Chapter 2: The Historical Origins of Christian Zionism

This chapter will trace the historical origins of Christian Zionism within British and American religious and political circles from the early 19th Century until the present day. It will seek to show that a small group of Christian leaders, notably Lewis Way, Edward Irving, John Nelson Darby in the 19th Century and Cyrus Scofield, Hal Lindsey, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson in the 20th have been instrumental in formulating and popularising a novel theological system based on a distinctive literalist and futurist hermeneutic which distinguishes between God's continuing purposes for Israel from those of the Church. It will be shown that this theological position, known as dispensationalism, preceded and inspired both the development of Christian Zionism and subsequently Jewish Zionism, to the point where its tenets are regarded as normative within a large proportion of contemporary Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, institutions and mission agencies.

1. Introduction

Critics as well as proponents have traced the origins of Christian Zionism as a concept as far back to the Montanist controversy in the 2nd Century, to the Protestant Reformation, British Puritans[1] and, in particular, the Revivalist, Millennialist[2] and Apocalyptic writings which were popular between the 17th and 19th centuries in Europe and America.[3]

The Protestant Reformation brought about a renewed interest in the Old Testament and God's dealings with the Jewish people. The Reformation was in part precipitated by the rediscovery of the Bible as the inspired Word of God and the final authority in matters of faith and doctrine. The translation, publication, and free access to the Bible among the laity created a major paradigm shift in popular thinking. Within the Church of England, for example, a large Bible written in English was placed in every parish church, the priest and people required to share the cost. Interpretation was no longer the exclusive prerogative of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. The study of the Biblical texts in their original languages, Hebrew and Greek, was also encouraged. From pulpits right across Europe the Bible was increasingly taught in its historical context and in its plain literal sense. At the same time, a new

postmillennial assessment of the place of the Jews within the purposes of God emerged, especially through the writings of Theodore Beza, John Calvin's successor in Geneva, and Martin Bucer in Strasbourg.[4] In his Christian Institutes, Calvin stressed that divine blessing was associated with and dependent upon their covenantal obedience.[5] Furthermore, Calvin insisted that there was only one covenant of which both old and new covenant believers shared:

> The covenant made with all the fathers is so far from differing from ours in reality and substance, that it is altogether one and the same … For, even now, the only kingdom of heaven which our Lord Jesus Christ promises to his followers, is one in which they may sit down with Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob (Matth. 8:11)[6]

While Calvin and Luther understood the word 'Israel' in Romans 11:25 to refer to the Church made up of both Jewish and Gentiles believers, Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva, as well as Martin Bucer preferred to interpret the word as meaning unbelieving Jews and Judaism. The various editors of the Geneva Bible, influenced both by Calvin and Beza increasingly favoured his interpretation. According to Peter Toon, in the 1557 and 1560 editions, a short note on Romans 11 defined 'Israel' as 'the nation of the Jews'. In later editions this was amplified to suggest a conversion of the Jewish nation to Christ. 'He sheweth that the time shall come that the whole nation of the Jews, though not everyone particularly, shall be joined to the church of Christ.'[7] Through this translation, which became the most widely read translation in England and Scotland prior to the King James version, together and the writings of Puritans such as William Perkins and Hugh Broughton, the idea of the conversion of the Jewish people spread in Britain and America.[8] Ian Murray describes how within the emerging Puritan eschatology, which was postmillennial, the Jewish people were also regarded as the source of future blessing to the entire world. 'Puritan England and Covenanting Scotland knew much of spiritual blessing and it was the prayerful longing for wider blessing, not a mere interest in unfulfilled prophecy, which led them to give such place to Israel.'[9]

In 1615, for example, Thomas Brightman, described as the father of the British doctrine of the 'Restoration of the Jews'[10] predicted the imminent

conversion of the Jewish people.[11] In his Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, meaning, 'A Revelation of the Revelation' he speculated that the seventh trumpet of Revelation 10 had been sounded in 1558 with the destruction of the Spanish Armada and the seven vials began with Elizabeth's ascension to the throne in 1560. He argued that the Turkish Empire (the false prophet), having formed an unholy alliance with the Roman Church (the Antichrist), would be destroyed followed by 'the calling of the Jews to be a Christian nation, 'leading to 'a most happy tranquility from thence to the end of the world'[12]. In 1635 he also completed a commentary on Daniel 11-12 subtitled, 'The restoring of the Jewes and their callinge to the faith of Christ after the utter overthrow of their three enemies is set forth in livelie colours.' Brightman was also convinced that 'the rebirth of a Christian Israelite nation' would become 'the centre of a Christian world.'[13] Brightman's preaching and writings attracted considerable attention and his views were influential in British government circles. In 1621, for example, Sir Henry Finch, an eminent lawyer and M.P. developed Brightman's views further publishing a book entitled, The World's Great Restoration or the Calling of the Jews, and of all the Nations and Kingdoms of the Earth, to the Faith of Christ. In it he argued:

> Where Israel, Judah, Zion and Jerusalem are named [in the Bible] the Holy Ghost meant not the spiritual Israel, or the Church of God collected of the Gentiles or of the Jews and Gentiles both... But Israel properly descended out of Jacob's loynes. The same judgement is to be made of their returning to their land and ancient seats, the conquest of their foes... The glorious church they shall erect in the land itself of Judah... These and such like are not allegories, set forth in terrene similitudes or deliverance through Christ (whereof those were types and figures), but meant really and literally the Jews.[14]

Other Reformers such as Richard Sibbes, Samuel Rutherford and John Owen were equally convinced that one day the Jews would be brought to faith in Jesus Christ and for this they prayed earnestly.[15] This belief in the conversion of the Jews was so universally embraced that it was written into the Westminster Larger Confession and Congregationalist 'Savoy Declaration' of 1658. The latter affirmed:

> We expect that in the latter days, Antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the adversaries of the kingdom of his dear son broken, the churches of Christ being enlarged and edified through a free and

> plentiful communication of light and grace, shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceful and glorious condition than they have enjoyed.[16]

In 1649 Ebenezer and Joanna Cartwright, English Puritans living in Amsterdam, sent a petition to the British Government calling for the lifting of the ban on Jews settling in England and also assistance to enable them to move to Palestine. 'That this Nation of England, with the inhabitants of the Netherlands, shall be the first and the readiest to transport Israel's sons and daughters on their ships to the land promised to their forefathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob for an everlasting inheritance.'[17] This was apparently the first time human intervention had been sought to achieve a Jewish restoration rather than rely on God to accomplish it.[18] Increasingly by the late 17th Century European Protestants came to see Palestine as the true Jewish homeland and a proto-Zionist movement began to emerge convinced that the Jews, once converted to Christianity would eventually return to Palestine.[19]

The 18th and early 19th Century was a period of great turmoil on both sides of the Atlantic following the American War of Independence (1775-1784) and the French Revolution (1789-1793). Drummond observes, 'Napoleon's lurid words, "I have always followed fortune and the god of war," seemed but portents of what was to follow. As 1830 approached, strikes and unrest became chronic in Britain, and on the Continent revolution shook the thrones that had been re-established in 1815.'[20] These tensions fuelled not only the Second Great Awakening and the revivals associated with Charles Finney but also heightened speculation again concerning the imminent return of Christ. [21] This coincided with renewed interest in both the Orient[22] as well as the Jewish people.[23] Attitudes were also influenced by the growing literary fascination with the Jews and the Holy Land and what Sharif calls, 'the literalization of the Hebrew World'.[24] She describes this genre of literature as 'Romantic racism', that is a Romanticism infatuated with Zion. Authors included Robert Byron, Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, Robert Browning and George Eliot.[25] Eliot, for example, was a devout evangelical who at the same time was familiar with contemporary Judaism. She not only attended synagogue services regularly but also dialogued with Jewish Rabbis. In 1874 Eliot began working on Daniel Deronda, described by Sharif as, 'the first truly Zionist novel in the history of non-Jewish fiction':

> Eliot dispenses with the theories of amalgamation or affinity between Christianity and Judaism. The hero of Daniel Deronda is not a Christianized or 'gentilized' Jewish national hero who discovers his Jewish heritage under the influence of non-Jews …The novel represents the apex of non-Jewish Zionism in the literary field, the culmination of a long tradition that began with the Protestant idea of Restoration, but had initially demanded the conversion of the Jews as a first step towards the Palestine goal. Then it was allowed that conversion might happen after Restoration and, by the 19th Century, conversion had been completely dropped as a necessary requirement. Restoration had instead become identified with a return to the Hebrew heritage.[26]

Interest in Palestine itself was largely due to a succession of archaeological discoveries, military adventurism and the growing number of travelogues published which fired the popular imagination. The Palestine Exploration Fund, for example, was founded in 1865 by a group of distinguished British academics and clergymen, most notably James Finn, the British Consul in Jerusalem and Lord Shaftesbury, both ardent restorationists, the Dean of Westminster Abbey, Arthur P. Stanley, and Sir George Grove. The purpose of the PEF was and remains to promote research into the archaeology and history, topography, geology and natural sciences of biblical Palestine and the Levant.[27] The PEF was also associated with many of the outstanding names of Middle East exploration including Major General Sir Charles Wilson, General Sir Charles Warren, Claude Regnier Conder, Lt. Horatio Kitchener of Khartoum and T. E. Lawrence. The Survey of Western Palestine undertaken between 1871 and 1878 by Condor and Kitchener together with soldiers of the Royal Engineers was, for example, the first cartographic survey ever conducted of Palestine and provided the Zionist movement with valuable information.

Evidence of growing public interest in Palestine is shown by the fact that between 1800 and 1875, approximately 2,000 authors wrote about the Holy Land. Dean Stanley's own guide book, Sinai & Palestine went through four editions within a year of its publication in 1856.[28] Other popular authors included William Thackeray,[29] Gertrude Bell,[30] Robert Byron,[31] Robert Graves,[32] Alexander Kinglake,[33] Rudyard Kipling,[34] T.E. Lawrence,[35] Freya Stark[36] and William Thomson.[37] As early as the 1830's a visit to the Near East formed part of the grand tour taken by most young European

gentlemen.[38] In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, coincidentally the same year Thomas Cook led his first tour group to Jerusalem, made up of 16 ladies, 33 gentlemen, and two assistants. By the end of the 19th Century, his company had arranged for 12,000 tourists to visit the Holy Land. It is not an exaggeration to say that Cook probably did more than any other person to facilitate and shape evangelical contact with the Holy Land. His reputation as an organiser of pilgrimages grew after he was invited in 1882 to arrange the visit by Prince Edward, later Edward VII, and his son Prince George, later King George V. In 1872, Cook wrote the following analysis of his new enterprise:

> The educational and social results of these four years of Eastern travel have been most encouraging. A new incentive to scriptural investigation has been created and fostered; 'The Land and the Book' have been brought into familiar juxtaposition, and their analogies have been better comprehended; and under the general influence of sacred scenes and repeated sites of biblical events, inquiring and believing spirits have held sweet counsel with each other.[39]

These factors provided the context for a growing interest among evangelical Christians for the Old Testament, Palestine and the Jewish people.

2. The Rise of Christian Zionism within 19th Century Britain

The rise of Christian Zionism as a movement can be dated to May 1809 and the founding of 'The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews'. The less accurate description of 'London Jews' Society' (LJS) eventually proved more popular.[40] Their earliest objective was, "for the purpose of visiting and relieving the sick and distressed, and instructing the ignorant, especially such as are of the Jewish nation."[41] This charitable endeavour soon also came to embrace a commitment to Jewish nationalism and restorationism.

2.1 Lewis Way (1772-1840)

Lewis Way may be regarded as the founder of the LJS as well as the foremost exponent of restorationism and Christian Zionism.[42] In 1804, he purchased Stanstead Park, an impressive Edwardian mansion at Emsworth in Hampshire and set up a college to seek to convert Jews to Christianity. He rescued the London Jews Society from a £20,000 debt on condition that it

became an Anglican society. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, he began to promote the cause of Jewish emancipation and their settlement in Palestine. Way concentrated on lobbying the European heads of state and found an ally in Czar Alexander I of Russia who shared an interest in Jewish restorationism.[43]

Way travelled across Europe lobbying the heads of state to support the provision of a Jewish homeland. His efforts culminated in October 1818 when he spoke at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle before the leaders of Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Austria and France urging them to support Zionism. Influenced by his association with Edward Irving and Joseph Wolfe, and using the pseudonym 'Basilicus', Way wrote a series of speculations on the restoration of the Jews and the imminent return of Christ in the LJS journal, The Jewish Expositor, between 1820-1822.[44] In 1821 Way published a pamphlet called 'The Latter Rain' in which he called Christians to pray for the Jews out of the conviction that Old Testament prophecies have a 'primary and literal reference to the Jews'.[45] Way galvanised evangelical support for Zionism through a futurist eschatology which predicted how the exiled Jewish people would soon return to their promised homeland. According to Kelvin Crombie, Way and the LJS were 'leaders in the evangelical movement that was calling for the restoration of national Israel. The restorationist movement, far from being a lunatic fringe phenomenon, embraced the very heart of the evangelical establishment and enjoyed the support of considerable numbers of the English episcopacy.'[46] Way's contribution was also foundational in raising awareness of the Jewish plight in European political as well as ecclesiastical circles. Way was aided in this, most notably by Charles Simeon who helped found several 'Religious Societies for Diffusing the Knowledge of the Gospel,' such as the Church Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Simeon Trust and the Prayer-Book and Homily Society.[47]

2.2 Charles Simeon (1759-1836)

The growth of Christian Zionism within Anglican Evangelical circles was undoubtedly shaped to a large degree by the initiatives of Charles Simeon. Simeon became consumed with a passion for the conversion of Jews and the work of the London Jews Society, looking also for 'a full and imminent

restoration of God's chosen people.'[48] He conducted preaching tours on behalf of the LJS and spoke on Jewish evangelism and restorationism right across the UK and his notes were distributed as far away as India and the United States.[49] Simeon was convinced in his reading of the Bible that the Jews would soon return to Palestine, but, significantly, only as Christians.[50] 'The future restoration of the Jews, and their union with the Gentiles in one universal Church... Both of these events will take place together, or in the nearest connexion with each other.'[51] Unlike Irving and Darby, Simeon was a postmillennialist[52] and believed the millennium had already begun.[53] For this reason he was energetic to promote evangelism among the Jews confident that through their conversion, dispersed throughout the world, 'God will shortly interpose to bring all nations to such a unity in religious faith and practice as has never been seen upon earth.'[54] Simeon was convinced that the conversion of the Jews would be the consummation of God's purposes on earth and bring blessing to the whole world:

> But still richer benefits will flow to the world from... their future restoration - That the Jews will in due time be converted to Christianity is certain... God has decreed that they shall be converted; and we have reason to believe that the period fixed for it in the Divine counsels is not far distant.[55]

Though he supported restorationism, Simeon regarded the physical restoration of the Jews to Palestine as of less theological significance than their spiritual restoration to God. Indeed, he believed that God would use the Jews to convert the pagan Gentile world and that they would therefore remain dispersed throughout the world as God's evangelists:

> So rapid will their conversion be, that they will flock to Christ even as doves to their windows, and a nation will be born in a day... If you desire only the conversion of the Gentile world, you should begin with the Jews; because it is the fulness of the Jews that is to operate on the Gentiles.[56]

While others such as Edward Irving and J.N. Darby were beginning to distinguish between God's purposes for the Jews from those of the Church, Simeon held to a reformed covenantal position happy to spiritualise Old Testament prophesies understanding terms such as 'Zion' as symbolically referring to the Church.[57] In a sermon concerning the future of Israel, Simeon insisted, 'We are God's Israel, as much as ever they were; and heirs of all

these blessings no less than they; for “if we be Christ’s, then are we Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise.”’[58] According to his biographer, Arthur Pollard, Simeon acted ‘as a kind of one-man general staff, preaching for the Society, recruiting workers, spreading propaganda, collecting funds, advising on overall strategy. He did so with even more than his usual sense of urgency.’[59] Simeon’s patronage of the LJS undoubtedly ensured that its restorationist agenda, advocated more strongly by others, gained increasingly widespread support among Anglicans but also evangelicals around the world.[60]

2.3 Joseph Wolff (1795-1862)

Joseph Wolff was a German Jew, converted first to Roman Catholicism and then subsequently to Anglicanism, he became known as 'first great pioneer missionary' of the LJS.[61] Wolff also played an influential role at the Albury 'unfulfilled prophecy' conference of 1826. Edward Irving describes his impact. ‘No appeal was allowed but to the Scriptures, of which the originals lay before us; in the interpretation of which, if any question arose, we had the most learned Eastern scholar perhaps in the world to appeal to, and a native Hebrew. I mean Joseph Wolff.’[62]

Like Hugh McNeile, another Anglican member of the 'Albury Circle'[63] Wolff was preoccupied with the discovery of the lost ‘Ten Tribes’ of Israel, so indispensable to any future restoration of the Jews.[64] Fluent in Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldean, Persian and Syriac, in 1828 he set out in search of the lost tribes travelling as far as India, Armenia, and Abyssinia.[65] His journeys were probably sparked off by a report given to the 1828 Albury Conference that members of the lost tribes had been discovered selling Cashmere garments at the Leipzig Fair. ‘the [ten lost Hebrew] tribes have been discovered, twenty millions in number, inhabiting the region north of Cashmere and towards Bohara, in the great central plain of Asia. It would seem that there came men from them to Leipsig fair... they were trading in Cashmere shawls.’[66] Wolff spent much of the rest of his life speaking on behalf of the LJS and travelling in search of and ministering to oriental Jews.

2.4 Edward Irving (1792-1834)

The development of premillennialism in the nineteenth Century and the revolution in prophetic speculation concerning the Church and Israel can be largely attributed to Edward Irving[67] who was also the forerunner of the Pentecostal movement.[68] Having accepted a call in 1822 to pastor the Church of Scotland congregation at the Caledonian Chapel in London, Irving soon became a popular if controversial and eccentric speaker. So much so that the Chapel became too small and a larger church was built in Regent Square in 1827.[69] Because of his growing popularity, Irving was invited to preach at the annual service of the London Missionary Society in 1824, and a year later to the Continental Society, in which Henry Drummond was influential. On both occasions, Irving provoked a furore.[70] Irving's address in 1825 was entitled, 'Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed'. In reaction to the prevailing optimistic postmillennialism and drive toward missionary expansion, Irving predicted that the world was about to experience a 'series of thick-coming judgments and fearful perplexities' before the imminent return of Jesus Christ.[71] He insisted that missionary work, especially in Southern Europe where the Continental Society concentrated its ministry, was futile because God's judgement was about to fall on the lands of the former Roman Empire. Some walked out of the meeting in protest while the leaders of the Society accused Irving of undermining their ministry.[72] In 1828 the Christian Observer noted the increasingly polarised positions held by Evangelicals and contrasted the consequences of postmillennial and premillennial approaches to mission.

> A question has of late been much agitated, in connexion with the millennial reign of Christ... namely whether the latter-day glory shall be ushered in with judgements or with mercy. The advocates for the former opinion, among whom are Mr Irving and Mr M'Neile, speak in the strongest terms of the deteriorated and deteriorating state of the world; they view Christendom as verging to its downfall; they consider our Bible and missionary societies, not as instruments for ushering in the latter day glory, not as harbingers of mercy to the wide world, but only as messengers to gather out a few elect vessels, and to fill up the measure of the wicked, till God in his wrath shall consume the world of the ungodly, and bring in a whole new dispensation, even the Millennium of Christ's personal reign with his saints.[73]

Irving was undeterred by such criticism and became increasingly preoccupied with the interpretation of the apocalyptic writings of Daniel and Revelation. He predicted, for example, that the Church had suffered under Papal rule from 533, when Justinian recognised the Bishop of Rome as head of the Church, until 1793. He also saw the French Revolution and Industrial Revolution as evidence of the *'*signs of the end*'.* Like Brightman two hundred years before, Irving speculated that the first six vials of the Book of Revelation had already been poured out and the seventh vial could be dated to the 1820's. Irving believed he would see the final battle of Armageddon, the Second Advent and the beginning of the Millennium.[74]

In 1826 Irving had been introduced to the views of Manuel Lacunza a Spanish Jesuit who wrote a book under the pseudonym of Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra. Claiming to be the work of a converted Jew, the book was entitled, 'The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty'*.* In it Lacunza interpreted all but the first three chapters of the Book of Revelation as referring to imminent apocalyptic events. Irving was so excited by Lacunza's futurist speculations, he mastered Spanish in order to translate and publish the work in English.[75] Irving added a 203-page preface to the translation in which he presented, with great conviction, his own prophetic speculations about the end of the world, predicting the apostasy of Christendom, the subsequent restoration of the Jews and imminent return of Christ. Significantly, this was several years before J.N. Darby was to express remarkably similar views. In the preface Irving wrote, 'When the Lord shall have finished the taking of witness against the Gentiles... he will begin to prepare another ark of testimony... and to that end will turn his Holy Spirit unto his ancient people, the Jews, and bring them unto those days of refreshing... This outpouring of the Spirit is known in Scripture by "the latter rain"'*.*[76] Irving was very much aware that he was virtually alone in proclaiming these views, which went well beyond those of premillennialism, and that most church leaders regarded his views as novel and eccentric:

> These three points of doctrine concerning the Gentile church, the future Jewish and universal church, and the personal advent of the Lord to destroy the one and to build up the other, I opened and defended out of the scriptures from Sabbath to Sabbath, with all boldness, yet with fear and trembling... at that time I did not know of

> one brother in the ministry who held with me in these matters … So novel and strange a doctrine ... such uncivil and implacable language, concerning overwhelming judgments upon the very eve of the millennial blessedness... But the more I examined, the more I was convinced, and resolved, though alone and single-handed, to maintain these three great heads of doctrine from the holy scriptures, against all who should undertake to uphold the commonly-received notion, that the present Gentile dispensation was about to burst forth with the millennial blessedness, after which, to wind up and consume all, the Lord would come in the latter end.[77]

Irving's pessimism concerning the Church predated and very likely influenced Darby's similar denunciations of a 'failing church' and hope of a future Jewish 'dispensation'[78] Irving insisted that the Reformed Church had 'set aside' the Bible and was more aligned to Paine's Age of Reason than the gospel. 'The intellect hath become all sufficient... The Church is in the Laodicean state.'[79] On this issue Irving increasingly showed what his biographer Arnold Dallimore describes as both 'sectarian bitterness and reckless dogmatism.'[80]

In 1828 Irving wrote another work of over 500 pages entitled, The Last Days: A Discourse on the Evil Character of These Our Times, Proving Them to be The 'Perilous Times' and the 'Last Days'.[81] The first chapter is entitled, 'Introductory, to prove that the Last Times and Last Days of Holy Scripture are the Conclusion of the Jewish Captivity and the Gentile Dispersion.' Irving was clearly convinced that the Lord would return within the next few years and certainly within his lifetime:

> The times and fulness of the times, so often mentioned in the New Testament, I consider as referring to the great period numbered by times... Now if this reasoning be correct, as there can be little doubt that the one thousand two hundred and sixty days concluded in the year 1792, and the thirty additional days in the year 1823, we are already entered upon the last days, and the ordinary life of a man will carry many of us to the end of them. If this be so, it gives to the subject with which we have introduced this year's ministry a very great importance indeed.[82]

Irving went on to speculate that the Second Coming would occur in 1868 being fixed seventy-five years after 1793.[83] Irving's dispensational premillennial views concerning Israel came to have a profound influence over many Christian leaders including Henry Drummond, a city banker and

politician, who went on to found the Catholic Apostolic Church together with Irving at Albury in Surrey.

On the first day of Advent in 1826, the same year Irving was translating Lacunza's work, Henry Drummond opened his home at Albury Park to a select group of some twenty invited guests to discuss matters of prophecy. These included the Lewis Way and Joseph Wolff of the LJS, Hatley Frere and Hugh M'Neile, another Anglican who, in 1830, published The Prophecies Relative to the Jewish Nation.[84] Like Irving and Darby, M'Neile advocated a separate status for the Jews from the Church, within different dispensations, the future repentance, and then restoration of the Jews, and finally their pre-eminence on earth, a blessing to the other nations.[85] Some twenty men attended the first conference and over forty attended one or more of those held at Albury between 1826 and 1830 including Lady Powerscourt. The majority were like Lewis Way and Hugh M'Neile, Anglicans, although others were Moravian, Church of Scotland and Nonconformist ministers.[86] Irving was to write of the first such conference, '...the six days we spent under the holy and hospitable roof of Albury House, … no council, from that first which we convened at Jerusalem until this time, seemed more governed, and conducted, and inspired by a spirit of holy communion.'[87] Edward Miller quotes Irving's notes of that first Albury conference. They reveal the distinction Irving was already making between God's continuing purposes for the Jews in a restored land from those for the Church:

> ...perfect unanimity on the following points:- (I) That the Christian Dispensation was to be terminated, ending in the destruction of the visible Church, like the Jewish; during which 'judgements' the Jews were to be restored to Palestine. (II) 'The judgements' were to fall principally, if not exclusively, upon Christendom. (III) That 'the 1,260 years' commenced with Justinian and terminated in 1793, and that the vials of the Apocalypse then began to be poured out; that our blessed Lord will then appear, and that therefore it is the duty of all to press these considerations on the attention of all men.[88]

The conference held two years later in 1828 focussed more specifically on speculation concerning the imminent restoration of the Jews. M'Neile offered corroborating evidence provided in a report given by a Mr Sargon to the LJS in 1822, which claimed that the 'Lost Tribes' had been discovered in India and China, calling themselves Beni-Israel:

> bearing, almost uniformly, Jewish names, but with Persian terminations... They circumcise their own children... They observe the Kippoor... They call themselves Gorah Jehudi, or White Jews... They speak of the Arabian Jews as their brethren... They expect the Messiah, and that they will one day return to Jerusalem. They think that the time of His appearance will soon arrive, at which they much rejoice, believing that at Jerusalem they will see their God, worship Him only, and be despised no more.[89]

The proceedings of the Albury Conferences from 1828 gained a wider audience through a short-lived quarterly journal on Prophecy published by Drummond, entitled The Morning Watch, a 'high-quality production' using the finest paper available combined with excellent editorship.[90] The journal came to an abrupt end in June 1833. Andrew Drummond dates the emergence of the Catholic Apostolic Church out of Irving's loose circle of followers to the winding up of the Morning Watch, presumably because its benefactor, Henry Drummond as well as Tudor, its editor, became Apostles in Irving's new sect. He writes, 'few editors have made such a valedictory statement as this':

> The followers of Christ and the followers of Antichrist are now gathering. Christ is gathering His children into the true Church, to do Him service there, and, in so doing, to be prepared for His coming; Satan is gathering his hosts under the standard of Liberalism to become the pioneers of the man of perdition, the personal Antichrist. In the progress of this work, Christ hath been calling for the personal services of nearly all the regular correspondents of this journal; and he hath at length called the editor to take the place of an elder in His Church, and hath claimed all his time for the special duties of feeding and overseeing a sixth part of the flock in London. To this higher calling the editor now resolves to devote himself wholly, and at the same time brings the Morning Watch to a close, as he will not transfer to any other person such a solemn responsibility.[91]

In 1866 McNeile could look back to a generation earlier when the views of Irving and the others of the Albury Sect were regarded as an eccentric novelty by those he termed 'anti-restorationists':[92]

> When these lectures were first published in 1830, the subject was comparatively new to the Church in this country. It had no place in the battle-field of the Reformation. It had not been discussed by any of the theological lights of the last century. It was just beginning to be ventilated in consequence of the labours of Mr. Lewis Way and Mr. Hawtrey; and more especially in consequence of the writings of Mr. Faber, and the zealous advocacy of Mr. Simeon.[93]

An indication of the influence of the premillennial Zionist views of Irving, Way and M'Neile upon other clergy in the United Kingdom is given by E. B. Elliott, who wrote his own four-volume 2,500-page treatise on the Apocalypse, and went through five editions in 18 years:[94]

> In the year 1844, the date of the first publication of my own work on the Apocalypse, so rapid has been the progress of these views in England, that instead of its appearing a thing strange and half-heretical to hold them, as when Irving published his translation of Ben Ezra, the leaven had evidently now deeply penetrated the religious mind; and from the ineffectiveness of the opposition hitherto formally made to them, they seemed gradually advancing toward to triumph.[95]

By 1845, it is estimated that over 700 Anglican clergy now held to a premillennial restorationist eschatology. In the second half of the 19th Century, that number increased significantly so that by 1873 a conference on prophecy held in London had the support of senior Evangelical Anglicans such as the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Radstock and the Earl of Cavan.[96] Edward Irving's premature death in 1834 while on a preaching tour of Scotland left the reins of the Catholic Apostolic Church in Henry Drummond's hands, the hope of the restoration of Israel to Lewis Way and Hugh M'Neile and the cause of dispensational premillennialism to be shaped by John Nelson Darby and his Brethren colleagues such as Benjamin Willis Newton.

2.5 Benjamin Willis Newton (1807-1899)

Benjamin Willis Newton was another prolific writer on prophetic matters. One of the early Brethren leaders, his books enjoying numerous reprinting between the 1850's and 1900's.[97] Newton appears to have been something of a nineteenth century ancestor of Hal Lindsey, interpreting the contemporary European political scene in the light of prophecy.[98] He saw, for example, great significance in the fact that one of the Rothschild's was allegedly negotiating with the Sultan for the construction of a railway from Constantinople to Baghdad. He believed this to be one of many signs of the impending merger of the revived Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire, a 'Roman world, from England to the Euphrates' centred on Rome.[99] Writing in 1859, Newton comments at length on the theological significance of geo-political developments in Europe, ‘The interests of France, Great Britain

and Austria are more and more felt to be identical as respects the aggression of Russia; and this feeling Spain, Italy and Greece, will soon thoroughly share.'[100] His colourful predictive map of the ten kingdoms making up this revived Roman Empire, published in 1863, comprised the then most influential countries surrounding the Mediterranean, namely, France, Spain, Northern Italy, the Neapolitan States, Austria, Turkey, Greece, Syria and Egypt, together with the British Isles.[101] Allowing himself a degree of latitude regarding the timing of these events, Newton asserted in 1879, 'Whether it may be long and deadly; or whether the way of the Western Roman nations may be smoothed so as for the resuscitation of the East under their guardianship to be quietly and speedily effected, it is impossible for us to say.'[102] In the forward to Babylon: Its Future History and Doom with remarks on the Future of Egypt and Other Eastern Countries, published in 1890, Newton could still insist, 'On Israel, and on Western Europe chiefly will rest the responsibility of causing the revived Eastern Branch of the Roman World to be what it is to be.'[103] Just as contemporary apocalyptic writers see the rise of inter-faith religious unity as a sign of the coming Antichrist[104], so Newton was predicting the same at the end of the 19th Century:

> The result of the late war with Russia has been to bring the Turkish dominions into recognised political connection with Western Europe... The ancient outline of the Roman Empire will again appear... At bottom, Mohommedanism, what is it but a sect of Christianity? When the Papists, and the Greek church and Judaism, and Mohommedanism, and Anglicanism, shall re-echo this sentiment, and when it shall become governmentally adopted by the nations of the Roman world, we shall soon see the 'Ephah' and 'wickedness', its inmate, established in the land of Shinar.[105]

Newton's ideas were inevitably shaped by John Nelson Darby under whose leadership he served as chief assistant within the Plymouth Brethren. Like many others though, Newton fell out with Darby and eventually came to recognise Darby's elevation of Israel above the church as heresy.[106]

2.6 John Nelson Darby (1800-1882)

John Nelson Darby is regarded by many as the father of dispensationalism and the most influential figure in the development of its prodigy, Christian Zionism[107]. Darby was initially ordained in the Church of Ireland in 1825 but

renounced both Anglican and Dissenting churches, as apostate, following a disagreement with his bishop over his catholic converts had to swear allegiance to the English king.[108] He wrote later, 'This manifestation of the glory of Christ by the Church in unity no longer exists.'[109] His analysis of the contemporary ecclesiastical scene was to become increasingly pessimistic, judgmental, and sectarian. His repeated response was to declare 'The Church is in ruins.'[110] He went on to insist that this was not merely the result of denominational division but that, '...the entire nature and purpose of the church has become so perverted that it is diametrically opposed to the fundamental reason for which it is instituted'.[111] The prevailing eschatology arising from the 18th Century Great Awakening was essentially postmillennial, inspiring great optimism and an impetus to worldwide missionary expansion[112]. Following Edward Irving's lead, Darby also opposed this perspective strongly and vigorously. In 1840, he insisted:

> We are to expect evil, until it becomes so flagrant that it will be necessary for the Lord to judge it... I am afraid than many a cherished feeling, dear to the children of God, has been shocked this evening; I mean, their hope that the gospel will spread by itself over the whole earth during the actual dispensation.[113]

Darby's distinctive premillennial views were inevitably influenced by those of a similar persuasion whom he met at the prophetic conferences held near Dublin under the sponsorship of Lady Powerscourt from 1830 to 1833, which followed the pattern set at Albury under the hospitality of Henry Drummond. Increasingly, however, the Powerscourt conferences came to be shaped by Darby's own dominating and charismatic leadership.[114] These exclusive prophetic gatherings, which focused on a pessimistic interpretation of world events and the imminent return of Christ, confirmed both Darby's denunciation of the established churches, and his own prophetic calling. Roy Coad insists, 'He felt himself an instrument of God, burdened with an urgent call to His people to come out of associations doomed to judgement.'[115] From its small beginnings in Albury, in just five years the Powerscourt Conference of 1831 drew together some four hundred 'elite' Evangelicals[116] drawn from all over Britain and Ireland.[117] Brethren leaders present at Powerscourt Castle included J. N. Darby, George Muller, Henry Soltau, John Synge, J. G. Bellett and Henry Craik. The final conference in 1833 ended in division between

those who sided with the Brethren and those who still identified with the established churches. Coad describes Lady Powerscourt as being in tears over the issue, having planned to marry Darby.[118] In a letter to the Editor of the Christian Herald, Darby mentions some of the controversial subjects discussed at the Prophecy Conference held at Powerscourt Castle in September 1832:

> The belief in the coming of a personal Antichrist was common... The discussion of the subject of Antichrist led to an extensive development of scripture, and to much very profitable detection of the spirit by which he might work in the nations; though no definite conclusion was come to upon this; while the recognition of his actings amongst the Jews, in Jerusalem, was more definitely recognised by those more conversant with the subject.[119]

Other subjects considered included the way the Old Testament was quoted in the New Testament, the prophetic nature of each book, speculation on the timing and signs of the Antichrist, and, significantly, 'By what covenant did the Jews, and shall the Jews, hold the land?... What light does Scripture throw on present events, and their moral character?' [120]

Despite compelling evidence of Irving's influence on Darby, he rarely credited anyone else for his own theological views. There is, however, one lone reference to Irving in Darby's 34 volumes suggesting an implicit acknowledgement of Irving's influence, albeit in the context of Darby's disassociation from the fanciful prophecies of the Irvingites and the Catholic Apostolic Church.[121] Darby was a charismatic figure with a dominant personality. He was a persuasive speaker and zealous missionary for his dispensationalist beliefs. He personally founded Brethren churches as far away as Germany, Switzerland, France and the United States, and translated the entire Scriptures.[122] The churches Darby planted with the seeds of a separatist premillennial dispensationalism, in turn sent missionaries to Africa, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand and, ironically, to work among the Arabs of Palestine, so that by the time of his death in 1885, around 1,500 Plymouth Brethren churches had already been founded world-wide. From 1862 onwards, as his controlling influence over Brethrenism in Britain waned, due to its fragmentation into smaller and narrower sects, Darby focused his ministry more and more on North America, making seven journeys in the next

twenty years. Sandeen has estimated that Darby spent 40% of his time in the United States.[123] During these visits he came to have an increasing influence on such evangelical leaders as James H. Brookes, Dwight L. Moody, William Blackstone and C. I. Scofield, as well as the emerging evangelical Bible Schools and Prophecy Conferences which came to dominate both evangelicalism and fundamentalism in the United States between 1875 and 1920.'[124] By 1901, Norman Kraus argues, 'the dispensationalists had won the day so completely that for the next fifty years friend and foe alike largely identified dispensationalism with premillennialism.'[125] Similarly, Clarence Bass, in his definitive history of Dispensationalism, concludes:

> Suffice it to say that he stamped his movement with his own personality. Much of its spiritual atmosphere undoubtedly belongs to his influence; and certainly its interpretative principles, its divisive compartmentalization of the redemptive plan of God, its literalness as to prophetic interpretation, and its separatist spirit may be traced to this personality. Perhaps it is too broad a summary to say that Darby's personality influenced directly the spirit of contemporary dispensationalism, but certainly the pattern which he set into motion is reflected in it. [126]

George Marsden, in his history of the rise of fundamentalism between 1870 and 1930, traces the considerable influence of Darby's dispensationalism on the wider American evangelical world. This was especially marked in D. L. Moody's circle of students who became not only fervent evangelists but also the Principals and faculty of some of the largest Bible colleges in the US, such as the Moody Bible Institute (1886), the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (1907), and the Philadelphia College of the Bible (1914).[127]

It is therefore possible to construct a family tree of Christian Zionism from its origins as a movement in the theological study, preaching, published writings, and missionary endeavours of British evangelical leaders such as Lewis Way, Charles Simeon, Joseph Wolff, Edward Irving, and John Nelson Darby. Through Darby's travels and his Brethren lieutenants such as Benjamin Newton and S. P. Tragelles, the movement was exported to America and came to shape the ministries of W. E. Blackstone, D. L. Moody, James Brooks, A. C. Gaebelein, Cyrus Scofield, Lewis Sperry Chafer, John Walvoord and contemporary popularists such as Hal Lindsey, Tim LaHaye,

Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. Their influence extended well beyond pulpit and journal and came to shape not only American evangelicalism but also British foreign policy in the late 19th and early 20th Century as well as inspire the development of the Jewish Zionist movement.

3. The Influence of Christian Zionism upon British Foreign Policy

In the spring of 1799, during the Syrian campaign of his Oriental expedition, Napoleon became the first political leader to propose a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine:

> Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the French Republic in Africa and Asia, to the Rightful Heirs of Palestine. Israelites, unique nation, whom, in thousands of years, lust of conquest and tyranny were able to deprive of the ancestral lands only, but not of name and national existence... She [France] offers to you at this very time, and contrary to all expectations, Israel's patrimony... Rightful heirs of Palestine... Hasten! Now is the moment which may not return for thousands of years, to claim the restoration of your rights among the population of the universe which had shamefully withheld from you for thousands of years, your political existence as a nation among the nations, and the unlimited natural right to worship Yehovah in accordance with your faith, publicly and in likelihood for ever (Joel 4:20).[128]

Napoleon believed that with sympathetic Jews controlling the territory between Acre, Lower Egypt, and the Red Sea, French imperial and commercial interests in India, Arabia, and Africa could be secured.[129] Neither Napoleon nor the Jews were able to deliver. Nevertheless his proclamation, '...is a barometer of the extent to which the European atmosphere was charged with these messianic expectations.'[130]

3.1 Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885)

Lord Shaftesbury was himself 'convinced of Darby's teachings',[131] and actively campaigned for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.[132] Stirred by the Napoleonic expedition, Shaftesbury argued for a greater British presence in Palestine on both religious as well as political grounds, advocating that assistance be given not only to assist Jews to return to Palestine but also for the founding of an Anglican bishopric and cathedral in Jerusalem. This he saw as the means by which God would continue to bless England as well as facilitate the return of the Jewish people to Palestine, 'to plant under the banner of the Cross,

God's people on the mountains of Jerusalem.'[133] Significantly, Lord Shaftesbury's step-father-in-law was Lord Palmerston, Britain's Foreign Secretary. In his diary for 1st August 1838, Shaftesbury wrote:

> Dined with Palmerston. After dinner left alone with him. Propounded my schemes which seems to strike his fancy. He asked questions and readily promised to consider it. How singular is the order of Providence. Singular, if estimated by man's ways. Palmerston had already been chosen by God to be an instrument of good to His ancient people, to do homage to their inheritance, and to recognize their rights without believing their destiny. It seems he will yet do more. Though the motive be kind, it is not sound. I am forced to argue politically, financially, commercially. He weeps not, like his Master, over Jerusalem, nor prays that now, at last, she may put on her beautiful garments.[134]

As a first step, Shaftesbury persuaded Palmerston to appoint the fellow restorationist William Young as the first British vice-consul in Jerusalem. He subsequently wrote in his diary, 'What a wonderful event it is! The ancient City of the people of God is about to resume a place among the nations; and England is the first of the gentile kingdoms that ceases to "tread her down"'.[135] A year later in 1839, Shaftesbury wrote an anonymous 30 page article for the Quarterly Review, entitled 'State and Restauration (sic) of the Jews.' In it, Shaftesbury advocated a Jewish national homeland with Jerusalem the capital, remaining under Turkish rule but with British protection.[136] Shaftesbury predicted a new era for the Jews in terms similar to those Charles Simeon had used in 1836:

> the Jews must be encouraged to return in yet greater numbers and become once more the husbandman of Judea and Galilee... though admittedly a stiff-necked, dark hearted people, and sunk in moral degradation, obduracy, and ignorance of the Gospel were not only worthy of salvation but also vital to Christianity's hope of salvation.[137]

Shaftesbury's enthusiasm for British sponsorship of a Jewish homeland appears to have been shaped as much by political expediency as religious conviction. British 'protection' of the Jews would give a colonial advantage over France for the control of the Middle East; provide better access to India via a direct land route; and open up new commercial markets for British products.[138] Fuelling speculation about an imminent restoration, on 4 November of 1840, Shaftesbury took out a paid advertisement in the Times

to give greater visibility to his vision. The advertisement included the following:

> RESTORATION OF THE JEWS, A memorandum has been addressed to the Protestant monarchs of Europe on the subject of the restoration of the Jewish people to the land of Palestine. The document in question, dictated by a peculiar conjunction of affairs in the East, and other striking 'signs of the times,' reverts to the original covenant which secures that land to the descendants of Abraham.[139]

When Shaftesbury became President of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865, he openly declared his reasons. In the address given at its launch he said, ‘Let us not delay to send out the best agents ... to search the length and breadth of Palestine, to survey the land, and if possible to go over every corner of it, drain it, measure it, and, if you will, prepare it for the return of its ancient possessors, for I believe that the time cannot be far off before that great event will come to pass.’[140] The influence of Lord Shaftesbury in promoting the Zionist cause within the political, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical establishment in Britain was immense. Wagner claims, ‘He single-handedly translated the theological positions of Brightman, Henry Finch, and John Nelson Darby into a political strategy. His high political connections, matched by his uncanny instincts, combined to advance the Christian Zionist vision.’[141] Like Moses, Shaftesbury did not live to see his 'Promised Land' realised. However, through his lobbying, writings and public speaking he did more than any other British politician to inspire a generation of Joshuas who translated his religious vision into a political reality. Indeed it was probably Shaftesbury who inspired Israel Zangwell and Theodore Herzl to coin the phrase, 'A land of no people for a people with no land.' Shaftesbury, a generation earlier, imagining Palestine to be empty, came up with the slogan, ′A country without a nation for a nation without a country.'[142] Shaftesbury had probably adapted the phrase of his colleague in the Palestine Exploration Fund, James Finn, who in 1857, while British Consul in Jerusalem, had reported, ‘The country is in a considerable degree empty of inhabitants and therefore its greatest need is that of a body of population.’[143]

3.2 Lord Palmerston (1784-1865)

Shaftesbury’s gentle lobbying of Palmerston proved successful. Palmerston

wrote an important letter to Ponsonby, the British ambassador in Constantinople, dated 11 August 1840. It concerned the mutual benefit to both Turkey and Britain of allowing Jews to return to Palestine. Palmerston argued that the restoration of the Jews would be an important means of maintaining the status quo, and of avoiding the disintegration of the Moslem Ottoman Empire:

> There exists at the present time among the Jews dispersed over Europe, a strong notion that the time is approaching when their nation is to return to Palestine... It would be of manifest importance to the Sultan to encourage the Jews to return and to settle in Palestine because the wealth which they would bring with them would increase the resources of the Sultan's dominions; and the Jewish people, if returning under the sanction and protection and at the invitation of the Sultan, would be a check upon any future evil designs of Mohamet Ali or his successor... I have to instruct Your Excellency strongly to recommend [the Turkish government] to hold out every just encouragement to the Jews of Europe to return to Palestine.[144]

Days after Lord Palmerston sent his letter, a lead article in the Times, dated 17 August 1840, called for a plan 'to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers' claiming such a plan was under 'serious political consideration'. Palmerston commended the efforts of Shaftesbury, the plan's author as both 'practical and statesmanlike.' By 1897 when the First World Zionist Congress met in Basle, Switzerland, Jewish leaders in favour of a Zionist state already had sympathetic support from many more senior British political figures. This was in part due to the efforts of another associate of the London Jews Society, William Hechler.

3.3 William Hechler (1845-1931)

Herzl chief ally in realising his vision of a Zionist state was William Hechler, an Anglican priest and chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna who acted as a mediator between Zionists and the aristocracy of Europe. The son of parents who served as CMJ missionaries in France and Germany, Hechler became chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna in 1885, a position of strategic significance for the for the Zionist movement.[145] According to Sharif, 'Imbued with evangelical millenarianism, he even formulated his own exact date for the re-establishment of the Jewish state.'[146] As with Shaftesbury's slogan, so Hechler's booklet, The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine (1894),

predated Herzl's Der Judenstaat by two years, and spoke of the need for *'*restoring the Jews to Palestine according to Old Testament prophecies.'[147]

Herzl records a meeting with Hechler on 10 March 1896 in his diary:

> The Reverend William Hechler, Chaplain of the English Embassy here, came to see me. A sympathetic, gentle fellow, with a long grey beard of a prophet. He is enthusiastic about my solution of the Jewish Question. He also considers my movement a 'prophetic turning-point' - which he had foretold two years before. From a prophecy in the time of Omar (637CE) he had reckoned that at the end of forty-two prophetic months (total 1260 years) the Jews would get Palestine back. This figure he arrived at was 1897-98.[148]

In March 1897, the year Hechler expected the Jews to begin returning to Palestine, Herzl described another meeting between them:

> 'We have prepared the ground for you!' Hechler said triumphantly... I take him for a naive visionary... However there is something charming about his enthusiasm... He gives me excellent advice, full of unmistakable genuine good will. He is at once clever and mystical, cunning and naive.[149]

Hechler became a close friend of Herzl and was influential in gaining access to the German Kaiser and British political establishment for Herzl and his Zionist delegation. When Hechler eventually resigned as chaplain from Vienna in 1910, the Zionist Organisation in London provided a pension, for his 'loyal' support of Zionism, in accordance with Herzl's instructions. In 1922, Hechler was present when the British Parliament ratified the Palestine Mandate, convinced this event was itself the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy.[150]

3.4 David Lloyd George (1863-1945)

David Lloyd George, who became Prime Minister in 1916, was another self-confessed Zionist, sharing similar views to those of Shaftesbury although his were more 'ardent'. In his own words, he was Chaim Weizmann's *'*proselyte... Acetone converted me to Zionism.' Weizmann had assisted the British government in the development of explosives and, in part, Palestine appears to have been the reward. In the same speech given before the Jewish Historical Society in 1925, Lloyd George reminisced:

> I was brought up in a school where I was taught far more about the history of the Jews than about the history of my own land. I could tell you all the kings of Israel. But I doubt whether I could have named half a dozen of the kings of England, and not more of the kings of Wales...

> We were thoroughly imbued with the history of your race in the days of its greatest glory, when it founded that great literature which will echo to the very last days of this old world, influencing, moulding, fashioning human character, inspiring and sustaining human motive, for not only Jews, but Gentiles as well. We absorbed it and made it part of the best in the Gentile character.[151]

Christopher Sykes, the son of Sir Mark Sykes who co-authored the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 which dismembered the Ottoman Empire between Britain, France and Russia, was also one of Lloyd-George's biographers.[152] Sykes wrote that prior to the Paris Peace Accords, signed in 1919, various advisors had tried unsuccessfully to brief Lloyd-George on the issues relating to the Palestine settlement but that he was not able to grasp the issues, 'largely because he could not move beyond the Christian Zionist worldview of his youth. When briefed repeatedly on the contemporary geography of Palestine, Lloyd-George insisted on reciting from his memory of childhood Sunday school lessons the biblical cities and lands of bible times, some of which no longer existed.'[153]

3.5 Lord Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930)

Probably the most significant British politician of all, however, was Arthur James Balfour who pioneered the Balfour Declaration in 1917. He was himself a premillennial Christian Zionist,[154] who regarded history as, 'an instrument for carrying out a Divine purpose.'[155] From 1905, for example, Chaim Weizmann, then a professor of chemistry at Manchester University, began to meet regularly with Balfour to discuss the implementation of that goal. Like Lloyd George, Balfour had been brought up in an evangelical home and was sympathetic to Zionism because of the influence of dispensational teaching.[156]

Following a meeting with Weizmann on 9 January 1906, Balfour wrote to his wife saying that he could see, 'no political difficulty about obtaining Palestine, only economic ones.'[157] Weizmann convinced Balfour that none of the other Jewish homeland 'solutions' such as Uganda or Argentina was tenable. According to his niece, shortly before his death, Balfour remarked that, '...the Jewish form of patriotism was unique... Their love of their country refused to be satisfied by the Uganda scheme. It was Weizmann's absolute

refusal even to look at it that impressed me.'[158] Negotiations over a British declaration of support for the Zionists began in early 1917 between Lord Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary, other members of the British government together with representatives of the Zionist Organisation. Mark Sykes, the Assistant Secretary to the War Cabinet had been given responsibility for Middle Eastern Affairs and set about extricating the British from the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, which envisaged Anglo-French administration of Palestine. In October 1917 Balfour learned that Germany was about to issue its own declaration of sympathy with Zionism and therefore recommended that the British Cabinet pre-empt them.[159] In July 1917, the Zionist Organisation offered a suggested draft to Balfour:

> 1. His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.
> 2. His Majesty's Government will use its best endeavors to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organization.[160]

Balfour amended this in August to emphasize the prerogative of the British government: 'and will use its best endeavours to secure the achievement of this object and will be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist Organization may desire to lay before it.' At the insistence of Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India an anti-Zionist Jew, a clause was added to guarantee the status of British Jews, in particular, who did not wish to live in Palestine, since most opposed Zionism.[161] Several further drafts were written before the final version was agreed by the Cabinet. On 2nd November, 1917, Lord Balfour, made public the final draft of the letter written to Lord Rothschild on the 31st October which became known as the Balfour Declaration:

> His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done, which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish Communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.[162]

What is not widely known, however, is that the Balfour Declaration was drafted by Leopold Amery, a covert Jew whose mother, Elisabeth Joanna

Saphir was a Hungarian Jew. Amery changed his middle name from Moritz to Maurice in order to disguise its origins. As Assistant Secretary to the British War Cabinet, Amery not only wrote the final version of the Balfour Declaration, but was also responsible for establishing the Jewish Legion, the first organised Jewish army for 2,000 years, and the forerunner to the Israeli Defence Force. According to William Rubinstein, Amery misled British officials as to his sympathy for the Jews, his deception 'possibly the most remarkable example of concealment of identity in 20th century British political history.'[163] Balfour was in fact already committed to the Zionist programme out of theological conviction and had no intention of consulting with the indigenous Arab population. In a letter to Lord Curzon, written in 1919, Balfour insisted somewhat cynically:

> For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country… The Four Great Powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires or prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land... I do not think that Zionism will hurt the Arabs… In short, so far as Palestine is concerned, the Powers have made no statement of fact which is not admittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy which, at least in the letter, they have not always intended to violate.[164]

What the Balfour Declaration left intentionally ambiguous was the meaning of a 'national home'. Balfour's draft of August 1917 read 'Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people'. In the final version in October 'the' had become 'a' and it now read, 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.' Was this synonymous with sovereignty or statehood and if so what were to be the borders? Would it occupy all of Palestine or just a portion? What was to be the status of Jerusalem? Furthermore, while it stated that 'the civil and religious rights of the existing population' were to be safeguarded and the territory was designated 'Palestine', there was no reference to Palestinians. 'They were an actual, but awkward non-identity'.[165] It was clearly Balfour's opinion that 'the present inhabitants' need not be consulted, either before or after.[166] That 90% of the population of Palestine were Arabs of whom around 10% were Christian seemed irrelevant to the politicians and Zionists who had

another agenda.[167] So the awkward questions were left unanswered and it is these ambiguities which have plagued Middle East peace negotiations and divided Christians ever since.

This momentous declaration gave Zionism for the first time a measure of 'political legitimacy' and provided the impetus for the colonization of Palestine.[168] In a speech made at the London Opera House celebration of the Balfour Declaration on 2nd December 1917, Lord Robert Cecil claimed that it marked not the birth of a nation but, '...the rebirth of a nation... I believe it will have far-flung influence on the history of the world and consequences than none can foresee on the future history of the human race.'[169] Just a week later, on the 9th December 1917, British troops occupied Jerusalem. Anglo-French diplomacy and strategic self-interest concerning the possession of territory gained from the Turks led to duplicity over the Balfour Declaration, and partisan support for the Jews.

Thus, Lord Balfour and David Lloyd-George, probably two of the most influential British political leaders of the First World War years, like Shaftesbury and Palmerston, a generation earlier, were both committed to a Christian Zionist agenda. Their support for the World Zionist Movement was a direct result of their evangelical upbringing and the influence of ministers like Way, Simeon, Irving and Darby.

4. The Development of Christian Zionism in the United States

In America, following the frequent visits of John Nelson Darby from 1862 onwards, his novel dispensational views about a failing Church and revived Israel came to have a profound influence upon leading evangelicals such as James Brookes, D. L. Moody, William E. Blackstone and C. I. Scofield. So much so that his novel millennial speculations eventually came to be accepted as normative by the majority of American evangelicals by the 20th Century.[170]

4.1 James H. Brookes (1830-1897)

James H. Brookes, the minister of Walnut Street Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, has been described as 'The Father of American Dispensationalism'.[171] In the summer of 1872, Darby wrote a letter describing the fruitfulness of his

initial visit to St. Louis. In it he wrote, '...good opportunities and I am in pretty full intercourse with those exercised, among whom are more than one official minister.'[172] Mindful perhaps of the notoriety with which the Brethren and, in particular Darby, were regarded within traditional denominational circles, Brookes insisted that he had reached his premillennial views through his own study of the Scriptures and not from any one else.[173] Brookes was however instrumental in bringing D. L. Moody to St Louis for the 1879-1880 campaign and introduced Scofield, and probably also Darby, or at least his ideas to Moody. Brookes not only sympathised with J. N. Darby's dispensational views of a failing Church, corrupt and beyond hope, but it is also known they met during five visits Darby made to St Louis between 1864-1865[174] and again between 1872-1877 when Darby preached from Brookes' pulpit.[175] Brookes became the most influential lobbyist for Dispensationalism for several reasons. Through his bible classes, he was responsible for nurturing several young Christian leaders, notably, Cyrus Scofield. He also published many books and pamphlets including a Christian magazine called The Truth from 1874 until his death. But probably most significantly, Brookes helped initiate and gave leadership to the Niagara Bible Conference and other similar unfulfilled-prophesy conferences in the latter part of the 19th Century.[176] Brookes was instrumental in ensuring the premillennial dispensational views associated with the Albury and Powerscourt Conferences in England and Ireland came to take root in Middle America.

4.2 Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899)

John Nelson Darby's influence over D. L. Moody came about through one of Darby's disciples, a young evangelist Henry Moorehouse who impressed Moody with his 'extraordinary' preaching. According to his son, Moody's message and style were revolutionised by Moorehouse. 'Mr Moorehouse taught Moody to draw his sword full length, to fling the scabbard away, and to enter the battle with the naked blade.'[177] Albert Newman, a contemporary American historian confirmed the strong influence Darby had in America. 'The large class of evangelists, of whom Dwight L. Moody was the most eminent, have drawn their inspiration and their Scripture interpretation largely from the writings and the personal influence of the Brethren.'[178] Arno Gaebelein,

Scofield's biographer, describes how Scofield kept Moody conformed to a dispensational prophetic framework, 'Moody himself needed at times a better knowledge of prophecy, and Scofield was the man to lead him into it.'[179] Moody's name is also associated with the popular Northfield Conferences which he founded in 1880.[180] Sandeen observes that none of Moodly's biographers have noted that these Conferences were dominated by dispensationalists especially in the 1880's and 1890's.[181] Moody's greatest service to Darby though came through the Bible institute which still bears his name and which became a prototype for many others which facilitated the spread of dispensational theology across America.[182] By 1956, 41 other Bible schools were teaching dispensationalism and between them training 10,000 pastors and missionaries annually.[183]

4.3 William Eugene Blackstone (1841-1935)

Another of John Nelson Darby's disciples and a friend of James Brookes was William E. Blackstone, an influential evangelist, financier and benefactor.[184] On the advice of Brookes, in 1887 he wrote a book on biblical prophecy entitled Jesus is Coming which by 1916 had already been translated into 25 languages.[185] In 1908, a presentation edition was sent to several hundred thousand ministers and Christian workers.[186] Until the publication of Tim LaHaye's fictional Left Behind series, Blackstone's work was the most widely read book on the return of Christ published in the last century.[187] Arising from his Zionist convictions, Blackstone helped to found the Chicago Hebrew Mission, which later became the American Messianic Fellowship. In 1890, he chaired the first conference between Jews and Christians in Chicago entitled the Past, Present and Future of Israel[188]. The following year in March 1891 he lobbied the US President, Benjamin Harrison and his Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, with a petition signed by 413 prominent Jewish and Christian leaders including John & William Rockefeller. The petition called for an international conference on the restoration of the Jews to Palestine: The petition, which came to be known as the Blackstone Memorial, offered this solution:

> Why not give Palestine back to them [the Jews] again? According to God's distribution of nations it is their home, an inalienable possession from which they were expelled by force. Under their cultivation it was a

> remarkably fruitful land, sustaining millions of Israelites, who industriously tilled its hillsides and valleys. They were agriculturalists and producers as well as a nation of great commercial importance - the centre of civilization and religion. Why shall not the powers which under the treaty of Berlin, in 1878, gave Bulgaria to the Bulgarians and Servia to the Servians now give Palestine back to the Jews?[189]

Although President Harrison did not act upon the petition, it was nevertheless pivotal in galvanising Christian and Jewish Zionist activists in the United States for the next sixty years. During his life time Jewish Zionists honoured Blackstone more times than any other Christian leader. On one occasion Louis Brandeis, Jewish Justice of the US Supreme Court wrote, 'you are the Father of Zionism as your work antedates Herzl.'[190]

4.4 Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843-1921)

Darby's dispensational views would probably have remained the exotic preserve of the dwindling and divided Brethren sects were it not for the energetic efforts of Cyrus Scofield who introduced them to a far wider audience in America and the English-speaking world through his Scofield Reference Bible.[191] As a consequence Scofield may justifiably be regarded as the most significant and popular exponent of dispensationalism.[192] Ernest Sandeen insists, '...in the calendar of Fundamentalist saints no name is better known or more revered.'[193] Yet while writings abound on the early Brethren such as J. N. Darby and other contemporary American dispensationalists such as D. L. Moody, Scofield remains an illusive and enigmatic figure. Only two biographies have been published, one by a fellow dispensationalist eulogises Scofield[194], the other, from a Reformed perspective, portrays him as a charlatan, morally unfit for Christian ministry.[195] As a young and largely illiterate Christian, Scofield was profoundly influenced and schooled by James H. Brookes who in turn introduced him to J. N. Darby. Serving as Brookes' assistant, Scofield popularised Darby's distinctive theological perspective, basing his reference notes on Darby's own idiosyncratic translation of the Bible. Bass notes, 'the parallel between Scofield's notes and Darby's works only too clearly reveals that Scofield was not only a student of Darby's works, but that he copiously borrowed ideas, words and phrases.'[196] The resemblance between Scofield and Darby is according to Gerstner, 'deep and

systematic.'[197] One of Darby's own biographers acknowledges, 'His perceptions of Scriptural truths are the source from which Scofield Reference Bibles get their characteristic notes.'[198] Gerstner notes that it is significant, however, that neither in the Introduction to his Scofield Reference Bible, nor in the accompanying notes does he acknowledge his indebtedness to Darby.[199]

In 1888 Scofield published his first work called Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth.[200] In it Scofield presented the hermeneutic principles of dispensationalism he had allegedly been teaching his Bible classes for many years and which would become the theological presuppositions behind which the notes of his Scofield Reference Bible. Not surprisingly, it was the Plymouth Brethren 'house' publishers, Loizeaux Brothers of New York, who printed the first edition and continue to do so, a century later.[201] Scofield was also representative of, but at the same time became a focus for, the growing prophetic and millennial movement in North America influenced by the Plymouth Brethren. The dispensational views later popularised by Scofield, were 'hammered into presentable form '[202] by a series of Bible and Prophetic Conferences held across North America beginning in 1868 which followed the pattern of Bible readings and prophetic subjects established by Darby and Irving at Albury and Powerscourt from the 1830's.[203] For example, one of the resolutions adopted by the 1878 Niagara Conference gives clear evidence of the Darbyite dispensationalism, and Christian Zionism into which Scofield was becoming an eager proselyte:

> We believe that the world will not be converted during the present dispensation, but is fast ripening for judgment, while there will be fearful apostasy in the professing Christian body; and hence that the Lord Jesus will come in person to introduce the millennial age, when Israel shall be restored to their own land, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord.[204]

Scofield first attended the Niagara Conference in 1887, completing his book Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth, during the 1888 conference. It was at these conferences that, in discussion with other Brethren leaders, the idea for his reference Bible took shape and found sponsors.[205] The combination of an attractive format, illustrative notes, and cross references has led both critics and advocates to acknowledge the Scofield's Bible to have been the most

influential book among evangelicals during the first half of the twentieth century.[206] James Barr claims that in the 1950's half of all conservative evangelical student groups were using the Scofield Reference Bible, and that it was, 'The most important single document of all fundamentalism.'[207] Craig Blaising, professor of Systematic Theology at Dallas Theological Seminary, and a dispensationalist, similarly acknowledges, 'The Scofield Reference Bible became the Bible of fundamentalism, and the theology of the notes approached confessional status in many Bible schools, institutes and seminaries established in the early decades of this century'.[208] Sandeen observes, 'The book has thus been subtly but powerfully influential in spreading those views among hundreds of thousands who have regularly read that Bible and who often have been unaware of the distinction between the ancient text and the Scofield interpretation'.[209]

Scofield's Reference Bible has nevertheless undergone significant revision since it was first published in 1909. Scofield completed the first revision in 1917, apparently with the help of seven consulting editors - Henry G. Weston (President, Crozier Theological Seminary); James M. Gray (Dean, Moody Bible Institute); W. G. Moorehead (Professor, Xenia Theological Seminary); Elmore Harris (President, Toronto Bible Institute) William J. Erdman; Arno C. Gaebelein & Arthur T. Pierson, several of whom were D.L. Moody's colleagues.[210] Canfield argues that the addition of these names together with their academic qualifications was merely cosmetic, to give an air of respectability[211] Sandeen goes further arguing, 'Scofield only meant to gain support for his publication from both sides of the millenarian movement with this device.'[212] In 1945 when a minor revision was published, an eighth consulting editor, William L. Pettingill, was added. However, so wedded to the 1917 edition were some ultra-dispensationalists that strong representations were made to the revision committee to 'hold the line.' Cornelius Stam, an ultra-dispensationalist questioned: 'Would revision neutralize the dispensational distinctions which Dr. Scofield had brought to light? Would it represent a retreat rather than an advance for dispensational truth? Would it impair the Reference Bible which had brought so much blessing to so many thousands of people?'[213] Despite such reservations, revisions continued to adapt, modify, and elaborate Scofield's dispensational package. The New

Scofield Reference Bible was published in 1967 edited by Dr E. Schuyler English. In 1984, a further revision based on the New International Version of the Bible was undertaken by three of the faculty from Philadelphia College of Bible, Clarence Mason, Sherrill Babb and Paul Karleen, and published by the Oxford University Press as The New Scofield Study Bible.[214] Charles Ryrie also published in his own name a more refined dispensational guide, the Ryrie Study Bible.[215] William E. Cox, a former dispensationalist and subsequently a critic of Scofieldism offers this appraisal of his abiding influence:

> Scofield's footnotes and his systematized schemes of hermeneutics have been memorized by many as religiously as have verses of the Bible. It is not at all uncommon to hear devout men recite these footnotes prefaced by the words, 'The Bible says...' Many a pastor has lost all influence with members of his congregation and has been branded a liberal for no other reason than failure to concur with all the footnotes of Dr. Scofield. Even many ministers use the teachings of Scofield as tests of orthodoxy! Charles G. Trumball, late editor of the Sunday School Times, spoke of the Scofield Bible in the following terms, in his book, The Life Story of C. I. Scofield: 'God-planned, God-guided, God-energized work.'[216]

Scofield's influence extended well beyond his published writings. In the 1890's during Scofield's pastorate in Dallas he was also head of the Southwestern School of the Bible, the forerunner to Dallas Theological Seminary which became Dispensationalism's 'most scholarly institution.'[217] The Seminary was founded in 1924 by one of his disciples, Lewis Sperry Chafer, who in turn became Scofield's most influential exponent. Chafer wrote the first systematic dispensational theology running to eight large volumes. Shortly before his death, Chafer described his greatest academic achievement. 'It goes on record that the Dallas Theological Seminary uses, recommends, and defends the Scofield Bible.'[218] It is perhaps therefore not surprising that Dallas Theological Seminary has since then continued to be the foremost apologist for Scofield's dispensational views, and Christian Zionism, in particular.

5. The Decline and Revival of Christian Zionism in the 20th Century

In the early 20th Century, following the devastating toll of the First World War and then the Great Depression, American fundamentalism became

preoccupied with refuting theological liberalism rather than prophetic speculation and consequently popular interest in Zionism waned. In a detailed history of the rise of 20th Century American fundamentalism prior to 1970, Erling Jorstad traces the right wing, ultra-conservative, anti-communist, and xenophobic agenda of the movement. There is significantly, however, no reference to Israel.[219] Similarly, in George Marsden's historical overview of the rise of fundamentalism and evangelicalism in America between 1870-1930, he argues that despite some evidence of anti-Semitism, in the early 20th Century there seems to have been little interest in contemporary Israel.[220]

During the 1940's both prior to and after the founding of the state of Israel, the principle allies of Zionism were liberal Protestant Christians such as Paul Tillich, William Albright and Reinhold Niebuhr who founded the Christian Council on Palestine in 1942. Niebuhr, as Professor of Social Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, defended his Zionism on pragmatic grounds rather than religious ones. Persecution in Europe combined with restrictive immigration laws in America led Niebuhr to recognise the 'moral right' of the Jews to Palestine in order to survive as a nation.[221] In 1946, he testified before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Washington on behalf of the Christian Council on Palestine. While acknowledging the conflicting rights of Arabs and Jews in Palestine, he argued,

> The fact however that the Arabs have a vast hinterland in the Middle East, and the fact that the Jews have nowhere to go, establishes the relative justice of their claims and of their cause... Arab sovereignty over a portion of the debated territory must undoubtedly be sacrificed for the sake of establishing a world Jewish homeland.[222]

Nevertheless, some notable dispensational leaders did maintain a faithful and vocal commitment to an imminent realisation of the Zionist dream. Dr M. R. DeHaan, for example, founder of the Radio Bible Class World-wide Gospel Broadcast, was regularly heard via over 600 radio stations world-wide. DeHaan published his studies in the Book of Daniel in 1947 in which he interpreted the events before and after the Balfour Declaration in the light of Abrahamic Covenant and Belshazzar's "Handwriting on the Wall". Like many Zionists DeHaan lamented British intransigence over attempts to create a Jewish State and 'clear the land of its unlawful possessors':

> Now the land of Palestine is the Holy Land because in His eternal purposes and program, God has set it aside for the one purpose of occupation by his peculiar people, the descendants of Jacob, and because it is God's Holy Land, anyone who tampers with it and seeks to separate its people from their possession comes under the judgment of God... If only the nations had been able to see their way clear to keep their promise to set aside the Holy Land as a national refuge and return it again to their rightful possessors to whom God had promised it, God might have raised many, many more of the see of Jacob like Dr. Weizman (sic) to bring blessing and help to the nations of the world...[223]

It is not clear how DeHaan intended his readers to see Weizmann's discovery of how to synthesize acetone, a solvent used in the manufacture of munitions, as a blessing.

The founding of the State of Israel in 1948, the capture of Jerusalem and the West Bank in 1967, and the defeat on both occasions of the combined Arab armies, increasingly came to be seen as significant fulfilments of biblical prophecy by a new generation of American and European Christians. The 1967 'Six Day War' marked a significant watershed for evangelical Christian interest in Israel and Zionism. With the annexation of the West Bank Liberal Protestants and organisations such as the World Council of Churches increasingly distanced themselves from Zionism, whereas the same events fuelled enthusiasm among fundamentalists for Israel.[224]

Billy Graham's father-in-law, Nelson Bell, the editor of the prestigious and authoritative mouthpiece of conservative Evangelicalism, Christianity Today*,* appeared to express the sentiments of many American Evangelicals when, in an editorial in 1967 he wrote, 'That for the first time in more than 2,000 years Jerusalem is now completely in the hands of the Jews gives a student of the Bible a thrill and a renewed faith in the accuracy and validity of the Bible.*'* [225] In 1968, the then U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson revealed how his own upbringing had influenced his sympathies for Zionism:

> Most, if not all of you, have very deep ties with the land and with the people of Israel, as I do; for my Christian faith sprang from yours. The Bible stories are woven into my childhood memories as the gallant struggle of modem Jews to be free of persecution is also woven into our souls.[226]

Similarly, Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter Christian beliefs influenced his Middle Eastern policy.[227] In a speech made in 1978, he described the State of Israel in these terms: 'A return at last, to the Biblical land from which the Jews were driven so many hundreds of years ago... The establishment of the nation of Israel is the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy and the very essence of its fulfilment.'[228] The following political and religious leaders are among the most significant representatives of contemporary American Christian Zionism.

5.1 Jerry Falwell

Jerry Falwell is the pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church and the Founder and Chancellor of the 10,000 student independent Baptist Liberty University, Lynchburg, Virginia.[229] Jerry Falwell Ministries sponsors the Liberty Broadcasting Network TV channel and syndicated Old Time Gospel Hour programme which is broadcast on 350 stations in the USA and has a budget of $60 million.[230] According to Donald Wagner, Falwell did not begin to speak about modern-day Israel until after Israel's 1967 military victory. 'Falwell changed completely. He entered into politics and became an avid supporter of the Zionist State':

> The stunning Israeli victory made a big impact not only on Falwell, but on a lot of Americans... Remember that in 1967, the United States was mired in the Vietnam war. Many felt a sense of defeat, helplessness and discouragement. As Americans we were made acutely aware of our own diminished authority, of no longer being able to police the world or perhaps even our own neighbourhoods... Many Americans, including Falwell, turned worshipful glances toward Israel, which they viewed as militarily strong and invincible. They gave their unstinting approval to the Israeli take-over of Arab lands because they perceived this conquest as power and righteousness... Macho or muscular Christians such as Falwell credited Israeli General Moshe Dayan with this victory over Arab forces and termed him the Miracle Man of the Age, and the Pentagon invited him to Vietnam and tell us how to win the war.[231]

In 1979, the same year Falwell founded Moral Majority, the Israeli government provided Falwell with a Lear jet to assist him in his advocacy of Israel. A year later in 1980, Falwell also became the first gentile to be awarded the Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky medal for Zionist excellence by Israel's Prime Minister, Menachem Begin. Jabotinsky was the founder of

Revisionist Zionism and held that Jews had a divine mandate to occupy and settle 'on both sides of the Jordan River' and were not accountable to international law.[232] When Israel bombed Iraq's nuclear plant in 1981, Begin phoned Falwell before he called Reagan. He also asked Falwell to 'explain to the Christian public the reasons for the bombing.'[233] During the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Falwell similarly defended Israel's actions. 'When the massacres occurred at the two Palestinian camps, Falwell just mimicked the Israeli line: "The Israelis were not involved." And even when The New York Times was giving eyewitness accounts of Israeli flares sent up to help the Phalangists go into the camp, Falwell was saying, "That's just propaganda."'[234]

In March 1985, Falwell spoke to the conservative Rabbinical Assembly in Miami and pledged to 'mobilize 70 million conservative Christians for Israel and against anti-Semitism.'[235] In January 1998 when Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visited Washington his first meeting was with Jerry Falwell and The National Unity Coalition for Israel, a large gathering of more than 500 fundamentalist Christians leaders, rather than with President Clinton. According to Donald Wagner, the crowd hailed Netanyahu as 'the Ronald Reagan of Israel'. This time Falwell promised to contact 200,000 pastors and church leaders who receive his National Liberty Journal[236] and ask them to 'tell President Clinton to refrain from putting pressure on Israel' to comply with the Oslo accords.[237] In an interview with The Washington Post in 1999, Falwell described the West Bank as 'an integral part of Israel.' Pressing Israel to withdraw, he added, 'would be like asking America to give Texas to Mexico, to bring about a good relationship. It's ridiculous.'[238] In 2000 Falwell revived Moral Majority under the name People of Faith 2000, 'a movement to reclaim America as one nation under God.'[239]

5.2 Pat Robertson

Pat Robertson is one of the most powerful men in US political and religious circles today. His Christian Broadcasting Network was the first and remains the most influential Christian satellite TV network in the world with a budget in excess of $195 million.[240] Robertson founded CBN in 1960. He is also a writer[241] and the founder and Chancellor of Regent University in Virginia as

well as numerous other educational, entertainment, political and humanitarian organisations including the Christian Coalition which has 1.9 million members and a budget in 1997 of $17 million. The goal of the Christian Coalition, founded by Robertson in 1989, is 'to take working control of the Republican party…' and 'electing "Christian candidates" to public office.'[242] In 1990, Robertson founded International Family Entertainment Inc. and The Family Channel, a satellite delivered cable-TV network with 63 million U.S. subscribers. In 1997, Robertson sold IFE to Fox Worldwide, Inc. for $1.9 billion. CBN is one of the world's largest television ministries and produces programmes seen in 180 nations and heard in 71 languages including Russian, Arabic, Spanish, French and Chinese. CBN's most popular programme, The 700 Club, which Robertson hosts, is one of the longest running religious television shows and reaches a weekly audience of seven million American viewers.[243] Robertson explains CBN's role in fulfilling end-time prophecy:

> I will never forget the time, April 29, 1977, when we had built the first earth station ever to be owned by a Christian ministry in the history of the world, and we were the first ever to take a full-time transponder on a satellite… so we were pioneers in this area. I remember it was ten o'clock in the morning when we went on with the broadcast. We then cut to the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, a little after five o'clock in the afternoon. There were some clouds forming over the Temple Mount… And when I saw the Mount of Olives, and I saw where my Savior is going to put His foot down when He comes back to earth, I was thinking, 'I'm transmitting it! The Bible says every eye is going to behold Him, and here it is happening! We see how it is going to be fulfilled right in front of our eyes!'[244]

Events in the Middle East dominate CBN's News and have a clear bias in favour of Israel.[245] In 2002 CBN formed its own dedicated Israel news channel with links to the Israeli embassy, International Christian Embassy, Bridges for Peace and Christian Friends of Israel.[246] Robertson's own views on Israel and the occupation of the Palestinian West Bank are quite outspoken. In answer to a question about the 'land for peace' negotiations, Robertson suggested that Rabin's assassination was an act of God: 'This is God's land and God has strong words about someone who parts and divides His land. The rabbis put a curse on Yitzhak Rabin when he began cutting up the land.'[247] On the 1st January 2002 edition of the CBN 700 Club, Robertson

also warned that if the US 'wants to interfere with Bible prophecy and wants to move in and wrest East Jerusalem away from the Jews and give it to Yasser Arafat… heaven help this nation of ours… If the United States takes East Jerusalem back and makes it the capital of the Palestinian State, then we are asking for the wrath of God'.[248] In February 2002, Robertson sparked controversy on his 700 Club programme by claiming Islam was a violent religion and that US, 'immigration policies are now so skewed to the Middle East and away from Europe that we have introduced these people into our midst and undoubtedly there are terrorist cells all over them.' Of all the US Presidents in recent history, probably the strongest affinity between political and religious Zionism was achieved under Ronald Reagan.

5.3 Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan was raised on a fundamentalist premillennial dispensational theology. His election as President therefore gave a considerable boost to the Christian Zionist cause:

> The election of Ronald Reagan ushered in not only the most pro-Israel administration in history but gave several Christian Zionists prominent political posts. In addition to the President, those who subscribed to a futurist premillennial theology and Christian Zionism included Attorney General Ed Meese, Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger, and Secretary of the Interior James Watt...[249]

White House Seminars became a regular feature of Reagan's administration bringing leading Christian Zionists like Jerry Falwell, Mike Evans and Hal Lindsey into direct personal contact with national and Congressional leaders. In Reagan's Address to the Nation on the West Bank and the Palestinians in 1982, marking the ejection of the PLO from Beirut, he presented the official position of the United States government on the Arab-Israeli question:

> Today has been a day that should make all of us proud... Our involvement in the search for Mideast peace is not a matter of preference; it is a moral imperative... We also have an irreversible commitment to the survival and territorial integrity of friendly states... So the United States will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, and we will not support annexation or permanent control by Israel... But it is the firm view of the United States that self-government by the Palestinians

> of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable, just and lasting peace.[250]

However, in a personal conversation reported in the Washington Post in April of 1984, Reagan told the chief Israeli lobbyist, Tom Dine,

> You know, I turn back to the ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if-if we're the generation that is going to see that come about. I don't know if you've noted any of these prophecies lately, but believe me they certainly describe the times we're going through.[251]

While neither Bill Clinton or George Bush Jnr. share the dispensational presuppositions of either Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan, they have nevertheless maintained the strong pro-Zionist Christian position of their predecessors.[252]

With the high profile influence of fundamentalist Christian leaders like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson Christian Zionism had become an unwritten assumption within American evangelicalism by the end of the 1960's. It was to receive its most explicit endorsement through the prophetic speculations of Hal Lindsey.

5.4 Hal Lindsey

Hal Lindsey is undoubtedly the most influential of all 20th Century Christian Zionists. Although rarely quoted by others, he has nevertheless been described by Time as 'The Jeremiah for this Generation', and by the New York Times as 'the best selling author of the decade,'[253] one of only very few authors to have had three books on the New York Times best seller list at the same time.[254] His latest publisher describes him as 'The Father of the Modern-Day Bible Prophecy Movement,'[255] and, 'the best known prophecy teacher in the world.'[256] Lindsey is a prolific writer, the author of at least twenty books spanning 27 years, most of which deal explicitly or implicitly with a dispensational interpretation of the future, biblical prophecy and Christian Zionism.[257] He hosts his own radio[258] and television programmes, leads regular pro-Israeli Holy Land tours, and by subscription makes available a monthly Christian 'intelligence journal' called Countdown as well as the International Intelligence Briefing[259]. Along with Grant Jeffries, Lindsey also hosts a weekly news programme, International Intelligence Briefing on the

Trinity Broadcasting Network television station. It is estimated that through radio and TV Lindsey has a regular audience of a million viewers and listeners.[260]

Lindsey's most famous book, The Late Great Planet Earth has been described by the New York Times as the '#1 Non-fiction Bestseller of the Decade.' It has gone through more than 108 printings with sales, by 1993, of more than 18 million copies in English, with estimates varying between 18-20 million further copies in 54 foreign languages.[261] Despite dramatic changes in the world since its publication in 1970, Lindsey maintains that the prophetic and apocalyptic scenario depicted is biblically accurate and therefore the book remains in print in its original un-revised form. Lindsey's popularity may be attributed to a combination of factors. These include his readable, journalistic style of writing, his imaginative if rather dogmatic insistence, like Darby and Scofield,[262] that contemporary geopolitical events are the fulfilment of biblical prophecy and his repeated assertions that the end of the world is imminent. 'This book describes in more detail and explicitness than any other just what will happen to humanity and to the Earth, not a thousand years from now, but in our lifetime-indeed in this very generation.'[263]

> Hal will be your guide on a chilling tour of the world's future battlefields as the Great Tribulation, foretold more than two thousand years ago by Old and New Testament prophets, begins to unfold, You'll meet the world leaders who will bring man to the very edge of extinction and examine the causes of the current global situation - what it all means, what will shortly come to pass, and how it will all turn out.[264]

Like Darby, Lindsey also claims his novel interpretations have been revealed directly and personally by God.

> I believe that the Spirit of God gave me a special insight, not only into how John described what he actually experienced, but also into how this whole phenomenon encoded the prophecies so that they could be fully understood only when their fulfillment drew near... I prayerfully sought for a confirmation for my apocalypse code theory...[265]

His success is also in part due to his habit of revising his predictions in the light of changing world events. So for example The Final Battle (1994) is essentially an unacknowledged revision of The Late Great Planet Earth (1970); Apocalypse Code (1997) is a revision of There's a New World Coming (1973); and the two editions of Planet Earth 2000 A.D. (1994, & 1996) both

recycle and revitalise material in The 1980's Countdown to Armageddon (1980). So, for example, the major threat to Israel changes from Soviet Communism to Islamic Fundamentalism.

1980's Countdown to Armageddon	Planet Earth 2000 A.D.
Today, the Soviets are without question the strongest power on the face of the earth. Lets look at recent history to see how the Russians rose to the might predicted for them thousands of years ago.[266]	We see Russia as no longer a world threat, but a regional power with a world-class military - exactly what Ezekiel 38 and 39 predicted it would be.[267] The greatest threat to freedom and world peace today - is Islamic Fundamentalism.[268]

The demise of the Soviet Union, the rise of militant Islam, the success of the Allies in the Gulf War, and the controversy surrounding the third millennium are all explained in terms of the fulfilment of biblical prophecy and the imminent Second Advent. Lindsey's apocalyptic scenarios are highly speculative yet continue to enjoy popular support especially among dispensationalists in the United States. His particular kind of reading of history, coloured by a literal exegesis of highly selective biblical scriptures, is essentially polarised, dualistic, racist and confrontational. Lindsey justifies the continued demonisation of Russia, China, Islam, and the Arab nations; encourages the continued military and economic funding of Israel by the United States; urges Israelis to resist negotiating land for peace and instead, maintain their apartheid policies, settling and incorporating the Occupied Territories within the State of Israel. In so doing, Lindsey identifies unconditionally with the political and religious far right both in the United States as well as in Israel. Ironically, as the father of what may be termed 'Armageddon theology' his attempts to defend Israel and to refute anti-Semitism may actually be leading to the very holocaust he abhors but repeatedly predicts.

6. The Proliferation of Christian Zionist Organisations

While Christian leaders such as Way, Irving, Darby and Scofield were influential in formulating and propagating Zionism through their writings in the 19th and early 20th Century, the movement today is largely associated with the activities of para-church organisations working outside the established mainline Christian denominations. There has been a dramatic proliferation of

such organisations since 1970. Doug Kreiger, for example, lists over 250 pro-Israel evangelical organisations operating in America and founded between 1980 and1985.[269]

6.1 London Jews Society – Churches Ministry Among Jewish People (1809)

The first Christian Zionist organisation was the London Jews Society founded in 1809. The LJS was renamed several times in the 20th Century and is now known as the Churches Ministry Among Jewish People while in Israel it is known as the Israel Trust of the Anglican Church.[270] Besides being the first, it is also the only denominational Christian Zionist organisation of significance today. Originally an interdenominational body, it was reconstituted in 1815 as an Anglican missionary society under the influence of Charles Simeon. The primary aim was the conversion of Jews to Protestant Christianity.[271] The LJS reached its zenith in 1914 when it had a staff of 280 working in 60 cities, a third of whom were of Jewish origin. Following the Napoleonic wars, and beginning in 1817, LJS appointed staff among Jewish communities in places as diverse as Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Holland, Germany, Austria, Rumania, India and Canada, as well as in Britain and Palestine.[272] CMJ withdrew most of their European staff as a result of the Second World War, when they claim, 250,000 Jewish Christians died in the Holocaust.[273]

CMJ remains committed: 'To be workers with God in his continuing purpose for the Jewish people…' This includes evangelism, humanitarian work and defending Jews from Anti-Semitism.[274] It has also included an unswerving commitment to restorationism. Kelvin Crombie summarises this in his history of CMJ in which he equates biblical literalism with restorationism: 'For if the Bible is true, literally, then Israel would be restored, first physically, then spiritually. The CMJ work in Israel was founded during the last century upon such a belief. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was surely an indication that such beliefs were correct.'[275] Theologically, CMJ remain convinced that God continues to have an ongoing covenant relationship with the Jews. In common with dispensationalists, they believe the Jews remain eternally God's 'chosen people'[276] in some way separate from the largely

Gentile church. On the basis of a literalist and futurist hermeneutic they have given support, for example, through their periodical Shalom to the premise that the State of Israel and the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel are the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy and should be supported.[277]

6.2 Chicago Hebrew Mission - American Messianic Fellowship (1887)

William E. Blackstone founded the Chicago Hebrew Mission in 1887. It is now known as the American Messianic Fellowship International. AMFI is, according to its own literature, a 'conservative evangelical ministry committed to seeing the Lord's purposes fulfilled by building bridges of understanding between Christian and Jewish Communities'.[278] Its mission is based on the following conviction: 'We believe that the blessed hope is the Lord Jesus' personal, imminent return to rapture the Church and then introduce the millennial age, when Israel shall be restored to their own land and the earth will then be full of the knowledge of the Lord.'[279]

6.3 The Messianic Jewish Alliance of America (1915)

MJAA claims to be the largest association of Messianic Jewish believers in the world. It was founded in 1915, with affiliations in 15 countries, 250 Messianic Synagogues, and 350,000 Messianic Jews worldwide. They insist they are 'the leading representative organisation for American Jews who believe in Messiah Yeshua'[280] Their simple statement of belief is made up of four short paragraphs. The fourth states: 'We believe in G-d's eternal covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. We, therefore, stand with and support the Jewish people and the State of Israel and hold fast to the Biblical heritage of our forefathers.'[281] In 1992 a MJAA position paper was published in the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz entitled, 'Messianic Jews Say: "The Land Belongs to Israel"'[282] In it, MJAA expressed their conviction that Eretz Israel has been given to the Jews by God and that they will 'repossess the regions of Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan Heights.'[283]

6.4 Jews for Jesus (1973)

Jews for Jesus was founded in 1973 by Moishe Rosen[284] and arose out of the Californian hippy culture Jesus movement of the 1960's and early 1970's.

They claim to be '...the largest and best-known of the non-denominational Jewish evangelistic agencies' with missionaries in ten countries and an income in 2000 of more than $12 million.[285] In addition to their 15 branches and 60 chapters, JFJ sends out evangelistic teams such as the emotively named 'Liberated Wailing Wall.'[286] Their founder, Moishe Rosen, executive director, David Brickner and scholar in residence, Louis Goldberg are all committed dispensationalists. Their Doctrinal Statement reflects this asserting belief in the continuing existence of two parallel but separate covenants for Israel and the Church: 'We believe Israel exists as a covenant people through whom God continues to accomplish His purposes and that the Church is an elect people in accordance with the New Covenant, comprising both Jews and Gentiles.' As an organisation of Messianic Christians committed to both evangelism among Jews as well as encouraging political support for the State of Israel, Jews for Jesus is unique, having, in their own words, *'*Out-Zioned the Zionists'.[287]

6.5 Bridges For Peace (1976)

Bridges for Peace was founded in 1976 by G. Douglas Young. Young had worked in Israel since the 1950's having set up the Israel-American Institute of Biblical Studies in Jerusalem in 1957. In 1976, he began to publish his 'Dispatch from Jerusalem' a monthly newsletter distributed by Christians for Israel based in Dallas. After Young's death, Clarence H. Wagner became the President and first executive director of Bridges for Peace in 1980.[288] BFP affirm: 'Through programs both in Israel and world-wide, we are giving Christians the opportunity to actively express our biblical responsibility before God to be faithful to Israel and the Jewish community.'[289] They believe that, 'the Church does not exist independently from the covenant God made with the Jewish people and Israel.'[290] They also hold to the dispensational view that 'God's covenant promises between the land and His people Israel were everlasting and unconditional.'[291] Whereas the New Testament sees God's people as now made up of both Jews and Gentiles who believe in Jesus, Wagner argues that this is refers to reconciliation between the nation of Israel and the Church and that this lies at the heart of their mission.[292] BFP is one of the more politicised Christian Zionist organisations with a budget, in the year

2000 of just under $3 million and a membership of 90,000.[293] Having disavowed evangelism they are active through 'Operation Rescue' in encouraging Jews from the former Soviet Union to immigrate to Israel. Merkley claims: 'All of the Christian Zionist organizations acknowledge Dr. Douglas Young as their pioneer and Bridges for Peace, under the leadership of Clarence Wagner, Jr, as the senior organization in the ranks of renewed Christian Zionism.'[294]

6.6 International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (1980)

Of all the Christian Zionist organisations, ICEJ is probably the most influential and controversial. According to the New York Times, its budget in 1999 exceeded $8 million per year from a membership of 100,000.[295] ICEJ was founded by Jan Willem van der Hoeven in 1980, specifically in Jerusalem, in an attempt by Zionist Christians to reverse the effect of the decision by the international community to vacate their embassies in Jerusalem in protest of Israel's occupation of the West Bank.

> We believe it is God's desire that Christians across the world be encouraged and inspired to arise to their prophetic role in the restoration of Israel. The Bible says that the destiny of the nations, of Christians and of the Church is linked to the way they respond to this work of restoration. Israel is the target of hostility from many quarters. We believe that Christians must take a stand against anti-Israel and anti-Semitic prejudices, and counter lies with truth. As such, our approach may at times involve political stands, but these ultimately arise from biblical principles and convictions. We are compelled by our faith to help protect the Lord's people and to help preserve them for that time when the Lord will fulfill all of His promises to them.[296]

In 1993, the ICEJ had an international staff of 50 representing 12 different nationalities, together with a further 250 volunteers who assisted with annual events such as the Feast of Tabernacles Celebration. ICEJ 'ambassadors' also served in over 100 countries world-wide through a network of branches, national directors and regional boards working under the authority of its Jerusalem Executive.[297] By 1997, the ICEJ claimed to have representatives in 80 countries. The ICEJ draws its support almost exclusively from charismatic and evangelical fundamentalist Christians. Based on their particular form of literal interpretation of the Bible, they claim to 'have very warm feelings

toward Israel'[298] The ICEJ is strongest in the USA, Canada and South Africa, and also in Sweden, Germany and Singapore as well as having offices in other European, Asian and Central American countries, who are apparently experiencing 'a tremendous move of the Holy Spirit.'[299] The main priorities of the ICEJ since its inception in 1980 have been to 'bring comfort' to Israel through the encouragement of Soviet and Eastern European Jews to emigrate to Israel; a social assistance programme for integrating Jewish immigrants into Israeli life; the sponsoring of an annual Christian Zionist Feast of Tabernacles Celebration in Jerusalem; and Diplomatic Banquets and Receptions through which church leaders and government officials around the world are lobbied on behalf of the State of Israel. By 1998, of the 700,000 immigrants to Israel from the former Soviet Union, ICEJ claim to have funded the travel of 40,000 Jews sponsoring over 50 flights as well as coaches via Finland.[300]

The ICEJ has also developed a sophisticated and professional news service which produces weekly radio and video programmes broadcast on four continents together with newsletters, e-news and periodicals such as the Middle East Intelligence Digest, a pro-Israeli summary of Israeli and Arab newspapers and journals, published in print and on their web site. These are aimed, according to Jan Willem van der Hoeven, at countering 'increasingly warped and twisted' coverage, which has a 'marked bias against Israel.'[301] In the USA, the ICEJ works closely with the political lobbying body, Christian Israel Public Action Campaign (CIPAC) which is affiliated to ICEJ as well as Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network and The National Unity Coalition for Israel.[302] It is also alleged that funds from the ICEJ have gone to support the Jerusalem Temple Foundation (JTF), founded by Terry Reisenhoover, an Auschwitz survivor who became a Christian, and Stanley Goldfoot, a former member of the Stern Gang. The JTF has funded Jewish terrorists and is committed to the destruction of the Dome of the Rock and rebuilding of the Jewish Temple.[303] At the Third International Christian Zionist Congress held in Jerusalem 25-29 February, 1996, under the auspices of the ICEJ, some 1,500 delegates from over 40 countries unanimously affirmed a proclamation of Christian Zionism which included the following tenets:

1. The Bible is the inspired Word of God and is the basis of our faith as Christians following the teachings of our Lord and the Apostles and the source of our motivation as Zionists.

2. God the Father, Almighty, chose the ancient nation and people of Israel, the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to reveal His plan of redemption for the world. They remain elect of God, and without the Jewish nation His redemptive purposes for the world will not be completed.

6. The modern ingathering of the Jewish People to Eretz Israel and the rebirth of the nation of Israel are in fulfilment of biblical prophecies, as written in both Old and New Testaments.

7. Christian believers are instructed by Scripture to acknowledge the Hebraic roots of their faith and to actively assist and participate in the plan of God for the ingathering of the Jewish People and the restoration of the nation of Israel in our day.

8. The Lord in His zealous love for Israel and the Jewish People blesses and curses peoples and judges nations based upon their treatment of the Chosen People of Israel.

9. Concerning Jerusalem: It is the Holy City of the Jewish People and those of biblical faith. At the time appointed by God, Messiah will return to sit on the everlasting Throne of David in Jerusalem and will reign over all the world in righteousness and peace.

10. According to God's distribution of nations, the Land of Israel has been given to the Jewish People by God as an everlasting possession by an eternal covenant. The Jewish People have the absolute right to possess and dwell in the Land, including Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan.[304]

The ICEJ appears to have reinterpreted the Christian message and made the teachings of Jesus subservient to a political ideology of Zionism. In doing so it has obscured the call to reconciliation and exacerbated the tensions between Palestinians and Israelis. The ICEJ is also a self-appointed and self-regulated organisation unaccountable to the wider Christian community.[305] In May 1998 because of tensions with the board of ICEJ and its director Johann Luckhoff, van der Hoeven left ICEJ to set up a rival organisation, the International Christian Zionist Center in Jerusalem.[306] In 1999, the Canadian Friends of the International Christian Embassy became Christian Action for Israel and are no longer listed on the ICEJ website.[307] Similar disagreements during the First International Christian Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1985 led some members of ICEJ to leave and form Christian Friends of Israel.

6.7 Christian Friends of Israel (1985)

Christian Friends of Israel was founded by Derek White and other ex-members of ICEJ from the UK, USA, France and Israel in December 1985. Other leading Christian Zionists associated with CFI include Lance Lambert[308], Derek Prince[309] Barry Segal[310] and Dave Dolan[311] who produces CFI's monthly Middle East Digest.

CFI likewise insists on the unconditional necessity of 'Standing with Israel' and bringing blessing to her as a nation, though in their case, primarily through prayer and humanitarian projects rather than by evangelism:

> We believe the Lord Jesus is both Messiah of Israel and Saviour of the world; however, our stand alongside Israel is not conditional upon her acceptance of our belief. The Bible teaches that Israel (people, land, nation) has a Divinely ordained and glorious future, and that God has neither rejected nor replaced His Jewish people.[312]

CFI see themselves as primarily 'a humanitarian organisation' in contrast to ICEJ which it regards as 'a religious-political organisation.'[313] Nevertheless, its monthly CFI News Letter and website make strong political statements in support of Israel. For example under the title 'Myths and Facts' published in April/May 2000 Derek White argues: 'The propaganda line that Judea, Samaria, and Gaza are "Occupied Arab lands" or "Palestinian lands occupied in 1967" is just one of the myths requiring clarification for the sake of those that remain confused regarding the history of the region.'[314]

6.8 Exobus (1984)

Exobus was founded in 1984 by Phil Hunter, director of Good News Travels bus company for the purpose of facilitating the transportation of Jews from the former Soviet Union to Israel. The first Exobus team was sent to the Ukraine in 1991 and since then they have assisted over 56,000 Jewish people to immigrate to Israel in close cooperation with the Jewish Agency. In 2002, Exobus comprised 80 team members drawn from 13 countries operating 40 vehicles in order to transport Jews overland from the former Soviet Union. The main financial support for Exobus now comes from Christians for Israel International.[315] Combining economic incentive with biblical argument, in their own words, their 'fishing' teams visit Jewish communities and present concerts in Hebrew song and dance and explain from the Old Testament, 'the biblical basis of their return. A series of videos showing repatriates from their

particular hometown are shown, giving testimonies of how they have settled in Israel.'[316] According to Micha Limor, head of European desk of Keren Hayesod's 'United Israel Appeal', in Germany alone there are 50 different Evangelical groups involved in encouraging, promoting and financing immigration of Jews to Israel.[317]

Besides facilitating the 'return' of Jews to Israel, other agencies focus on the settlement of the West Bank. For example, Christian Friends of Israeli Communities (CFOIC), founded by Ted Beckett in 1995, encourage evangelical churches to participate in their 'Adopt a Settlement' programme and support Jewish settlers living in the Occupied Territories.[318] They claim, 'This outreach, the first of its kind in the history of Christian Jewish relations, mobilizes Christians to be actively involved with the Jewish settlements. It is these pioneers who are now fulfilling the promises to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their descendents regarding the restoration of *all* the land Biblically allotted to Israel.'[319] So far, 39 settlements have been adopted by churches in the USA, South Africa, Germany, Holland, and the Philippines.

6.9. National Unity Coalition for Israel (1994)

The National Unity Coalition for Israel is one of the most recent and yet most powerful and largest Christian Zionist networks in the US founded by Esther Levens in Kansas in 1994. It is now a broad coalition of 200 different and autonomous Jewish and Christian partner organisations representing, they claim, 40 million members 'dedicated to a secure Israel.'[320] Their principle strategy is to lobby the media and political figures, to challenge what they term 'disinformation and propaganda' and express 'the truth about Israel.' The NUCFI includes three of the largest Christian Zionist organisations: Bridges for Peace, the International Christian Embassy and Christians for Israel. In 2001 the NUCFI published a resolution of solidarity with Israel acknowledging Jerusalem as the undivided capital of the Jewish state and called upon the US government to implement the Jerusalem Embassy Act, passed by the US Congress in 1995 to move the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.[321] Those who signed included Hal Lindsey, Chuck Missler, Clarence Wagner and Elwood McQuaid. An earlier petition, published in the New York Times in 1997, 'Christians Call for a United Jerusalem' was signed

by Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Oral Roberts, Ed McAteer, John Hagee and other senior Christian leaders.

> We, the undersigned Christian spiritual leaders, communicating weekly to more than 100 million Christian Americans, are proud to join together in supporting the continued sovereignty of the State of Israel over the holy city of Jerusalem. We support Israel's efforts to reach reconciliation with its Arab neighbors, but we believe that Jerusalem or any portion of it shall not be negotiable in the peace process. Jerusalem must remain undivided as the eternal capital of the Jewish people... The battle for Jerusalem has begun, and it is time for believers in Christ to support our Jewish brethren and the State of Israel. The time for unity with the Jewish people is *now* [322]

These Christian leaders and organisations, with access to over 100 million American Christians, and with combined budgets of well in excess of $300 million per annum, in varying degrees, and for a variety of reasons, form a broad and immensely powerful coalition which is both shaping and driving Christian Zionist support and political lobbying on behalf of Israel today.

7. Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that Christian Zionism became a distinct movement in the early 19th century and can be directly attributed to the ministry of Lewis Way, Charles Simeon, Edward Irving and John Nelson Darby and their associates. Their theological ideas were translated into political realities through the zealous efforts of British politicians such as Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Palmerston, David Lloyd George and Lord Arthur Balfour, who were themselves sympathetic toward, or influenced by, dispensationalism and Christian Zionist teaching. The Christian Zionist movement found its identity and gained popularity in the latter half of 20th Century principally through the writings of Cyrus Scofield, Lewis Sperry Chafer and Hal Lindsey, and political campaigning by individuals such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell.

A direct and causal link has been demonstrated in the historical evolution of Christian Zionism between these individuals and the organisations they founded, most notably, the London Jews Society, the Albury Conferences, the Brethren, Dallas Theological Seminary, the Moody Bible Institute and the proliferation of contemporary pro-Israeli para-church organisations in the United States and Europe such as Bridges for Peace,

Christian Friends of Israel and the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem.

The next two chapters will appraise the theological basis of Christian Zionism and assess its political agenda and impact on the Middle East.

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