

DANIEL EDWARD (1815–1896) AND THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION TO THE JEWS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

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On the evening of 22 May 1896 the general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland enjoyed what had become a popular fixture in its deliberations. The first Friday evening of the assembly was, by custom, given over to the report of the church's Jewish committee. On this occasion an address by Daniel Edward provided the highlight. Edward had been forced through ill health to return from his station at Breslau¹ a year before. Now, as he prepared to speak, "the whole Assembly, by a spontaneous impulse, rose to their feet as the veteran tottered to the platform"². Edward delivered a stirring address to a response of deafening applause, the performance no doubt enhanced by his appearance, which was described as "picturesque and quite apostolically"³. The gesture of appreciation was timely, for but a few days later he was prostrated by a stroke of paralysis and died on 12 June, to be interred in Edinburgh's Grange cemetery. Thus ended a remarkable career that spanned the entire period of Jewish missionary endeavor on the part of the Free Church and, before that, the Church of Scotland. If the listeners to what proved to be his valedictory address felt that they were listening to the voice of another era, they had every cause.

Daniel Edward was born in Edinburgh in 1815 and was educated at the High School and university, from which he received the degree of M.A. in 1836⁴. Through the spiritual influence of Dr John Bruce he proceeded to the study of divinity under Dr Chalmers and Dr Welsh and proved a distinguished Hebrew scholar. Edward also studied in Berlin and learned German for he had already offered himself to the work of establishing Jewish missions in Central Europe now sanctioned by the church⁵. Edward was ordained by Dr Candlish in St George's, Edinburgh on 11 March 1841, the day after his graduation from Edinburgh with the degree of B.D. His designated station was Jassy⁶, in Moldavia, which was thought to offer good prospects. Indeed, it was preferred to Pesth⁷, as the first station to be

¹ Now Wroclaw, in Poland.

² *The Scotsman* 16 June 1896.

³ *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly* (FCSM), 1896, p. 185-6.

⁴ *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, VII, pp. 715

⁵ For the background to this see Don Chambers, „Prelude to the last things: the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews”, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19(1975), pp. 43-58

⁶ Now Iasi, in Romania.

⁷ As it was still known. Budapest was not formed, as a single municipality, until 1873.

established, in that it was felt there would be fewer constraints on the missionary's activities there and that the Jews of Jassy were simpler and more accessible than those in Pesth⁸. In the event it was Pesth that provided the more fertile ground, but this was the reasoning that led to the deployment of the young and as yet untested Edward as the first active missionary in this new field. The idea of evangelism among the Jews was not new; the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews had been in existence since 1809 and was well established on the continent. But the Church of Scotland was conscious that it was the first church since the days of the apostles, to carry the gospel to the Jews.

Edward traveled to Moldavia in the company of his assistant Hermann Philip (d 1882), a converted Jew with whom he worked for the next seven years. They reached Jassy on 16 June 1841. Fifty years later Edward recalled how "after a toilsome journey (but we were young and vigorous and made nothing of fatigue), it was with thrilling hearts that we saw, from the brow of a hill to the south of the town Sokela, Jassy spread out before our eyes, glittering with numberless spires and cupolas covered with polished tin that reflected the easy of an almost tropical sun, the residence of the prince, with its 25,000 Jews, a third of the population, and far more than a half in importance"⁹. The two men quickly settled and established friendly relations with the pastor of the local Lutheran congregation. The difficulties of their situation were soon apparent, however, in that their intentions were known and the community that was their intended target proved highly resistant to their message, often by simply refusing to enter discussion with them. When the missionaries were successful in engaging Jews in debate, as at Bottuschani in 1842, the result was civil unrest that nearly ended in their imprisonment. Practical problems taxed the missionaries including the extremity of the climate, with bitterly cold winters, stiflingly hot summers and roads rendered impassable through mud at other seasons. There was a shortage of suitable tracts and other literature for distribution, Alexander McCaul's *Old Paths* being the most useful, and the nearest place from which they could obtain books was Leipzig. Postal communication with Scotland took about three weeks. Their twice-weekly prayer meetings were thinly attended and then largely by ethnic Germans, in contrast to the Pesth station where the presence of an expatriate community gave the missionaries a congregation that helped to legitimize their presence to the

⁸ National Library of Scotland, Dep 298, Committee for the Conversion of the Jews, minutes 10 Feb.

⁹ FCSM 1891, p. 75. In Nov 1847 William Wingate estimated the Jewish population at 40,000, with approximately 2000 synagogues. *Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland* (HFMRFC) 1848, p. 297.

authorities¹⁰. The opening of a school was delayed by the reluctance of the authorities to permit it¹¹. For those Jews tempted by the temporal benefits to be derived from conversion to Christianity, there was little attraction in adherence to an obscure Scottish sect whereas conversion to Orthodoxy offered some protection against the hostile reaction of their own community.

News of the Disruption in the Church of Scotland found Edward in Constantinople, where he had been temporarily detached to co-operate with American missionaries and investigate reports of a Protestant colony in Ottoman lands. Edward was prepared for this event and, like all the other missionaries to the Jews, he declared for the Free Church. The Jassy station was maintained but results were slow to emerge. The school was opened for German and Jewish (but not Moldavian) children but its success was compromised by the first conversion, when Benjamin Weiss, a merchant from Galicia, was baptized in April 1844. By 1845 it was possible to report to the assembly that five Jews had been baptized, but Edwards's health, in particular his eyesight, prompted his return to Scotland. In one respect this was a happy return, for it furnished Edward with the companion he probably most needed to continue in the field, a wife. Catherine Grant (1813-1861) was ideally to be a missionary's wife. A daughter of the manse, she worked as a governess for a number of years including a spell in the household of Principal Nicoll of St Andrews. Her work had taken her to Bonn at the time of the Disruption and she thus had some knowledge of German. Later in 1843 she had gone to live with her brother William, minister of Wallacetown Free Church, Ayr. William Grant had been a college contemporary of Daniel Edward in Edinburgh and, on Edward's visit to Ayr in the autumn of 1845, introduced him to his sister. The couple shared an enthusiasm for the conversion of Israel and it was arranged that Catherine would travel out to Germany in the summer of 1846. The Edwards were married there on 25 August and the bride accompanied her husband to his mission station. As a later article observed "Days of deeper trial were at hand, and a kind Master was preparing a partner's sympathy and the music of little feet to gladden the missionary within his house when the storms raged without"¹².

Throughout 1846 the station apparently grew in strength after the problems of the previous year when Edward had been forced to return to Scotland and Philip had quit the mission for a time after the death of his wife. On his return to Jassy in

¹⁰ David Brown, *Life of the late John Duncan, LL.D.* (1872), pp. 314-15.

¹¹ The missionaries' arrival roughly coincided with the appointment of Aaron Moses Ben Jacob Taubes (1787-1852) as Rabbi of Jassy and district. Taubes was an outstanding rabbinical authority and a fierce opponent of the proposed school. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1978) 15, p. 834.

¹² *The Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1863, p. 147.

December 1845 Edward brought a young cabinet-maker, James Bonar, with him. With the arrival of Alfred Edersheim in July there were now two ordained missionaries as well as a licensed preacher in Hermann Philip, who returned to Jassy at the end of 1846 after a year's absence. The arrival of a physician from Dumfries, John Mason, as a medical missionary in May, brought a steady stream of Jews to his dispensary and helped to revive the fortunes of the school. Catherine Edward's arrival offered yet another means of bringing influence to bear on the Jewish community.

Yet this favorable position soon unraveled as the medical mission, for all its promise, proved a failure. In December 1846 a sub-committee was formed in Edinburgh to consider a letter from Edward, Edersheim and Philip complaining of Dr Mason's conduct and alleging "certain irregularities"¹³. The committee instructed Edward to discontinue Dr Mason's services. The exact nature of the problem with Dr Mason was never entirely clear. Mrs. Edward criticized his rashness, in a letter of 3 December to her brother, in taking a young Jewish man who had quarreled with his parents, into his house¹⁴. However, a more fundamental problem was the fact that Mason was never able to produce the documentation required to convince the Moldavian authorities that he was a fully qualified physician and not simply a druggist¹⁵. The three boxes of medicines he had brought with him remained in quarantine and Mason departed for Constantinople in May 1847. That spring also saw the departure of Hermann Philip in order to open another station at Galatz while in the summer Edersheim returned to Scotland. This latter departure, it transpired, was "on account of an inconsistency of conduct at Jassy"¹⁶. Edersheim was suspended for a time and was later restored to his ministerial functions but not as a missionary to the Jews. However, it was clear that many of the mission's problems had been within its own ranks. In an already hostile environment, such distractions were unwelcome. With the Edwards now on their own at Jassy, William Wingate and his wife traveled from Pesth for an extended visit in September.

The work of conversion continued, though with mixed results. High hopes were entertained of Isaac, a Russian Jew who labored in James Bonar's workshop. Baptised on the last Sunday of 1846, it quickly became clear that he had been living in sin and he was excommunicated on the following Sunday. The greatest

¹³ NLS, Dep 298, 8 Dec 1846.

¹⁴ *Missionary Life among the Jews in Moldavia, Galicia and Silesia* (1867), p. 62.

¹⁵ Jassy State Archives, Secretariul de Stat, file 1576, (1846-47) passim. I am indebted to Dr Paul Cernovodeanu of the Iorga Institute, Bucharest for this information.

¹⁶ HFMRFCs (1848), p. 483.

success was the conversion of Rabbi Nahum Birman, a prominent citizen of some reputation. However, his baptism split his own family and enraged the Jewish community. The Edwards lived in fear of attack and the commotion among the Jews brought about a violent reaction from the authorities and from German Protestants. Such incidents were bound to raise questions in the mind of the authorities as to why they should tolerate the presence of missionaries if the consequence was civil disturbance. The other noteworthy event of the year had been the assistance rendered to a young Jew, Naphthali Horowitz, described thus by Mrs. Edward, “his appearance was most prepossessing—about eighteen years of age, marked Jewish features, but without their usual cunning”¹⁷. The missionaries shielded him from persecution and spirited him out of Jassy with documents describing him as N Robert McCheyne.

By the time of the general assembly of 1848, it had become clear that there were doubts as to the viability of the Jassy station. The report to the assembly described “a station peculiarly trying to the Christian missionary. Amongst an oppressed, degraded and semi-barbarous people—without the advantages accompanying civilization, yet without the peculiar interest that attaches to Christian efforts among tribes entirely rude and untaught—dull in situation, in climate, in intellect, and immovably dead in trespasses and sins, the Moldavian capital severely tests the whole character of the Christian laborer – his energy, his perseverance, his faith, his love”¹⁸. The exasperation felt by the missionaries was expressed more candidly by Mrs. Edward in a letter to her brother of 22 May 1848, writing of outbreaks of anti-Jewish feeling in Poland she continued “That the Jews are hated is certainly not wonderful. They are like horse leeches in a country, adding nothing to its wealth, and sucking out the very heart-springs of wealth from the natives. The cultivators and purchasers doubling the price of produce, which, instead of going to reward the diligent, is consumed by an indolent, idle population, which is likewise detested for its cunning, fraud and filth. Such are the Jews of Moldavia, and from such are to be gathered the elect ones”¹⁹. Yet it was not simply abandonment of Jassy that was proposed, for an alternative was offered. The province of Galicia (otherwise known as Austrian Poland), hitherto impervious to missionary endeavor or as Edward expressed it “that had been hermetically sealed under Jesuit despotism”²⁰, was now open. A preliminary visit by Benjamin Weiss had confirmed this and Edward proposed to withdraw to the ancient university city

¹⁷ *Ibidem* (1847), p. 187.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, (1848), p. 482.

¹⁹ *Missionary Life*, p. 142.

²⁰ FCSM 1891, 109.

of Lemberg²¹. As cholera ravaged Moldavia and the threat of war increased the Edwards left Jassy in October 1848, just as the missionaries at Pesth had been forced to do as war and revolution swept across Europe. In Edward's view "Lemberg, of all the places in the world, perhaps...presents us with the Jews in the most favorable state for missionary aggression"²². It proved, however, to be little safer than Jassy in that within three weeks of their arrival the city was bombarded by Austrian forces, the citizens disarmed and martial law declared. While the Edwards enjoyed little freedom of action in their missionary role, they had at least used the brief window of opportunity to enter Lemberg.

The constraints imposed at Lemberg precluded public preaching and it was wise not to engage in such activities as might attract the attention of the authorities. But bibles and tracts were circulated and there were numerous meetings with individuals and small groups. An English Sabbath meeting, which included two governesses in Polish noble families, was held in a house but the number attending never rose above seven. The Lutheran superintendent there proved friendly and Edward was invited to preach to Germans as well as to the Mennonites, who had no pastor. Lemberg's attractions as a city easily exceeded those of Jassy in that it provided the society that was so wanting in Moldavia. It also provided a setting for family life. The Edwards' first child, Elizabeth, had been born in July 1848 while they were still in Jassy. Another daughter, Isabella, was born in August 1849 and while she did not survive infancy a third daughter, Catherine, was born a year later. However, the mission could not function properly, the Edwards lived there on sufferance and reinforcement from Scotland was out of the question. Mr Connacher, a tradesman who had replaced James Bonar and who had gone to Lemberg with the Edwards, was forced to leave. The time eventually came for the Edwards themselves when the Austrian government decided to rid itself of all British missionaries and they were summarily expelled in January 1852. It was no easy matter for them to comply as it was winter, the nearest railway was four days' coach ride away at Cracow and Mrs. Edward was in an advanced state of pregnancy. Apart from a brief stop en route at Cracow there was no rest for the family until they crossed the border into Silesia and reached Breslau. Catherine Edward bore a son on 16 March but he did not survive and was to be mourned by his mother as her martyr boy. The stress of life in Jassy and Lemberg had taken its toll on Mrs. Edward and when she returned to Scotland a friend considered her "so changed in appearance as, at first glance, to look more like her mother than

²¹ Now Lviv, in Ukraine, between the wars known as Lwow, in Poland.

²² HFMRFCs (1848), 561.

herself...²³. Though she bore another daughter, Mary, in 1856, her health was permanently affected.

While it was the Austrian government that had expelled them, the missionaries were in no doubt that it was merely the agent of a familiar and more sinister power. This certainly was the view articulated by William Wingate at the 1852 general assembly as he described “the Austrian Government, which has been wont to be called the right arm of the Pope. They should not be surprised that they had, in carrying on this work, come into contact with the Antichrist; the conversion of Israel was connected with the downfall of that system, and Popish opposition should, therefore, only lead to increased exertions in this work”²⁴. Edward had already expressed a similar sentiment in a letter of 12 February 1852 in which he wrote “The door has been kept longer open than I ever thought it would be; and now the Man of Sin has prevailed to get it closed more jealously than before”²⁵.

After a spell in Scotland, the Edwards returned to the city that had given them refuge, after their expulsion from Lemberg, and which was now designated a mission station. Breslau was a city with a substantial Jewish population, among whom a proselyte connected with the Free Church of Scotland, Mr. Cerf, already conducted missionary work on a modest scale. The commencement of their labor was assisted in that Edward was granted use of the large Reformed Church in Breslau as well as rooms in which to hold a weekday meeting. It was in the Hof-Kirche on 1 January 1854, in front of a congregation of about 700, that Edward baptized Israel Pick, a former school inspector and preacher to the Jews at Bucharest. It was an event that excited much interest at the time and it long remained Edward’s most significant conversion²⁶. In order to make much impression, however, Edward really required a colleague and he pressed the committee in Edinburgh on the subject. Mrs. Edward ran a Sunday school in their home but her health was fragile and there is evidence that Daniel Edward himself was no longer as robust as he once was. While it was acknowledged that the Breslau station required more resources to function properly, these were never actually forthcoming. Indeed, in 1858 Edward had to use his visit to Scotland to resist the proposed restructuring of Jewish mission stations.

Instead of relying on help in the form of money or manpower from Edinburgh Edward increasingly looked to other resources. A small congregation had attached itself to him from the outset of his mission and, when in May 1859

²³ *Missionary Life*, p. 247.

²⁴ HFMRFC (1852), p. 364.

²⁵ HFMRFC (1852), p. 303.

²⁶ Israel Pick, *Life from the Dead: A Word to my People* (Edinburgh 1854).

Edward decided that he could no longer satisfactorily fulfill the objectives of the mission and tendered his resignation, the congregation formed itself into a formal church. This marked the beginning of the Free Evangelical German Church, an initiative supported by the philanthropy of John Henderson of Park, who had already funded earlier city mission work in Breslau. But its creation was not at the expense of the mission for Edward was persuaded to withdraw his resignation and to continue his work in Breslau. The consequence, however, was that the Edwards lost the chance to return to Scotland. Catherine Edward's health deteriorated sharply and she died at Breslau on 21 February 1861.

The impression of a missionary operating at arm's length and with an uneasy relationship with his directing committee is somewhat clarified by the testimony of Alexander Moody Stuart, the long-serving convener of the Jewish committee. He visited Breslau for three days in 1862 and his report of it affords the clearest account of what was going on there, as well as describing the character of its extraordinary missionary. "In the midst of these Jews the Rev Mr. Edward is placed according to his own choice; and he is admirably fitted for his work in all respects but one. As regards the mission field, I don't know any special defect; but as regards the home interest in the work he is greatly deficient in the will, or in the faculty to do himself justice, not but that he can sufficiently maintain his own cause against all contradiction, possibly to excess, but he does not care to describe his own labors. He lets 'his works praise him in the gate' and they are his best testimonials in Silesia; but the gates of Breslau unfortunately include not Scotland, and his work is therefore undervalued at home. Nothing in connection with our mission to the Jews ever so exceeded my hopes, as our mission station in Breslau. Mr. Edward is, indeed, a workman that needed not to be ashamed. A thorough Scotchman; a noble witness not for our Sabbath, but for the Lord's Sabbath as it is observed among ourselves; a defender of it, standing almost or altogether alone in its holy maintenance; a teacher of his people regarding it, training them as the Lord's worshippers and witnesses on his holy day; a Scotchman with all our own Calvinistic theology, dogmatic doubtless, but a scribe well instructed into the kingdom of heaven; a Scotchman also in all his Predilections and tastes. Yet a German, so thoroughly acquainted with their trains of thought and so versant in their literature, that at the Berlin Evangelical Alliance [of 1857] the *Times* named him along with Dr Cairns, as the only two foreigners that entirely entered into the mind of the Germans. And a Hebrew of the Hebrews, with his whole heart bent on the conversion of the children of Israel"²⁷.

²⁷ *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (FCSMR) (1862), p. 83.

Moody Stuart might easily have added that Edward was a conservative of the conservatives, for he remained utterly opposed to the tendencies of modern German biblical scholarship. For someone who understood the Germans so well, there was nothing in their reformed churches that appealed to him. The Lutheran church he considered “a sapless conglomeration”²⁸ and he recorded with surprise “Mr. S is the first German minister whom I have met of whom I could say that we agree in all essential things; it is a phenomenon I scarcely ever expected to see, a German theologian who might any day be, for thorough soundness, a minister of the free Church”²⁹. It was even a source of regret to him that Breslau was known as the birthplace of the theologians Schleiermacher and Tholuck. Of the former Edward wrote that he “has thrown a baleful pantheistic shade over the theology of this century, all the more fatal that his genius has dazzled many into such indulgence for the author as to become more indifferent to the evil consequences of his system”³⁰. However, it may well have been events in Scotland that prompted him to publish his riposte to higher criticism in *A Word on Deuteronomy* (1877).

Moody Stuart’s visit captured the prevailing mood of recovery and optimism at Breslau; a German pastor had been found for the congregation, allowing Edward to return to the ingathering of Israel, in which task he was now assisted by a Mr. Romann, formerly of the London Society. But these arrangements did not last long, in 1865 Pastor Kurtz and Mr. Romann embraced Independent views and the congregation suffered its own disruption. The group of scattered congregations in the presbytery of the Free Evangelical German Church required attention that was beyond the now diminishing strength of the Breslau missionary, who returned to Scotland on one of a number of recuperative trips in 1868, though he was inviting sympathy as late as 1881 “towards the little struggling faithful band churches he had been fostering”³¹. It was in this year that a report from a visitor spelt out the difficulties faced by the missionary and his family. The new hall that had been acquired for their use was actually a suite of rooms, in some of which the hearers could not see the preacher and that, for want of a proper mission house, Mr. Edward and his three daughters were obliged to conduct classes in their own bedrooms³².

The continuing failure to make a significant impression in terms of conversions was ascribed by Edward to the hardness of Israel’s heart. The

²⁸ FCSMR (1867), p. 58.

²⁹ FCSMR (1867), p. 227.

³⁰ FCSMR (1875), p. 216.

³¹ FCSMR (1881), p. 64.

³² FCSMR (1881), p. 276.

increasing affluence of the Jewish community appears to have undermined Edward's sympathy for them, just as it set up a reaction in other quarters. This, at least, may be the explanation for an unusual article by Edward on the 'Anti-Jewish Movement in North Germany' in which he suggested that the rise in anti-Semitism was due to the fact that at a time of economic decline "Jewish families are seen swimming on the surface in ostentatious enjoyment of all luxuries of life"³³. There was more in the same vein suggesting that Jews were bringing trouble upon themselves by a mixture of unscrupulous business practices and arrogant bearing. He concluded, "I have been watching this tide rising for ten years and more. God is scourging the Christians by the Jews, and seems about to visit the Jews by the Christians. The Christians neglected the moment when the Jews might have been gained for the gospel, and these are now centre of infidelity; and when all Christian sentiment is, by the help of the Jew, eradicated here, as in France, then nothing can arrest the vengeance that is gathering over the head of Israel"³⁴.

In a series of articles in the *Free Church of Scotland Monthly* to celebrate his jubilee as a missionary Edward was able to reflect on his long career and on what appeared at that time to be its crowning glory, the conversion of Hermann Warszawiak. Warszawiak was a young Jewish refugee from Russia whose travels took him to Breslau where he met, and was baptized by Daniel Edward on 6 October 1889. Warszawiak showed exceptional gifts as an orator and his conversion, like that of Israel Pick before him, offered the possibility that, with his background and talents, he might prove the agent of further conversions. Fearing persecution in Breslau it was arranged for Warszawiak to travel to Scotland where he met and stayed with Andrew Bonar. For some reason it was deemed necessary for him to continue his flight to the United States and he arrived in New York at the end of March 1890. Here he was engaged by the New York City Mission and Tract Society and began a remarkable missionary career among the Jews there. Warszawiak's greatest gift must have been plausibility, for Edward considered that he „seems to be a chosen vessel of the Lord Jesus; for man cannot create in himself or in his neighbour such fervent love to the Lord, such zeal and energy for his name and for his people, as have burst forth in this young man irrepressibly from the hour of his baptism"³⁵. Nor was Edward alone in his enthusiasm for the gifted proselyte, Dr Hood Wilson wrote how some of Warszawiak's private letters "are the nearest approach which I have seen to those of Samuel Rutherford"³⁶. The truth

³³ FCSMR (1881), p. 183.

³⁴ FCSMR (1881), p. 185.

³⁵ FCSM (1891), p. 170.

³⁶ *Hermann Warszawiak, "The Little Messianic Prophet"* (1893), x.

that emerged was that Warszawiak's early wanderings had been prompted by the necessity to remain one step ahead of the law and his missionary career disintegrated in allegations of untruthfulness and financial impropriety. He proved to be an adventurer on a truly heroic scale³⁷.

The difficulties presented by converts had been appreciated from the very outset, the converted Jew was little understood being either "excessively suspected, or unduly venerated"³⁸. This continuing problem was illustrated in the course of Daniel Edwards's career. The more encouraging and high profile the convert appeared to be, the more likely it seemed that disappointment would follow. The baptism of Rabbi Nahum at Jassy had been a source of much satisfaction, but just before the Edwards withdrew to Lemberg Mrs. Edward reported to her brother "that old Birmann (Nahum) has been convicted of such erroneous principles that Daniel and Mr. Connacher have been obliged to exclude him from church membership"³⁹. After such a prostrating blow it is not surprising to find Mrs. Edward expressing caution in a letter of 22 April 1851 "Some time ago, a young Galician Israelite, now a candidate of the Lutheran church and missionary of the Bremen Society, came to Lemberg. We were quite afraid of his coming, lest he might resemble too many of the proselytes of his nation..."⁴⁰. While Israel Pick did not obviously disgrace himself, it did appear that conversion to Christianity marked only one alighting point on a tortuous spiritual journey. He disappeared in mysterious circumstances on the shores of the Dead Sea. An article of 1891 drew a parallel with the new phenomenon of Hermann Warszawiak who, it continued, "is like Israel Pick in respect of his social position and the hopes awakened by his conversion. We trust that he may be preserved from all the misleading influences that blighted the usefulness of his gifted predecessor"⁴¹.

For over forty years Edward remained a fixture in Breslau, apparently immune to change of any kind. The Free Church's experience of Jewish missions was that results were slow to emerge and a number of stations were tried, only to be abandoned. A Free Church historian, writing in 1895, reported how "The venerable Mr. Edward still holds hopefully the fort in Breslau, and although it has been judged desirable to withdraw in the meantime from Berlin and Amsterdam, Strasburg and Prague, we are receiving assurances that a signal blessing is resting

³⁷ David Max Eichhorn, *Evangelizing the American Jew* (New York, 1978) 167-72; *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, p. 465.

³⁸ *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland* (1841), p. 309.

³⁹ *Missionary Life*, p. 156.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 228-9.

⁴¹ FCSM (1891), p. 84.

on the newer stations of Safed and Tiberias⁴². This appreciation pointed the way forward for Jewish missions. Breslau was abandoned in 1900 and effort concentrated on three stations: Budapest, Constantinople and Tiberias⁴³. It seems likely that Breslau remained a station for as long as it did by virtue of Daniel Edward's tenacity. He conducted the mission there according to his own principles, little altered by the passage of time. On a visit to Breslau in 1891 James Wells witnessed Edward conduct on old-fashioned Scottish service without, of course, instrumental music. "In a city worm-eaten with rationalism, and where very few darken a church door, I saw a large hall filled with devout worshippers"⁴⁴. For much of this time he had no coadjutor and the mission did not benefit from association with day schools, industrial homes or medical missions. The fact that his name does not feature so prominently in missionary history may be explained in a number of ways, but certainly by the habit of self-effacement that makes the search for his character still more challenging than the chronicling of his activities. There is enough evidence, however, to suggest that any Edinburgh committee that proposed the abandonment of Breslau would have had a battle on their hands and it is scarcely surprising that they allowed Edward to remain undisturbed, for as long as he was able, to continue his work there.

The character of Jewish missions inevitably changed over time. Initially conceived as part of the Church of Scotland's evangelical revival and in the belief that the time of great events was at hand, and that these events were connected with the conversion of Israel, matters seemed somewhat different by the end of the century. The exaggerated and apocalyptic hopes of the early years were replaced by the practical necessity to concentrate resources in areas where some success appeared likely. There was less emphasis on conversion and more on matters such as education and welfare. All of which was a long way removed from the vision of the pioneering missionary in the field. But if, as can be argued, Edward's work died with him, he left as a legacy an example of Christian fortitude and selfless devotion that cannot easily be forgotten or overlooked.

⁴² N.L. Walker, *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland* (1895), p. 179.

⁴³ David McDougall, *In Search of Israel* (1941), p. 112.

⁴⁴ FCSM (1896), p. 186.