced sermons' given to the Roman Jews, seeking his support for greater tolerance of his Jewish community. He also preached in the Anglican church in Rome on 6 April 1823 about the Waldensians, seeking to raise funds for this persecuted Protestant Christian group in Italy. He travelled with his children, Albert and Druscilla. Druscilla pleaded to go with him to the Holy Land, but he sent her home from Rome, wisely suggesting such a trip would possibly be hazardous for a young lady of eighteen. When he reached Antoura in Lebanon, Way was taken seriously ill with a fever in July 1823, and was unable to move and forced to rest for a month in the heat. He had to urgently return to Nice, as Albert feared for his father's life. Way's lifelong vision of visiting Jerusalem was denied to him, a failure which was a severe challenge to him mentally. Wolff visited him when he was so ill, and Way realised that his 'mission' to the Middle East should be handed over to the converted Jew. Dr Wolff was to become a pioneer missionary in Central Asia and the Middle East, he proved to be a great success in those challenging areas.⁴⁸ The LJS established 46 mission stations in Europe, Jerusalem and the Middle East by the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

THE EMANCIPATION BATTLE WITHIN EVANGELICALISM

Way had helped to create a division within evangelicalism. One side wanted to convert the Jews, the other believed that they should treat them with respect and honour them as equal citizens. It raises the question, which approach was truly philosemitic? To accept Jews only if they converted can be seen to be manipulative, but to accept them as the people originally chosen by God and worthy of respect as Jews, seems to be the approach of Way in his speech. Many members of the LJS moved backwards from 1818, when they later wanted to use the Jewish rights movement as a political and religious tool. This group believed that, before the Jews could be fully accepted as equal members of society, they must be converted.

Regular petitions to Parliament supporting emancipation were raised from 1830, when the newly elected Thomas Babington Macaulay made an historic speech on behalf of the Jews. Over several years, in some Bills the Commons gave their support, but the Lords normally objected. A significant supporter of the Jewish position was the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843), who was a noted Hebraist. In contrast, a consistent opponent was King William IV. The heart of the problem was the oath that was required to take a Parliamentary seat, “and I make this Declaration upon the true Faith of a Christian”. Lionel de Rothschild had been elected MP for the City of London in 1847, but he was unable to serve in Parliament. Eventually, following the Jews’ Relief Act in July 1858, he was allowed to take a different oath; covering his head and using only the Hebrew Bible, he vowed “so help me, Jehovah”. So, the emancipation issue was not settled until 1858 in England, when Rothschild finally took his seat in Parliament.⁵⁰

WAY, THE PHILO-JUDAEAN SOCIETY AND THE JEWS

A rival society to the LJS, the Philo-Judaeen Society (PJS) was formed by the evangelicals, which was linked with the Jewish lobby to petition for Jewish emancipation. The dominant leaders were Henry Drummond, MP for Surrey and a key committee member of the LJS, and Lord Mandeville (1799-1855). The supporters widened to incorporate the influential Lord Macaulay, the son of Zachary, a close member with Wilberforce of the Clapham Sect, and Lord Bexley, a committee member of the LJS. In the Commons, Robert Grant, the son of Charles Grant, another Clapham Sect member, agreed with Way’s argument to emancipate individual Jews by actively promoting emancipation.

The PJS Report in 1829 outlined the key rules and objects of their vision.⁵¹

To circulate the Holy Scriptures and Tracts among the Hebrews.

To procure the removal of civil disabilities from the Hebrew people, and to promote their national welfare.

To promote among Christians a kindly feeling (philosemitism) towards the Hebrews, and a correct knowledge of their present condition.

To forward these objects in other countries, as opportunities may present themselves.

Some of the key leaders who were earlier linked with the LJS like Hon. Gerard Noel, Hugh McNeile, J. R. Maitland and Drummond were also now actively involved with the PJS. Some other members later broke away from the church to form the Catholic Apostolic Church (CAC), such as Drummond, John Tudor, the editor of *The Morning Watch*, the CAC house magazine, and Spencer Perceval (the son of the Prime Minister murdered in 1812, Spencer Perceval Snr.). The PJS followed very closely in the spirit of Way's campaign; they appreciated that "the British government acknowledged the principle of the equality of civil rights for the Jews at The Congress of Vienna" (1815).⁵² They observed that the legal system had produced understandable grievances for the Jews, which revealed "an open spirit of hatred and persecution against them".⁵³ They further complained about the dubious practices of some London parishes, where the rich Jews lived, who elected them to the office of church warden, and then fined them for not serving; a nasty mockery. The PJS also provided some funds for poor Jews, which led to correspondence with the Wardens of Duke's Place, who appreciated such gifts.⁵⁴ It prompted the Jewish leaders to immediately set up their own benevolent societies, to prevent any further Christian missionary efforts. The PJS was apparently in healthy competition with the LJS when they distributed Hebrew and English Bibles to local Jews, which had been provided by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

As this study develops, it is important to see how the PJS followed Way's call to action, rather than the LJS. In the First Report in 1827, they devote two pages to reprint The Rev. Lewis Way in his Memorial, presented to the Emperor of Russia, which is Way's Protocols, set out in a parallel format in French and English.⁵⁵ Way is described by them as "that early and zealous friend of the Hebrew nation".

Their report emphasises the “intention to reform the civil and political laws (of Europe), which affect the Jewish nation”; they list Metternich, Richlieu, Castlereagh, Wellington, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Nesselrode and Capo d’Istrias, the signatories in 1818. In the discussions recorded in the Report, Hugh M’Neile, an Anglican vicar, speaks about “the apprehension entertained that the PJS might interfere with the objects of the London Society (LJS)”.⁵⁶ He explains that temporal welfare is excluded by the LJS, and he also confronts the offence for the Dissenters that they have had no Jewish Society they could join since 1815. Way, Simeon and the committee at that time expressly excluded Dissenters, a condition that Way had required before contributing ‘his rescue money’, in effect creating a ‘solely Anglican Society’. The PJS allowed all Christians to become members. The personal links with the LJS is shown; a PJS motion is proposed by Alexander, “a Jewish rabbi recently baptised at Plymouth”, later to become the Bishop of Jerusalem. Alexander’s motion supported M’Neile’s recent sermon at St Clement Danes, in the Strand, which was on ‘the Prophecies Relative to the Jewish nation’. This revealed the theological difference that was developing, with a focus on the place of the Jews in the end times. M’Neile had been an integral part of the Albury conference, as he was the vicar of Albury Church. Extensive reference is made to Lady Georgiana Wolff, the wife of Joseph, and her financial contribution of £1 is noted. An intriguing donation of £2 is recorded from a ‘Miss A. Parminter, of A la Ronde, near Exeter’, one of the sisters who had first inspired Way’s commitment to the Jewish cause.

THE HIDDEN WAY

For many years scholars have dismissed Lewis Way and his speech as worthy, but insignificant. Recent research has demonstrated that this narrow view is wrong. The LJS made the decision to limit the debates over premillennialism to prevent disunity. As the LJS wanted to ignore this growing momentum, those dissatisfied with the stance of the LJS, especially the Dissenters and those connected with the Albury Conferences (1826-30) took another path. In 1826, Way founded the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy with Irving, Wolff and Frere; Way had already split from the LJS in 1824.⁵⁷ They were all part of Albury. This new track began to promote two conflicting attitudes. The negative one was that the Jews only mattered in the Last Days, at the Parousia, when by a miracle the nation would be converted, consequently any current evangelism was irrelevant. The positive track was that the Jews mattered now, and they should be welcomed into the life of the nation, because they were fellow members of the human race, deserving emancipation and equality. This

philosemitic approach removed the antisemitic tropes of 'the rejected Jew for eternity' and the stain of deicide levelled at them by the church over the centuries. As the LJS chose not to provide general benevolent relief for the Jewish people and did not want to be politically involved in Jewish Emancipation, following the debates over Catholic Emancipation, the PJS had found a new opening. Many had thought that it was just and fair, following the Catholic emancipation in 1829, that the Jews would be next. An interesting alliance was formed with Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), the foremost Irishman called 'The Emancipator', with Isaac L. Goldsmid and Nathan Rothschild in July 1828, who had stimulated this hope for Jewish Emancipation.

A recent journal article and an extensive study of this period has revealed that the foundations of Way's religious tolerance and his petition for Jewish rights was taken up by the emancipationists. They comprised a united group of both Jews and evangelical Christians. Insights into this important coalition have been hidden until recently. I acknowledge the insightful research of Chris Monaco from Oxford Brookes University.⁵⁸ He highlights Moses Levy (1782-1854), an American antislavery emancipationist from Florida,⁵⁹ based in London between 1825 and 1828, who saw the need to use political methods to promote Jewish Emancipation in England. The clear observation can be made that Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect used similar methods, they were strong evangelical Anglicans, who took the lead with the Quakers in legislating for the abolition of slavery in 1809, which was completed in 1833. This love for the oppressed slaves was transferred to the oppressed Jews in 1815, when the Anglicans alone began to support the Jews in England through the LJS. Several individuals from the original LJS network later moved towards supporting the fresh Parliamentary petitions for Jewish emancipation. This new 'Jewish Rights movement' did not have a name or a slogan.⁶⁰ Robert Grant (1799-1838), Lord Bexley (1766-1851)⁶¹ and Macaulay (1800-1859), elected in 1830, introduced in April 1830 the first of a series of Jewish Disability bills into both Houses. This action was now also supported by the leading Jews, including Goldsmid, Montefiore and Rothschild. Internal divisions in 1831 within the PJS led to its demise, it was only effective between 1826-1831. However, the momentum towards emancipation had been started.

Levy had organised joint public meetings in London in late 1827 for mainly middle-class Jews and Christians. The Jewish elites, later called the 'Cousinhood', were notable by their absence. Monaco notes "newly uncovered evidence that reveals a structured campaign...debates, newspaper articles and speeches...pamphleteering

and Parliamentary petitioning”.⁶² Notably the first meeting of the PJS attracted one thousand to the Freemasons Hall, protesting against the ‘persecution of contempt’. Levy gave an outstanding speech for an hour, introduced by Lord Mandeville, which was well received by his hearers, both Jews and Christians. Levy was a mason and he used that network too. The World, a Congregational magazine, from that moment onwards promoted Levy’s movement, giving him substantial publicity. Monaco reveals this interfaith activism that had been absent until recently within the scholarly narrative. Way’s speech had genuinely provided an effect, but the facts have not been discovered until now. Until this recent research, the first joint petitions had been previously thought to have been at the Mansion House meeting in 1840. There a protest was made against the Damascus Blood Libel, with the support of The Times, and organised by Moses Montefiore (1784-1885), Queen Victoria’s favourite Jew, and Alexander McCaul.

The Parliamentary atmosphere had changed in January 1828, when Wellington became the Prime Minister. He was no friend of Jewish liberties, regarding them as perpetual aliens and unworthy of an equal status to Christian Englishmen. He firmly stated that “the Jews have no right to equality...they were alien enemies who were not allowed [until 1656] to live in this country”.⁶³ He may have been a close friend of Way in their Eton days, and Way was even invited to the Duke’s ball at Aix on 15 October 1818, just before his speech, but he could not be much further away from Way, who actively respected the Jews and promoted Jewish emancipation. Wellington had signed Way’s Protocol in 1818 – how much value, honesty or integrity did Wellington’s signature represent?

WAY AND JERUSALEM

Way’s serious illness prevented him from reaching Jerusalem in 1823, but his earlier alumni from Stansted completed his vision. Way’s understanding of the Bible compelled him to want to see the city where he believed that Christ would literally return. Wolff arrived in March 1822 and stayed there to work with the Jews. The LJS had established a base in Jerusalem from 1820. This pioneering effort resulted in the foundation of a British consulate in 1838, then the first Protestant church at Christ Church, and then a Bishoprict. Just one year after Way’s death, Bishop Michael Solomon Alexander was enthroned at Jerusalem in 1841. On his European journey Way had encouraged the future King Frederick William IV of Prussia to take an active interest in the Jews; they had met in 1817 and became close friends.

When Frederick was crowned in 1840, he was pivotal in creating the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric in Jerusalem, Queen Victoria also strongly promoted the venture. Following the model of Palestine Place, a hospital was opened in 1844, the first in Jerusalem, and then a school and house of industry in 1849.

Dr Alexander McCaul also had a significant link with Jerusalem, when his daughter Elizabeth married the first Consul James Finn (1806-1872). Way had 'recruited' McCaul in Dublin in 1815, when he was an outstanding student at Trinity College, Dublin. Way was there on a trip with Dr William (Millennial) Marsh (1775-1864) to promote the work of the LJS in Ireland. King Frederick originally offered the Bishopric to McCaul, because he had known him well when McCaul worked in Warsaw. McCaul humbly refused, suggesting that a converted Jew would be more appropriate. So, Alexander was chosen, who had been the Professor of Hebrew Studies at King's College, London.⁶⁴ McCaul replaced him in that post, and he preached at Alexander's valedictory service at Lambeth Palace chapel.

WAY'S MISSIONARY ZEAL FOR TODAY

Way's active love for the Jews prompted his zeal for sensitive evangelism. Today any Jewish missionary efforts and attempts to convert the Jewish people is disputed. A significant negative shift was observed in 1992, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, refused to become the Patron of CMJ. The importance of dialogue is currently emphasised, which is correct, but it must not undermine the genuine love for the Jewish people by offering Yeshua to them as their Messiah. Underlying this rejection of evangelism is the modern false doctrine of 'Dual Covenant' theology, which suggests that the Jews have another way to God apart from Jesus. It is apparently out of respect for them as the Chosen people, but it clearly demonstrates the 'ultimate antisemitism', which excludes the Jews from the Gospel and Yeshua. Jesus is for all other people groups, but not for the Jews! This insidious doctrine has been promoted by the Pope and the Vatican; the Roman Catholic church now discourages Jewish evangelism.⁶⁵ Simeon correctly understood the place of the Jews, when he stated in 1822, "you were broken off that I might be grafted in, and I am occupying the place which you vacated for me".⁶⁶ That appreciation strongly motivated him to appeal to the Jewish people to discover their Messiah and be grafted in again. Way would be horrified that all his efforts at mission, as well as the

worldwide activity of the LJS in the nineteenth century, were today deemed to be in vain and contested.

We have established that philosemitism means loving Jewish people, whether they convert or not. Our important role today is to stand alongside them worldwide to combat the destructive rise of antisemitism in all its forms. Way fought against persecution and antisemitism in 1818, so out of respect for Way and his speech 200 years ago at Aix-la-Chapelle, we must continue to appreciate and support the Jewish people. Way's legacy includes the English Church in Nice, France which he founded in 1821; the rebuilt Holy Trinity is still used today.⁶⁷ Whilst he lived there, he also raised funds from England to build the 'Promenade des Anglais'.⁶⁸ Way was to become the chaplain to the English ambassador in Paris and he founded the first Anglican church there in 1824.⁶⁹ On a more sombre note, Way spent the last seven years of his life at Barford Mental hospital near Leamington Spa. He had worn himself out and he had given his all.⁷⁰ He died on 23 January 1840 at Barford,⁷¹ aged 67. Dr Joseph Wolff said that "the dear man died of a broken heart",⁷² his philosemitism came at a great cost for him. Dr Marsh spoke about Way with great affection following his death in 1840:

the brilliancy of his imagination, the soundness of his learning, his retentive memory, his sincerity in religion, the fervency of his zeal for this particular cause [LJS] and his general benevolence". Elliott from Brighton added his tribute, "Way with Simeon was the greatest friend the Society had ever had".⁷³

The influential Jewish historian, Lucien Wolf explained that:

at the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, the question was once more brought before the Great Powers. This time the initiative was taken by a well-known English conversionist the Rev. Lewis Way. There was, however, no trace of conversionism in his efforts on this occasion, and there can be no question that the Jewish Community owe him a great debt of gratitude.⁷⁴

James Parkes, the founder of the Council of Christians and Jews (CCJ) in 1942, said of Way,

There was in him none of the contempt, bitterness or lofty condescension which had too often marred the Christian approach to the Jew.⁷⁵

Sadly, Parkes had also dismissed Way as a failure, and so did his family biographer, Stirling. In contrast, in my books and by this article I seek to demonstrate his achievements. The memorial plaque at Christ Church, Spitalfields today still proclaims his love for the Jewish people.⁷⁶ We must appreciate and recognise the personal cost for Way of his public, generous and tireless philosemitism. Way's love for the Jewish people had motivated him to be the Christian pioneer of Jewish Emancipation in 1818.

TIMELINE OF LEWIS WAY (1772-1840)

- 1772 0 Born 11 February at Denham, Buckinghamshire.
- 1781 9 Educated at Eton College.
- 1795 23 Merton College, Oxford. Graduated BA, MA 1798. Fellow 1795-1803.
- 1797 25 Barrister at the Inner Temple, Inns of Court, London.
- 1798 25 Meeting with John Way.
- 1801 29 Married Mary Drewe (1790-1848), 1 son and 4 daughters.
- 1804 32 Lewis Way inherits John Way's bequest of £300,000 (£2.6m).
- 1805 33 Buys Stansted Park, West Sussex.
- 1811 39 Sudden interest in the Jews, Parminster sisters at A la Ronde, Devon.
- 1813 41 Foundation of Palestine Place, Bethnal Green, East London.
- 1815 43 August, Gift of £10,000 to save the LJS, Dissenters excluded.
Congress of Vienna.
- 1816 44 Ordained an Anglican Deacon, Priest in 1817.
- 1817-18 European Journey via Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Russia and Crimea.
- 1818 46 Met Czar Alexander I at Moscow in Jan. Crimea in May. Oct. Aix-la-Chapelle Speech. Formed the Continental Society with Drummond and Haldane.
- 1819 47 Stansted Hebrew chapel dedicated in January, John Keats attended.
- 1820-22 Basilicus, (the penname) of Way writes in the Jewish Expositor, LJS House Journal.

- 1821 49 Latter Rain sermon on the Restoration of the Jews. Sermon at the Ordination of Benjamin Nehemiah Solomon at St Paul's, Covent Garden.
- 1822 51 Visit to Paris. Moved to Nice, he wrote a poem there for Lady Olivia Sparrow, who was closely connected to Irving. She was a relative of Mary Way.
- 1823 51 Journey to Jerusalem via Rome, he met the Pope. He preached a sermon there supporting the persecuted Waldensians.
- 1824 52 Founded the Marboeuf Anglican church in Paris, near the Champs-Élysées. Left the LJS over his premillennialist views.
- 1826 54 Founded the Albury Conferences (1826-30) with Drummond. Active in the Philo-Judaeon Society with Drummond. Joint Founder of the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy (with Irving and James Hatley Frere).
- 1827 55 Moved from Stansted Park to Paris. Sermon in Paris on the death of the Duke of York. Start of his ill health, he sought cures around Europe.
- 1833-1840 Barford Mental Hospital at Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.
- 1840 Way died on the 23 January at Barford. Buried at All Saints, Leamington Spa.

WAY'S HYMN

For Zion's sake I will not rest
I will not hold my peace,
Until Jerusalem be blest
And Judah dwell in peace.

Until her righteousness return,
As daybreak after night;
The lamp of her salvation burn
With everlasting light.

The nations shall her glory see,
And kings declare her fame;
Appointed unto her shall be
A new and holy name.

The watchmen on her walls appear,
And day and night proclaim,
"Zion's Deliverer is near;
Make mention of His Name".

Go through, go through, prepare the way,
The gates wide open fling;
With loudest voice let her heralds say,
Behold thy coming King.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, then commonly called the LJS, now CMJ, founded in 1809.
- 2 Rodney Curtis, *Christian Philosemitism. Lewis Way and the Development of the London Jews Society between 1810-1840* (London, 2017), Appendix 4, pp.93,94. A. M. W. Stirling, *The Ways of Yesterday: Being the Chronicles of the Way Family from 1307 to 1885* (Butterworth, 1930). Geoffrey Henderson, *Lewis Way, a Biography* (HTS Media, 2014).
- 3 W. D. Rubinstein, *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-speaking World for Jews, 1840-1939* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1999) p.18. Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The People of the Book: Philosemitism in England from Cromwell to Churchill* (New York, Encounter Books, 2011) p.4. Yaakov Ariel, *Philosemitism and Evangelical Attitudes towards the Jews, Judaism and the State of Israel* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002). Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe, eds. *Philosemitism in History* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 4 W. T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews: from 1809 to 1908* (London Jews Society (LJS), 1908) p.150. Now the CMJ.
- 5 Papers of Lewis Way (1817-1821) MS. 85, deposited at the Parkes Library, Southampton University, ref.29/4-12. Way is described as an Advocate for the Jews by the Netherland Advertiser on 12 December 1818, a copy was found amongst his personal papers.
- 6 The speakers included Alex Jacob, Rodney Curtis, Dr Richard Harvey and Kelvin Crombie.
- 7 Max Kohler, *Jewish Rights and the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) and Aix-la-Chapelle 1818* (New York, American Jewish Historical Society, 1918) p.52.
- 8 Gidney, *History* p.85.

- 9 Way is listed in the Jewish Encyclopedia p.477/8.
- 10 Kohler, Jewish Rights.
- 11 Stanley and Munro Price, *The Road to Apocalypse: the Extraordinary Journey of Lewis Way* (Notting Hill Editions, 2011).
- 12 Way wrote to Mary from Moscow suggesting the names Alexander (after the Czar) Basil and Basil, or Catherine Louise; it was a girl.
- 13 *The Jewish Expositor and the Friend of Israel (JE)*, June 1818 p.238.
- 14 Robert Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce* (London, 1838) vol.4, p.333.
- 15 Kohler, Jewish Rights, pp.53-55.
- 16 Stirling, Way p.196.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p.197.
- 18 Kohler, Jewish Rights p.51.
- 19 The Czar gave Way a significant gift, a decorated chest as a token of their friendship. This chest has recently been relocated to the Stansted Hebrew chapel.
- 20 Nathan Feinberg, *The Jewish Question at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818* (Yearbook on Human Rights vol. 2, Tel Aviv University, 1972) p.177. Found in the Parkes Way papers MS 85 29/4/3.
- 21 James Bicheno, *The Restoration of the Jews, the Crisis of all Nations* (Bath, 1800).
- 22 Bernard Lewis, *Semites and Antisemites* (Princeton, 1999) p.45.
- 23 Kohler, Jewish Rights p.1.

- 24 U. R. Q Henriques, *The Jewish Emancipation Controversy in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford Journals, Past and Present Society, 1968) pp.126-146.
- 25 Donald M. Lewis, *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and the Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- 26 A National Trust property that can be visited today. Some have suggested that this will never existed, I dispute that it was only a fable. The ladies had built almshouses for converted Jewesses and a school that would give preference to Jewish children, they are still standing, close to A la Ronde.
- 27 Now worth £23 million according to Price, *Apocalypse*, pp.4 and 106.
- 28 Rodney Curtis, *Christian Philosemitism in London 1810-1850. Palestine Place at Bethnal Green, the heart of the London Jews Society* (BRP Research, 2017).
- 29 Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1941) p.240. Also see *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey* (online) which suggests 20,000 nationwide.
- 30 Stirling, *Way* p.137
- 31 St Paul's Chapel, Stansted Park. The service inspired Keat's poem, *the Eve of St Agnes*.
- 32 Maurice Forman (ed.), *The Letters of John Keats* (Oxford University Press, 1935). Letter 123.
- 33 Jacobson was deported for this crime to Sydney, Australia in 1817. See *British Convict Records, Queensland*. His son, Joshua Frey Josephson (1815-1892) became mayor of Marrickville, Sydney in 1848. The name Frey is significant, as he had an affair with Emma, Jacob's wife at Stansted. The record also says that Joseph taught on behalf of the LJS in Sydney.
- 34 Stirling, *Way* p.203.
- 35 Michael Eldridge, *Charles Simeon and the Jewish People. 'The Warmest Place in his Heart'*. (Olive Press Research Paper (OPRP), issue 5, June 2009).

- 36 The research for my book about Way established from the CAC papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford that Way was the instigator. Way wanted to meet with his friends in London to discuss prophecy, but then asked Drummond if he could use his country house to accommodate the large numbers who were interested.
- 37 Eldridge, Simeon p.15.
- 38 Stirling, Way p.270.
- 39 Ibid., p.151.
- 40 The Parkes papers, Southampton University library.
- 41 Meyir Verete, The Idea of the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, in the Collected Essays of Meyir Verete (Frank Cass, 1992) p.87.
- 42 In 1815, Gauntlett became the vicar of Olney, Bucks, the parish of John Newton and Thomas Scott, both strong supporters of the LJS.
- 43 Stirling, Way p.269.
- 44 Arthur A Dallimore, The Life of Edward Irving: Fore-Runner of the Charismatic Movement (Banner of Truth, 1983).
- 45 George Adam Smith, The Life of Henry Drummond (Hodder & Stoughton, 1902).
- 46 Paul Wilkinson, For Zion's Sake, Christian Zionism and the Role of John Nelson Darby (Paternoster Press, 2007).
- 47 Stirling, Way p.224.
- 48 Joseph Wolff, Missionary Journal and Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolff (Duncan, 1824).
- 49 Kelvin Crombie, For the Love of Zion. Christian Witness and the Restoration

- of Israel (Terra Nova, 2008). A history of the CMJ, p.15.
- 50 Michael Clark, *Jewish Identity in British Politics: the Case of the First Jewish MPs, 1858-1887* (Jewish Social Studies, 2007) pp.93-126.
- 51 Third Report 20 May 1829, Philo-Judaeon [sic] (Rider, 1829) p.5. Henry Drummond was in the chair and also the treasurer.
- 52 Ibid., p.11.
- 53 Ibid., p.13.
- 54 Ibid., p.16. Duke's Place was the large Sephardic synagogue in the heart of the City of London.
- 55 The First Report of the PJS, 1827 (Rider, 1827) pp.21, 22.
- 56 Ibid., p.46.
- 57 W.H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: the Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790's to the 1840's* (Oxford University Press, 1978).
- 58 C.S. Monaco, *The Extraordinary Movement of the Jews of Great Britain 1827-1831* (Journal of Modern Jewish Studies vol. 8, no. 3, November 2009) pp.337-359.
- 59 Moses Levy, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery* (London, 1828).
- 60 The international press called it 'the extraordinary movement of the Jews of Great Britain'.
- 61 Nicholas Vansittart, formerly the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- 62 Monaco, *Movement* p.338.
- 63 In the House of Lords debate in August 1833 on the Jewish Disabilities Bill.

- 64 The Middle East Archives (JEM) at St Antony's College, Oxford, Madox-Carey, Box 1.
- 65 The Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews published in December 2015, *The Gifts and the Calling of God are Irrevocable*. This 10,000-word document states that Jews do not need to be converted to find salvation. Also see *Dabru Emet* (Heb. *Speak Truth*) published in September 2000, which outlines the common ground between Christians and Jews.
- 66 William Carus, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Simeon* (Hatchards, 1847) p.5.
- 67 Holy Trinity church, Nice (Eglise Anglicane).
- 68 Michael Portillo on his TV series of railway journeys, when in Nice spoke about Way. This the memory of this location was marred by the terrorist truck bomb there on 14 July 2016. Way had built it to provide work for unemployed local people with money raised from England. This demonstrated his loving and pastoral heart.
- 69 Matthew Harrison, *An Anglican Adventure. The History of St George's, Paris* (Available from the church, 2005). Originally in a hotel and art gallery called Marboeuf, Charles Simeon preached there.
- 70 Originally called Barford Asylum, it was founded by the famous physician, Dr Henry Jepson. Way entered on 28 November 1833, one of the first residents. He had previously been at other places in Europe.
- 71 Way was buried at All Saints, Leamington Spa, where there is a memorial to him written in Latin.
- 72 *Gidney, History* p.287.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p.151.
- 74 Lucien Wolf, *Note on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question* (London, 1919).

- 75 James Parkes, *Lewis Way* (Jewish Historical Society of England (JHSE), 1964), p.200.
- 76 The memorial plaques from the Episcopal Jews' Chapel at Palestine Place were relocated to Christ Church, Spitalfields and are visible today.

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