

BRITISH-ISRAEL

A STUDY OF NINETEENTH CENTURY MILLENNIALISM

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BY

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ABSTRACT

In the nineteenth century there emerged a millennial theory known as British-Israel which maintained that the British were the lineal descendants of the ten "lost" tribes of Israel and the English Royal House descended from David. The initial suggestions of this idea arose at least as early as the sixteenth century. However, it was the writings of John Wilson, F.R.A. Glover, and Edward Hine which gave this theory a coherent form. Parallel and related to it was the subject of the esoteric significance of the Great Pyramid of Giza as expounded by John Taylor and C.P. Smyth. The teachings of these men, their methods of biblical interpretation, their critics, their adherents, and the organizations they formed in the period around 1840 to 1885 are examined in this study. British-Israel was one form of the millennial hope and it gave to the nineteenth century imperial experience an eschatological dimension.

SOMMAIRE

Le mouvement du "British-Israel prit forme au cours du XIXe siècle et soutenait une théorie millénariste qui visait à identifier la nation britannique aux dix tribus "perdus" d'Israël et à considérer les membres de la famille royale d'Angleterre comme les descendants directs du roi David. Ce furent les écrits de John Wilson, de F.R.A. Glover et d'Edward Hine qui donnèrent une cohérence à cette théorie. Etroitement apparentées à leur doctrine est l'interprétation de John Taylor et de C.P. Smyth des significations ésotériques que recélait la grande pyramide de Giza. Notre recherche tente de cerner la période de 1840 à 1885: elle se donne pour but d'étudier 1° les enseignements de ces hommes dont les écrits comportaient des méthodes d'interprétation des textes bibliques; 2° les critiques que soulevèrent ces interprétations; 3° les personnes qui adhérèrent au mouvement; et 4° les diverses organisations que le mouvement engendra. Le "British-Israel" qui caressa un espoir millénariste donna à l'impérialisme anglais une dimension eschatologique.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	vi
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Chapter

1. MILLENNIALISM ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND STUDY.....	1
2. ENGLISH MILLENNIALISM SINCE THE REFORMATION.....	12
3. THE ELECT NATION AND THE LOST TRIBES.....	28
4. RICHARD BROTHERS: "THE NEPHEW OF THE LORD".....	44
5. JOHN WILSON AND THE "TEUTONIC THEORY".....	57
6. F.R.A. GLOVER AND THE "REMNANT OF JUDAH".....	78
7. THE GREAT PYRAMID.....	91
8. EDWARD HINE: THE PROPHET OF BRITISH-ISRAEL.....	116
9. THE TEN TRIBES.....	144
10. THE TIME OF THE END.....	166
11. THE POLITICS OF ISRAEL-BRITAIN.....	194
12. RIGHTLY DIVIDING THE WORD OF TRUTH.....	212

13. CONFRONTING THE CRITIC.....	237
14. THE PERSONNEL AND PROPAGATION OF BRITISH-ISRAEL..	263
15. AND DID THOSE FEET IN ANCIENT TIME.....	296
NOTES.....	322
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	385

* * * * *

Diagram of the interior passages of the Great Pyramid of Giza.....	110
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Reproduced with modifications from Howard B. Rand,
The Challenge of the Great Pyramid (Merrimac, Mass.:
 Destiny Publishers, 1966), p. 3.

PREFACE

In the nineteenth century there arose in Britain a theory and a movement which claimed that the inhabitants and their overseas progeny were the lineal descendants of the ten "lost" tribes of Israel. In addition, its adherents believed that the promises made by God to Israel as recorded in the Old Testament was their legitimate inheritance. The partisans of this theory developed a complex system of teaching to prove their thesis and to draw out its consequences for Great Britain and the empire. This theory was an expression of the millennial hope, and it is as an example of nineteenth century millennialism that British-Israel should be understood. However, British-Israel is frequently not recognized as a millennial movement, and usually has been dismissed as an aberration of little or no interest. The purpose of this study is to examine this theory, its proponents, and its background. Such an examination will demonstrate that British-Israel as it was proclaimed in the nineteenth century was one form of the millennial hope.

While the origins of British-Israel are somewhat obscure, it would appear that it is a logical, if extreme development of the English Protestant self-understanding that came into existence during the period before the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. The idea of the "Elect Nation" that found expression in the writings of John Foxe and others, and the close identification in spirit of the English people with the Old Testament, particularly among the Puritans and the Dissenters, were carried to their culmination in the nineteenth century by those who came to identify the English, and later all the peoples of Great Britain, with the "lost" ten tribes of Israel. This identification was due in part to the nineteenth century imperial experience, and British-Israel was one of the few groups which seems to have embraced it wholeheartedly. By identifying the British people as Israelites, an historical and biblical past was created that interpreted and validated this imperial experience. And by relating biblical prophecy to contemporary political, social, economic, and religious events, this experience was expressed in millennial terms.

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x

"England", "English", and "Anglo-Saxon" have been used for the country, people and institutions that are proper to that country. The terms "Britain" and "British" have been used for the whole British Isles. Nevertheless, not all British-Israelites were consistent in their usage, and any ambiguity in the uses of these terms should first of all be attributed to them.

All biblical references are to the Authorized Version because this was used by British-Israelites in the nineteenth century and much of the theory depends on this translation. The scriptural references are in most cases those of the writers being discussed although we have occasionally added others to make the references clearer or more exact. All references to the journal Life From the Dead that contain no author's name are to articles written by Edward Hine. He was the editor of this journal and apparently wrote most of it himself. In the notes the standard abbreviation for the Dictionary of National Biography—D.N.B.—has been used and refers to the 1909 edition in twenty-two volumes and supplements.

CHAPTER 1

MILLENNIALISM

ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND STUDY

In every age there have been some people and groups who have looked for a radical transformation of their earthly existence through the intervention of a spiritual power. This hope of change may take many forms, one of which is the expectation of the coming of a new perfect age on the earth. In Revelation 20:4-5 a period of a thousand years, a millennium, is foretold during which the righteous shall reign with Christ on earth. The hope that this earthly reign of Christ will be realized in the near future is usually called millennialism. However, this exclusively Christian sense has been extended and the term millennialism is now "applied figuratively to any conception of a perfect age to come, or of a perfect land, to be made accessible."¹ In this sense the term has been applied to a great variety of movements including those frequently found among primitive peoples as in the case of the cargo cults. However, it has retained its

Christian meaning as well, and millennialism has a long history in the Christian West.

In this study the term millennialism has been used as the general word for the belief in a future, perfect age.

However, it has become customary among many scholars to make a distinction between those who have held that Christ's second advent would come before the beginning of the millennium (premillennialists), the traditional Christian view, and those who held that it would come after the millennium (postmillennialists). The latter view in its modern form had its origin in the teaching of the eighteenth century English theologian, Daniel Whitby. Premillennialists or millenarians tended to be pessimistic, believing that only Christ's return could remedy the world's problems. Post-millennialists were more optimistic, believing that the "continued success of the church, {and} the steady improvement of man and society" would culminate in the millennium.² In the nineteenth century the terms millennialist and millenarian were frequently used interchangeably, but, as this is no longer the case, in this study, in conformity with the modern practice, the holders of premillennial views will be called millenarians.

Millennialism and millenarians have been the subjects of much scholarly attention in the past twenty to thirty years. There has been a lengthy debate about what constitutes a millennial movement. As an example, Norman Cohn in his study of medieval millennialism has stressed its extremism. Christopher Hill, on the other hand, in his investigations of seventeenth century England has emphasized the socio-economic tensions that he believed gave rise to millennial groups. Other scholars have stressed other elements as being characteristic of millennialism, and at the present time there does not appear to be any general consensus as to what features are essential to a millennial group. Nevertheless, there are some characteristics that are quite often present, and it is at least possible to describe the perimeters of the debate about millennialism.³

Norman Cohn has defined the millennial hope as being

- a. collective, in the sense that it is enjoyed by the faithful as a collectivity;
- b. terrestrial in the sense that it is to be realized on this earth and not in some other worldly heaven;
- c. imminent, in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly;
- d. total, in the sense that it is utterly to transform life on earth, so that the new dispensation will be no mere improvement on the present but perfection itself;
- e. miraculous, in the sense that it is to be accomplished by, or with the help of, super-natural agencies.⁴

In this definition, millennialism has both a religious aspect and a worldly or political aspect. In the religious aspect the change will be brought about by a supernatural force and will result in a perfect age, and because "some idea of preparation for salvation is always present if not central."⁵ In the worldly or political dimension the change will affect not only just the individual believer but in one way or another the whole of humanity in its temporal existence.

The announcement of this future age and the preparations for it are the function of prophecy. The prophecy may be ancient prophecy which the events of the present moment seem to fulfill or contemporary prophecy that is the result of those events or both. In any case, millennialism is closely linked to the stirring events of the time in which it arises, and "account should always be taken of the peculiar circumstances which revived these daring flights of the pious imagination; and their worth can be appraised only in relation to contemporary conditions."⁶ This prophecy embodies the hopes, fears, and assumptions about the present and the future of those to whom it is addressed. Its effectiveness depends on its being "accepted as a true form of knowledge and as a living link between revelation of the past and its fulfilment in the present and future."⁷ In addition, the success of this prophecy as propaganda is dependent upon conditions within the society being such that it will fall upon fertile ground.

Millennialism "is a forward-looking, future-oriented religious ideology" that incorporates and reinterprets aspects of the past and places them in a new context. It may combine the notion of perfect space and perfect time which it understands as a linear process leading to a future final consummation of all history. Or, and perhaps in most cases, millennialism is the "outcome of a breakdown of historical consciousness, a flight from history to a mythical endzeit."⁸

Frequently, millennialism seems to be the religion of the deprived, the lower social strata, and oppressed and persecuted minorities. It has been held that it is the result of severe and protracted suffering coupled with political helplessness. But it may also be the result of a "markedly uneven relation between expectations and the means of their satisfaction."⁹

Cohn believed that millennialism was the result of a view of the world which saw the world dominated by "an evil, tyrannous power of boundless destructiveness." The tyranny of that power was ever increasing until the moment came when it would suddenly be overthrown by the elect who would then set up their own dominion which would not only surpass in glory all previous powers but have no successors.¹⁰ In Cohn's opinion the following conditions favoured the rise of millennial movements:

1. Catastrophe or the fear of catastrophe.

2. Supposed defection of the authority traditionally responsible for regulating relations between society and the powers governing the cosmos.
3. Emotional frustration in women of means and leisure but without social function or prestige.
4. The existence, in a society which recognizes that the relative power and prosperity of different sections (classes, ethnic groups, etc.) can change, of elements which cannot organize for the purpose of defending and furthering their interests by secular means.¹¹

It was these conditions that Cohn believed helped explain the extremism of such groups; it was an extremism born of fear and frustration.

Hill, on the other hand, believed that the motivation behind millennial groups was socio-economic tensions that in some ages were expressed in terms of a religious ideology and in others in terms of a political ideology. This was particularly true of those social classes that found themselves at a disadvantage in their society. Thus, although this was very close to Cohn's fourth condition above, Hill would seem to suggest that millennialism was in fact the organizational form that the defence and furtherance of their interests by the disadvantaged took. Furthermore, Hill, while recognizing the widespread influence of millennial ideas, would seem to limit their importance to the lower classes. Of the seventeenth century in England he wrote:

For 150 years the proclamation of the millennium had roused the lower classes to revolt, had shaken the established foundations of society. Now, ... it was dead.

Monmouth's rising in 1685 had seen the final defeat of the Good Old Cause, of the heirs of the radical revolutionaries of the Interregnum; and already in Monmouth's revolt, though his support came mainly from the Nonconformists, the slogans and aims were political rather than religious. When, a century later, the lower classes raised their heads again, it was with the secular ideologies of Jacobinism, Radicalism, Chartism, Socialism: only a few village Messiahs proclaimed the Second Coming in the bad years after 1815.¹²

Hill believed that millennialism, at least in its most persuasive form, was the result of the clash of differing interests within a society.

Millennialism when it is focused on concrete political and social goals is very often "an activating and unifying force in hitherto politically passive and segregated groups." In these cases it can be the "precursor of political awakening and a forerunner of political organization." When the millennial hope fails, the followers in their disappointment may turn to secular revolutionary movements.¹³ But this is not always the case. Instead, the failure may be explained away, and the movement continue, perhaps in a modified form under new leaders.

Many scholars have found that the particular millennial group that they were studying was neither extremist nor motivated by socio-economic tensions, and a less rigid and more comprehensive understanding of millennialism has emerged. It has been recognized that millennial ideas or groups are not limited

to one particular social class, but in fact may be widespread in a particular society. Furthermore, it has become evident that there is a "universal propensity to suffer distress and anxiety," that millennial thought and imagery can exercise great "aesthetic attraction," and that a chronic tension in any society "between formally authorized leaders and a set of rivals" is not unusual.¹⁴ These three elements are of particular importance in any period, such as the late middle ages or the nineteenth century when the number of the half-educated multiply rapidly. The consequence in the words of one scholar is that:

in these circumstance ... pseudo-intellectuals and pseudo-professionals flourish, acquiring status through competition with the orthodox. They thrive in part through inducting followers into the pleasure of debating half-understood ideas.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the social situation in which a millennial movement exists can not necessarily be a guide to the understanding of that movement because millennialism "has a logic of its own that is not an automatic reflection of social situations."¹⁶ And finally, the same scholar has warned that:

our modern obsession with the themes of anxiety and insecurity should not be projected, without good supporting evidence, into the interpretation of millennial movements. A belief that the end of the world is imminent may cause excitement and call for certain decisive actions, without any spirit of anxiety. It follows that we need not insist on finding special occasions of insecurity in the social situations in which the movements arise.¹⁷

Millennial movements are, in fact, far more complex than they may appear at first sight, and care must be taken not to read into movements things that are not there. All millennial movements, and this would seem to apply especially to those of nineteenth century Britain, do not necessarily follow the pattern established for groups of other ages and societies.

It is frequently difficult to disentangle all the elements that have gone into the formation of a millennial group. The study of such a group "should ideally cover the nature and history of the ideas involved, the circumstances in which these excited action, the character of the leadership and recruiting, and the career of the movement."¹⁸ However, this is an ideal, and its achievement is frequently hampered by the fact that most direct evidence for the study of such a movement comes either from its advocates or hostile critics, and rarely if ever from "a wavering convert" or an impartial observer. Furthermore, in the case of some groups that attracted little attention there is, as a result, a limited range of materials for their study. For other groups for which there is a great deal of material it may still be impossible to answer some questions, particularly those that concern the composition of the group because the available material says little about the segments of society from which its members come.¹⁹

The organization of millennial groups can be quite varied. Some groups are exclusive and sect-like with a messianic

leader. Other groups may be far less structured with a multiple leadership around which there is a set of zealous followers and a larger body of more or less associated supporters. Although the members of a millennial group do not have the actual task of bringing about the millennium as that will be accomplished by a supernatural intervention, there are nevertheless two possibilities as to their role. In the one, they may be only required to watch and pray, but in the other, the "believers have the power to hasten and retard salvation" by their actions.²⁰

In this study of British-Israel as a millennial movement, an attempt will be made to trace briefly the history of the identification of Britain with Israel before the nineteenth century. It will also be necessary to look briefly at nineteenth century millennialism as a whole because British-Israel was part of a much more widespread millennial hope. The ideas and their development that were peculiar to British-Israel must, of course, be examined in detail and at the same time the principal exponents of those ideas who were, in fact, the early leaders of the movement, must be considered. Critics of British-Israel shed much light on the movement, and in particular on the materials used to support its teachings. These too must be examined. In the British-Israel theory political concerns were explicit and some attention must be given to these. A brief look at the career of the movement in its early years and in particular its organizations and journals also must be undertaken.

Finally, an attempt will be made to determine the composition of the movement and to establish whether it appealed to any particular class or group.

This study is primarily concerned with the earliest period of the history of British-Israel as a movement, the years approximately between 1870 and 1886. It was during those years that the identification of Britain with Israel ceased to be a private opinion held by a few and became a more or less organized and publicly recognizable movement. After about 1885 British-Israel was a fully established movement and it has continued to function actively to the present day. Before 1870, it did not exist as a movement, although in the years after 1840 the theory was slowly being elaborated by its first exponents.

In the period before 1840, and extending as far back as at least the middle of the sixteenth century the theory that the English were Israelites had slowly made its appearance. The following two chapters will deal with this early period and the millennialism of nineteenth century England.

CHAPTER 2

ENGLISH MILLENNIALISM SINCE THE REFORMATION

Christian millennialism is a variant of eschatology, and had its origins in the fusion of various ideas concerning the age and ages of the world. From Babylonian astrology came the idea of the seven millennial ages of the world, each age under the sign of one of the planets. The seven days of creation in Genesis 1 were interpreted in the light of Psalm 90:4 and 11 Peter 3:8, "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years;" and the Sabbath, following Hebrews 4: 4-9, was understood as a symbol of heavenly rest. In the theology of Irenaeus and Hippolytus, for example, these ideas produced the notion that the history of the world would last 6000 years. Then would follow a millennium during which Christ would reign on earth. ¹

Some form of millennialism was prevalent in the first centuries of Christianity. But as the speedy return of Christ did not take place, millennialism gradually fell into the background, and was rejected or severely modified in the thought of the Church. The literal millennial hope was first rejected by the Greek Fathers. Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen believed that it was a fundamental error to use Revelation as a basis for chronological calculations. Origen's rejection of a literal interpretation of Scripture was at least partly

determined by the fact that he "thereby escaped what he regarded as the utter absurdities of millenarianism."² In the West, the doctrine had a longer life. Augustine's doctrine of history was a substitute for millennialism, and helped confirm the Church's rejection of the doctrine which was made official by the Council of Ephesus in 431.³ However, this condemnation did not mean that millennialism totally disappeared from Christian thought or teaching, only that it was no longer in the mainstream. Throughout the Middle Ages millennial ideas and movements surfaced as in the case of the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore. However, Christian millennialism, though it has a long history, has a discontinuous one in the sense that most movements and groups are short-lived. Nevertheless, many themes present in one period reappear in later periods sometimes unchanged and sometimes in a new guise so that there is often a continuity of ideas.⁴ For this study of British-Israel it is not necessary to consider in detail English millennialism before the beginning of the nineteenth century, but some consideration of the earlier period is indispensable if many of the themes of the identification of the English with Israel are to be understood.⁵

Millennialism found its way back into something approaching the mainstream of Christian thought at the Reformation. Most, though not all, of the leaders of the Reform held some kind of millennial views. Apart from the Anabaptists who were wholehearted millenarians, Luther, Bullinger, Osiander, and Melancthon, though not Calvin, accepted Daniel and Revelation as obscure historical

prophecies and believed that the end of the world was imminent.⁶

Protestants were confronted with the problem of explaining how it was that God had permitted the Roman Church to persecute what they believed to be true Christianity for over a thousand years. An answer to this problem was to be found in understanding the whole of history as "the working-out of an inscrutable but divine plan, leading to an inevitably just conclusion" which was literally foretold in the biblical prophecies.⁷

In England, John Foxe set forth this understanding of history in his Acts and Monuments (1563). While Foxe himself was probably not a millenarian in any real sense, his book was used by those who were, and it "gave English apocalyptic ideas their greatest impetus."⁸ In fact, Foxe did for the English Church what Eusebius and Augustine had done in their own times, that is, he provided an understanding of history that explained and justified the present situation. His book "was the most elaborate expression of the apocalyptic expectancy with which the returned exiles and their party greeted Elizabeth at her accession."⁹ Foxe had an apocalyptic conception of England in which the new reign and ruler had a leading role. This conception was part of the detailed chronology that he had worked out.¹⁰ But more than the details, it was the general theme of Foxe's book and the currency that it gave to millennial ideas that gives it its importance in the history of English millennialism.

There was no radical break between the millennialism of the sixteenth century and that of the seventeenth. However, in the seventeenth-century millennialism attained far greater importance. From the religious and political conflicts of this century emerged a great flowering of millennial ideas. By the mid 1640's there were many people who expected it to take place in England.¹¹ Even earlier, James I had thought that the contempt for the clergy that was prevalent during his reign was a sign that the end of the world was near; nor was Milton, some years later, alone in thinking of Christ as the "shortly expected King."¹²

Many of the more radical revolutionary groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men and the Levellers had as one of their main tenets some kind of millennialism. During the period of the Commonwealth, millennial ideas were especially associated with the poorer classes and provided their protests with an ideological framework. However, it was not these manifestations of millennialism that were to be of lasting importance.

The outstanding contribution of the seventeenth century was the laying of the foundations for what might be called the scholarly tradition of English millennialism. This tradition was to be an enduring one, and after the seventeenth century "Biblical scholars and learned divines continued to approach the prophecies concerning Christ's Second Coming as a worthy subject for study and rational analysis."¹³

What was perhaps the most important aspect of this scholarly tradition was the work done towards establishing the basic principles and methods for determining millennial chronology. If it could be assumed, as had Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and many others, that at the end of 6000 years the millennium would begin, then it was important to try to establish that date. What might have been the most logical and straightforward procedure, establishing the date of the Creation and calculating from there, was not used. In all probability, the difficulty arose because one had to establish a date for the Creation, which would not delay the arrival of the millennium to such an extent that it would be too late to be of any immediate interest. As an example, James Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh (1625-1656), in his world chronology Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti (1650-1654) set the date of the Creation as being 4004 B.C. This would have meant that for anyone in the seventeenth century the millennium was still at least two hundred years away. For many, in the period after the Reformation, such a late date belied the "signs of the times."

To overcome this difficulty, another method was used. A system, usually credited to Joseph Mede who proposed the day-year theory in his book Clavis Apocalyptica (1627) approached the problem from the other end. The day-year theory consisted of the substitution of "year" everytime "day" was mentioned in prophetic writings. Thus, in Revelation 13:5 the rule of the Beast which was to be forty-two months was easily understood as meaning 1260 years by multiplying

forty-two by thirty, the average number of days in the month. The Beast was always understood by Protestants to refer to the papacy and 1260 years was to be the period of its "tyrannous" rule. The "time, times, and an half" of Daniel 12:7 was understood as meaning three and one-half years or forty-two months which again made 1260 years.¹⁴ It was by means of the day-year theory that the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation were set into a chronological schema. The only difficulty posed by this procedure was to ascertain when the 1260 years had begun or when they ended. History was searched to find a suitable date for the beginning of this period which would put its end within reasonable distance of the commentator's own time. Needless to say, none of these guesses proved to be correct. However, the day-year theory was to be the standard tool with which most later millenarians attempted to establish their chronology.

In the eighteenth century, millennialism became respectable, and its radical and revolutionary aspects disappeared. But for all that, it was no less current, and was "part of many people's 'Intellectual furniture'."¹⁵ Eighteenth century millennialism was nourished by a regular supply of sermons, popular tracts, and learned treatises. But unlike the millennialism of the previous century it was primarily the result of religious needs. It was "related to the facts of social and political experience, but not arising out of them."¹⁶ It was this type of millennialism that was handed on to the nineteenth century.

English millennialism in the eras of the later Hanoverians and Queen Victoria, like that of the eighteenth century, was no longer the ideology of political protest and it inspired little apprehension or fear among the rulers of the nation. According to Hill, after the end of the seventeenth century, millennialism

became a harmless hobby for cranky country parsons. The Little Horn, the Scarlet Woman, and the precise significance of "a time, times, and half a time" were relegated to that dim twilight in which the Lost Tribes of Israel wander around the Great Pyramid.¹⁷

But such an assessment, amusing as it may be, greatly underestimates the importance of millennial ideas in the eighteenth century and more particularly in the nineteenth. While it is true that millennialism no longer had a direct political role, it is also true that its religious role was very possibly as important as it had been in the seventeenth century. Millennial ideas were very widespread in nineteenth century Britain and it would almost be possible to speak of a millennial "culture" during these years.¹⁸ This millennialism took two forms, one that was "scholarly, respectable study and interpretation of prophecy," the other, popular adventism.¹⁹

It was the outbreak of the French Revolution that gave a new impetus to millennial ideas. The events of the 1790's were understood by students of apocalyptic literature to be the fulfillment of the prophecies of Daniel 7 and Revelation 13. The fall of Rome to the French armies in 1798 was a key event as it seemed to

mark the overthrow of the papacy, thus bringing to an end its "tyrannical" rule of 1260 years which was supposed to be foretold in Revelation 13:5. The beginnings of this "tyranny" could be dated "accurately" to the year 538. However, the year 538 was significant only in terms of the prophetic 1260 years and did not correspond to an important date in the history of the Roman Church. Nevertheless, prophetic commentators now had

a prophetic Rosetta Stone. At last a key had been found with which to crack the code. There could now be general agreement upon one fixed point of correlation between prophecy and history. After 1799, in Egyptology as in prophecy, it seemed as though there were no limits to the possibility of discovery.

But even more than the French Revolution, it was Napoleon who was to play an important role in millennial thinking.

Napoleon was identified as the Beast of Revelation (13:15), in 1813 by an obscure London stationer named Ralph Wedgwood. According to Wedgwood Napoleon would be defeated by Tsar Alexander, the King of the North, and by "British Israel" the kingdom that had "worshipped the true god" and had been "the peculiar possession of the Messiah since the time of the Druids."²¹ The defeat of Napoleon in 1815 inspired millennial thinking among many Evangelicals and Methodists, particularly among those involved in the missionary societies. They believed that there was only one great imperial adversary left, the Devil, and "sensing the approach of the last days, {they} enlisted the power, the pounds, and the prayers of England to hasten the second coming."²²

Throughout the nineteenth century there were a number of schools of millennial thought, and at least six basic positions can be distinguished. There were millenarians or premillennialists and postmillennialists, the former being by far the most numerous.²³ A second distinction was that between historicism and futurism. The historicists maintained that the prophecies of Daniel were recapitulated in Revelation, permitting the one to be used to interpret the other, and that these prophecies were being fulfilled in European history. Futurists, on the contrary, held "that none of the events predicted in Revelation (following the first three chapters) had yet occurred and that they would not occur until the end of this dispensation."²⁴ This was the position of J.N. Darby and his followers. A further distinction came into existence after the middle of the nineteenth century. This questioned whether Christ's coming was to be before or after the time of troubles predicted in Mark 13:19 ff. Post-tribulationists held that Christ would come only after these events. Pre-tribulationists, who were nearly all followers of Darby, believed that Christ would come secretly to take his church out of the world before the beginning of the tribulations. The doctrine of this secret coming was not explicitly mentioned in Scripture.²⁸ As can be seen, it was possible to combine these positions in a number of different ways.

Despite these varied views there was a great deal of unanimity, and it is possible to draw up a list of the basic tenets of the millennarian creed. Almost all nineteenth century millenarians

would have agreed with

the belief that acceptance of the divine authority of Scripture required that the believer expect a literal rather than a spiritual fulfillment of the prophecies; the belief that the gospel was not intended nor was it going to accomplish the salvation of the world, but that instead, the world was growing increasingly corrupt and rushing toward imminent judgment; the belief that Christ would literally return to the earth and the Jews be restored to Palestine before the commencement of the millennial age; and the belief that this whole panorama of coming glory and judgment was explicitly foretold in the prophecies where one could, if taught by the Spirit, discover the truth and be ready for the coming of the bridegroom.²⁶

These four themes were to be found in different combinations and with varying emphasis in the writings of all nineteenth century millenarians.

The most influential figure among the nineteenth century English-speaking millenarians was John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), the founder of the Plymouth Brethren. His influence was very widespread although many millenarians did not acknowledge it,²⁷ and his teaching on the second coming of Christ was to become of great importance in millennial thought. In brief, Darby taught

that the prophetic timetable had been interrupted at the founding of the church and that the unfulfilled biblical prophecies must await upon the rapture of the church. The church was the great parenthesis which Old Testament prophets had not had revealed to them.²⁸

The church existed only as a spiritual fellowship and its rapture "would take place at the second coming of Christ when the members of the body of Christ, both living and dead, would be caught away to dwell with Christ in heaven."²⁹ This rapture would be secret, known only to those who were taken up by Christ. The events described in Matthew 24:27 did not apply to the church, but to Christ's public second coming. In fact, Darby thought that there would be two second comings: a secret one for and known only to the church and a later public one.

Darby's teachings posed exegetical problems, and he was forced to reject the traditional interpretation of some scriptural passages. His dilemma has been stated as follows;

Too traditional to admit that biblical authors might have contradicted each other, and too rationalist to admit that the prophetic maze defied penetration, Darby attempted a resolution of his exegetical dilemma by distinguishing between Scripture intended for the church and Scripture intended for Israel.³⁰

This solution was to have echoes among many millenarians.

The prevalent understanding of the Bible among nineteenth century millenarians assumed or postulated what was called the literal interpretation. A literal meaning was sought for every passage of the Bible and a literal fulfillment for each prophecy. In the words of one millenarian, "Prophecy is simply history written in advance."³¹ This literalism was based

on what were held to be common sense criteria; each word meant exactly what it said. It did not indicate any new understanding of the biblical text. Millenarians were "convinced that allegorical and spiritualized interpretations of prophecy were a manifestation of unbelief and a denigration of the authority of Scripture."³²

The popularity of this literal interpretation was largely due to the "apparent success of some commentators in matching prophetic and historic events." It was also the result of "the popular belief that factual, empirical, and literal statements were more true than spiritual, allegorical, and figurative" statements.³³ This position had great apologetic advantages because those who accepted the infallibility of the Bible, at least implicitly, could be confronted and urged "to become serious enough about their biblical faith to believe what was literally prophesied."³⁴ But in fact, biblical literalists were frequently confronted with problems that were similar to those that faced Darby, and their literal interpretation was often based on a priori principles.

The spread of the literal interpretation was credited to the Anglicans and the Plymouth Brethren by one nineteenth century millenarian. He believed that these two groups had taught the church a lesson that it had been slow to learn; that the Bible means something and that it probably means what it says.³⁵ The

Plymouth Brethren of course represented Darby's teaching; the Anglicans were evangelicals who at different periods were very active in millennial circles. However, this mutual understanding of the correct method of biblical interpretation did not always produce agreement on the programme of the last things.

One element of the millennial creed that is especially relevant for this study of British-Israel is the belief in the return of the Jews to Palestine. The question of the role of the Jews in prophecy was one that was much discussed by both millenarians and non-millenarians. In simplified terms the question arose whether or not the Old Testament covenant was still in force in the Christian era. On the answer depended the way in which the Jews would be restored and their eventual conversion to Christianity. If the covenant still remained in force, it was thought that the restoration would precede the conversion, and if it did not, the reverse would be the case and the restoration a part of the final triumph of Christianity. Millenarians did not agree on the answer to this question, but all considered it an important one. As will be seen, for British-Israel it is a question of the restoration of Israel which depends on the continued validity of the Old Testament covenant.³⁶ In any case, much of the Christian mission to the Jews in the nineteenth century had its origins in millennialism with its concern for the fulfillment of prophecy.³⁷

Throughout the nineteenth century millennialism was one of the important currents in the churches in Britain and North America, and there were frequent exchanges between millenarians on both sides of the Atlantic. This millennialism took many forms. Some millenarians formed themselves into sectarian groups as in the case of the Irvingites and the Plymouth Brethren in England, and the Millerites in the United States. But millenarians were not by any means exclusively sectarian and were to be found in most of the major denominations. In England, many of them were to be found in the Church of England. For example, Dr. William Marsh, "Millennial Marsh," of St. Thomas Church, Birmingham, and a member of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, drew great crowds in the 1830's and 1840's with his preaching of the millennium.

Radicals and Chartists came from far and near to hear Marsh read from the Book of Revelation and discourse of a city paved with gold and built upon precious stones. In 1845, Marsh declared in a sermon his expectation that Anti-Christ would be revealed within about twenty-five years and the Second Coming would be at hand. The congregation did not depart. They knelt in soul before the throne of judgment.³⁸

Marsh was just one of many whose preaching was so received. In North America many Episcopalians were millenarians as were Presbyterians, Baptists, and some Methodists.³⁹

One of the most popular means of spreading millennial truth was the prophetic conference. What was probably the first such conference was held at Albury Park, the home of the Honourable

Henry Drummond, a follower of Edward Irving, in the first week of Advent 1826. There was a long discussion of prophetic truth. Other conferences were held in 1827 and 1828. The example given by the Albury Park conferences was to be followed by millenarians throughout the nineteenth century. In Britain there were conferences at Mildmay Park in the 1870's and 1880's. In North America, similar conferences were held at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario from 1883 to 1897 and also in various other centres including Northfield, Massachusetts under the leadership of Dwight L. Moody.⁴⁰

These conferences combined with an extensive programme of publications brought the millennial message in its varied forms to millions of evangelical Christians.

It was only towards the end of the century, after 1885, that the differences among millenarians began to split the movement into distinct groups. Two new doctrines that began to become popular aggravated these differences. One was the belief that only 144,000 (Revelation 7:4) would be saved from the tribulations foretold in Mark 13, and the second was the school of interpretation known as Anglo or British-Israel.⁴¹

Nineteenth century millennialism does pose one very difficult problem: the social composition of many of the groups is obscure.

There was certainly a large number of middleclass millenarians, but whether they formed specifically middle-class groups or churches is unclear. In particular, there is the question of "poor gentlefolk"

who comprised an important segment of the population of Victorian Britain. How these people expressed their millennialism is unclear. They may have joined such an affluent body as the Irvingite Catholic Apostolic Church, or, on the other hand, amalgamated with one of the working-class groups such as the Christadelphians. There were as well the very middle-class Plymouth Brethren.⁴² One can also conjecture that they and middle-class millenarians generally found an outlet for their millennial dreams in the non-sectarian groups of which British-Israel was one. This study will attempt to shed some light on this problem. However, as mentioned earlier, the question of the social composition of a millennial group is one of the most difficult to answer.⁴³

This brief survey of the history of English millennialism since the Reformation provides part of the material that is essential for the study of British-Israel. In the following chapter, two other aspects both essential for understanding this movement will be considered: the "lost" tribes of Israel, and the "elect nation."

CHAPTER 3

THE ELECT NATION AND THE LOST TRIBES

Two concepts closely connected with English millennialism will now be discussed: the notion of the "elect nation" and the search for the "lost" ten tribes of Israel. While either or both of these subjects can exist and have existed independently of the expectation of the millennium, in England they often have been closely associated with it. In British-Israel the idea of the "elect nation" and the search for the "lost tribes" were combined, and the "elect nation" became literally the "lost tribes." This bipartite scheme was an integral part of the millennial hope of British-Israel. It is essential to understand this complex of ideas in order to appreciate fully the notion of British-Israel. And it is for this reason that we are obliged to trace the historical background, prior to and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, of the concept of the "elect nation" and the search for the "lost" tribes of Israel.

The idea of the "elect nation" had its origins in the England of Queen Elizabeth. The earlier Tudor historians in establishing the new mythology of the English nation had taken over

much of the material that was to be found in the medieval chronicles. Using this material they traced the royal lineage back not only to the Conquest, Alfred, and the mythical Lud, but to David, Jesse, and Adam himself. These genealogies were meant to serve the same purpose as all other genealogies: "they sanctioned the authority and status of those who could claim the historic heritage."¹

What was done for the Tudor dynasty in the royal genealogies was also done for the nation as a whole. Three books published in the sixteenth century were of great importance for this: the Geneva Bible (1560), John Napier's A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John (1594), and Foxe's Acts and Monuments. They were instrumental in forming the self-understanding of the English people. In the words of one scholar, they

suggested that the Protestant Reformation had an eschatological significance within Divine Providence at least as great as that of events in St. Paul's time. All three were important in guiding English Puritan writers towards the conviction that they, their country, and their age were specially ordained to accomplish great things in the work of the Lord.²

It was particularly Foxe's book and the Geneva Bible that were to have a leading role in this development. Both were set up in the parish churches so that they might be read there, and the Geneva Bible circulated in thousands of copies.

Foxe's Acts and Monuments provided the framework for an understanding of the English as the "elect nation." It was Foxe's

comprehensive treatment of English history and the apocalyptic theme that he gave to it that led to such a conclusion. He

made plain that by all the signs to be found in scripture and history the will of God was about to be fulfilled in England by a prince perfect in her obedience to her vocation, ruling a people perfect in their obedience to her authority.³

This idea for which Foxe provided the historical data was interpreted in the light of the biblical history of the chosen people of Israel.

The influence of the Bible was ubiquitous in England. It played a role in English Protestantism that was unparalleled elsewhere in Europe. The Bible was accepted almost literally as a religion and influenced almost every aspect of English life.⁴ The Bible was of special importance for the idea of an "elect nation" because it

offered an imaginative representation of the life of a single people having a unique sense of their identity as a people set apart from all others by a peculiar destiny. It showed a people who thought of the present always as the manifestation of an antecedent design, centred upon themselves and certain to be consummated in the proximate future.⁵

It is not difficult to appreciate how easily such an imaginative representation was applied to the English nation itself.

Foxe's history when set alongside this biblical story of the chosen people provided a mythology which gave meaning and authority to the nation and to the dynasty. For many people "the nation itself assumed something of the nature of a mystical

communion of chosen spirits, a peculiar people set apart from the rest of mankind." Elizabeth, though she may have been Cynthia or Gloriana to the poets and courtiers, spoke of herself when addressing her faithful Commons in terms of "the nursing mother of Israel." The successful defence of the country from the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and other attacks in the latter part of the century led many to conclude that "God was indeed English."⁶

What had been at least half metaphor for Elizabeth and her contemporaries became in the seventeenth century "a literal identification for those Puritans who saw their civil wars in prophetic terms."⁷ By the 1640's there were few on either side of the struggle who were able to look at contemporary political problems without referring to the example of the biblical chosen people.⁸

The role of the Bible in the development of the complex of ideas associated with the notion of the "elect nation" must be stressed. It was during the conflicts of the seventeenth century that the Bible came to have that prominent and one might almost say predominant place in English life that was to continue into the twentieth century. The Bible's position in English life was not due to the Church of England but to the Dissenters who in the Old Testament in which priests and kings were vigorously denounced, found a weapon in their struggle with the Stuart kings and their bishops. "The Old Testament influence that got into the very bones of the English people through the dissenters ... helped make the Anglo-Saxon mentality different from any other Western European

mentality."⁹

This special mentality expressed itself in a number of ways. The popularity among Puritans of Old Testament baptismal names was one of them. Not only was this fashion prevalent in the late sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, but it continued among the Methodists and other Dissenters into the twentieth century.¹⁰ The Sabbath legislation that was to become such an integral part of English life and make the English Sunday unique was another result of the biblicism of the Dissenters. The identification of the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath was one of the great points of controversy in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Dissenters succeeded in forcing through their view against the stiff opposition of the bishops and the government.¹¹

The influence of the Bible was not limited to purely religious questions, if it was possible to make such a distinction in the seventeenth century. For example, the poet John Milton saw the history of England in biblical terms. The uncompleted epic "The Arthuriad" was to embody the "theme of the recovery after the fall in a fable drawn from legendary British history."¹² Milton believed that the fulfillment of the divine plan was very close and that the English would be the agents of its accomplishment. In his mind, England was called to "set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth and blow the evangelic trumpet to the nations."¹³

A far more literal identification of England with the chosen people was to be found in the work of John Sadler (1615-1674).

He was a lawyer, Hebrew scholar, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge during the Commonwealth, and a friend of Cromwell. Greatly interested in the Jews, it was through his intervention that they were allowed to build a synagogue in London. In 1649 Sadler published a book entitled Rights of the Kingdom in which he traced the English constitution back to that of Israel. He also believed that there had been a commerce in tin between Phoenicia and Britain in the time of Solomon, and he traced the name Britain to the Phoenician words Berat Anak which meant the field of tin and lead. Finally, he thought that the Israelites after the fall of Samaria had fled to Ireland under the leadership of Jeremiah and Baruch.¹⁴ No one seems to have taken up Sadler's theory, and the idea that the English constitution was derived from that of Israel was to rest in obscurity for almost one hundred and fifty years.

The identification of the English nation with Israel was not simply a theoretical one. There were some in the seventeenth century who were ready to put that identification into practice. This usually meant adopting at least some part of the Mosaic law. One of the earliest examples is that of John Traske and his followers in London in 1617. They called themselves Saturday Sabbatarians, observed the Jewish Sabbath, refrained from eating the flesh of swine, and generally followed the Mosaic law in all its parts. One of Traske's followers, Hamlet Jackson, went further and embraced Judaism.¹⁵

By the 1640's there were men who thought of themselves as being "of the race of the Jews." These included the Digger William Everard, and Thomas Tany. Tany (fl. 1649-1655) was a London goldsmith. In a vision of November 23, 1649, it was revealed to him that he was "a Jew of the Tribe of Reuben." It was as a result of the vision that he adopted the names Theaurau John, High Priest of the Jews, and Theau Ram Taniah, Leader of the People. Tany loved using meaningless pseudo-Greek, Latin, and Hebrew words as in these titles and his book Aurora in Translagarum. Believing that he was descended from Henry VII and the high priest Aaron, he claimed the crowns of England, France, Naples, Rome and Jerusalem. Part of Tany's mission was to lead the Jews back to Palestine, and to that end he pitched a tent on Eltham Common as he believed that the Jews were to gather there before beginning the new exodus. In 1655 Tany received another command, this time to kill the members of Parliament, and he attacked the House single-handed. Wearing an ancient costume and carrying a rusty sword, he succeeded in wounding the door keeper before being led away to prison and disappearing from history.¹⁶

Another person with a similar point of view was the Ranter John Robins (fl. 1650-1652) who was proclaimed King of Israel in 1650 by his fellow Ranter Joshua Garment. Robins was also supposed to be Melchizedek and Adam restored. His mission was to divide the seas and lead the Jews of the world to Palestine to the number of 144,000.¹⁷

While both Tany and Robins may have been mentally unstable, they were only the most spectacular manifestation of the English philosemitism that permeated the seventeenth century. Not only had the English come to see themselves as an "elect nation" but some indeed believed that they were "of the race of the Jews" in truth.

As some people in seventeenth century England began to think of themselves as Jews, so others began looking for the ten "lost" tribes of Israel. The fate of those tribes had always been the subject of a certain interest and speculation, but it seems that it was only with the discovery of the non-European world that it became a subject of more than passing preoccupation. In all probability this attention was also encouraged by the interest in prophecy that was a part of Reformation and post-Reformation millennialism. For the students of prophecy the fate of the tribes of Israel posed two problems: (1) if the tribes had disappeared without a trace, prophecy could not be fulfilled; (2) if, on the other hand, they were still in existence under another name it was necessary for the fulfillment of prophecy that they be found.

It was generally assumed on the basis of II Kings 15:29; 17:6; 18:11, that all the inhabitants of the northern kingdom, Israel, had been carried away captive to Assyria after the conquest of the country by Tiglath-pileser or Shalmaneser in the year 721 B.C. Literal expositors of the scriptures in the Middle Ages and later, believed that if a specific tribe was not mentioned in the prophetic

literature of the period after the captivity of Israel, then that tribe was lost. Thus, in dealing with the promised restoration of the exiles, a double plan of reestablishment had to be set up. Judah and Benjamin had been restored after the triumph of Cyrus, but the descendants of the other tribes who were not recorded among the returned would be restored at some time in the future.¹⁸

The impression that the ten tribes of Israel were lost was at least in part due to the almost total lack of information about the ancient Near East and the history of the Jews that persisted until well into the nineteenth century. The tribes, for all that biblical expositors in the West knew, were quite simply lost. Yet, the understanding of Israel as a "peculiar people" who were kept apart from the nations by the exclusiveness of their religion meant that the tribes had to exist somewhere.¹⁹

The firm conviction that the ten tribes of Israel were lost, produced traces of them everywhere when the discovery of the non-European world began in the sixteenth century. Because the early missionaries and explorers could not explain the various rites and customs among the people they encountered and because these sometimes bore a resemblance to those described in the Bible, they assumed that they represented the traces of Old Testament influence. As ethnography was still in the future, there was no way of explaining those rites and customs except by assuming further that the people in question were descendants of either the Jews or the ten tribes of Israel. As it was

only the latter who were unaccounted for, it was they who were thought to have been found.²⁰

The Americas were a particularly favoured area for the discovery of the tribes of Israel. From the period of the early Spanish missionaries, traces of Israel were found among the native peoples of the New World. Probably the first English writer to believe that these peoples were the descendants of Israel was John Thorowgood. His book Jewes in America (1650) contained two stories that had come to him from Amsterdam. The first story was that a messenger had arrived in Holland from the ten tribes to enquire about the welfare of those who had not been carried away. The second concerned the visit of an Antonio Montesinos to a community of Jews in Peru. Such tales prompted the learned scholar Manasseh ben-Israel (1604-1657) of Amsterdam to write The Hope of Israel in which he "proved" that the Israelites had discovered America by crossing the Bering Strait. He claimed that the customs of the natives of the New World were identical to those of Israel. His book was dedicated to the English Parliament. Many of the clergy in the English colonies adopted the idea including Mayhew, Eliot, Roger Williams, the Mathers, and so did William Penn. Such theories continued in vogue well into the nineteenth century. Lord Kingsborough in the nine volumes of his Antiquities of Mexico (1837-1845) helped sustain the popularity of the idea. Finally, as is well known, it was to have an important place in the teaching of Joseph Smith.²¹

Interest in the fate of the tribes was particularly strong among English millenarians. Cromwell had been very much preoccupied at one period with the question of their restoration and in the closely related question of the conversion of the Jews. It was during his rule that Jews were readmitted to England for the first time since their expulsion in 1290. As most millenarians believed that the tribes had to be found before they could return to Palestine, they searched diligently for them among every newly discovered people.²² By the end of the seventeenth century both this interest in the "lost" tribes and the idea of the "elect nation" were firmly entrenched in the English mentality, and there appeared the first signs that they were beginning to coalesce. In the next century this complex of ideas did not disappear although it was somewhat less in evidence until the 1790's.

At the very beginning of the eighteenth century this interest in the "lost" tribes of Israel found expression in the work of the Reverend Jacques or James Abbadie (c.1654-1727). He was born at Nay near Pau in the southwest of France presumably of Huguenot parents, and after completing his theological education was appointed minister of the French church at Berlin by the elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, either in 1680 or 1681. Abbadie came to England with William of Orange and was named pastor of the French church in the Savoy, London. He became Dean of Killaloe in Ireland in 1699.²³

Abbadie was best known for his book Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne (1684) which was well received by both Protestants and Catholics and appeared in many editions and translations. However, it was his book of 1723, Le Triomphe de la Providence et de la Religion, that was significant for the subject of England and Israel. By British-Israelites, Abbadie was claimed as the first to recognize that the Saxons were of "Israelitish origin."²⁴

This assertion was based on a passage in Le Triomphe de la Providence in which Abbadie speculated on the fate of the tribes of Israel. He wrote as follows:

Unless the Ten Tribes have flown into the air, or been plunged to the earth's centre, they must be sought in that part of the north which, in the time of Constantine, was converted to the Christian faith—namely, among the Iberians, Armenians, and Scythians for that was the place of their dispersion, the wilderness where God caused them to dwell in tents, as when they came out of the land of Egypt. Perhaps were the subject carefully examined, it would be found that the nations who, in the fifth age, made irruption into the Roman Empire, and whom Procopius reduces to ten in number, were in fact the Ten Tribes, who, kept in a state of separation up to that time, then quitted the Euxine and Caspian, the place of their exile, because the country could no longer contain them. Everything fortifies this conjecture, as the extraordinary multiplication of this people, marked so precisely by the prophets, the number of the tribes, the custom of those nations to dwell in tents, according to the oracle: Hosea xii.9, and many usages of the Scythians, similar to those of the children of Israel.²⁵

For British-Israelites this constituted an early and important testimony to their theory, and was frequently cited. However, in most cases only the first four lines were quoted, and in at least one case they

were changed so that they read: " they must be sought for in the north, and west, and in the British Isles. ^{"26} Abbadie was understood as maintaining that the ten tribes were to become a "multitude of nations." What made his speculation of particular importance was the belief of British-Israelites that the Saxons and the Scythians were the same people. ²⁷

Throughout the eighteenth century many of the sentiments about England, the Jews, and the Old Testament which had appeared in the seventeenth century continued to find expression. The poet Christopher Smart (1722-1771) in his long work of 1751, Jubilate Agno, proclaimed:

For the English are the seed of Abraham and
work up to him by Joab, David, and Naphtali.
.....
For the Danes are the children of Zabulon.

For the English are the children of Joab,
Captain of the host of Israel...

Smart believed that he was descended from David and that he would be a prince when Christ came in 1760 and the New Jerusalem was built in England. ²⁸ The Norfolk parson James Woodforde recorded in his diary his meeting in 1775 with one Bell at Oxford: "He appears to me to be quite cracked-brained and abuses the New Testament much but greatly praises the Bible and the Jews—a very strange Fellow." ²⁹ A man of similar opinions was the Northumberland curate Thomas Cooke (1722-1783). He believed that the Jewish ceremonies had not been abrogated by the Christian dispensation, and he insisted on the

necessity of circumcision which he performed on himself. He was deprived of his curacy, assumed the name Adam Moses Emanuel, and became an itinerant preacher before being confined in Bedlam for two or three years. His last project was the establishment of a universal church on "true evangelical principles." His death is said to be due to following too closely the example of Origen.³⁰ Finally, there was Lord George Gordon (1751-1793) who after having taken a leading role in the Gordon Riots of 1780 converted to Judaism. This may have been to advance his financial schemes, but, in any case, he "conformed in all respects to the Jewish religion" during his years in Newgate Prison (1788-1793).³¹ These men were all eccentrics holding extreme and often unbalanced views, but many Dissenters including Methodists saw "a liberal Protestant Britain as an elect nation with a divine mission."³² That view was to find its expression at least in part, in the millennial revival at the end of the century.

By the end of the eighteenth century, there were at least two candidates for the "lost" tribes of Israel: the natives of the Americas and the English who were slowly gaining in popularity with certain eccentrics. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the appearance of a third candidate for the position, the tribes of Afghanistan.³³

Among those who favoured the identification of the Afghans with the tribes of Israel was Dr. George Moore. Moore was

born in Plymouth on March 11, 1803. He studied at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London and in Paris, and practiced in London from 1830 to 1838, and in Hastings from 1838 to 1848 and from 1857 to c. 1875. He died in Hastings October 30, 1880. In 1861 Moore published The Lost Tribes and the Saxons of the East and the West with new views of Buddhism and Translations of Rock Records in India.³⁴

Moore believed that the Afghan or Pushtu tribes were the lineal descendants of the ten tribes of Israel.³⁵ He also believed that the influence and traces of the tribes were to be found in India. Moore held that the high caste Hindus and all the Buddhists were descendants of Israel. He insisted that Buddhism was a false development of the Old Testament teachings and tried to prove his contention by transcribing "many of the Indian inscriptions into Hebrew of a wonderful kind."³⁶

Both Moore and his book were very highly regarded by British-Israelites, partly due to the fact that Moore believed the Afghan tribes and the Saxons were closely related. Although Moore was not of the opinion that the English were literal descendants of Israel, he maintained that the Israelites had greatly influenced the ancestors of the English. According to Moore, it was spiritually that the English were the true descendants of the "lost" tribes of Israel. The Anglo-Saxons were "Heirs of the world, not by right, but by divine favour and providential training."³⁷ Some of the information in Moore's book such as the Hebrew origins of Buddhism was to find its way into the

writings of his friends among the British-Israelites. Moore was frequently considered by them as a supporter, but he may be more appropriately placed among the hunters for the "lost" tribes of Israel.³⁸

By the end of the eighteenth century all the elements for the development of a coherent theory of the identity of the English with the Israelites as it was to appear in the British-Israel movement were present. Millennialism in one form or another had become an integral part of English religious thinking, and there was a respectable body of speculation about the advent of the millennium. A preoccupation with prophecy had resulted in an interest in the fate of the ten tribes of Israel and there were a number of popular pretenders to that "honour" including the English. Finally, there was the close identification felt by the English at least metaphorically, with the people of the Old Testament. That identification had produced not only groups of "Christian Jews," but also the interpretation of many aspects of English life in Old Testament terms. In the last decade of the eighteenth century all these elements were to be brought together for the first time in the prophetic teaching of Richard Brothers.

CHAPTER 4

RICHARD BROTHERS: "THE NEPHEW OF THE LORD"

The career of Richard Brothers recalls vividly the seventeenth century and the world of Tany and Robins. At the same time, he is closely associated with that revival of millennialism brought about by the French Révolution that was to make millennialism a part of the nineteenth century religious experience. Brothers seems to connect the two periods and yet he stands apart from both. It is extremely difficult to decide whether he is, in fact, a major figure in the history of English millennialism and of the identification of the English with the Israelites or whether he is a marginal one.

Brothers was born in 1757 at Placentia, Newfoundland.¹ He went to sea as a midshipman in the Royal Navy in 1771 and retired as a lieutenant on half-pay in 1783. After travelling in France, Italy, and Spain, he settled in London in 1787. There he lived quietly; practicing vegetarianism, reading the Bible, and worshipping at a Baptist chapel in the Adelphi. He may also have had some contact with the Society of Friends.

This peaceful existence came to an end in 1790. In that

year he first came to public attention when he refused to take the oath required of all government pensioners that they had not held a remunerative post from the crown during the preceding six months. Pensions could only be paid after the oath was taken. Brothers objected especially to the obligatory nature of the oath as it included a clause to the effect that it was voluntary. His letter to the Board of Admiralty pointing out this contradiction resulted in the form of the oath being changed. However, this change did not benefit Brothers since he refused to swear in any case on religious grounds, and he was reduced to penury.

In January 1791 Brothers spent eight days in the country where apparently he had a vision. When he returned to London, he continued to refuse to take the oath so that he might draw his pension, and in August 1791 his landlady complained to the guardians of the poor. Brothers was confined to the workhouse, and his pension was paid to its governors. His debts were soon paid, and he was released in February 1792. In the months that followed he became more and more convinced that he had a special mission. On May 12, 1792 he wrote to the King, the Prime Minister, and the Speaker of the House of Commons that he had been commanded to go to the House on May 17th and inform the members that the time for the fulfillment of Daniel 7 had arrived. When he duly presented himself, he was rudely sent about his business. Henceforth, he was convinced that the number of the Beast of Revelation 13:18, 666, referred to the House of Commons.²

Later in the same year, Brothers was again in debt and spent some time in Newgate Prison. On his release in November 1792 he decided to refuse his prophetic call and leave England. He set out on foot for Bristol carrying a rod from a wild-rose bush cut some months earlier by divine command. After going some sixteen miles, he threw the rod down and walked on. After a few more miles he felt himself forcibly turned around and bidden to return and await the Almighty's time. He recovered the rod and thus symbolically he accepted his prophetic call. The next months were filled with apocalyptic signs foretelling the destruction of the world. This was averted only through the Almighty's special regard for Brothers. Towards the end of 1793 he began to write and finally on January 3, 1794 he completed the writing of his prophetic witness. A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times,...Wrote under the Direction of the Lord God and published by His Sacred Command...containing... the Restoration of the Hebrews to Jerusalem, by the year 1798 under their revealed Prince and Prophet Richard Brothers was the result of these months of labour and contained Brothers' detailed statement of his mission.

Although Brothers was to write much more before his death, A Revealed Knowledge was his principal work. It contained five important points: (1) that the millennium and the restoration of the Hebrews to Palestine was at hand; (2) that he himself was the Revealed Prince and Prophet who would lead the Hebrews back to

Palestine; (3) that his position was confirmed by the fact that he had twice within the past three years saved Britain and the world from destruction by fire from heaven; (4) that all war was wrong, but particularly the war against France which was, according to Brothers' reading of Revelation 19: 19, a war against God himself; and (5) that if the hostilities did not cease dreadful calamities would overtake the crowned heads and peoples of England and Europe.³ During approximately nine months following the publication of A Revealed Knowledge, Brothers was one of the "sights" of the capital. There came to his door an unceasing stream of visitors and if they favourably impressed him, they "were greeted with information that they were lineal descendants of the house of David."⁴ Brothers was generally described by those who met him, and not just by his most fervent supporters, as being mild, modest, kind, and amiable.⁵

Brothers' importance and popularity was very much the result of the international events of the 1790's. The French Revolution both made and broke him. It made him because in that period of excitement, and it must be remembered that all revolutionaries were not in France, his prophecies fell on welcome ears. It broke him because the British government feared everything and everyone who suggested unrest, sedition, and rebellion. Some of Brothers' predictions had proved startlingly accurate: the violent deaths of Gustavus III of Sweden and Louis XVI of France. Brothers' downfall was brought about by his call to King George III to lay down his crown

in favour of the Revealed Prince and Prophet. The younger Pitt's government took swift action and arrested Brothers on March 4, 1795 for treasonable activities. On March 27, he was certified insane. He spent the next eleven years, until Pitt's death in 1806, in a private asylum.

However, even this catastrophe did not mean that Brothers was forgotten. In fact, it brought forth his two most important supporters: Nathaniel Brassey Halhed and John Finlayson. Halhed (1751-1830), who had spent a number of years in India and was one of the pioneers in the study of Indian languages, was Member of Parliament for Lymington. He protested in the House on two occasions about Brothers' confinement, but to no avail. Shortly afterwards he deserted Brothers and eventually resigned his seat. Finlayson (1770-1854) was made of sterner stuff. A Scots lawyer, he sold his practice and came to Brothers' aid in 1797 with £25,000 in hand. His faith in the Revealed Prince was boundless and he was to spend the rest of his life in the cause. He secured Brothers' release in 1806 and then cared for him until Brothers' death in 1824. He was buried in Brothers' grave. Both Halhed and Finlayson wrote books and tracts in support of Brothers' claims.⁶

Neither in or out of the asylum did Brothers cease to write. In 1799 he was developing detailed plans for the settlement of Palestine, and in 1802 he published with plans by Finlayson A Description of Jerusalem: Its houses and streets...with the Garden of Eden in the centre. After his release he continued to write. There were books about

the heavens, and in 1823 there was a great controversy with a follower about the angle of the ecliptic; the architecture of Palmyra; and other subjects. Finally, in 1822 there appeared the very rare work A Correct Account of the Invasion and Conquest of this Island by the Saxons, necessary to be known by the English nation, the descendants of the greater part of the Ten Tribes.⁷

Today Brothers is largely forgotten, and when he is remembered, it is for his few brief months of fame. His prophecies for the most part were too immediate in their application for them to be of enduring interest. However, one of Brothers' doctrines was to have a life of its own, independent of Brothers himself; that was the theory that the British were Israelites.⁸

Brothers believed that there were two kinds of Jews, those who were "visible" and those who were "invisible". The latter had embraced Christianity and were to be found scattered among the nations of Europe and in particular among the English; these were the ten lost tribes.⁹ Brothers believed that his family, like so many others in England, was Jewish but had lost all knowledge of its origins for 1500 years.¹⁰ He described his ancestry in the following words which also explain his title "Nephew of the Lord":

Being, Myself, descended from that James,
the eldest son of Mary, by Joseph, whom St. Paul
 calls the Lord's Brother, is the reason that the
 Lord God, who was the Lord Jesus Christ, said to me,
 as an expression of fondness and to manifest his
 regard, you may inform the King of England that I
 call you my Nephew.¹¹

To one of his followers, William Bryan, Brothers wrote "you are of the Hebrews, and of the Tribe of Judah."¹² Bryan's mission was to proclaim and testify to Brothers' prophetic role.

As for England, Brothers believed that this country was especially singled out in prophecy. Brothers interpreted Isaiah 41:25 in that sense:

I have raised up one the North, (meaning the Revealed Prince of the Hebrews at this time.) and he shall come; (meaning to Jerusalem from that Northern part of the world alluded to. England lies in the north, and it is indeed the country meant.)¹³

The most significant feature of this doctrine of the identification of the English with the Hebrews in the light of later British-Israel teaching was that Brothers apparently did not make any real distinction between Israel and Judah. The return of the Hebrews to Palestine of which Brothers was to be the prophetic leader, was that of the Jews of whom the English as members of the "lost" tribes formed a part.¹⁴

Brothers' disciple Bryan was far more articulate in identifying the British with the Hebrews. He wrote that "very many of those called Christians are the true descendants of Jacob, who is called Israel." Bryan believed, as had Brothers, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of the British Isles "are Israelites, of the tribe of Benjamin, that there are some of Judah, and some of Levi." Finally, Bryan concluded:

if every man suffered his beard to grow, a distinguishing mark would be manifest, as the beard of each different tribe has a different form; this was the reason why Moses commanded that they should not cut or mar the corners of the beard, for the twelve tribes, being the twelve qualities of mankind, were not to be mixed.¹⁵

It was more or less in this form that Brothers' doctrine was passed on to others. There are no indications as to where Brothers himself had derived this idea, and it is improbable but not impossible that he knew of the teachings of any of his predecessors.

It is perhaps only necessary to remark that philosemitism "had been an integral part of English millenarian thought since the seventeenth century,"¹⁶ and that the identification of England with Israel was as old. It would have been surprising if they had not manifested themselves in some manner in Brothers' teaching.

The influence, if any, of Brothers' doctrine of the identity of the British and the Hebrews is difficult to trace. Among Brothers' followers it seems to have made little or no impression. Halhed appeared to be completely uninterested in the idea. Finlayson later dealt with it in The Universe as it is: Discovery of the Ten Tribes and their Restoration to their Own Land (1832), but whether he added anything to what Brothers had already said is unknown, his works being even rarer than those of his master. One possible successor of Brothers is Ralph Wedgwood who had declared that

Napoleon was the Beast of Revelation.¹⁷ It is generally held that it was of importance among the followers of Johanna Southcott (1750-1814), yet she had very little to do with Brothers and rejected his prophecies.¹⁸ It was particularly among the followers of her successor John Wroe that Brothers' theory seems to have struck a responsive cord. Wroe (1782-1862) took over the leadership of the Southcottians in 1822 and eight years later in 1830 he founded the Christian Israelites, a schism within the ranks of the Southcottians. Wroe divided his followers into twelve tribes and they generally followed such Jewish customs as circumcision, the wearing of beards, and the observance of the Sabbath from Friday evening until Saturday evening. The sect of Christian Israelites spread to Australia, New Zealand, and North America as a result of Wroe's visits to those places in the 1850's. Wroe's teaching, whatever it may have owed to Brothers, was very much in the tradition of those English "Jews" of the seventeenth century.¹⁹

One place that Brothers' doctrine seems to have had an echo was in the poetry of the mystic William Blake (1757-1827). Many scholars believe that signs of Brothers' doctrine are to be found in Blake's long poem "Jerusalem" of 1821. From this poem, two lines in particular are of interest:

The English are scattered over the
 face of the nations. Are These
 Jerusalem's children?...²⁰

Most commentators believe that these lines are a direct reflection of Brothers' teaching. But it is important to remember that Blake was a poet not a polemicist, and that he did not necessarily accept such doctrines literally "either as to spirit or detail." According to one writer:

He was willing to admit, for symbolic reasons, that the English were the children of Jerusalem (Freedom), thus taking advantage of the popular equation. But he really believed that England was the synthesis or "melting pot" of the nations. Specifically, these nations were, of course, fourfold: the giant Britons (west), the Saxons (north), the Normans (east), and the Romans (south), who together formed the English.²¹

Thus, although Blake may have been influenced by Brothers' theory, it would be difficult to maintain that he in fact held it. Rather, Blake made use of that theory as a vehicle for his own ideas. Brothers' theory "was an unusually useful concept for his central idea of the universality of human experience, for relating national with Biblical affairs."²²

Nevertheless, Blake was taken up by the British-Israelites in the later nineteenth century as one of their own. C.P. Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland, was one of the first to accord Blake a place in the British-Israel pantheon. Smyth wrote that Blake "was privileged to catch something of the spirit of this Abraham-descended past, and Christ ruled future, of our country and nation ... though not always with correctness of outline."²³

Smyth then cited in its entirety what has since become known as the "Glastonbury Hymn." This hymn was taken from the preface to Blake's poem "Milton" of c. 1800-1804.

- 21) And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains
green?

And was the Holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures
seen?
- 25) And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among these dark Satanic mills?
- 29) Bring me my bow of burning gold;
Bring me my arrows of desire;
Bring me my spear - O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!
- 33) I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem,
In England's green and pleasant land.

These lines, needless to say, were to be extremely popular, and not only among British-Israelites. They were set to music by Victorian composer Sir Hubert Parry (1848-1918) and published during the First World War in 1916. These lines from "Milton" as suggestive as they are must not be taken literally. Blake's "geography," his conception of England, has been easily compared to the Britain of Arthurian legend. It is a mysterious region that far surpasses and enlarges the "natural" geography, and one should not necessarily equate the two.²⁴

However, it is not due to Blake, or Wroe, or Southcott that Brother's theory as to the identity of the British with the

Hebrews continues to attract a certain interest. It is because Brothers has come to be considered as the founder of the British-Israel movement. This is the opinion of almost all modern writers on British-Israel.²⁵ Yet a direct connection between Brothers and the movement is impossible to establish. In the earliest British-Israel literature Brothers is not mentioned by anyone.²⁶ Instead, it is John Wilson, who is always considered to be the first exponent of the theory by its adherents.

The first time that Brothers was mentioned by anyone in connection with British-Israel would appear to be in 1879, that is, nine years after Edward Hine had begun his writing and lecturing and forty years after Wilson had begun his. This first reference to Brothers, as stated previously, was not even made by an opponent of the theory for whom the fact that Brothers was a "lunatic" would be useful ammunition, but by Hine himself who claimed that Brothers "was the first to direct attention to England" in the search for the "lost" tribes. According to Hine, Brothers' inspiration passed to Finlayson who was a contemporary of Wilson.²⁷ Hine claimed that it was about 1879 that he heard Brothers' name for the first time and that he had never read any of his writings.²⁸ This was probably correct, as Hine and others were very interested in tracing the history of the idea and Brothers was not mentioned in the early lists.²⁹ The extent of the influence of Brothers' theory, and its connection

with British-Israel cannot be easily ascertained because his supporters never constituted sects "or even coherent bodies of followers."³⁰ Certainly it would seem that he made little or no distinction between Israel and Judah so that his influence was at best indirect because that differentiation was central to British-Israel teaching. What remains certain is that the idea that the English were Israelites was current and had been since the seventeenth century and Brothers gave it wide circulation. In the nineteenth century it was to be taken up and developed as the principal tenet of a body of doctrine that attracted many supporters.

CHAPTER 5

JOHN WILSON and the "TEUTONIC THEORY"

The theory that the English were the lost tribes of Israel, as has been seen, had a long history before the nineteenth century. However, it had never been taken up as the central idea of any group or movement. Even in Richard Brothers' prophetic teaching it had held a secondary place. It was only in the nineteenth century that it became the key element in a coherent system of doctrine. This systematization was largely the work of five men: John Wilson, F.R.A. Glover, John Taylor and his successor C.P. Smyth, and Edward Hine who brought together the work of the other four to form the modern theory of British-Israel.

John Wilson has a just claim to be considered the first of the modern British-Israelites because of his fully developed theory of the identity of the Anglo-Saxons with the lost tribes of Israel. And of greater significance is the fact that he was the first British-Israelite to have any direct successors. In the nineteenth century he was generally recognized by both British-Israelites and their critics as being the first expounder of a coherent theory, and it was he who launched it on the road to respectability.¹

Unfortunately, not a great deal is known about Wilson. The most important source of information about his life is a "pious" memoir added to the Fifth edition of his book Lectures on Ancient Israel and the Israelitish Origins of the Modern Nations of Europe.²

Wilson was born June 8, 1799 in Kilmarnock, Scotland and died January 22, 1870. He seems to have spent most of his life as an itinerant evangelist and as a freelance writer on religious subjects. He was a Presbyterian layman, and was reputed to be a Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar of some ability.

According to the anonymous author of the memoir, Wilson's memory was phenomenal. By the age of seventeen, he was said to have the contents of ninety-seven volumes in his memory, the ninety-seventh being a life of Luther. His mother was a very important influence in his early life, and apparently it was she who "laid the foundation of his marvelous habit of extracting the essence of whatever literature came in his way." It was to her that he owed the recognition of the importance assigned to Ephraim in Genesis 28: 16-20. She had commended it "to his serious consideration."³ His knowledge of Scripture was such that instead of sleeping, he tabulated its contents "mnemonically." As a result, Wilson was able to point out "some wonderful harmonies, correspondencies, and poetical arrangements generally unobserved." According to his biographer:

He had early learned to think for himself. Scientific research had encouraged the habit of observing the relation of cause and effect; and his practice of Christian phrenology, at the expense of being misunderstood by some whose esteem he valued, had won the confidence and brought

him into sympathy with others of the best-conditioned and most accurately-intelligent minds in the sister kingdom, with whom he was able to take counsel on "things touching the King." 4

About Wilson's early life nothing is known. He seems to have begun his career as a lecturer in Northern Ireland in 1839, and the next year lectured in Liverpool. In 1836 he had published at Dublin his book Phrenology consistent with Reason and Revelation. The subject of Wilson's early lectures was the Israelitish origin of the Anglo-Saxons. He was introduced to London, and more particularly to the circle of people concerned with the mission to the Jews, in 1840 by a Mrs. Boyd of Williamstown Castle, County Dublin. It was in that same year that he published Our Israelitish Origin. Wilson gave his first London lecture in 1841, the meeting being chaired by the Right Reverend Michael Alexander, the recently appointed Anglo-Prussian Bishop of Jerusalem. He attracted the attention of a number of important people including Dr. Holt Yates, the founder of the Swedish Mission; the Reverend W. Marsh, "Millennial Marsh" of the London Jews Society; and the Honourable and Reverend M. Villiers, afterwards Bishop of Durham who invited Wilson to lecture at Kenilworth.⁵

In 1845 Wilson had his first contact with the Reverend F.R.A. Glover, the future author of England, the Remnant of Judah and the Israel of Ephraim, who wrote to say that he had been greatly instructed by Wilson's lectures. He also said that from his study of

Irish antiquities,

I am led to believe that Judah (probably of the first captivity) took refuge and found rule in Ireland—I was led to conjecture that England might be Joseph to the nations; seeing the literal acting out of the prophecy of Joseph, which God has committed to his own people. 6

In the winter of 1846-1847 Wilson lectured in Hastings and met Dr. George Moore the author of The Lost Tribes.⁷ Twenty years later, in August 1865, Wilson received a letter from C.P. Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland. Smyth had been in Egypt studying the Great Pyramid of Giza after having published his book Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid in 1864. At Cairo the chaplain, the Reverend Buchan Wright, had introduced Smyth to Wilson's book. On returning to Britain, Smyth read the book and wrote to Wilson,

that it does, indeed, tend to supply an important link in the pyramid discoveries; and that at the same time I could hardly help thinking that the pyramid developments supplied an additional and more precise character of the proof to the many which you have brought together, respecting your soul-strengthening idea of our Israelitish origin.⁸

In 1866 in the opening address of the January number of his journal the Watchman of Ephraim, Wilson stated that he had every reason to believe that his views were quietly making their way among all Christians.⁹

Five years later on January 22, 1870 Wilson died.

According to the memoir his last words "were deliberately delivered, as to a great multitude: And when the witnesses had completed their

testimony, they ascended-up to heaven. And L-, the testimony is completed." What Wilson had tentatively put forward in 1840 about the "Israelitish Origins" of the modern nations of Europe was taken up by others and in the years after his death became the object of a great campaign to convince the English people of its truth.

Most of Wilson's writings were concerned with the theory of the Israelitish origins as set forth in his book of 1840. In addition to this work, he published in 1846 The Book of Inheritance and Witness of the Prophets respecting Ephraim, and the raising up of Israel and his own London journal from 1866 to 1868 The Watchman of Ephraim. Among his other works were The Millennium; or the World to Come, and its relations to the preceeding dispensations (1842), and The Mission of Elijah to restore all, previous to our Lord's Second Advent (1861). He also collaborated with Robert Mimpriss, a leader in the Sunday School movement and a millenarian, on the Golden Treasury, a harmony and exposition of the four gospels that was popular in the nineteenth century. Mimpriss was to be an early supporter of Wilson's theory.¹⁰

"Our Israelitish Origin"

In the preface to the first edition of Our Israelitish Origin, Wilson clearly stated his purpose:

The following lectures are intended to prove that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who is verily a God of truth, is fulfilling His word with regard to the multitudinous seed, the many nations to come from the House of Ephraim as truly as He has accomplished His purpose in giving the One seed Christ to come of the house of Judah.¹¹

As a good millenarian, he added that the biblical prophecies must be fulfilled literally, and that Judah must mean Judah and Israel, Israel. The modern nations of Europe were, Wilson believed, "truly the seed of Abraham according to the flesh." They were "the so-called 'lost house of Israel,' the leading tribe of which was Ephraim."¹² In the preface to the fourth edition (1867) Wilson gave greater precision to his views, stating that:

Israel's grave was the Saxon's birthplace; that the English, although not Jews are yet sprung from the outcasts of Israel,...[and] the Christian people of these islands are of that 'fulness of the Gentiles' promised to come of Ephraim, unto whom, through the cross, was appointed the birthright and power of ministering blessing to all the nations of the earth.¹³

This was the fundamental tenet from which all the followers of Wilson took their departure and was the cornerstone of the edifice of British-Israel teaching.

Wilson began the exposition of his theme with an interpretation of the vision of Abraham (Genesis 15). This vision contained "a view of the whole course of Divine Providence, both in judgment and mercy, with regard to Abraham's posterity, especially respecting that portion which was afterwards spoken of as ALL ISRAEL."¹⁴ This vision was further clarified, according to Wilson, by the "Mystery of God" in Revelation 10: 1-7 that was to be revealed by the seventh

angel. This "Mystery of God" was the restoration of the land as foretold in Isaiah 29.¹⁵ The promise to Abraham (Genesis 17:4-8) that he was to be "the father of a multitude of nations" was to find its fulfillment in those of the House of Israel, who, led away captive, settled around the Black Sea, along the Danube and in "the north-western parts of Europe," and those who, escaping by the ships of Tyre, settled on the northern shores of the Mediterranean and "in the isles afar off".¹⁶ And now, according to Wilson, the time had come for the promise to be redeemed:

When the Son of God, through the ministrations of the Spirit was to open the Book of their Inheritance to the Children of Promise, previous to His coming forth in fulness of power to take the dominion and give them possession. 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not, with Him, freely give us all things?' (Romans 8:32)¹⁷

Wilson's insistence that the appointed time had now arrived indicates that his theory was thoroughly millennialist. Here, as throughout Our Israelitish Origin, Wilson's millennialism was implicit and was never discussed in any detail by him.

The three grand races of mankind, according to Wilson, were the descendants of Noah's sons: Japheth, Ham, and Shem. The Oriental Calmuc-Tarter or Japhetic peoples "seem rather wanting in masterly wisdom; and require a superior moral and intellectual power to guide their great force to a proper end." The Negroes, the descendants of Ham, were intelligent, "but seem to have little forethought or power of planning, and require to be cared for like children." Of the Caucasian

peoples, the children of Shem, the Jews and the inhabitants of modern Europe "are an improved specimen." More specifically, the Anglo-Saxons and the Jews "have evidently been given a principle of life—an onward and upward tendency....Theirs is not merely a repetitive capacity, but also an inventive genius," this being unlike the static Chinese, Hindus and Egyptians.¹⁸ Wilson's racial views were neither distinctive nor unusual; they were a commonplace of the nineteenth-century. Yet it is important that we should be cognizant of their impact because¹⁵ all who wrote on the subject of "Our Israelitish Origin" based their hypothesis on them.

For Wilson, the land of Israel was the key to the future arrangement of the world. It was "situated in the very centre of the three Grand Families of mankind." And because of this, it was there that the "throne of universal empire," should be placed and there was to be found "the common home of the human race." However, these changes in the status of the land of Israel had to await the commencement of the millennium which would mark the "time of the World's entire recovery."¹⁹ Nevertheless, this did not mean that nothing could be done at the moment; rather

a people in Christ have a right to initiate proceedings in this matter, and...they who ought to do this without fear are those whom Providence has of late years brought remarkably into connection with it, and to whose political, commercial, and more enduring interests, as well as those of the world generally, it is of importance that it should be well occupied. 20

Wilson's hope was that one of the practical results of his inquiry would be that Britain would take control of Palestine from the Ottoman Turks so that the land could be prepared for the establishment of the seat of empire.

The right of Israel to rule the world was derived from the promises made to the Fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which unlike the covenant made with the people of Israel, were unconditional. Wilson claimed that this was recognized in the New Testament (Romans 4:13-18), in that the law "utterly failed of securing the heirship to Israel." Rather, the heirship of the world was to the seed of Abraham who believed in the Messiah. "The blessing is more directly to ISRAEL; and through them to other nations." The seed of Abraham was to influence powerfully all mankind and to bring them blessing (Genesis 12: 1-3). But the seed of Abraham is Christ (Galatians 3:16), and to "Christ then the Land was promised.... And only in Him can the Inheritance be enjoyed by the multitudinous seed."²¹

The three birthright blessings or promises made to Abraham were "Multiplicity, or the double portion; the Kingship, or the place of rule; and the Priesthood, or being made the medium of blessing" (Genesis 22: 16-18). The Priesthood while particularly pertaining to Christ was also shared in by the other seed of Abraham (Galatians 3:39). These promises which had been "unequivocally given to Abraham were confirmed to Isaac"¹¹ (Genesis 26: 2-4). Of the sons of Jacob, the Multiplicity was given to Joseph, the "Priesthood"

to Levi, and the "Kingship" to Judah. Of Joseph's sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, the double portion went to the latter. "Under the former dispensation JOSEPH was not a remarkably 'fruitful' bough: It was through the Cross, as being joined to the 'Root of David', that Ephraim was to become worthy of his name 'I will bring forth fruits'."²²

Wilson maintained that the fruits of Ephraim were to be found among the Anglo-Saxons. The "ancient laws, political constitution, and ecclesiastical arrangements" of England indicated that the English people were trained by Moses, and that they have been dealt with as Ephraim was to have been when cast out among the Gentiles. To them "Belongs the responsibility of using aright the privilege of 'the first born'." This birthright could be proved best, according to Wilson, by "returning in humble penitence to our Father, confessing our unworthiness and guilt...and by learning to be like the Son of God, eminent in self-denying service for the glory of God in the good of man...."²³ The birthright of the English people was to serve others freely. It was for this reason that they have "been given the unspeakable privilege of distributing the Scriptures to all the families of mankind....It is ours to testify for Christ,... to proclaim liberty to the captive, and point all men to the means of health, cure, and blessing."²⁴ Britain had been given possession of Gibraltar to assist in the accomplishment of this great task, "for the transmission of truth and the establishment of righteousness all over the globe."²⁵

God has separated Israel to Himself that, through Israel, blessing might be conveyed to all mankind.

However, by the name Israel, Wilson did not mean all twelve tribes. Ephraim "was separated from Judah not only in a political, but also a religious sense". (I Kings 12:28).²⁶ In Scripture the phrases "All Israel," "the Whole House of Israel" always referred to Ephraim, the House of Isaac, the ten tribes, while the phrase "house of Israel" might refer to Judah but not necessarily. "When the great Restoration of Israel is referred to in prophecy, let it again be remembered that it is Israel of Ephraim, which has been accounted lost, which is ever brought to remembrance."²⁷

It was this distinction between Judah and Israel or Ephraim that was central to all British-Israel teaching.

The promise or prophecies "apply to literal Israel, but for that very reason they apply to the modern nations of Europe, and especially to the English nation, lineally descended from the last son of Ephraim."²⁸ It was to the northwest of Palestine that the missions of the apostles were directed. Wilson affirmed that it was "in our own part of the world, whither the Word of God hath ever followed them, and where the whole course of Providence testifies to this truth of the Word of Prophecy" that "the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel" were to be found.²⁹

That the inheritors of the promises to the Fathers were now the inhabitants of the modern nations of northwestern Europe was

quite easily demonstrated. Wilson said that in their wanderings they left traces all across the map of Europe. "Traces of Dan are to be found in the history and topography of nearly all the coasts and islands of Europe, and even in connection with America hundreds of years before Columbus."³⁰ Especially among the Greeks, in their sacrifices, oracles and free government, were to be found traces of the "Israelitish refugees who had so early encircled their coasts."³¹ "The dispersed of Israel" were the true educators of the Greeks, and the Lacedemonians and the Israelites were very closely related. Further west, the Etruscans in the Apennines were greatly influenced by Israelites, and the Waldensians clearly showed Israelitish origins. In Britain there was ample evidence to demonstrate the early connection with Palestine and the names Market Jew and Maŕa Zion in Cornwall proved the early presence of Israelites.³²

According to Wilson, as the Assyrian Empire broke up, most of the Israelites, except for those who returned home, moved out of Media in a northwesterly direction. They moved into that region from which the Scythians, Goths, and Saxons emerged a short time later, and there was thus good reason to believe that these peoples were in fact Israelites.³³ However, some Israelites did go towards the east as the presence of the Beni-Israel in India near Bombay testified. Those who went westward left their traces. The presence of Jews in the Crimea at an early date was well documented, and Wilson believed that there was evidence of Israelite settlements all along the

Danube. These people wandering across Europe no longer had the Scriptures, but they did retain certain traditions mixed with heathenism. The Scandinavian Voluspa was written to assemble these traditions, and Wilson believed that the Edda was a commentary on it:

So clearly indeed have the traditions of the north been related to the contents of our Bible, that at one time it was supposed our ancestors had become acquainted with them through the medium of Christianity; But such a supposition is now abandoned, and they remain as incontestable evidence of the Israelitish origins of the people who possess them. 34

The successful overthrow of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes could only be explained, Wilson believed, if it had been especially favoured by the Lord.³⁵ Having been robbed of their lands around the Mediterranean by the Romans, the Germanic people took refuge in the north where they were crowded together and could only maintain their existence by overrunning the Roman provinces.³⁶

The bringing of Israel forth from the east into Europe and these islands where the people were to 'renew strength', and were to be given power over those who had usurped the dominion of the world, appear to have been all clearly foretold in the prophetic word (Isaiah 46). 37

Wilson argued in one of his historical lapses that the activities of the Hanseatic League proved that they were not barbarians and indicated "an intellectual and moral capacity inconsistent with the idea that these people were 'mere' barbarians." 38 The whole history of Europe testified to the fact that they were

Israelites. Their governments, either representative or constitutional, were "peculiar to Israel and the nations of Europe."³⁹ The use in Heraldry of such a variety of ensigns, colours, precious stones and metals "may be best accounted for by the variety of standards existing among the Tribes of Israel."⁴⁰ The Crusades were best explained "if we suppose that there were still lingering recollections existing among them of the value of the land of their Fathers, and some remaining hope of a happy return to the scenes of their early, and also prophesied glory" mingled with the views and prospects of Christianity.⁴¹ And it was necessary to remember that Christianity was formally introduced among the Anglo-Saxons just at the moment when it was fading away into formalism or superstition or being engulfed by Islam. These were all manifestations of the Antichrist.

The descendants of "all Israel," were to be found not only among the Germans and Anglo-Saxons but also among the Italians, French and Swiss.⁴² However, it was among the Anglo-Saxons that the greatest similarities with the Israelites appeared. The shape of their heads was very much alike, both peoples were characterized by benevolence and were progressive and forward looking, and shared the same power of reasoning.⁴³ The English county corresponded to the Israelite tribe, while the use of the Common Law in the courts supported the argument for the priority of the Mosaic institutions independent of the ecclesiastical institution.

Limited Monarchy, Constitutional Law, Representative Government, an efficient Civil Police, and Trial by Jury, are among the most import legacies left the English nation by their Anglo-Saxon forefathers, which may be traced to an Israelitish origin. 44

Wilson offered little evidence for this statement; instead, he relied on what he believed were the striking resemblances between these English institutions and those described in the Old Testament. He thought that they must have been "taught them {the Anglo-Saxons} in their infancy, and to have grown with their growth," because they were to be found in the earliest period of English history. If they were not of Israelitish origin, Wilson wrote, then "it remains to be proved how otherwise they {the English} received them" 45

This was equally true for native customs. The annals of the Anglo-Saxons taken over and kept by the Benedictine monks had their origin in the "Books of the Kings of Israel and the Chronicles of the Kingdom of Judah." The dress of the Anglo-Saxons was that of Israel; linen garments with broad bands of colour (Numbers 15:38). Their divisions of time were the same and both were pastoral people. English cathedrals were built in the same fashion as were the heathen Saxon temples and the Temple of Jerusalem.

It may be observed, that although Israel had one great temple for the whole nation, they also had their rural worship, which was generally in groves, and the Anglo Saxons had the very same arrangement. We have, in short, every agreement of these people as to religion, except in those respects which have been anticipated by the spirit of prophecy. 46

This argument was one that could meet any objection.

Furthermore, Wilson insisted that there was a direct connection between the English and Hebrew languages. In fact, "the basis of the English language may to a remarkable extent be found in the Hebrew." Much of the similarity in words and expressions was due of course to the Bible, but the affinity between the two languages was none the less remarkable. Wilson concluded that

our forefathers came out of that part of the Persian Empire anciently called Media, which is said to be the common centre of the Indo-Germanic languages; that our speaking a dialect of Indo-Germanic, or any other intervening language does not prove it to have been our original language; the greater probability being that we previously spoke Hebrew, a great many of our simplest, most familiar, and even vulgar words being derived therefrom, and pronounced in the same way as we know they were by the people who built Samaria, who were "wholly" carried away captive from their own land by the Assyrians, and located in the "cities of the Medes" and neighbouring countries, whence our ancestors came. 47

In addition, according to Wilson, this Hebrew was pronounced "more after the manner of Ephraim than of the other tribes."

There were many examples of English words that were in reality Hebrew ones. The name Britain was derived from two Hebrew words: Brith meaning covenant and ain meaning land, and thus meant land of the covenant. British which combined Brith with the Hebrew ish meaning man, meant man of the covenant. The name Saxon was derived from Isaac by dropping the initial "i" and adding the termination

"son". Hence, Saxon meant the son of Isaac. The English words "all" and "whole" were derived from the Hebrew Kol. In the Bible and particularly in Ezekiel and Isaiah "all" was the usual prefix for Israel when Ephraim was spoken of as distinct from Judah. It was among All-Israel and not among Judah that Elijah prophesied. Furthermore, Wilson found it remarkable that "our German brethren should have retained the very name All—Allemani, the name whereby these tribes were pleased to call themselves, meaning All the men or All the numbered." ⁴⁸ The alleged Hebrew origin of the English language was a theme that was to be repeated and developed in later British-Israel writings. For some it was to constitute one of the chief proofs of the Israelitish origin of the English people. ⁴⁹

All these similarities could leave little doubt that the Anglo-Saxons and Israel were the same people, especially when one remembered that "the purpose of God with regard to Israel, as avowed from the beginning, was not accomplished during the sojourn in the land." ⁵⁰ Instead, it was now being accomplished among the Anglo-Saxons.

Just before his death Wilson added a concluding chapter to his book entitled "Providence and Prophecy." In this chapter he looked at the present and to the future.

The time has fully come when the Restoration of All Israel should take effect. The appointed 'Seven Times' have run their course. The two prophetic half weeks, each consisting of three and a half times 360 or 1260 years, making together 2520 years during which Israel were to be punished by being excluded from the Land, are more than ended. ⁵¹

The time had come for the Anglo-Saxons, who were Ephraim, to begin to take possession of the land of Israel. Visits should be arranged to the Holy Land to help promote the understanding of prophecy. "A portion of the Royal Navy may well be employed in giving a free passage to and from the Land for such as a visit would be likely to benefit."⁵² Emigration schemes should be undertaken to send self-reliant people, the vanguard of restored Israel, to Palestine, and soon people would begin to send their children to be educated in the land of their Fathers.⁵³

EMIGRATION and IMMIGRATION will have accomplished their course, when our people ... followed and accompanied by the blessings of Revelation, shall have gone forth and presented an open Bible to all the families of mankind of whatever tongue,... {and} shall return from the west, the east, the north, and the south to the Central Land, with the riches of all countries and the improvements of all ages, there in the unity of the Spirit combinedly to use their various powers and endless resources for the good of all, and the glory of the Great King ... {and} God will acknowledge His people as they have acknowledged Him.

This long-predicted realization of visible Unity is the GREAT SIGN of the nearness of our Lord's glorious return, when Immigration shall be perfected in the transmission of the children of God to their Father's home above - 'Our House Eternal in the Heavens.' 54

For Wilson, the recognition of the "Israelitish Origin of the modern nations of Northern Europe" was progress towards the evangelization of the world, and went hand-in-hand with the restoration of All Israel, the Anglo-Saxons, to the land of their Fathers. When this was accomplished, the time of the Second Coming

would be at hand.

On this note of millennial hope, Wilson concluded his investigation of "Our Israelitish Origin," and the first detailed explanation of the British-Israelite theory. As has been seen, Wilson offered no "real proof" of his theory. Instead, he developed a series of suggestive comparisons which when added together proved, to his satisfaction, the Israelitish origin of the Anglo-Saxons. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention that all of Wilson's comparisons and similarities were susceptible of other interpretations and most of his conclusions were fallacious. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that when Wilson wrote his book in the late 1830's, none of these comparisons and similarities would have necessarily appeared as unduly outrageous to educated people of the period. And most of the analogies were based more or less on current anthropological, philosophical and scientific speculations.

There is no indication where Wilson derived the idea of identifying the modern nations of Europe with Israel. It might possibly have been from Brothers or one of his followers such as Halhed or Finlayson, but there is no evidence that this was the case. To establish a direct link between Brothers and Wilson one would have to know a great deal more about Wilson's life before he began lecturing. However, Wilson did know of at least one early exponent of the identity of England with Israel. This may have been Sadler but that is not certain. In any case, Wilson referred to a book written "nearly 150 years ago" with the title An Historical and Political Essay, discovering the Affinity

or Resemblance of the Ancient and Modern Governments both in our
Neighbouring Nations, as also in the Jewish Commonwealth, in respect
to our English Parliament.⁵⁵ Abbadie's work was unknown to Wilson, until 1866.⁵⁶
 It is of course possible that the idea occurred to Wilson as a result
 of his reading and study of the Bible. Furthermore, it is possible
 that the distinction between Israel and Judah, that had been pointed
 out to Wilson by his mother, either implicitly or explicitly also
 identified England with Israel. That distinction, as will be seen, was
 to be of fundamental importance for British-Israel, but its origin is
 obscure.

Wilson's theory was directly or indirectly the source of
 all later writings on the Israelitish origin of the modern nations of
 Europe. Because he did not restrict these origins to the English,
 but included all the descendants of the Germanic tribes, his theory was
 known as the "Teutonic Theory" among British-Israelites.⁵⁷ Furthermore,
 his use of suggestive comparisons instead of demonstrable proofs was to
 become one of the usual methods of proof with British-Israelites. With
 two exceptions which will be considered in the following two chapters
 all the major themes of the British-Israel theory were present in
 Wilson's work: the Hebrew origins of the English language, customs,
 religion, and institutions; the racial descent of the English from the
 Israelites; and the expected restoration of Israel-Britain to Palestine
 at the beginning of the millennium. Wilson's theory did not attract
 much immediate response in the thirty years following the first

publication of his book despite the importance of some of his early supporters and the republication of his book three times by 1870.⁵⁸ However, during those thirty years there were others writing in the same vein as Wilson, and the elaboration of the Identity went forward slowly.⁵⁹ Furthermore, it was during these years that the two other elements of the fully developed British-Israel teaching were perfected: the "Remnant of Judah" and the Great Pyramid. Wilson had sown the seed and the harvest would be ready in due time.

CHAPTER 6

F.R.A. GLOVER AND THE "REMNANT OF JUDAH"

The identification of the English as the "ten lost tribes of Israel" undertaken by Wilson was the first element of the British-Israelite theory. The second element, perhaps the most original and certainly the most extraordinary, the Davidic descent of the English Royal House, was provided by the Reverend F.R.A. Glover. The career of this man was almost as surprising as his contribution to the Identity material. He was born in Bath April 4, 1800, educated at Sandhurst, and had attained the rank of captain before selling out his commission in 1828. He then studied at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1833 and was ordained. He served a number of parishes before becoming rector of Charlton-in-Dover, Kent in 1837, where he stayed until 1845. From 1853 until he retired in 1866 he was consular chaplain at Cologne. Glover died August 25, 1881.

In addition to his military and ecclesiastical careers, Glover was an inventor and an author. He developed an ambulance for conveying the wounded from the field of battle that was adopted by Napoleon III, a type of tackle for anchors that was used by the Royal Navy and the merchant service, and an instrument, the polymeter, for the measurement of angles. His writings consisted, for the most part, of fasti of British bishops, "papal sham-bishops", and holders of

"prebendal or other non-cure endowments of the Church of England" since the Reformation. In 1861 Glover published England, The Remnant of Judah and The Israel of Ephraim. The Two Families Under One Head. A Hebrew Episode in British History. A second edition appeared in 1881.¹ It was this book that was to provide the keystone to the Identity theory, uniting the "increase" promised to Joseph and the "kingship" promised to Judah. Unfortunately, while Glover's theory is reasonably clear, his prose and presentation are almost impenetrable.

Glover argued that the English Royal House was that "Remnant of Judah" foretold by the prophet Isaiah (7;3;10:20-22; Romans 11;5). To this end, he attempted to demonstrate that the royal line of David was re-established in Ireland by the prophet Jeremiah after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. He set forth his argument succinctly if somewhat obscurely as follows:

In the System of Polity of England there are three prominent and very important matters: -

1. A Material Fact.
2. An Hereditary Descent.
3. An Heraldic Blazon.

If these things exist, - there is no denying them. They do exist. There is a cause for their existence.

These things are all Eastern: -

The first is Jacob's Stone, so called.

The second, The Descent of the Monarch enthroned on it, assumed.

The third, The Standard of the Lion Rampant; manifest.

If these things came from the East, they must have been brought. Who brought them?

They are all Hebraistish.

The first manifestly, as its name implies.

The second, proveably {sic} so.

The third, is, The Standard of the Tribe of Judah.

The Bringer of them must, therefore, have been of note and power. 2

It would be best perhaps, to begin at the end of this series and consider first who was "The Bringer."

Glover undertook the discovery of this mysterious "Bringer" by investigating the figure in Irish legend known as Ollam Fodhla. He concluded that this was a case where several individuals had been brought together to form one person. According to Glover, Ollam Fodhla was not the personal name of a king, but the title of an official. He was first and foremost the founder of the College or order of Ollam or Druids who were deistical teachers. Ollam was a Hebrew word according to Glover which meant any period of time short of eternity. Fola or Fodhla was a corruption of the Hebrew "Fail" meaning mystery or destiny as in Innis-Phail, Isle of Destiny.

The Ollam-Fola is a reality, and a grand reality; but not that of a King. He was a Prophet and a Hebrew, as the words and their significant meaning declare to us. And what Hebrew prophet-of-note was living at the time assigned as the era of Ollam-Fola {c.600} B.C. but Jeremiah, the man who was appointed Prophet to the Gentiles, and the Restorer of the eradicated kingdom of Judah. (Jeremiah 1:5,10;15:11. Ezekiel 17:20-24; 21:25-27.)³

Jeremiah had not been sent to "destroy and throw down" but "to build and to plant" (Jeremiah 1:5,7,8,10). Nevertheless, Glover did not insist on the identification of Jeremiah with Ollam-Fola. His presence in Ireland could be made out on other grounds for "he must have been the Transporter of the Stone, the Conductor of the King's Daughters," and the "planter of the Standard of Judah, in Ireland."

There was another figure in Irish legend who could be identified with the prophet Jeremiah. This was the Jodhan Mora,

supposedly one of the chief judges of Ireland. Glover found that in the Talmud the Messiah was to be called "Joden Muren" for he was to judge (Isaiah 11). One authority Glover consulted affirmed "that the Irish name is derived from the Chaldee, Choshen Hemeshpot, or Joden Muran." From these hints and the fact that Jeremiah had been commanded to proclaim "the advent of the Righteous Judge of Isaiah and the SHALOH [sic] of Jacob" (Genesis 49:10.. Isaiah 23, 33) whose appearance would bring about the salvation of Judah and the restoration of Israel, Glover proceeded to argue that

the Jodhan Moran of Irish history was, when first that Title was assumed, the Prophetic Impersonation of this SHILOH; that gatherer-up of all the promises "spoken by all the holy prophets since the world began" (Acts 3: 21). And, the fact of an Official assuming, in the name of God; this highest of all earthly titles, showed, that he who assumed it - and in assuming proclaimed it and proclaimed the doctrine involved in it - knew what he was about, and that he knew also what, his it was to state. He who set up this office, in these words, and herein assumed the right to promise, could only have been Jeremiah, the Prophet. 4

Thus, since it could only have been Jeremiah who did these things in Ireland at that time, it was Jeremiah who really did them.

What was it that Jeremiah did? First, according to Glover, he brought with him the stone upon which Jacob laid his head at Luz when he went out from Beersheba towards Haran. (Genesis 28:10-22). This stone, according to the legend, was eventually installed in the Temple at Jerusalem where it was used by the High Priest as a stand

on which to place the censor. From there Jeremiah carried it away with the tent and the Ark (2 Maccabees 2:4-7), and finally brought it with him to Ireland where it was known as the Lia-Phail, the stone of Destiny. From Ireland this stone passed to Iona with St. Columba and then to the Abbey of Scone where it was captured by Edward II and brought to England and installed in Westminster Abbey. That was the reputed history of what is now known as the Coronation Stone.⁵

But why, it might well be asked, did Jeremiah burden himself with a large stone in his journey from Palestine to Ireland? Glover believed the answer was that Jeremiah had been commanded to re-establish "the Sceptre of Judah, and to confirm it with a Blessing and a Promise" (Jeremiah 1:10), and that the stone was the embodiment of this commission. But if he were to do this, it followed that he must have been accompanied by some member of the family of David so that David's throne could be re-established.

But the kings and princes of the royal household had been all cut off; consequently none of them were there. "The King's Daughters" had not been cut off. They were manifestly in the Prophet's company on his two forced journeys from Jerusalem, ... towards Ammon, ... and to Taphis in Egypt. (Jeremiah 41:10; 43:6) 6

According to Glover, the "King's Daughters" stayed with Jeremiah when he returned to Judea as his company promised safety and then escaped with him to Ireland.

The "King's Daughters" were identified by Glover as being the daughters of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah. Glover believed

that one of them was probably named Teamar or Teamair with Tephi as a pet name and Tea-Tephi as the surname. Tephi was Hebrew for "the beauty and fragrance of all delicious fruits" (Proverbs 25:11; Song of Solomon 7:8).⁷ Her name, thought Glover, eventually became confused with the name of the place where Jeremiah did his great work, Tara, the ancient capital of Ireland. "The name Tara...is, in itself, an evidence that the Law of the Two Tables, called by the Hebrews Torah ... was there set up at that time."⁸ From the marriage of Tephi to a certain Heremon came the High Kings of Ireland. Heremon was presumably a Danite. Glover seems to have been the first to identify the tribe of Dan "as the Ulster of Ireland: his entry having been determined to be B.C. 719, and the marks of his occupation being extant to this day." The presence of Dan in Ireland was based on the assumption that the Tuatha Dé Danann of early Irish history were Danites who had fled from Palestine after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom in 721 B.C.⁹ This early arrival of Dan meant that there were already Israelites in Ireland when the "Remnant of Judah" arrived a century and a half later.

Glover believed that the Picts of Scotland married the daughters of the High Kings of Ireland, and according to Bede the Picts had a matrilineal society. The Royal House of Stuart was traced back to the Picts thus providing them with Davidic descent, and the Stuarts were, of course, the ancestors of the present English Royal House. Glover did not undertake a detailed genealogy, believing that genealogies were not

"moral necessities" in that any given genealogy need not be absolutely accurate before the claimed descent could be accepted as a proven fact, and he drew a comparison between the obscure one of the "Remnant of Judah" and those of Jesus in Matthew's and Luke's gospels.¹⁰

Jeremiah was believed to have brought another article with him, the Royal Standard of Judah. This standard had a golden background and was supposed to show in its upper and outer quarter a red lion rampant. According to Glover it was brought to England by James VI of Scotland and from Ireland to Scotland by Fergus who was the traditional founder of the Irish monarchy in Scotland (c.500 A.D.).¹¹ That this was the standard of Judah "there is no need to affirm." The Lion Blazon of Judah

is God's MARK upon us, and constitutes that nation that has it, by right, The Standard-Bearer of the God of Israel: the Standard being England's, not by assumption, but by Inheritance and Right; for it is the Standard of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah. And the Blood of Judah, through the stem of Jesse, sits on the Throne of England: so that the Monarch of England is, herein, Now, the living Representative of the REMNANT OF JUDAH of the Prophet Jeremiah: even the Remnant of Judah to which the Lord promised sanctuary and recovery (Jeremiah 15:11)12.

Thus, for Glover all the necessary elements for the discovery of the "Remnant of Judah" had been found and were in the possession of the English Royal House. And it was all these factors that constituted the definitive proof.

Perhaps Glover's theory can be summed up best in his own words. There were five principal points:

1. That England is the Possessor and rightful owner of the Stone of Jacob ... (Genesis 28:22).
2. That England is, in her Royal Family, of the Stem of Jesse; and therefore, is the Hereditary Holder of the Sceptre ... (Jeremiah 25:11. Genesis 49:10).
3. That Angle-land, in her origin and descent, is, the reality of Joseph, in her own position; and the Ephraim of Jacob, i.e. the Israel of Ephraim, in that of her Colonies... (Genesis 49:26; 48:19).
4. That, in the COMBINATION of the TWO FAMILIES... has commenced the fulfilment of the prophecy which fore-tells the Union of these Two Elements... (Jeremiah 33:24. Isaiah 11:13).
5. Herein is involved the responsibility of action which is clearly pointed out as the privilege of the Israel of Blessing ... and the incipient development of the to-be-accomplished promises of God, "to Israel, His Inheritance," viz. England; the now living Real Descendants and Representative of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. 13

Glover had reached his conclusions concerning the Davidic descent of the English Royal House many years before the publication of his book. He wrote that in 1844 the idea had begun

seriously to engage his attention....
And now {1860}, further investigation...
has turned up that, which so confirmed
his former supposition as enables him to
state firmly, and thus publicly, his
conviction, that his former conjectures
were well founded. 14

What this further investigation was, Glover does not say, but what had caused him in 1844 to become seriously interested in this notion was undoubtedly his discovery of Wilson's theory in the previous year. He came to realize that others, in particular Wilson and George Moore, were interested in a subject closely related to his own: the fate of

the "lost" tribes of Israel.

It was through their writings that Glover found the solution to a problem posed by his own research. Convinced that the "Remnant of Judah" was to be found in the English Royal House, he had been forced to ask, Where is Joseph? Furthermore, he wondered how the universal dominion promised to Joseph (Genesis 48:19;49:26) and the perpetual sceptre promised to Judah (Genesis 49:8,9,10) could coexist.¹⁵ He came to the conclusion that the answer to this question should be apparent to anyone "who considers England's position as manifested in her Colonies; the whole constitutes a Constellation of Nations."¹⁶ He went on to explain that

Ephraim in multitude must be Joseph in nucleus, England must be, therefore, Joseph: and so, whatever is promised to Joseph as well as to Ephraim, will be fulfilled in the Destinies of the Land in which the multitude of Ephraim is felt as well as the strength and power of Joseph is seen to be (sic).¹⁷

What Glover meant by this was that England enjoyed those promises made to Joseph that were reconfirmed to his younger son Ephraim, and that England was in fact Ephraim. The other son of Joseph, Manasseh, he believed to be the Welsh and the Picts.¹⁸

The means by which Joseph's universal dominion and Judah's perpetual sceptre could coexist Glover found in the constitutional arrangements of the United Kingdom. The Prime Minister was always chosen from "the Joseph-part of the Empire," that is, from those who were descended from Joseph. In this way Joseph was "Lord Paramount" exer-

cising his universal dominion as the viceroy of Judah who held the perpetual sceptre. Furthermore, Judah, that is, the English sovereign, was lord over his brethren Joseph because he

has elected him, and always elects him. Because Joseph delights to have him, to do homage to him, to carry him his decrees for acceptance and legalization. 19

Thus it was that Judah was lord over the Lord-Paramount: the sovereign can dismiss the Prime Minister. 20 Glover found that the Old Testament promises to Joseph and Judah were perfectly expressed in the constitutional monarchy of nineteenth century Britain.

Glover's principal contribution to the British-Israel theory was his discovery of the "Remnant of Judah." However, his identification of Dan as the Ulster Irish and the complementary identification of the Southern Irish as Canaanites were generally accepted. Of the latter, he wrote that "they delight to call themselves Canaanites, and had a reputation in matters-spiritual in Heathendom, such as we can hardly realize in these times of rationalistic semi-Christianity." 21 As far as the other tribes of Israel were concerned, he at first generally adopted the views of Wilson, and believed that the Prussians were probably a unification of all the tribes except four: Judah, Benjamin, and the two Joseph tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. 22 His discovery of Dan made this position no longer possible, and he finally came to agree with Edward Hine that all the tribes of Israel were to be found in the British Isles.

During the years that Glover spent in Germany, he met and discussed his ideas with a number of rabbis. The Rabbi of Cologne told

Glover that in modern Hebrew the name for England was "the Islands of the West." In 1861 Glover met the "learned Rabbi of Kreuznach,"

Bamberger. The following is a fragment of one of their conversations:

Rabbi: What you have told me is very remarkable.
These coincidences are most striking.
What do your Englishers say to them?...
Glover: Say? They say I am mad.
Rabbi: Mad? Mad! All that I can say is, that
I have never heard anything half so
reasonable concerning Jacob's Stone,
as that which I heard from you, now. 23

When Glover met the "learned Rabbi" six weeks later, Bamberger told him that he was ready to carry the "Standard that floats on the Keep of Windsor Castle, which has the Blazon on its Dexter Quartering of ~~the~~ Lion of the Tribe of Judah'." Rabbi Weilchenfeld of Dusseldorf and the Chief Rabbi of Frankfort were also very impressed according to Glover. The Rabbi of Cologne said to him, "If your book is true, that Book is the Book for the Jews."²⁴ These testimonies from the teachers of Judah no doubt added much to the persuasiveness of Glover's theory.

The most intriguing question about Glover's theory concerns its origin. As to the question of Joseph, Glover quite obviously took over more or less completely the material gathered by Wilson, as well as his theory. To what extent this material influenced Glover's theory about Judah it is impossible to tell. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that, Glover concluded, if Joseph could be found in England, then there was absolutely no reason why Judah would not be there as well. However, Glover did claim that his discovery of the "Remnant of Judah" antedated his

acquaintance with the work of Wilson.

At least two elements in Glover's theory had a long history. The identification of the Stone of Scone with that stone on which Jacob had rested his head was very old. Dean Stanley in his Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey recounted one version of this legend in which Jeremiah had no place. Interestingly enough, in a note on the continued belief in this legend, he made reference to "an elaborate oration by the Rev. R. Glover." As an authority for at least part of this legend, Stanley referred to Holinshed's Historie of Scotland.²⁵ As well, there seems to have been a folk tradition that the prophet Jeremiah had been in Ireland.²⁶

Glover found his information about these matters in various old Irish histories and annals such as the Annals of the Four Masters (1632-1636). He also had recourse to Godfrey Higgins' The Celtic Druids (1829), Geoffrey Keating's History of Ireland, and Matthew Kelly's Cambrensis Eversus (1842).²⁷ Higgins' book which he intended as an introduction to a later study of the origins of languages, nations, and religions, was Glover's source for the Hebrew words in the Irish language. Higgins' book was affected by his researches "into phallic worship....He claimed to be a Christian, regarding our Lord as a Nazarite, of the monastic order of Pythagorean Essenes, probably a Samaritan by birth, and leading the life of a hermit."²⁸ Keating's work was the first attempt at a connected history of Ireland in the Irish language. It appeared in various English editions

beginning in 1723. Kelly's book was an edition of the material collected by the Irish antiquarian John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, (1599?-1673). In this work Glover found information about the Tuatha Dé Danann. Finally, mention should be made of A Synopsis of the Genealogy of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Family of the Brigantes or Douglas by a certain Peter Pineda which contained a version of the legend of the Stone of Soane.²⁹

Much of the material, Glover no doubt encountered in the research he did for his fasti. It was representative of the importance of the antiquarian element in the theory of the Identity. These varied sources used indiscriminately with a lively imagination and very probably with a preconceived notion of the desired result, were sufficient to produce from Glover's pen the Davidic descent of the English Royal House, the "Remnant of Judah." Glover's contribution was certainly the most poetic and romantic aspect of the Identity teaching. Nor should it be surprising that with the increasing adulation of the nineteenth century, Glover's theory proved to have great popular appeal. However, when the true significance of the "Remnant of Judah" emerged, it revealed that Israel had what was considered to be the most important part of Judah with her in the "isles of the west", and that the far larger part of Judah, the Jews, could be safely ignored. In the restoration of the chosen people at the beginning of the millennium, it was Britain which was both Joseph and Judah that would have the principal role and the Jews would be confined to a secondary one.³⁰

CHAPTER 7

THE GREAT PYRAMID

A third set of theories came to have an important though not always central place in British-Israel teaching. These theories were concerned with the prophetic significance of the Great Pyramid at Giza. The pyramids of Egypt had always been a subject of interest and speculation. In addition the French invasion of that country in 1798 under Napoleon and the resulting scientific investigations provided for the first time accurate and detailed information about them. This new information and the investigations of Colonel Howard Vyse and J.S. Perring in 1837 and 1838 led to fresh and more elaborate speculations, especially as to the possible esoteric meanings of the Great Pyramid.¹

John Taylor and The Builders of the Pyramid

One man greatly interested by all this new material was John Taylor, the publisher and friend of John Keats. Taylor was born in July 1781 at East Redford, Nottinghamshire. Coming to London about the year 1805, he became a publisher and bookseller in partnership with James Augustus Hessey. "Taylor and Hessey" published Hazlitt, Reynolds, John Clare and Keats, and in 1821 they bought the London Magazine. When Hessey retired, the partnership became "Taylor and Walton", official publishers to the University of London. Taylor died in 1864.²

In addition to these commercial interests, Taylor was something of a scholar, and wrote a number of books during his long life. One of his principal interests was in problems which were of the nature of cryptograms, and he was particularly intrigued by the identity of the eighteenth century English polemicist Junius. In a series of pamphlets and books beginning with A Discovery of the Author of the Letters of Junius (1813), Taylor established, correctly in the opinion of most, that Sir Philip Francis, an official in the War Office, was the true author.³ His other areas of interest were phrenology, philology and the monetary question. He wrote voluminously in favour of bimetallism.⁴ In 1844 Taylor published Wealth, the name

and number of the Beast on which this comment was made:

Whether Junius or the Beast be the more difficult to identify, must be referred to Mr. Wilson, the only person who has attempted both. His cogent argument on the secret is not unworthily matched in his treatment of the theological riddle. He sees the solution in *ευνοια*, which occurs in the Acts of the Apostles as the word for wealth in one of its most disgusting forms and makes 666 in the most straightforward way. This explanation has as good a chance as any other....5

Taylor's religious views are somewhat difficult to fathom. According to the author Thomas DeQuincey who knew him, Taylor was a Non-conformist who was quite antagonistic towards the Church of England. There is even a suggestion that Taylor may have had serious doubts about Christianity itself. However, his firm published S.T. Coleridge's Aids to Reflection and Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit (1825), and according to Coleridge that book brought Taylor back both to Christianity and the Church of England.⁶ Be that as it may, in 1854 Taylor published his Emphatic New Testament which contained the following introductory announcement:

If anyone were known to be in the possession of a copy of the Greek Testament, so marked by its inspired writers as they would wish to have it read - and if the system of notation, when applied to the English translation, were found to be equally efficacious in conferring distinction on the corresponding words in that language - should we not deem it a great treasure, and be eager to obtain a MARKED COPY, esteeming it next to hearing the words in the tone in which they were spoken by Our Lord and his apostles? 7

This or a reasonable facsimile of it was what was offered in The Emphatic New Testament. Taylor's ability with cryptograms and his esoteric approach to Scripture were to be combined when he undertook to write his book on the pyramid at Giza.

The Great Pyramid. Why was it Built ? and Who Built It ?

It was published in 1859. In the preface Taylor wrote:

In the following work I have made an attempt to recover a lost leaf in the World's History. There was no need that the information which it contains should form any portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, since all the particulars relating to man's salvation are complete without it. 8

Nevertheless, Taylor believed that this "lost leaf" was of great interest and perhaps even of importance. A large part of his book was devoted to a summarized history of the study of the Great Pyramid. This summary included tables of the measurements made by various people, and their ideas concerning the purpose for which the pyramid was built. Beginning with Strabo, it had been assumed that it was a burial monument. But the Napoleonic investigators, after making precise measurements, came to the conclusion according to Taylor, that the pyramids were "founded on certain geometrical principles, ~~and~~ that they were intended to perpetuate the memory of the standard by which they were constructed."⁹ A similar idea had been mooted in the seventeenth century, but had been rejected. And the French conclusions were dismissed because they were not substantiated. However, the measurements and the recovery by Colonel Vyse of two of

the casing stones that had originally covered the exterior convinced Taylor that new conjectures were possible because they permitted a more accurate estimate of the original dimensions of the Great Pyramid. He believed that the accumulated facts about the Pyramid could now be synthesized and the mystery at long last solved.¹⁰

Among the conclusions that Taylor drew were that the Great Pyramid was built to record for all generations its builders' measurements of the earth. Furthermore, these measurements were closely related to the English system of measurement. For example, "one English foot bears the same ratio to the side of the Pyramid, that the circumference of the Earth bears to one hundred millions of English feet."¹¹ The coffer in the King's Chamber which Taylor believed was a measure of capacity, and not a burial place, was according to him "recognized by the Hebrew nation as the standard of all their measures of capacity."¹² Even more remarkable was the close agreement between this coffer and the English measure of capacity. Because of these and other "singular coincidences", Taylor claimed that the English nation was more "closely identified with the people who founded the Great Pyramid, than many of those nations of antiquity" who were in close contact with Egypt.¹³ Depending on whom these "founders" proved to be, this close identification could or could not prove to be of some importance.

Before Taylor proceeded to establish the identity of these "founders", he made a comparison of the English and French

systems of measurement. He argued that the English system being based on that of the Great Pyramid was just as scientific as the French metric system and had the added advantage of having been in use for about four thousand years. Although there had been certain adjustments and errors through the years, these had "not caused the machine to lose its original scientific character."¹⁴ Taylor's argument was to become the standard one in British-Israelite literature for opposing the introduction of the metric system in the English-speaking world.

Having established to his satisfaction the scientific soundness and importance of the Great Pyramid system of measurement, Taylor next turned his attention to the identification of the "founders" of this system.

Seeing such undoubted proofs of the exercise of immense intellectual power, profound scientific knowledge, and great wisdom in the conception and execution of the vast design, we naturally wish to know to whom we are indebted for so grand a performance.¹⁵

It was quite clear, thought Taylor, that to some of the earliest inhabitants of the earth "a degree of intellectual power was given by the Creator which raised them far above the level of those succeeding inhabitants of the earth, with whom it has been the custom of later ages to confound them."¹⁶ The Great Pyramid had been built, Taylor believed, so that the peoples of the earth might be bound together "by a common system of weights and measures."

The date of the building of the Great Pyramid was one of the questions about its origins that had to be solved. As an established chronology for ancient Egypt was at best in a rudimentary state in the nineteenth century, Taylor adopted a different means for establishing the date of its erection. He reasoned that since each of its sides is oriented so as to face directly one of the cardinal points, and since the entrance on the north face is somewhat east of centre, that displacement must have been made for some reason. He concluded that it was done so that the entrance passage would be in direct alignment with the polestar. The polestar of the ancient world was alpha Draconis, and according to Taylor's calculations it would have been in the correct position about the year 2140 B.C. Therefore, he adopted that date for the Great Pyramid.¹⁷ This alignment of the entrance passage with the polestar, Taylor took as further evidence for asserting that the builders possessed scientific skills far in advance of their time.

However, the clue to the identity of the builders of the Great Pyramid was not to be found in the date of its erection, but in the ancient traditions that always associated it with Cheops. Herodotus reported that Cheops had told the Egyptians to close their temples; and Taylor argued that this must mean that Cheops was "a man whose religious ideas were widely different from those of the multitude." Furthermore, upon completion of the Great Pyramid, its builders seem to have withdrawn from the country "as if they were of a different family, and

their departure was the cause of great rejoicing among the Egyptians."¹⁸

Taylor believed that this pointed directly to the Shepherd Kings of Egyptian history who had often been confused with the Israelites but should not be even though both were descended from Shem. He concluded that it was to these Shepherd Kings, all mentioned so specifically in Genesis 10:21 ff that we can attribute the building of the Great Pyramid of Giza.¹⁹

In Taylor's opinion, the Great Pyramid had been built for two purposes: as a memorial of the measurements of the earth both before and after the flood, and as a standard of length, capacity and weight. "But to attribute to the founders so grand and literal a design, is to affirm that they were the greatest philosophers and the greatest benefactors that the world ever knew."²⁰ It was to Noah that Taylor ascribed "the original idea, the presiding mind, and the benevolent purpose. He who built the Ark, was of all men, the most competent to direct the building of the Great Pyramid."²¹ But it was the sons of Joktan, the Shepherd Kings, who actually built it.

When, therefore, it is recorded (Genesis 10:25), that in Paleg's days the earth was divided, we ought to regard it not as a declaration that in his days the earth was portioned out among mankind, but that in his days the entire superficies of the earth was divided into degrees, minutes, and seconds, each having a certain measure assigned to it, and the whole surface being intersected by these divisions. ²²

Taylor maintained that if the Great Pyramid was compared with the Tower of Babel, built by the descendents of Ham, it became clear that

its builders, unlike those of Babel who were astronomers and astrologers, were mathematicians and "geometricians." Thus, the great mystery had been solved, and the Great Pyramid conceived by Noah was a part, if an unessential one, of the divine plan.

In a later book, The Battle of the Standards (1864), Taylor discussed in greater detail his theories concerning Noah, prediluvian geometry and systems of measurement, but this work was not as important for British-Israelite teaching as the first volume. The Great Pyramid did attract a certain notice as a contribution to the debate about the metric system, but it was not taken very seriously.²³ Taylor's book was one of those pseudo-scientific works, in many respects very close in spirit to Wilson's speculations, that were written by men of broad reading and interests in the nineteenth century. This type of pseudo-scientific or historical works was to provide much of the support for the British-Israel theory.

Taylor is considered by almost all pyramidologists as having made the first serious attempt to interpret the supposed esoteric meaning of the Great Pyramid, and his work set the stage for further detailed speculations. It was C.P. Smyth, Astronomer Royal of Scotland, who was to ensure that Taylor's ideas did not disappear from view.

Smyth came to know Taylor's book somewhat belatedly in 1863. Although he had been given a copy of The Great Pyramid by a mutual friend soon after its publication, he left it unread. It was only when Smyth received and read a copy of The Battle of the Standards in which he found

"much well-digested matter," that he proceeded to read the earlier book. He "came to the conclusion that on the whole Mr. Taylor had well-grounded reasons for his bold assertion which had frightened away half his friends, viz. that 'The Great Pyramid' must have been erected under Divine instructions to the architect."²⁴ Smyth's enthusiasm was fired and the Great Pyramid became a subject of passionate interest for him. The two men entered into a correspondence that was cut short only a few months after it had begun by Taylor's death in the summer of 1864.

C.P. Smyth and Divine Metrology

Charles Piazzi Smyth was born on January 3, 1819 in Naples where his father, an admiral in the Royal Navy, was stationed. From 1845 until 1888 Smyth was the Astronomer Royal for Scotland, and from 1846 until the latter year he was professor of practical astronomy in the University of Edinburgh. Smyth was among the leading British astronomers of the latter part of the nineteenth century. He died on February 21, 1900.²⁵

Despite his eminence as an astronomer, Smyth seems to have been something of a religious fanatic, and this was to become apparent when he took up the cause of the Great Pyramid. In February 1864 he decided to undertake an independent study of Taylor's theory. He was soon convinced that Taylor had "opened up for archaeology a purer, nobler, more intellectual pathway to light than that study had ever enjoyed before."

But the whole world was blind to Taylor's achievement:

"academic archaeology would not accept it; indeed, the whole reading world stood askance."²⁶

Smyth entered whole-heartedly into the discussion about the Great Pyramid, and the result of his study of Taylor's book was his own work Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid published in the same year, 1864. In 1865 Smyth went out to Egypt and spent three months measuring the Great Pyramid, incorporating his findings in Life and Work at the Great Pyramid (1867). The measurements made at that time he included in the later editions of his earlier book. However, even the reputation of the Astronomer Royal of Scotland was not sufficient to make the general public accept his theories and those of Taylor concerning the Great Pyramid. Nevertheless, Smyth believed that all was not lost, for

the very opposition it called up - supercilious and uncompromising to the last degree - undoubtedly helped to spread a knowledge both of the importance of the question at issue, and the only means of solving it; especially as against the modern hieroglyphic scholars, the so-called Egyptologists of modern schools. ²⁷

According to Smyth, the Great Pyramid was the oldest stone structure known to have been erected in any country. Furthermore, he believed that there was to be found "in all its finished parts not a vestige of heathenism not the smallest indulgence in anything approaching idolatry; no Egyptology of any kind properly so called," and no allusions to the "worship of sun, or moon, or any of the starry

host of heaven".²⁸ Smyth agreed with Taylor that since the builders of the Great Pyramid had been given "an immoral and even abominable character" by the Egyptians, and considering "how religiously bad the idol-serving Egyptians themselves were," then it was possible that the builders were on the contrary exceptionally good. Furthermore, Taylor and Smyth believed that the builders were men "who had been enabled by Divine favour to appreciate the appointed idea, as to the necessity of a sacrifice and atonement for the sins of man by the blood and the act of a Divine Mediator: - an idea coeval with the contest between Abel and Cain, and which descended through the Flood to certain predestined families of mankind."²⁹ How this conclusion was reached is unclear. However, both men must have assumed that this conception was inherent in the Creation. In any case it was one that was totally alien to the "Cainite" ancient Egyptians who proclaimed their "own perfect righteousness" and their "own innate purity from every kind of sin," and it followed that the builders of the Great Pyramid must have been "of the chosen race, descendents of Shem," of the line of Abraham, but so early as to be closer to Noah than Abraham.³⁰

If this were the case, and the Great Pyramid was altogether different from the other "debased" funeral pyramids, Smyth was forced to ask himself these questions: "Under whose direction, then, and for what purpose, was the Great Pyramid built; whence did so foreign an

idea to Egypt come?"³¹ Smyth's answers to these perplexing questions and his refutation of the solutions proposed by "the modern hieroglyphic scholars" were set forth in Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid. The book was divided into two large sections. The first dealt with the physical description of the pyramid and the system of weights and measures that Smyth believed he had discovered in it. The second section dealt with the prophetic significance of the interior passages of the pyramid.

The first of Taylor's discoveries that Smyth embraced was that in the original shape of the Great Pyramid the central vertical height was twice the breadth of its square base. That is, the height bore a relation to the breadth of the base such that it "should bring out the nearest possible value of π ," thus squaring the circle.³² However, as Smyth remarked, it was important to bear in mind that all exterior measurements of the pyramid were hypothetical since the exterior as built was no longer in existence.³³ Nevertheless, that did not prevent Smyth from using those measurements to draw his conclusions:

The most important conclusion that Smyth reached from his study of these measurements concerned what he believed to be basic unit of measurement used in the Great Pyramid. This unit of measurement was determined in the following manner: the length of the sides of the base of the Great Pyramid was divided by the number of

days in the solar year, 365.2422. The result was "a length approaching nearly to one ten-millionth of the earth's semi-axis of rotation, or close upon 25 British inches."³⁴ The actual length was 25.025 British inches which, when Smyth divided it by twenty-five gave the "pyramid-inch" (1.001 British inches) and which he assumed was the basic unit of length used in the Great Pyramid. Furthermore, this length of about 25 British inches suggested "that there was more of intercommunication in ideas and knowledge between the architect of the Great Pyramid, and the origins of the Anglo-Saxon race" than with the native Egyptians.³⁵ He concluded that the Great Pyramid was the source from which weights and measures had been divinely distributed to certain peoples, and in particular to the Anglo-Saxons.

This length of about twenty-five British inches was the Mosaic cubit as Sir Isaac Newton had established in his Dissertation on Cubits. The Egyptian cubit was known to have been 20.68 British inches.³⁶ Furthermore, Smyth believed that among Egyptians' five and thus five times five were evil numbers and five was clearly the pyramid number. "But Moses had none of this unwise and anti-Pyramid hatred of 5, and times 5," as the whole of the sacred law was based on a system of five.³⁷ Thus, wherever in the Bible "Divine commands were given in terms of linear measure" Smyth assumed that the cubit of about twenty-five British inches was intended, and that applied both to those parts of the Scriptures dealing with the past and to those "referring to the still unaccomplished future."³⁸ The "pyramid inch" was used by him in

making prophetic calculations from the Great Pyramid,

The question of the true length of the biblical cubit caused Smyth to resign from the Royal Society. Professor Clerk Maxwell of Cambridge University had mentioned in 1873 at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Bradford that the biblical cubit was twenty inches long. His paper was printed in the transactions of the Royal Society. When Smyth tried to correct this supposed error by having a paper read and published by the Royal Society and was refused, he resigned in protest.³⁹

Smyth also took over and expanded Taylor's speculations about the coffer in the King's Chamber. He maintained that it was intended to be "a standard measure of capacity and weight," and was commensurable with "the capacity and mean density of the natural earth as a whole." The importance of this is that the Great Pyramid contained a complete set of measures of length, capacity and weight that were directly related to the earth. According to Smyth, this coffer was also commensurable with the Ark of Noah, the Ark of the Covenant, and the molten sea of Solomon (1 Kings 7:23). Finally, it was the source of the British quarter, the standard measure for grain.⁴⁰

Smyth stated that the great Pyramid was probably built very near to 2170 B.C., which he believed to be earlier than the date of other existing stone monuments.⁴¹ He used the same method to determine this date as did Taylor. The earlier date was no doubt

due to the greater "accuracy" of his calculations. Following Josephus, he maintained that the descendants of Seth, after studying astronomy with divine help, probably in Mesopotamia, came to Egypt and there inscribed their discoveries on two pillars, one of stone and one of brick. The brick one had disappeared, the stone one was the Great Pyramid.⁴² This monument, Smyth insisted, had no connection with the other pyramids of Egypt nor with the Sphinx. These latter were all "Cainite", "Epimethean", "exogenous", built without thought. The Great Pyramid, on the other hand, was "Promethean", "endogenous", the result of "the laying out of a long previously settled plan, and building up within that outline alone".⁴³

As to the actual builder of the Great Pyramid, Smyth arrived at a similar conclusion as had Taylor. According to Smyth, the builder was Philitis, one of the Shepherd Kings mentioned by Herodotus, whom Smyth tended to identify with Melchizedek for reasons that were more or less obscure. Presumably this identification was made because of the almost mystical role of this priest-king.⁴⁴ As Moses had committed the Divine Revelation to writing, Philitis-Melchizedek had committed it to stone. Neither had been led astray by the Egyptian "Cainite assertions and re-assertions of self-righteousness." Since Moses did not write on metrology, he "had no occasion to give an account of the sacred, the 25.025 British inch, cubit in and for itself alone." But the Great Pyramid was a treatise on metrology, and it "has at last taught us how to speak appropriately, and reverently to understand, the one

and only cubit used by Moses after he came down from communion with the Omniscient, Omnipotent Divinity on the Mount."⁴⁵

This divine system of measurement was now threatened by the French metric system. Smyth believed that

if there is sound reason for believing in the Divine appointment of the ancient systems,— and also, that one of the engines and methods of the final and chief Anti-Christ in destroying the salvation of mankind, is to induce them to set up human associations in the latter day in opposition to the revelations of God's will,— this new antagonistic metrological system ought to have been ushered in under some very evil influence. ⁴⁶

And this was, namely, the French Revolution. The adoption of the metric system was the great apostasy, and those who adopted it were marked with the sign of the Beast (Revelation 13:16,17). Britain was unprepared for the coming "Battle of the Standards" and had to be awakened to the peril. However, the final struggle would not be between the English yard and the French metre, but between the latter and "the Messianic Great Pyramid Cubit."⁴⁷

The Great Pyramid was for Smyth a monument of divine science, built in the early days of mankind to be a testimony and a witness to the latter days. A monument both scientific and spiritual, it was the "altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord" (Isaiah 19:19)⁴⁸. It contained a system of metrology, as has been seen, and a prophetic witness. As the Ark of Noah was "everything for those who believe by faith, the other

{the Great Pyramid} is for those who must practically test and prove for themselves." The only explanation for the metrology of the Great Pyramid was that it had been inspired by God; otherwise, it would be necessary to believe that its builders had a scientific knowledge "equal to, if not surpassing, that of the present highly developed science in the modern world."⁴⁹ That was absurd; therefore, one had to allow the sacred character of the Great Pyramid. But according to Charles Casey, one of Smyth's collaborators, "unless the Great Pyramid can be shown to be Messianic, as well as fraught with super-human science and design, its 'sacred' claim is a thing with no blood in it; it is nothing but mere sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal."⁵⁰

However, Casey was not the first person to come to this conclusion; the "honour" should go to a certain Robert Menzies. In 1865 he suggested to Smyth that "the immense superiority in height of the Grand Gallery over every other passage in the Great Pyramid, arose from its representing the Christian dispensation, while the passages typified only human-devised religions, human histories, or little else."⁵¹ Menzies contribution was of the greatest importance, and when it was found that one "pyramid inch" could represent one year, Smyth had the key to the prophetic interpretation of the Great Pyramid. This inch-year formula was surprisingly similar to the day-year formula used by biblical prophetic expositors.

The interpretation of prophecy by means of the Great Pyramid was to prove very complicated. Smyth himself was aware of the difficulties:

If there is any subject wherein we should pay special attention to that truly Christian warning, 'Be not high minded, but fear,' it ought to prevail in any attempt to read what it has pleased Divine Inspiration to record of the future, whether in writing or monumentalization. 52

But undeterred by his own warning, Smyth undertook the prophetic interpretation of the interior passages of the Great Pyramid.

The descending entrance passage which was about 4446 "pyramid inches" long was understood to represent the history of mankind. This history was one of decline into darkness ending in the Pit. (See diagram). There was one escape, the ascending passage that led to the Grand Gallery, which represented "Hebraism ending in its original prophetic destination - Christianity." There was another escape, the Well, which represented Christ's descent into Hell. The destroyed cover of the Well indicated "how totally unable was the grave to hold Him beyond the appointed time." Returning to the entrance of the Great Pyramid, a set of lines on the blocks of the entrance passage confirmed the date of building as 2170 B.C. That date used as a starting point for further measurements confirmed the date of Christ's birth to be the year 1 A.D., and "proved" that no error had been made in reckoning the beginning of the Christian era. 53

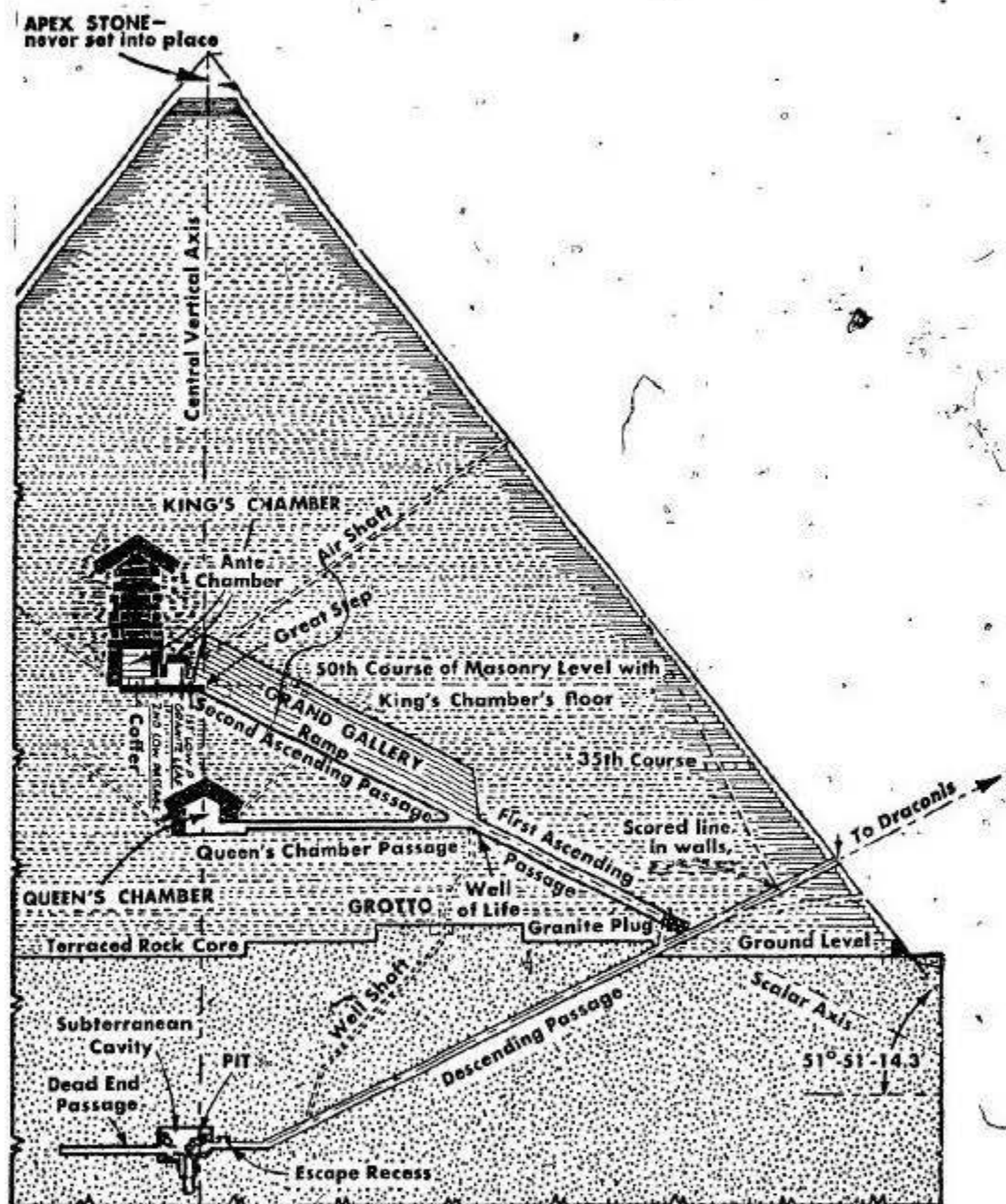


Diagram of the interior passages of the Great Pyramid
of Giza

It was in the Grand Gallery which represented the Christian era that mankind now found itself. And Smyth believed that its measurements held the key for predicting the future. The length of the floor of the Grand Gallery from the lower or north end to the top or south end beyond the Great Step was 1881.4 "pyramid inches" long. Using the inch-year formula to interpret this length and dating the beginning of the floor at the lower end as the year 1 A.D., it was clear that something was to happen about the year 1881 because the Grand Gallery and hence the Christian era came to an end at that point.⁵⁴ Smyth concluded that what was to happen was "rather like the unexampled day of future trouble, which our Saviour himself announced should immediately precede His second, but which must succeed the dispensation of His first, coming."⁵⁵

That a time of trouble was about to begin was indicated by the fact that the passage at the end of the Grand Gallery leading to the Ante-Chamber was exceedingly low, "lower still than any of the low passages which marked the troubles of the profane world in early times." Nevertheless, this time of trouble would be short for the passage was only 53 "pyramid inches" long. Then mankind would enter "the full freedom of the Ante-Chamber: besides which, there is, even just before the very low passage begins, a way of escape up aloft for a few, though not by their own power." This "way of escape" suggested to Smyth's mind the promise of the Evangelists

of the angels being sent to gather up the elect before the dread period of wars and tribulations on earth begins; and also, of those elect, thus

saved, meeting the Lord in the air, and being retained with Him in heaven for a while before His second coming to establish His Kingdom on earth. 56

Thus were the Grand Gallery and the Ante-Chamber interpreted prophetically.

The Queen's Chamber was "symbolical of the House of Judah and the law of Moses, set aside during the dispensation of the Christian religion." That was why the floor of that chamber was unfinished, to show the imperfections of the Law, while the sides and roof which were finished showed that the Law was "holy, just, and good." The closed and sealed air ducts of that chamber symbolized "the Messiah's first coming and ascension, unperceived by the House of Judah." Those of the King's Chamber which were open, represented the Messiah's second coming and his re-ascension. 57

Although Smyth believed there were references in the Bible to the Great Pyramid (Job 38:26; Ephesians 2:21; 1 Peter 2:8; Ezekiel 1:22; Matthew 21), they were never direct or categorical ones so that they did not "give men an excuse for turning aside to it, like a broken bow, for any kind of spiritual worship. 58 Yet, the "inspired" authors had shown a considerable awareness of it, and that was "only to be explained by a holy consciousness of the part which the monument is one day to serve, in manifesting forth in modes adapted to these and the approaching times, the original and ineffable inspiration of Scripture." And if the Great Pyramid was not mentioned by name in the

New Testament, that was no doubt because it was connected more with the Lord's second coming than with His first which was the true subject of the New Testament books. ⁵⁹

Finally the Great Pyramid contained another testimony: that the British were a chosen people and an Abrahamic race. ⁶⁰ In the Grand Gallery there were two very precise indications of this, according to Smyth. The Great Step at the upper end of the gallery, which was dated as the year 1813 using the inch-year formula, marked "the most energetic advances made by Great Britain in its latter-day spread of the Bible, and its latter-day preaching of Christianity to all the world." Furthermore, the step was exactly thirty-six British inches high, the yard "being" the linear national standard of Great Britain." And in final confirmation, the upper edge of the step was sixty-one inches, that is, thirty-six plus twenty-five, indicating "that the linear standards of Great Britain and Israel... are now joined together in one and the same land." ⁶¹ These conclusions were reinforced by "the rising tide of national thought, inquiry, and growing belief in ... the identity of the British nation with the lost ten tribes of the kingdom of Israel." ⁶² This rising tide was the result of the work of Hine, Glover, and others.

For Smyth, the Great Pyramid contained both a system of divine metrology and a prophecy in stone, and it was by means of the former that the latter could be interpreted. Modern mathematical and

physical science when applied to the Great Pyramid explained and showed the reasons for "the ancient numbers, measures, and proportions." This was "a means fore-ordained and most efficacious both for preventing the parable being read too soon in the history of the world, and equally by all the advanced nations when the fulness of time shall have arrived."⁶³ The Great Pyramid was an "inspired scientific appendix to the Sacred Scriptures."⁶⁴ It proved "the existence of the personal God of Scriptures; and His actual, supernatural interference in patriarchal times."⁶⁵ It also proved scientifically and in the face of science the existence of miracles. Finally, not only did it foretell the first coming of the Lord, but also His second which would "be historical, and will take place at a definite and also primevally pre-arranged date."⁶⁶ This second coming was very close according to the measurements of the Great Pyramid.

Smyth's work on the Great Pyramid was to be the source of a great deal of mystical and prophetic interpretation, some of which had little or nothing to do with the teachings of British-Israel. Because of the complex nature of the evidence supplied by the Great Pyramid, pyramidology never gained an absolutely central place in the tenets of British-Israel. Nevertheless, it did provide a new "identity" in its metrology, and for the more venturesome what seemed perhaps a surer method than the interpretation of Scripture for reading the "signs of the time." And as the 1880's approached the Great Pyramid was to loom ever larger in the minds of British-Israelites as they

waited for the arrival of the date supposedly marked at the upper end
of the Grand Gallery.

CHAPTER 8

EDWARD HINE: PROPHET OF BRITISH-ISRAEL

Wilson's theory that the lost tribes of Israel were to be found among the modern nations of northern Europe, Glover's theory about the "Remnant of Judah" and Taylor's and Smyth's theory about the Great Pyramid had excited little interest, though they were not completely ignored. It was not until these ideas were taken up by Edward Hine in the late 1860's and the 1870's that they began to attract serious attention. Hine became the leader, spokesman and the "prophet" of the British-Israel movement. His unceasing activity for almost fifteen years spread these views far and wide. Furthermore, it was Hine who gathered into one system of teaching the theories of Wilson, Glover, Taylor and Smyth. From Hine's time British-Israel had a fairly complex and unified doctrine which exhibited only minor variations in its teachings. Because of Hine's central position as a writer and lecturer in spreading the Identity, his activities and writings must occupy a major place in this study.

Hine's Life and Work

Like most other British-Israelite theorists, very little is known about Edward Hine. There exists a short memoir written after his death by one of his followers, the Reverend A.B. Grimaldi.¹ Unlike the memoir of John Wilson, this memoir is not an exercise in hagiography, nor is it a critical study. Much of it is devoted to letters written by Hine during his North American tour. It also contains a bibliography of Hine's published and unpublished writings, and a description of his Bible.

Hine was born at 6, York Place, City Road, Finsbury, London on February 10, 1825, the thirteenth child of his parents. His formal education was limited, first confined at home, then at the Mercers' School, and supplemented at two small private schools. His early ambitions of being a minister, missionary, or farmer were unrealized and before he was thirteen he was placed in the shop of a Miss Cruse, Stationer, at 73, Little Britain, the same street in which Mr. Jaggers had his forbidding office in Dickens' novel Great Expectations. Hine was to be associated with that address for many years; in the 1870's he received his correspondence there. Later he worked in a Cheapside warehouse, then a stockbroker's office, and finally became the deputy manager of a Penny Bank. However,

after being there seven years, " a crisis took place, and he lost his position, though his services were used by the Chancery Court and the Bankruptcy Court."² There are no dates for these various positions so that it is impossible to know what period of time, if any, elapsed between the end of Hine's business activities and the beginning of his British-Israel preoccupations.

While religion was to have a pre-eminent place in Hine's later life there is very little information about his early religious experiences or affiliations. Hine's father was an officer of Robert Vaughan's Independent congregation in Kensington. The family also seems to have had some connection with Dr. Mortimer's Amwell Street Church, Pentonville. That church was built in 1835 for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, and was very close to the Hine's home in York Place, City Road.³ Hine seems to have become involved quite early in his life with the Sunday School movement. He was active for many years, becoming "secretary and officer to one of the auxiliaries of the Sunday School Union; and he addressed many other schools far and near."⁴ It was as a result of this involvement that Hine met a Miss Edwards who was to become his wife. Apart from these very meager details nothing at all is known about Hine's early religious life.

At an early age Hine was exposed to the ideas of John Wilson. In 1840, at the age of 15, according to his own account, he heard Wilson lecture on the distinction between Israel and Judah at the Witness Hall in Aldersgate Street, London. Hine may well have been a frequenter of

that place of assembly as it was just around the corner from Little Britain Street where he began his working life. He "was deeply interested in what he heard, and from that time the subject of Israel in the Latter Days became the leading thought in his mind, gradually supplanting his interest in all else."⁵ It was at this time that Hines apparently began to study and mark the Bible with reference to the idea that the Anglo-Saxons were "lost" Israel. He also tried to interest his minister in the subject but without success.⁶

It was not until many years later that this early interest aroused by Wilson was to come to fruition. To quote from the Memoir:

His entry into public life as an author was due to a stranger. Whilst in the coffee room of an hotel near St. David's Railway Station, Exeter, he conversed upon Israel with a gentleman staying there, who became so interested in the subject that he declared it was his duty to publish the matter for the general benefit, and induced him to promise to do so. His first lecture was in a wooden chapel, called the Ark, in Paradise Row, Rotherhithe, in 1869, and in November of that year, he wrote five letters upon Lost Israel, in the Bermondsey and Rotherhithe Advertiser.⁷

Hine began to lecture in public almost thirty years after discovering Wilson's ideas and just a few months before Wilson's death in January 1870.

From these early lectures and letters came the first of Hine's pamphlets Seventeen Positive Identifications of the English Nation with the Lost House of Israel (1870). It was dedicated by permission to W.E. Gladstone and was published anonymously. The success of this pamphlet encouraged Hine to expand his material,

and in 1871 he published The English Nation Identified with the Lost House of Israel by Twenty-seven Identifications. Then followed four more pamphlets: Flashes of Light (1871); Oxford Wrong (1872) a reply to Professor George Rawlinson; England's Coming Glories with "The Glory of the Great Pyramid" by C.P. Smyth (1873); and The Anglo-Saxon Riddle (1873) by "Antiquary" (the Reverend Buchan Wright, the man who had introduced Smyth to Wilson's book) and its solution by Hine. Then in 1874 Hine published Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Lost Tribes of Israel founded upon Five Hundred Scripture Proofs. In December 1873 appeared the first number of Hine's monthly journal Life From the Dead which continued until 1880. Hine's weekly Leading the Nation to Glory appeared first in February 1875 and also continued until 1880. ⁸

During the 1870's Hine lectured extensively throughout the British Isles and became the recognized leader of the British-Israel movement. There were drawing room conferences in Kensington Palace Gardens, London; there was a three-night debate at Exeter Hall with the Christadelphian Robert Roberts; and Hine's theory was the subject of critical articles in the weekly periodicals. The Saturday Review called him "The Prophet Hine."⁹ It was a period of great activity much of which was centered around him. All the people who were to be active in the movement in the later 1870's and 1880's, including Glover and Smyth, were Hine's friends and collaborators. He was looked on by many "as their leader and guide, {and they} spoke of him familiarly as 'Father Hine'." ¹⁰

However, about 1880 all this changed. Hine gave up lecturing and his journals ceased to appear. The reasons for discontinuing these activities are obscure. However, there would appear to have been at least two causes. The first was financial. The British-Israel Identity Corporation formed in 1880 to carry on Hine's work and publish a journal failed very soon after its founding, apparently because it was "carried on too expensively."¹¹ But what was more probable and of greater importance and at least partly responsible for the collapse of the Identity Corporation, was Hine's loss of support within the movement. By the middle of 1879 Hine was no longer considered by some to be their leader and there were a number of controversies within the movement censuring him. He was to write: "I have been mocked, slandered, deceitfully and spitefully used, reviled, evil spoken of, and persecuted, not by foes, but by the children I have led and taught."¹² The cause of this dispute was unclear. It may well have been a conflict of personalities aggravated by differences of opinion as to certain points of doctrine, in particular Wilson's "Teutonic Theory."¹³ The consequence of all this was that after 1880 Hine no longer remained one of the leaders of the movement.

In 1884 Hine undertook a lecture tour of North America, perhaps with the hope that it would reestablish his position. The trip was made with the financial backing of a Mr. Isaac Loveland who bought Hine's copyrights and stock of pamphlets. Hine was to

stay in North America until 1888.¹⁴ This tour sheds a great deal of light on Hine and also the spread of the Identity, and is worth considering in some detail.

Hine arrived in the United States in October 1884, spent some time on Long Island, and then moved on to Brooklyn. He remained in that area until April 1885, making a trip to Boston and the surrounding towns in December 1884. During his tour, Hine met most of the leaders of the movement in North America: Professor C.A.L. Totten, the Reverends Joseph Wild and W.H. Poole.¹⁵ By the end of April 1885 Hine was in Cleveland, Ohio. From there he went on to Detroit and Grand Rapids, Michigan, and ended the year in London, Ontario. Hine spent the early part of 1886 in the London area, arriving in Toronto in June. The fall was spent in St. Catherines, Ontario, and by December Hine was in Buffalo. Hine had been invited to come to Montreal by Bishop Ussher of the Reformed Episcopal Church, but never made it to that city.¹⁶ He seems to have spent all of 1887 in Buffalo, and it was there that his trip became a complete failure. On December 17, 1887 Hine wrote to Loveland:

My failure is in Buffalo. I have been here so long because I have no money to move away. I have been evicted and lost all my clothes and goods; I am destitute, a stranger in a strange land, friendless, helpless and hopeless; have not had a full meal for a month, am dirty, ragged, and in tatters; precisely in the condition that Joshua might be expected to be in, and do not know at all what is before me - all seems dark.¹⁷

In February 1888 Hine was home again in England.

Why did Hine's North American tour end in disaster?

There may have been many reasons, but two are apparent in his letters: a lack of any sense of organization, and, at least at times, a very weak hold on reality. The first of these is clear in the problems he had in establishing and keeping to an itinerary. After leaving New York City in the spring of 1885 for the interior the trip became increasingly disorganized. Hine had expected to be in Montreal before the end of the year, but in fact arrived in Toronto only in June of 1886, and never got to Montreal at all. Hine explained his erratic trip in one of his letters: "I find it almost impossible to chalk a definite course, so many out-of-the-way towns hear of me, and give me an unexpected call, so away I have to go, and do go." ¹⁸ No doubt Hine's missionary zeal was partly responsible for his tour taking the form that it did, but there was another reason as well.

It would seem that Hine was frequently short of funds. Thus, it is possible that he had no choice but to arrange his itinerary so that he could visit places where there was a chance of a fee. The small towns and villages where Hine spent so much time may have offered greater opportunities than did the larger centers. Hine's patron in England, Loveland, had to send him money on a number of occasions. ¹⁹ Such financial problems question Hine's claims of success, yet his letters are full of such claims.

In December 1884, scarcely two months after his arrival, Hine wrote that he already had held eight drawing-room meetings at

which he had "converted" Bishop Littlejohn, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island, with whom he appears to have stayed some time; General Winfield Hancock, Democratic candidate for president in 1880, and Mr. Grace, the Mayor of New York.²⁰ In February of 1885 Hine wrote:

The subject has taken a clean possession of their hearts, and from the way it is being spoken of, is likely to be one of the most popular subjects in America....I am now becoming known. I have already made my mark. The reports from the papers are so unusual that they have run me up pinnacles high; and I am more confident than I have ever been.²¹

Yet in March Hine wrote that all he had encountered were difficulties; "lecturing was impossible" because of the presidential elections and the winter weather.²² These two contradictions continually highlight Hine's letters: great success - he claimed to have addressed "a good million people" in the first year - coupled with the impossibility of getting a successful hearing because of elections, the weather, or something.²³

One episode from Hine's tour needs to be described because it reveals a great deal about him and his reaction to events. One Sunday in June 1885 while he was in Detroit he went to the town of Berea about fifteen miles away. Hine recounted the trip in one of his letters to Loveland in England:

They had two colleges there; preached Sunday, lectured Monday, challenged the students on Sunday to come on the Monday with a single fatal objection, defied them, told them I wanted to place them upon their metal. Professor Styler, the President of the Methodist College, with half a dozen of the Head Masters, held a formal private

meeting in the college on Monday afternoon, and strung together a list of questions to place before me at the close of the lecture, with the view of not only shutting me, but doubling me up. They came. But their questions were answered. The President warmly shook my hand on behalf of all; declared them perfect answers. They met by adjournment on Tuesday morning, reported progress, resolved formally that I had perfectly answered to their entire satisfaction, passed their congratulations, and declared they had seldom heard a lecture delivered in so lucid a manner. Then they deputed a resident medical doctor to convey their congratulations in person to me, which he did in right royal manner, declaring this anecdote would go all over their town, and, should I re-visit, I should have the entire township at my coat-tails. 24

Hine obviously considered that this encounter was one of his great triumphs, but was it? Hine's own account suggests that something rather different may well have been the case. The questions that were posed by President Styler and the masters were not the result of sympathetic interest but incredulity, as Hine well understood. Was their "entire satisfaction" anything more than astonishment at, and perhaps a delight in, Hine's performance? It is difficult to come to any definitive conclusion about what happened at Berea, but the episode must be fairly typical of many of Hine's successes. He would seem to have been something of a pollyanna, taking friendly interest for "conversion." Hine saw what he wanted to see - the victory of the Identity, and everything was interpreted in that light. Consequently much of what he had to say about his success in North America must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt.

Hine returned to England a broken and forgotten man. He was taken in by a friend and passed his last years living in Poplar

in the east end of London. Despite his ill health, he continued to lecture, but the days of drawing-room meetings in Kensington Palace Gardens and three-night debates at Exeter Hall were over, and in his last years, Hine lectured in the working class areas of eastern London. He died on October 15, 1891 and was buried in the East London Cemetery. A memorial stone was raised by subscription and a memorial service was held on November 1, 1891, but the "Prophet Hine" had long ceased to be a figure of importance in British-Israel.

The Twenty-seven Identifications

Hine's great contribution to the identification of England as Israel was made in his lectures, pamphlets, and journals of the 1870's. In those years he was by far the most prolific exponent of the theory and his work has a key place in British-Israel teaching. His writings fell into two general areas: the theoretical and the practical. While these two domains were not mutually exclusive, and, in fact, often overlapped, generally speaking the pamphlets proved more theoretical than the journals which were rather practical.

Hine's two pamphlets Seventeen Identifications (1870) and Twenty-seven Identifications (1871) were his first attempts at a coherent exposition of the British-Israel theory. It was from these tracts that the designation "the Identity" was taken. This term was used with great frequency in the late nineteenth century as an alternative to Anglo-Israel or British-Israel. Of these two

pamphlets, Twenty-seven Identifications is the most characteristic of Hine's early work. It contains the full expression of his original presentation of the Identity without the elaboration of Forty-seven Identifications and without the additions that were made when Hine began to collaborate with Glover and Smyth. Seventeen Identifications was a preliminary sketch of Hine's ideas, and some of the important subjects that he was to develop in his later works were just hinted at in this early pamphlet.

Twenty-seven Identifications was the result of Hine's desire to serve his countrymen, and he hoped that it would give

forth such flashes of light to the people, as shall convince them that they are the Heirs to the greatest temporal, political and social blessings our God has ever vouchsafed to any one particular and distinct nation. 25

These blessings would be greater than any that the nation had received in the past though it had "always occupied the most exalted position on earth." Furthermore, they were about to be poured out on the British nation as the time for the fulfillment of prophecy had arrived. 26

Before entering on the exposition of his subject, Hine briefly acknowledged the work that Wilson had done, and commented on the "Teutonic Theory." He perceived difficulties with the latter, but believed that it did not make a great deal of difference. 27 What was important was that there had been two great questions which had

for many generations puzzled and set at defiance the intelligence of the great and learned of our land. The first, What has become of the Lost Tribes of Israel? The Second {sic}, Who were the ancestors of the English People? 28

Hine believed that he had found the answers to both of these questions: the ancestors of the English people were none other than the "lost" tribes of Israel. But if this wonderful discovery was to be accepted and fully appreciated, it was necessary that the almost universal error that the houses of Israel and Judah were one and the same, be corrected. According to Hine all the mistakes concerning the fate of Israel were due to confounding Judah with Israel and vice versa. To confound the two was "to fall into an error, which destroys the sense and meaning of much of the prophetic word." ²⁹ Judah was destined to curses which were literally fulfilled, while Israel was destined to blessings which had been, were being and would be literally fulfilled. Judah and Israel were opposed in all things: the former were a known people the latter "a lost people known by none not even themselves" (Hosea 1:9; 2:17) ³⁰ But now that the time for the fulfillment of prophecy had arrived, it was possible at long last to identify Israel, and Hine believed that he had twenty-seven positive identifications of Israel as England. ³¹

The first of Hine's Identifications was that of "The Captivity." According to Hine the Israelites after the fall of the Northern Kingdom were settled on "the southern border of the Caspian Sea and as far west as Araxes, beyond the Euphrates," by which he meant "the cities of the Medes" of 2 Kings 17:6. They then moved north and west. One of the alleged proofs they did so was the fact that this had been the direction of Paul's journeys and that "Christ himself never went to the south of Jerusalem, where the Jews were chiefly to be found, but always to the north through Samaria." Israel in exile became a wanderer "without any fixed design," and may not even have kept distinct tribeships. Furthermore, the

name Israel was taken away from her (Hosea 12:17).³²

Hine believed the Anglo-Saxons were in just such a situation as that of the Israelites when they first appeared in history. According to the historian Sharon Turner the Saxons came out of the area to the east of the Araxes river.³³ That was, according to Hine, the very place in which Israel had been lost. Furthermore, he believed that the Saxons were the same people as the Scythians whose appearance in Europe was recorded by many of the classical historians. By the time of Christ, the Israelite-Saxons had moved into Cappadocia, Galatia, Lydia, Thessaly, and Macedonia. That was why the apostles were so active in those regions; they had been sent to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matthew 10:5-6). That the Saxons had appeared where Israel was "lost" was the great argument for the Identity and was thought to be irrefutable.³⁴

The second Identification was that of "The Isles." After the Israelites had freed themselves from the Assyrian yoke, their wanderings through Europe were directed by "the sure word of prophecy" towards "the isles afar off." (Jeremiah 31:10, Isaiah 41:5, 42:4, 12; 49:1): It was in the isles that the Israelites were to accomplish their mission, a mission "of a nature so grandly gigantic and expansive, as would become utterly impossible for any other nation to accomplish, and the positive and literal accomplishment of which become {sic} the fruit by which they shall be known."³⁵

The arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in England corresponded

exactly to the way in which Hine believed the Israelites arrived—different tribes at different times. This Identification would revolutionize the popular view of English history. The English were not a mongrel nation, and to maintain that they were, was "tantamount to a direct insult to our God." That was because the English "have accomplished without exception, (thus far), every mission God so faithfully promised should come forth from Israel, whereas no other nation has touched them." ³⁶ Hine does not explain at this point what the promised missions of Israel were. In fact, among his Identifications only certain ones, such as the sixth — growth in population, and the fourteenth — missionary work, could be easily understood as being "missions" whereas the others remained rather inapplicable.

As a consequence of this Identification the old theory that the English were a mongrel nation was no longer valid as it would mean that God had substituted another people for Israel. Such a substitution would be contrary to the promise that "He would not take His Glory from Israel, and give it to another people" (Isaiah 48:11; 42:8; Numbers 23:19). Here was another basic proof of the Identity: England was doing the things that it had been foretold that Israel would do; therefore England must be Israel.

The third of Hine's Identifications, "Renewing Strength," was based on Isaiah 41:1, "Keep silence before me O islands; and let the people renew their strength." The Israelites had to renew their

strength after their wanderings as had the Anglo-Saxons.³⁷ What Hine apparently meant was that when Israel arrived in the "isles of the west" they would be exhausted by their migration and by warfare. He supposed that the same was true of the Anglo-Saxons after their invasion of Britain. This Identification is a good example of Hine's method: the Identification which he assumes to be self-evident is put forward with little or no explanation and one is left wondering as to its significance.

The fourth Identification was the "Stars of Heaven." This referred to the promise made to Abraham and confirmed to Isaac and Jacob that his seed should be as "the stars of heaven" (Genesis 16:3-6, 26:4; 28:14). Hine remarked, "That this was to be literally a national seed as distinguished from other nations, is most clear, from the careful way in which God himself preserves the descent." This promise was later confirmed to Joseph and Ephraim (Genesis 49:19). Hine believed that this Identification was "so plain with our immense nation, that it is needless to enlarge" on it.³⁸ This was of course a reference to the empire.

The fifth Identification, "A Monarchy," was based on the same promise to Abraham about his seed, that "Kings shall come out of thee" (Genesis 17:5). This promise was not fulfilled when Israel was in Palestine because Israel did not have "full possession of it according to the promise." Thus, in looking for Israel it must be remembered that it will be a monarchy. The Jews did not have a monarch,

and a small people such as the Nestorians or "an uncivilized tribe such as the North American Indians" could not be seriously considered. The above two were, of course, popular candidates in the nineteenth century for being the "lost" tribes. The Identification was again clear because from Egbert "has descended the most powerful Monarchy the world has ever known, with its power supreme in action to the present day."³⁹ The fact that Hine made no mention of the Davidic descent of the Royal Family would suggest that in 1871 he was not yet familiar with Glover's work.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth Identifications formed a sequence of sorts dealing with the colonies. The isles eventually were to be too small for the population of Israel (Isaiah 49:19, 10), and one mission "that was given only to Israel to accomplish was the filling up or peopling of the waste places of the earth." The growth in population and its spread foretold in Genesis 49:22; 28:14, 15.⁴⁰ All these texts speak of the increase of God's people and their establishment among the gentiles, and again the Identification could not be more self-evident. The proper use of England's colonies depended upon the realization that Israel and England were one and the same. It was only then that the great questions of colonial management and emigration could be correctly answered.⁴¹

The eighth Identification, "The Unicorn's Horn" (Deuteronomy 33:17; Psalm 44:5) meant that one "great characteristic that must be discovered in Israel will be her pushing propensity."

In any new territory the natives would "be pushed as by the 'horns of Unicorns'." This Identification was self-evident in that the natives had been all but destroyed in North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Indeed, in Britain this was true even of the Welsh who had not yet been identified by Hine as a part of Israel. When the population of Wales began to increase in the late 1870's the Welsh were found to be indeed Israelites. ⁴²

Identifications nine, ten, and eleven formed another sequence, this time dealing with religion. Israel when found had to be a Christian nation because in Hosea 1:10 it was written that it would be said to Israel "ye are the sons of the living God." England had "been more highly favoured with divine light above any other existing nation." ⁴³ Although Christian, Israel would be found divided into "Denominational Sects" (Isaiah 44:5). However, after the discovery of Israel denominational strife would cease and lead to church union. That union could not be brought about by "Evangelical Alliances" or "Church Unions", but only by the Identity. It would be one of the "Glories" of the establishment of the Identity. ⁴⁴ Finally, Israel would be found to have "Sunday Schools" because she was to have a special care "that her children should be taught in the Lord" (Isaiah 49:21). Sunday schools had "been raised up purposely for the event of our Identity," and the teachers were "the real power of the Church." Their opinions were of as great value as those of the clergy since the Bible was an open book. ⁴⁵ Here, Hine was quite obviously influenced by his own experience in the Sunday school movement.

The twelfth Identification was "Another Tongue." Israel after the Assyrian captivity was to use a different language from that which it had used before (Isaiah 28:11), and English was clearly not Hebrew. Hine then went on to say in a fit of anti-intellectual pique that those scholars who knew Hebrew and Greek "have made the least progress, seem to have the least light, and are the most inactive in home and foreign missionary operations."⁴⁶

As with the language, so with "Physiognomy," the thirteenth Identification maintains that Israel when "lost" would be recognizable neither by her speech nor by her features, for God had not put his mark upon Israel as he had upon Judah (Isaiah 3:9). The features of Israel were completely different from those of modern Judah, but whether the English retained the features of ancient Israel was unclear. What seemed evident was that the features of the English were not those of the Jews whose physiognomy, Hine believed, probably changed when they inherited the curses at the time of the crucifixion.⁴⁸

The fourteenth Identification was "The Missionary Work." Israel was to be the great missionary people of the earth, and it was in them the families of the earth would be blessed (Genesis 12:3. Matthew 21:43). Missionary work was one of the key points of the Identity. According to Hine, only the English "of all the nations have positively and literally obeyed Christ's command by preaching the Gospel 'in all the world for a witness unto all nations'."⁴⁹ (Matthew 24:14). And not only did the Identity depend upon missionary

work, but the success of the latter was subject to the establishment of the Identity. Then "millions of money" now spent in missionary work would be saved because the present procedure would be reversed; "instead of sending the Gospel out to the people, the Nations themselves will come to us" (Jeremiah 16:19). ⁵⁰

To reinforce the point of this Identification, Hine introduced a rather long and strange argument to the effect that if England were not Israel then Israel would make England one of its mission stations, translating "the Bible from her language into ours," and cutting up the country "into Bishoprics and Ecclesiastical Districts." Hine concluded that "if we are not Israel, and Israel wherever she be is not doing this for us, then the Bible is not true, but a fabrication from beginning to end." ⁵¹ This was one of Hine's circular arguments that often ended in absurdity. Missionary activities was one of the signs of Israel, and since England was the "leader" in it, it followed that she was Israel. But if England was not Israel, then Israel must be engaged, like England, in missionary activity and that activity would naturally include England. Hine seems to have believed that translations of the Bible were made directly from the Authorized Version.

Philanthropy was another Identification, the fifteenth. The religious element in Israel would be largely responsible for philanthropy because politically and commercially Israel would "be found loving to oppress" (Hosea 12:7). Israel would also be a place of asylum, and to her had been given the task of abolishing slavery

(Isaiah 58:6,7). According to Hine, no nation was so given to philanthropy as was England. 52

The sixteenth and seventeenth Identifications concerned the army and the navy. Israel because she was to be the most powerful nation in the world had to have the best army and navy (Genesis 22:17; 27:29; Isaiah 18:7; 41:9-12; 60:12; Jeremiah 51:20). Because England was Israel "inexperienced young men are found sufficient to officer our regiments, whereas other powers require men of judgment." 53 As for the navy, the fact that the seat of Israel's government was to be in the "isles" meant that she must "occupy the first position in Naval affairs." Furthermore, Israel would have the tribe of Dan "to supply her marines," and Asher "to superintend her marine artillery." 54 (1 Kings 9:27; Psalms 77:19; 89:22-25; 107:23; Isaiah 42:10). There was no doubt that England was the "Mistress of the Seas." Hine was certain that these Identifications would have great popular appeal, and "testify to the masses of the people the unerring sureness of God's word." 55

The eighteenth Identification was "Stock Broking." Israel was to be a lender and not a borrower of money (Deuteronomy 15:6). This Identification was obvious because England was the world's financial center. Hine introduced it because he was "anxious to annihilate the very prevalent notion, that Israel in these days refers exclusively to the Church, or professed believers in Christ." Clearly, stock broking could not be interpreted spiritually. 56

Identifications nineteen, twenty, and twenty-one all dealt with Israel's empire and power. Israel when found must not be just one nation but a "company of nations" according to the promise to Abraham (Genesis 12:2; 17:4) that was ratified to Jacob (Genesis 35:11) and Ephraim (Genesis 48:19). This promise had to have a literal fulfillment, and was literally fulfilled in England and her empire.⁵⁷ From the very beginning God had foreseen the disposition of the people and nations, and "He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel. For the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance" (Deuteronomy 32:8,9). Hine understood "lot" as meaning measuring line, and it was clear that the British Empire formed "a boundary line, a cord, or Measuring Line that encircles all other Nations of the earth."⁵⁸ Finally, Israel was to be unconquerable (Isaiah 69:12; 17:14; Jeremiah 30:11, 16). These verses applied to Israel, not Judah, and became "utterly nonsensical when spiritualized and applied to Churches." The Identification was again very clear as "there does not exist a single Nation who has been the first to spoil us." Hine believed that England had never been conquered in battle. The Norman Conquest, for example, was a struggle among Israelites as the Normans were the tribe of Benjamin.⁵⁹

The twenty-second Identification was the Church of England. Solomon who foresaw the captivity of Israel "made

special entreaties with God concerning the people when Captive," and especially that when they prayed they should face towards the east (2 Chronicles 6:26-38). This, Hine believed, "gives us a clear IDENTITY in our National Establishment, the Church of England, whose practice has ever been...to confess their sins with their faces turned toward the East." ⁶⁰ Of course, this was done in ignorance of the Identity, but was an Identification all the same. Hine agreed with Wilson in maintaining that English cathedrals were "built after the design of the temple of Jerusalem." This did not mean that the Church of England was "the one perfect Church," only that she would be after the establishment of the Identity. ⁶¹

The twenty-third Identification was "Freemasonry," and Hine had very little to say about the subject except that it had "a direct Israelitish origin." One of the reasons the North American Indians and the Nestorians were thought to be the "lost" tribes was that "a species of Freemasonry was found in their midst." Britain was the headquarters of the craft, hence the Identification. ⁶²

The twenty-fourth to twenty-sixth Identifications were all faults of Israel; drunkenness, false weights, and oppression. Israel was given to drunkenness and ritualism (Isaiah 28:1-7). The drunkenness of the English "has a worldwide notoriety," and has been "perhaps the greatest difficulty that our Missionaries abroad have had to combat against." ⁶³ The works of the temperance societies would succeed only when the Identity had been established. Also,

Israel would be found making use of false weights (Hosea 12:7; Amos 8:6; 2:6; Micah 6:10; Isaiah 32:6). England was well known for her sharp practices, and among these Hine included ritualism. However, the power of the ritualists "to do harm is 'limited' like other Joint Stock Frauds; they cannot take us to Rome simply because there is no Church of Rome." The "tyranny" of the pope and the Roman Church itself had ended in 1866 according to the prophetic chronology that Hine was using when he wrote Twenty-seven Identifications.⁶⁴ Finally, the sins of Israel were to remain with her in captivity, and Israel's captivity would end only when the Identity was openly and universally acknowledged. Among these sins was the love of oppressing others (Hosea 12:7). Those who suffered especially according to Hine were "ill paid Curates, Clerks, and Workmen," agricultural workers, and all who suffered "exorbitant hours of toil extracted for minimum of pay."⁶⁵ One solution to this problem was a policy of emigration to the colonies for that was the reason they had been given to Israel. Isaiah 49 was "nothing more than a chapter of English History" containing "the Charter of our Colonial Office, {and} the history of our Colonies."⁶⁶

The twenty-seventh and last, of Hine's Identifications was "Blindness in Part." Israel in captivity was to be totally ignorant of her identity (Isaiah 56:10), yet during that time she was to accomplish the mission given to her.⁶⁷ This was the great mystery of which Paul spoke (Romans 11:26). The only nation to have done the work given to Israel has been England and that without

knowing it. Yet, the nation has "been confessing for ages, through the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, that we were positively and literally Israel." ⁶⁸ England's and Israel's "blindness" was now "to serve the welfare of the Church" for instead of using archeology to prove the truth of the Bible, "God himself designs to bring forth living testimony; He intends through the medium of our 'Blindness' to destroy infidelity." ⁶⁹ Furthermore, it would be by means of the Identity that all peoples would be brought "to be taught of the Lord, and receive salvation through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

These were Hine's twenty-seven Identifications of the British nation with "lost" Israel. On the whole, they do not amount to a great deal. They are a very strange mixture of the seemingly plausible, the trivial, the highly improbable, and the irrelevant. From a critical point of view none of the identifications is satisfactory, and many are surprisingly arbitrary. Although one might be tempted to dismiss the whole thing as a joke, Hine was undoubtedly serious.

Hine's work was quite different from that of his predecessors. Theirs had certain pretensions to being scholarly, Hine's had none at all. He never laid claim to any great learning or scholarship; rather, he undertook to present to the public at large in a form that was easily understood the rather obscure and obtuse theories of Wilson, Glover, and Smyth. It was Hine's genius,

if one may use that term, to present the British-Israel theory in such a way that it would have an immediate appeal to his contemporaries. This was particularly evident in his almost exclusive use of the Bible as his source, and his attempt to include very practical matters in his Identifications. Hine was the great popularizer of the identification of Britain as "lost" Israel.

However, even in his role as a popularizer Hine made certain significant contributions to the British-Israel theory. He made the distinction between Israel and Judah far more important and absolute than it had been in Wilson's writings. In addition, his extensive use of scriptural texts gave the theory the appearance of being securely grounded in the Bible. Hine's identification of the English and later all the inhabitants of the British Isles as Israelites and the consequent rejection of Wilson's "Teutonic Theory" was to be of great consequence. Another significant contribution to the theory was to be Hine's identification of Manasseh.⁷⁰ Finally, by relating the Identity directly to the events of his own time, Hine gave it a practical value which was very consequential.

Despite these important contributions to the theory, it would be difficult to maintain that there was any real development in Hine's thought between his earlier and later writings. Of course, there were some modifications and clarifications, but what was to be most characteristic was expansion and elaboration.

The original inspiration for Hine's identification of Britain as Israel is not far to seek: it was John Wilson. Hine never denied the connection, and though he did not entirely agree with Wilson's teaching, he never ceased to honour his memory. He wrote of Wilson:

Perhaps to no man, past or present, is the Nation more indebted than to Mr. John Wilson.... As far as the Religious World is concerned, other minds have been pigmies, sapless myths, compared with the gigantic intellect and penetrating execution of John Wilson. Through him, the difficulties of the Bible, which up to his day were innumerable, are cleared up.... Through this first work of John Wilson's, the Bible comes forth freed from the shameful and shameless trammels of Essayists and Reviewers. 71

Surprisingly enough, Hine's only contact with Wilson seems to have been the lecture that Hine attended when he was fifteen. The two men never met, and Hine claimed never to have read Wilson's book in its entirety. 72 It would seem then, that some of Hine's theory and perhaps the role of Israel limited to Britain were due to his crystallization of the ideas inspired by Wilson. Hine never gave any indication that the inspiration for the Identity came from anyone other than Wilson, and, of course, from his own reading of the Bible.

It was only after the publication of his first two pamphlets that Hine made the acquaintance of Glover and Smyth. Hine and Smyth corresponded at least as early as August 1871, and Smyth found that Hine's "millennial ideas" were similar to his own.

They cooperated to write Hine's next pamphlet Flashes of Light (1871), to which Glover also contributed.⁷³ All three adopted the theories of the others. In addition Smyth and Glover became regular contributors of material on their own theories to Hine's journals and later pamphlets. But it was Hine who was to be the principal spokesman for the Identity in the 1870's. It was he who was to give the Identity movement its final orientation and direction by attempting to find practical applications for the identification of Britain as Israel.

CHAPTER 9

THE TEN TRIBES

The British-Israel theory when it reached its fully developed form in the 1870's was based primarily on the work of the five men whose writings have been examined in the preceding chapters: Wilson, Glover, Taylor, Smyth, and Hine. It rested on three basic tenets: the identification of the Anglo-Saxons as at least one of the "lost" tribes of Israel, the Davidic descent of the English Royal House, and the prophetic and messianic character of the Great Pyramid of Giza. Of these three tenets, the identification of the Anglo-Saxons as Israel was absolutely central to the theory. The other two principles were used to confirm and elaborate the identification of the Anglo-Saxons as Israel. The Davidic descent was to become closely integrated with the identification of the Anglo-Saxons as it was in reality the identity of another of the descendants of Abraham. The great pyramid, on the other hand, although it confirmed the identification of the Anglo-Saxons, concerned itself directly with the coming of the millennium. There are then two aspects of the British-Israel theory that require a more detailed examination

than that provided so far. This chapter will examine the identification of the tribes of Israel and the Davidic descent. And the following one will concern itself with the Great Pyramid and the millennium. ¶

Israel and Judah

The identification of the Anglo-Saxons as at least one of the "lost" tribes of Israel must be understood first of all in terms of the search for the "lost" tribes of Israel. As such, it was hardly more surprising than the identification of the North American Indians as Israelites. Fundamental to any such identification was a distinction between Israel and Judah. However, rarely if ever, had such a distinction been taken to the extreme that it was by British-Israelites. This differentiation was foreign to most millenarians; for them the Jews represented the totality of the descendants of the chosen people of the Old Testament. The only major exception was those millenarians who were interested in the "lost" tribes.

Both Wilson and Hine made this distinction between Israel and Judah, but it was Hine who was to push it to its utmost limit. In the Forty-seven Identifications it was given its definitive form; all the biblical blessings were given to Israel and all the curses to Judah. Of these blessings and curses Hine wrote that they applied "respectively to each House during their times of exile—i.e., each class must receive fulfilment contemporaneously with each other."¹

Not only does Hine's formulation of this distinction clearly separate Israel from Judah but it also summarizes the signs by which Israel was to be identified among the nations. For these reasons it is worthwhile to reproduce Hine's schematic presentation of this subject.

The Distinction of Israel From Judah

Israel when lost was to become unknown in name (Hosea 1:9. Isaiah 65:15), whereas Judah when dispersed was to be known as a by-word (Jeremiah 24:9):

A multitudinous People (Hosea 1:10), whereas Few, Bereft of Children (Jeremiah 15:7):

Strong in Power (Isaiah 41:12), whereas Without might (Jeremiah 15:7):

A monarchy (Isaiah 49:23), whereas Without a government (Jeremiah 27:4):

An Island Nation having large colonies (Isaiah 49:1,8), whereas Strangers tolerated in all foreign countries (Jeremiah 24:4):

A Christian People (Isaiah 54:13), whereas Under the Mosaic Law (Jeremiah 14:12):

The Chief of Nations (Micah 5:8. Isaiah 54:15-17), whereas A trembling faint-hearted people (Jeremiah 35:17).

"My Servants shall eat but Ye shall be hungry:
My Servants shall drink but Ye shall be thirsty:
My Servants shall rejoice but Ye shall be ashamed:
My Servants shall sing for joy of heart
but Ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and
howl for vexation of spirit,
The Lord God will call His Servants by
Another name (i.e., should Not be known by
Their old name.), but Ye shall leave your
Name for a curse" (Isaiah 65:13-15)
(i.e., should be known by their old name). 2

It was in this manner that Israel was clearly differentiated from Judah, and there could be no reason for confusing the one with the other. Furthermore, it was just those things that characterized Israel that made it possible to identify Britain as Israel.

In fact, Hine went even further and maintained that the Bible was in reality addressed to Israel and had little or nothing to say to Judah.³ According to him any Bible student who was under the impression that the repeated references to Israel related to the Jews could not "possibly understand a large proportion of the whole book."⁴ The distinction between Israel and Judah was applicable since the days of Abraham. It continued during the period of the two kingdoms, and consequently during the period that Israel and Judah were in exile.⁵ It followed, therefore, that since Israel had existed as a separate and clearly defined entity in the past it must continue to exist as such in the present because Israel had not returned from exile.

British-Israelites, as did all hunters for the "lost" tribes, rejected the possibility that the tribes of Israel no longer had a separate existence. They could not have been absorbed by the two tribes of Judah because that would mean that "the covenant which God made with Abraham was broken, and the promises to the Patriarchs falsified."⁶ Hine provided a list of twenty-seven reasons why Israel could not have been absorbed by Judah and

returned. Among these reasons were that Israel must be a great power, have colonies, return from exile from the "isles" in the west, and be a righteous and redeemed nation.⁷ Nor could Israel have been absorbed by the gentiles as they "had no resemblance at all to Israel." By God's oath Israel was to be for all time a separate people from the gentiles and for that reason Israel was made "high above" all other peoples.⁸ Finally, Israel could not have coalesced with the Jews of the Diaspora as "there was no real 'Dispersion' on the part of the Jewish people until after the Roman Siege" of Jerusalem.⁹ The conclusive refutation of these possibilities was that the Jews themselves according to Hine, believed that the ten tribes were "lost" and not present in their community.¹⁰

Israel then must still exist as a separate entity, but that did not mean that Israel had become "Spiritual Israel", i.e., the Church or believing Christians. According to Hine, the term "Spiritual Israel" was unscriptural and only served to confuse the search for "lost" Israel. Israel was not only a separate entity but also a "political nationality." Hine maintained that "whenever Israel is referred to, either in the Old or New Testament, the reference is always to Israel as a nationality—as the positive, legitimate, lineal descendants of Israel of old."¹¹ This continued "national" existence of Israel meant that the "lost" tribes not only could be found but that they should be found so that prophecy might be seen to be fulfilled.

Just as Israel continued to exist as a separate entity, so of course did Judah. However, there was no question of the whole of Judah being "lost" as the Jews represented the largest part of Judah of old. Nevertheless, one part of Judah had been "lost"; that was the "Remnant of Judah" discovered by Glover. And here as well, the distinction between Israel and Judah was applied so as to divide "sinning" Judah from "unsinning" Judah. The attitude of British-Israelites towards "sinning" Judah, the Jews, was ambivalent. As has been seen, the Jews were definitely living under the divine curses, but that situation was not to endure for all time. Judah would share in the divine promises of blessing "upon the advent of the jubilee year, when she also will be free, and share with Israel special blessings from the most High." ¹² The present and future condition of the Jews was closely linked with that of Israel and the cause of the Identity. The Jews had an important place in the programme of the restoration of God's people to Palestine. But for the present, according to Hine, every British Jew who was apathetic about the identification of Israel could be held responsible for the continued suffering and persecution of his community since that suffering and persecution would cease only when the Identity was established and accepted. ¹³

Two subjects which did attract the interest of many British-Israelites were Jewish nationalism and the missions to the Jews. Jewish nationalism, inasmuch as it sought to establish a

homeland in Palestine, was not looked on with favour. Colonization projects in that country were denounced because they were seen as an anticipation and a forestalling of the divine plan which called for Israel to take possession of it. Furthermore, the return of the Jews could not take place until they had acknowledged the Identity.¹⁴ Yet despite this opposition to a homeland, every indication of a national revival among the Jews was regarded with interest as being a sign of the approaching end of the present age.

The missions to the Jews were considered to be futile and a waste of money. It was firmly believed that "not until they have been in their land some years, serving God under the law, will they embrace Christ; then and not until then, will they become reunited with Israel."¹⁵ The conversion of the Jews was in a very real sense secondary as far as British-Israelites were concerned since it would happen eventually no matter what. It was the acceptance of the Identity by the Jews that was considered to be of primary importance. Their approval and acceptance was much sought after, and, at least indirectly, efforts were made to enlist their support.¹⁶

However, on the whole British-Israelites were not overly concerned with the Jews for a very good reason. Israel had a remnant, and the most important remnant, of Judah with her. Glover's "discovery" of the Davidic descent of the English Royal House was accepted by all British-Israelites. His book was considered by many to have been one of the most important works for both the Church

and the State that had ever been printed because of the new light it threw on both.¹⁷ But Glover's theory had other implications as well:

One of the most beautiful results of the theory is that the Royal race of David is emancipated from the sin of crucifying the Messiah....And all these years unsinning Judah with Israel have flourished and prospered; while sinning Judah has been scattered and oppressed.¹⁸

Such views easily might have led to some form of overt anti-Semitism, but at least in this early period that does not seem to have been the case.

Glover's original theory underwent hardly any modifications in later years. An attempt was made, no doubt as the result of criticism, to identify the Jeremiah of the Stone of Destiny with Jeremiah of Libnah (II Kings 23:31) rather than Jeremiah the prophet of Anathoth (Jeremiah 29:27), but this suggestion found no support.¹⁹ Glover had not provided a detailed genealogy of the royal line, but that lack was soon remedied by the Reverend A.B. Grimaldi, the author of Hine's Memoir. In his genealogy of the royal descent from David, he, in fact, began in a most traditional manner with Adam, and designated Queen Victoria as the one hundred and fiftieth generation from him. The promises of God concerning the kingship of David and of David's seed were believed to be most marvellously demonstrated by this genealogy (2 Chronicles 13:5; 21:7; Psalms 132:11).²⁰ The Davidic descent of the English Royal House recalls

vividly the genealogies of the late medieval and Tudor historians and served much the same purpose; it gave a divine sanction to the authority and status to the ruler of "Israel."

"The Teutonic Theory"

Once Israel had been clearly distinguished from Judah, and the continued existence of Israel as a separate national entity had been demonstrated, the next step was to identify Israel from among the peoples of the world. As previously mentioned, there were a number of candidates for the "honour" in the nineteenth century; however, there is only one people, the descendants of the Saxons, who are under consideration here. Both Wilson and Hine traced the Saxons back to the tribes of Israel by way of the Scythians, but there their agreement ceased. Each of them had a slightly different view as to where the modern descendants of the Saxons were to be found.

Wilson believed that the modern nations of northwestern Europe were "truly the seed of Abraham according to the flesh."²¹ The Anglo-Saxons, i.e., the English, the Germans, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Danes, and the Swiss in Wilson's view were all more or less descendants of Israel. But in fact, it was only England and Germany that had an important role and the other nations and peoples were generally ignored. However, this did not mean that the Identity excited any interest in Germany.

Wilson's position came to be known as the "Teutonic Theory" and attracted considerable support for a time. Holders of the "Teutonic Theory" generally used the term "Anglo-Israel" to designate their position and their organizations as that term limited Israel in the British Isles to the Anglo-Saxons. The "Teutonic Theory" was originally accepted by a number of people who eventually adopted Hine's position. This number included Glover and very possibly Smyth. 22

The "Teutonic Theory" was internationalist in that it maintained that Israel was rather widely dispersed among the nations, and was considered to be no more than a probability. One holder of the "Teutonic Theory" summarized it in the following way:

That the Teutonic race is superior to all other races of people cannot be denied, and there is a very strong probability that they are all the lineal descendants from the Patriarchs. But it will be remembered that different blessings were bestowed severally upon the sons of Jacob of whom Joseph and his son Ephraim obtained the most exalted promises, and upon the latter were bestowed all the richest blessings conferred by God upon Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and it would therefore appear probable that the Anglo-Saxons represent, not Israel as a whole, but the tribe of Ephraim only. 23

Thus, despite the internationalism of the "Teutonic Theory", it was still England that held the most important position.

A fairly clear example of what the "Teutonic Theory" meant in practice appeared in an unsigned letter published by Hine

in the introduction to the Twenty-seven Identifications.²⁴

The writer argued that while the Anglo-Saxons were the tribe of Joseph and therefore especially blessed, the other tribes were also blessed.

The "rising power and influence" of Germany was evidence of that.

Germany would "break and humble the papal powers" who had been "so long the willing executors of the behests of Rome, the mystic Babylon."

The 1260 years of Rome's "arrogant domination" were coming to an end because "the main supports and instruments of her evil policy are being broken by Israel." The humiliation of France in 1870-1871 was evidence of God's intervention on behalf of Israel. England should therefore support Germany and cement their alliance even though Satan would try to hinder this entente "by stirring up the wordly, papistical and infidel elements in our midst." The writer concluded that the recognition of the true identities of England and Germany would lead to a clearer manifestation of their oneness which was so closely connected with the return of the "King of Israel."

At least one attempt was made to identify the various tribes of Israel among the nations of Europe by a holder of the "Teutonic Theory." Only eight of the tribes were successfully identified: Ephraim was found in England; Reuben in Saxony; Simeon was spread among the nations; Levi was also spread among the nations and concentrated in the Norse; Judah was the Royal Seed; Zebulun was to be found in Holland and the Low Countries; Issachar in Alsace and Lorraine; and Dan in Denmark.²⁵ The reason for this attempt was to refute Hine's theory by showing

that the tribes of Israel in fact were to be found in the modern nations of Europe. However, these identifications were more or less tentative and were not elaborated in any great detail.

The "Teutonic Theory" represented a moderate position and its holders were somewhat less doctrinaire than were those who held Hine's theory. If nothing else the "Teutonic Theory" was more plausible, given the premise that the Saxons were Israelites, as it recognized the consanguinity of the peoples of northern Europe. Furthermore, it expressed the Germanophilia or at least the pro-German sentiments that were to be found in some sections of the British public. However, as the rivalry between Great Britain and Germany increased towards the end of the nineteenth century, the "Teutonic Theory" became a much less acceptable option and for all practical purposes disappeared as a result of the First World War.

The "Teutonic Theory" was anathema to Hine and his followers; it was the great heresy at the heart of the Identity movement. However, while Hine always rejected the "Teutonic Theory," his opposition to it developed gradually. In the Twenty-seven Identifications, although rejecting it, he took a conciliatory view, and concluded that it made no difference whether the English comprised all the tribes or only the most favoured one; in either case the Identity was of vital importance. ²⁶

Hine's views at the time of his first pamphlets were made clear in a private letter that answered the enquiry concerning an unsigned

letter on the "Teutonic Theory" which he had printed in the Twenty-seven Identifications.²⁷ "I do not myself," Hine wrote, "entertain the thought that the Germans are any portion of Israel; I think quite otherwise." He did not find it in the least surprising that other nations such as the Germans should trace their ancestry to the part of the world that the English did, for that was quite in accordance with the avowed declarations of Scripture. There were other peoples that were lost and should eventually have to be found. If all the modern nations of northwestern Europe were Israel then these other peoples would have to be discovered elsewhere. It was nonsense, Hine insisted, "to conclude that all the nations having a like ancestry are thereby of the same family." Of particular interest were the Assyrians who were lost, but would have to be found because they were to form a "third power with Israel and Egypt." Personally, Hine believed that Germany was Assyria, but as Israel was his subject he preferred to "abstain from giving the thought forth publicly."

By the time Hine came to write the Forty-seven Identifications in 1874 he took a much firmer public stand on the "Teutonic Theory" and his rejection of it was adamant. He insisted that "the whole ten tribes must become incorporated under the Charter of one Nation" because God addressed Israel as a united people and because He required a response to the prophecies from the whole of Israel. If the "Teutonic Theory" were true, then the response of only one or two of the tribes would be sufficient to fulfill the prophecies.

For that reason Hine held that the "Teutonic Theory" did "violence to Scripture, and would destroy the Prophets." ²⁸ Therefore, Hine argued that the whole of the ten tribes were to be found "in the whole British speaking people, the whole British race" including the Scots, the Welsh, and part of the Irish. For that reason he rejected the term "Anglo-Israel" for the more exact term "British-Israel." ²⁹ This latter term came in time to be the usual designation for the Identity movement.

Hine in his usual systematic manner undertook an elaborate refutation of the "Teutonic Theory": there were "Twenty-seven Reasons Why the Modern European Nations Cannot Be Part of Israel." The first four of these reasons were "The Sign of the Sabbath," "The Sign of the Ten Commandments," "The Metric Objection," and "The Eastern Windows." ³⁰ He then seems to have lost interest in the matter as the other twenty-three reasons never appeared. The methodology of the "reasons" was quite simply the reversal of the "Identifications." Israel kept the Sabbath; so did the English but not the Germans. The Ten Commandments did not have a prominent place in the German churches nor were there "Eastern Windows," while the adoption of the metric system was proof positive that the Germans were not Israel. Finally, if any further proof was needed to refute the "Teutonic Theory" there was the fact that these nations including Germany had been defeated in battle, something that could never happen to Israel. The Battle of Hastings was, of course, a fight between Israelites. ³¹

Some of Hine's followers rejected the "Teutonic Theory" for less doctrinaire reasons. W. J. Cockburn-Muir, for example, suggested that the theory was no longer tenable because of the research that had been done since Wilson's time.³²

The controversy about the "Teutonic Theory" was never really resolved although it gradually disappeared as the theory became less popular. Nevertheless, the seeds of this heresy were to be ever present in the Identity movement and every now and again were to bring forth new fruit. For example, in the 1920's "The Roadbuilder" in his book The Destiny of the British Empire and the U.S.A. included an appendix entitled "Who are the Japanese?"³³ "The Roadbuilder" argued that "the Samourai and up, or the white Japanese, are apparently our own people of Joseph's seed who dwelt in Samaria, before the dispersal of the ten tribes, hence their name, Samourai." This interesting assertion was based on the observation that the Japanese "have every outstanding characteristic possessed by the Anglo-Saxons." The purpose of this appendix was clear: the acceptance by the United States of Japanese expansion in the Far East. However, what is of particular interest is to find that a new world power, if it was friendly to Great Britain, had to be identified as being part of Israel.³⁴

British-Israel

As has been seen, Hine believed that the ten tribes were to be found in the British Isles. "As Joseph drew his family

together in Egypt, so the tribes have been consolidated in Joseph. We have the type and antitype." ³⁵ However, even Hine and his followers recognized that there were some remnants of the tribes who were to be found outside the British Isles. In particular, members of Israel were to be found in the Vaudois valleys of northern Italy, in Scandinavia, and even in Afghanistan and India. ³⁶ But these remnants of Israel were mere curiosities and had no real role in the British-Israel theory.

As the tribes had been consolidated in Joseph, there was never any serious attempt to identify the various tribes with specific groups of people in the British Isles except in three cases. The tribe of Dan had been identified by Glover with the Tuatha Dé Danann in Ireland, and this identification was generally accepted. From this tribe were descended most, if not all, the Celts and Britons, although there were some people who believed that the Welsh were the tribe of Simeon. ³⁷ However, another part of the tribe of Dan was identified with the Danes who invaded England in the eighth and ninth centuries. Dan was believed to have been divided into two distinct groups because there were two separate areas assigned to that tribe in Palestine. According to British-Israel teaching one of these groups came to Ireland by way of Spain and the other moved northwest through the Crimea and Eastern Europe to Scandinavia before appearing in England as the Danes. ³⁸

Another tribe that attracted great interest was that of Benjamin. According to Hine, Benjamin was one of the ten tribes and

thus part of Israel and not part of Judah. Benjamin had been left behind "to be a light in Jerusalem in the days of Christ" (I Kings 11:13, 32, 36). The disciples and Paul were all Israelites of the tribe of Benjamin. Thus it was Benjamin who was instructed about the latter days and told that that time would not come until they heard "of wars and rumours of wars" (Matthew 24:3). The disciples were also told that these events did not concern Israel but the gentiles (Mark 13:7; Luke 21:9). The identification of the disciples as Benjaminites was important in maintaining that Christ's mission was to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matthew 10:5-6) and not to the Jews.³⁹ Furthermore, Hine maintained that those who escaped from Jerusalem before the Roman siege in 70 A.D. were Christian Israelites of Benjamin, and not Christian Jews. After this escape, the tribe of Benjamin made its way via Rome to France and finally Normandy from where in 1066 the last of the tribes moved to rejoin the others already in Britain.⁴⁰ Thus, the migration of the tribes of Israel to "the isles of the west" was completed.

The only other attempt at a positive identification was that of Manasseh, and this was one of Hine's most important contributions to the Identity. He claimed that Ephraim was synonymous with Israel and embodied "the ten tribes as a consolidated people." But Ephraim was only one of the sons of Joseph, and the question was asked, Where is Joseph's other son Manasseh? This thirteenth tribe or half-tribe depending on whether Ephraim and Manasseh

were counted as parts of the tribe of Joseph or as independent tribes replacing that of Joseph was originally thought by some, including Glover, to be the Welsh and the Picts, but Hine never seems to have accepted this. He found the solution to the problem of Manasseh in Joseph's fruitful branches running "over the wall" (Genesis 49:22; 48:19). He believed that this referred to Manasseh. It followed, therefore, that there must be a great nation which had sprung from and was independent of Israel. Furthermore, Manasseh was to become independent only after Israel was settled in the "isles" and only after they had become overcrowded. But Manasseh was not the nineteenth century colonial empire because that was to come into existence only after Manasseh's independence (Isaiah 49:20). The only possibility left, then, was the United States of America.⁴¹ This fortunate discovery of Manasseh was to mean that the Identity was to be well received throughout the whole English-speaking world.

Something has already been said about the identification of some non-Israelite peoples and in particular the Assyrians whom Hine believed to be the Germans. Glover, interestingly enough, did not agree with Hine on this point as he thought that the Hindus were the Assyrians.⁴² Hine also believed that the Philistines, the Edomites, the Moabites and the Ammonites would all be identified in the near future.⁴³ But it was the Canaanites who were of special interest. Because the Israelites had not driven out the Canaanites as they had been commanded to do by God, they were to be a thorn in the

flesh and always present with Israel. (Judges 21:3; Numbers 33:55). In fact, this was one of Hine's forty-seven identifications. Given the continuing Irish Problem in the nineteenth century, it did not demand much imagination to identify the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that island as Canaanites. There were therefore, as shown, two peoples in Ireland, the Israelites of the tribe of Dan and the Canaanites who though they might be troublesome could never prevail.⁴⁴

The Canaanites complete the list of peoples who were identified or thought to be identifiable. Such identifications lent themselves to many disagreements, yet surprisingly enough, there existed a great degree of unanimity among the adherents of the Identity. The only major disagreement was that concerning the Teutonic Theory. And even there, the disagreement was with regard to who was included in Israel and not about why it was necessary to identify Israel. All hunters of the "lost" tribes including Anglo-Israelites and British-Israelites were in agreement as to the necessity of identifying Israel. The tribes had to be found so that prophecy might be fulfilled.

Hine and others might possibly have been motivated by antiquarian interest, or the imperial experience of the nineteenth century in their attempts to identify Israel from among the modern peoples of the world. But that was not the case, although imperialism was an important influence on the way in which the Identity was formulated. Instead, these men were concerned with the biblical

prophecies, and the Identity was an attempt to understand and explain how those prophecies were being fulfilled in their own time. They believed that the Bible assigned a special and unique role to Israel and it was only when Israel was found that this role could be fulfilled completely.

The Identity was seen as a new way for the peoples of the world to come to a saving knowledge of Christ.⁴⁵ In fact, it was only by that means that the Gospel would be and could be preached to the whole world. Furthermore, it was to be by the identification of Israel that the present Christian dispensation would be brought to an end.

One of the generally recognized features of millennialism is that of the appointed group whose salvation is both the precondition and the means to universal delivery.⁴⁶ For British-Israelites, it was not a question of salvation in the usual sense that would bring about the universal delivery, but the establishment of the Identity. The salvation or rather the redemption of Israel had already taken place at least in embryo. A distinction was made between redemption which had been effected by Christ's death and applied to the restoration of Israel, and salvation which was effected by the Resurrection and had "no reference to this life, but to the life to come."⁴⁷

In the words of one writer:

redemption secured to Israel those temporal blessings inherited by the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in which other nations of the earth have no lot or part; but the

means of eternal salvation is given, by grace, through the blood of Christ, to all who believe, whether of the seed of the chosen race, or not. 48

"Israelites," of course, could be saved as well as redeemed, but for non-Israelites only salvation was possible. This differentiation of redemption from salvation was an attempt to explain Galatians 3:28. That there was "neither Greek nor Jew" in Christ had been cited by some critics as proof that Israel could not be a political nationality. By applying that teaching to salvation and not redemption the political nationality of Israel was thought to be safeguarded. 49

Christ's death and burial were understood as being "essentially a type of the state of Israel, and its predestined career." 50 The disciples' ignorance of the Resurrection was paralleled by the Church's ignorance of the fact that Palestine "was but the tomb of God's triumphant people, who under another ensign had begun to form themselves into mighty kingdoms, and to bear sway over a great part of the civilized world." 51 For centuries, the fate of Israel had been shrouded in mystery and the Israelites themselves had been "blind." But at last "the hour of light arrived; and God was about to shew to His praying Church, the risen and glorified Israel." As a result, testimony for the identification of Israel began to appear on every side and this testimony would hasten the time when Israel would indeed be shown "risen and glorified."

The Identity was seen as the decisive eschatological event. It "would hasten the return of our Lord and the millennial dispensation. It would provide the Lord with a Throne, a People, and a Country." ⁵²

Many signs of the age suggested that if the identification of Israel had not already been made manifest, then it would be established shortly.

CHAPTER 10

THE TIME OF THE END

- - DANIEL 12:4

The attempt to prove that the British were the true lineal descendants of the Israelites and the subsidiary matters raised by that attempt, occupied a large and central place in British-Israel teaching. This was not surprising because the Identity was a new doctrine and the British people had to be convinced of its truth. But the prominence of the proof of the Identity tended to obscure, and even more so now, the very reason for which the Identity was believed to be important. The true significance of the identification of Britain as Israel can only be understood when its eschatological dimension is recognized.

The millennialism of British-Israel had its origin in the same concerns that occupied other nineteenth century millenarians: the interpretation and the fulfillment of prophecy, the reading of "the signs of the time,"

the conversion of the Jews, and the restoration of Israel. Furthermore, British-Israelites used the same methods of prophetic calculation as did other millenarians. The day-year theory, the 1260 years of Antichrist, the prophetic weeks and half weeks, and the view that 6000 years would separate the creation from the millennium, all of which had been the basis of millennial prediction since the seventeenth century, were to be found in the Identity literature.¹ What set British-Israelites apart from other millenarians were the identification of the British as the "lost" tribes of Israel and the prophetic interpretation of the Great Pyramid. The question of the "lost" tribes, whether they were the British or another people, did not interest all millenarians, and the Great Pyramid attracted the attention of only a few.² The Identity was the expression of the millennial hope of British-Israelites, and its establishment was believed to be an integral part of the programme of "the time of the end" (Daniel 12:4).

Establishing the Identity

Before "the time of the end" could begin, it was necessary that the Identity be established, that is, that the Identity be acknowledged and accepted by the British people nationally. In the words of one critic of the movement, "Every person of Anglo-Saxon flesh and

blood, from the Queen on her throne to the beggar in the street or the criminal on the treadmill must believe that we are not Englishmen and Englishwomen, but Israelites."³ The Identity had been "proved" by Hine, by Glover, by Smyth, and by many others, but the great and final blessings on Israel, and the consummation of the present Christian dispensation all awaited the national acceptance of the identification of Britain as Israel.

This act of national acceptance was one of the characteristic features of British-Israel, and bore a striking resemblance to the teaching of some millenarians that the Jews as a whole must be converted to Christianity before the millennium could begin. And, in fact, this mass conversion would mark the beginning of that new age.⁴ Millennial groups generally are undecided or vague about the way in which the new dispensation will be brought about, and in many cases the faithful have only to watch and pray, while in other groups "believers have the power to hasten and retard salvation."⁵ British-Israel was among the latter in that "the time of the end" would only come with the national acceptance of the Identity. However, the time for this acceptance was part of the divine plan, and the time for the ending of the "blindness in part" of Israel to its true identity was clearly at hand. Israel

was to be lost and punished "seven times for your sins" (Leviticus 26:17, 24, 28). Seven times 360 prophetic days or years equals 2520 years, and if Isaiah 7:8, which foretells the breaking of Ephraim within sixty-five years is dated 742 B.C., then 742 minus 65 and allowing three years for the beginning of the Christian era brings Israel's period of punishment to an end in 1840 A.D., the year of John Wilson's book.⁶ Since that date, the Identity had slowly made its way, and by the 1870's it was more and more certain that the time for its acceptance was fast approaching.

Millennialism, The Great Pyramid, and Prophecy

Millennialism was an integral part of the Identity from the very beginning. Nor could it have been otherwise since the search for the "lost" tribes was really explicable only in terms of the millennial hope. In fact, it might be said that the tribes of Israel were "lost" only in a particular millennial understanding of the Bible. In the work of John Wilson the subject of the millennium was on the whole rather muted, but it was there all the same. He firmly believed that the time had come "when the Son of God...was to open the Book of their inheritance to the Children of Promise."⁷ By the late 1860's when he added the chapter "Providence

and Prophecy" to his book, he believed that the time had arrived because the "two prophetic half weeks {of Revelation 11:9, 11}, each consisting of three and a half times 360 or 1260 years, making together 2520 years during which Israel were to be punished by being excluded from the land, are more than ended." ⁸ If Wilson's millennialism was rarely made as explicit as it was in this passage, it was due only to the fact that he assumed it was a prerequisite to any investigation of "Our Israelitish Origin." On the other hand, it is very unclear whether F.R.A. Glover originally saw his discovery of the "Remnant of Judah" in the light of the millennium. His was probably a purely historical interest, but he undoubtedly adopted millennial views of some kind when his thesis was taken into the Identity. Basically, he may have had millennial opinions at a very early period of his theoretical thinking.

The situation was similar in the case of John Taylor. His study of the Great Pyramid was motivated by quasi-scientific interests and he was concerned exclusively with the discovery of a divine system of measurement. If Taylor found any significance for the millennium in the Great Pyramid he certainly said nothing about it. Yet even he took some interest in the millennium as some of his other writings indicate. ⁹ However, it was C.P. Smyth in his elaboration and extension of Taylor's

conclusions who brought the Great Pyramid into the area of millennial speculation.

Smyth ensured the Great Pyramid a place in the British-Israel theory by his own adoption of the Identity and by using the Great Pyramid to confirm the Identity. But interest in the Great Pyramid was due more especially to its "scientificity." It corroborated the Bible "in a language understandable by men of every tongue."¹⁰ In the words of a much later writer on the Great Pyramid, it was "A Scientific Revelation to a Scientific Age."¹¹ Smyth called the Great Pyramid an "inspired scientific appendix of the Sacred Scripture."¹² Herein lay much of the appeal of that ancient Egyptian structure: it was a physical object that could be examined by scientific means. If the results of these scientific or pseudo-scientific examinations could be made to confirm and explain statements in the Bible, then the truth of the Bible was proved "scientifically" and a mighty victory won in the battle of religion versus science.

For that reason, interest in the Great Pyramid was not limited to British-Israelites, and a few prominent millenarians adopted Smyth's theories. Among their number was the American Lutheran, Joseph A. Seiss. He was on the editorial board of the Prophetic Times,

a leading American millennial journal (1863-1881); editor of the Lutheran from 1867 to 1879; and president of the board of the Philadelphia Lutheran Theological Seminary from 1865 until his death in 1902. In 1877 Seiss published a book entitled A Miracle in Stone: or The Great Pyramid of Egypt in which he quite clearly adopted Smyth's theory. In addition to Smyth, he cited the work of Taylor and one of Smyth's close collaborators Charles Casey. Seiss believed that if the supernatural nature of the Great Pyramid were admitted,

Why then inspiration is a demonstrated reality, - then miracle is a tangible fact, - then the foundations of infidelity are dissolved, - then the Scriptures are true, AND THEN OUR CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HOPES ARE SURE, AND CANNOT DISAPPOINT US! 13

This statement summarized very well the faith of believers in the Great Pyramid. However, Seiss' borrowings from Smyth stopped there and he made no mention of the Identity or of the connection between the Identity and the Great Pyramid.

The importance of the Great Pyramid was not limited to proving "scientifically" the truth of the Bible. It also provided an important key to the prophetic timetable. According to Hine, the Great Pyramid was "invested with a Divine Glory" in which "some of the leading events of Time" were foreshadowed.¹⁴ Not only

was the time of Christ's first coming recorded, but so was that of His second which would be the end of the present Christian dispensation. In that, Hine was following Smyth who had stated the matter succinctly: "The Great Pyramid gives a short prophetic view of the religious history of mankind from the Dispersion downwards, at once, concise, summary, and unmistakable."¹⁵ Furthermore, Smyth was convinced that the Great Pyramid was concerned far more with Christ's second coming than with His first.

It was particularly the interior passages of the Great Pyramid that contained allusions to Christ and the second coming. The measurements of these passages made it very clear that Christ's second coming, as in the case of His first, would "be historical, and will take place at a definite and also primevally prearranged time."¹⁶ According to Smyth, Christ's first coming "was for the sake of inaugurating amongst all men personal, private, and individual Salvation....The Second Coming, on the other hand, is for national, public, and governmental Salvation."¹⁷ It was for that reason that the Great Pyramid was more concerned with the second than the first coming, viz., since it was to be a national, public, and governmental event, it was only logical that it should be foretold in a manner that was objectively verifiable by anyone who

should care to do so.

As clearly as the Great Pyramid proclaimed the second coming and its near approach, it nevertheless took some years before the students of prophecy were able to begin to establish any date for that event.¹⁸ This was at least partly due to the fact that in the Bible the two comings were often described together. In the case of Isaiah 9:5, according to Hine, the first part of the verse—"For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given"—referred to the first coming, and the second part—"And the government shall be upon his shoulder"—to the second coming. The same was true of Luke 1:32.¹⁹

The importance accorded to the Great Pyramid in determining the "time of the end" did not mean that the traditional biblical passages concerned with that event were ignored. On the contrary, attention was given to those texts as well. The "woman clothed with the sun" of Revelation 12:1 was, according to one writer, "the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel Identified and their brethren Judah," and the Stone Kingdom of Daniel 2:31 ff was Britain.²⁰ But the most interesting of these texts was that of Romans 11:26 concerning "the Deliverer out of Sion" who "shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." One writer had concluded that this did not refer to Christ but to

"some person prominently connected with the Identity cause."

The suggestion was then made that it might refer to Edward Hine. Critics of the Identity were quick to take up this point and made much of Hine as the Messiah, but Hine himself did not accept that role. He believed that "the Deliverer out of Sion" was very possibly Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield. This incident, it might be added, was the closest that British-Israel ever came to having a messianic leader.²¹

However, these interesting speculations were of secondary importance. Far greater attention was given to the problem of the 1260 prophetic days (Revelation 11:3; 12:6) and when they would end. There were, as there had always been, a number of possibilities all of which were in some way related to the fall of the papacy.²² One date that was favoured by many millenarians, at least for a while, was 1866, this being 1260 years from "the crowning of the first Pope" in 606 and being "the year of the Infallible man's difficulty, when he ceased to trust in God, and placed his faith in Napoleon" according to Hine.²³ But whether Hine believed that the millennium had begun in 1866 is doubtful. In any case, in 1873 he was to write that if the millennium had begun in that year "all I can say is, Save me from the

Millennium!"²⁴ Instead of the millennium, he apparently concluded that the year 1866 was one of the signs that the period of "the time of the end" had begun or was about to begin.

However, the date of the beginning of "the time of the end" was to prove elusive, and before a consensus had been reached as to its date, the expected programme of that period had been worked out in some detail. According to Hine, "the time of the end" was not the end of time which would come after the thousand year reign of Christ which would begin at the Last Judgment (Revelation 20:4). Instead, "the time of the end" was the period "after the Identity of Israel is effected and prior to the coming of our Lord. It must be the time that will supply those years that are wanting to make up the six thousand years of creation."²⁵ It was to this period that belonged the remaining great glories promised to Israel. ²⁶

"The Signs of the Time"

"The time of the end" was the period in which prophecy would be fulfilled. The preliminary events were in the process of being accomplished: the knowledge of the Identity was being imparted and was the subject of earnest prayer. Then would follow the

outpouring of the Spirit which would make Pentecost seem "a poor, local, obscure, and insignificant affair," the establishment of the Identity, national righteousness, Christian union, "the triumph of God's sure word," and "the death of Infidelity," These events would be followed by "the setting up of the Ensign, the gathering of the Jews in Britain," and the final restoration of Israel. Only then would the Gospel triumph "which alone can realize the satisfying of the travail of Christ's soul," and the universal acceptance of Christ.²⁷

The restoration of Israel was the immediate and greatest fruit of the establishment of the Identity. From this event blessing would flow to all peoples of the world. Israel would be gathered from the "isles of the west" to the land of the fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. However, this massive emigration would be made on a representational basis of "one of a city and two of a family" (Jeremiah 3:14) so that Israel would occupy both Palestine and the British Empire.²⁸ It was hoped that the restoration would be facilitated by the discovery of Jeremiah's title deeds to Palestine (Jeremiah 32:1-16) at Tara in Ireland. Because "it is only Israel in Christ that can claim the land, their inheritance through Christ,"

the colonization projects of the Rothchilds were doomed to failure.²⁹

The restoration of Israel meant the gathering of Judah as well (Isaiah 11:12). The Jews would gather around the ensign in England (Isaiah 43:5) before their return to the land of their fathers. The ensign was the root of Jesse (Isaiah 11:10) and would be a material and not a spiritual one. As it could not be Christ because He would return only after Israel's restoration, it was more than likely that that other seed of David, Queen Victoria, was meant, and "the glory of the ensign may be manifested... in the glory of womanhood."³⁰ For the Jews the restoration of Israel would lead "to the ending of all their sorrows, to their being reinstated in glory, to their possession of the promises made to their fathers, to their sharing with us all the full and special favours of the Almighty."³¹ Furthermore, Judah would form a part of the great return procession, and, unlike Israel, all of Judah would be restored to the promised land.³²

One of the most important signs that the restoration of Israel was about to begin, and one of the signs of "the time of the end" was the return of the "latter rain" to Palestine (Deuteronomy 11:14; Job 29:23 Joel 2:23). The "latter rain" was the rain of the March-

April period, and the "former rain" that of October-November. The non-occurrence of these rains, which were vital for the fertility of the land, was interpreted as a divine punishment (Amos 4:7; 7: 4ff; Jeremiah 14:1-6). Solomon had drawn a close connection between the "withdrawal of the Latter Rain from the Land" and Israel's exile (2 Chronicles 6:25ff). After having been withheld for centuries according to prophetic commentators, the "latter rain" had only recently been restored, according to promise, and with it the Identity of Israel, which is surely a certain testimony that it is God's time for her discovery."³³

When John Wilson began the subject of the "Israelitish Origin" the "latter rain" had not yet been restored and it was not until he had been at work some time. However, he was aware of the importance of the subject, for

when the news first came to England of its restoration, the glistening eyes of his gladdened heart spoke his soul to the people who had gathered in the "Witness Hall", Aldersgate Street, and who received the news with rapturous joy. ³⁴

It was not only in the Witness Hall that the "latter rain" was the cause of joy. In the committee room of the Israel's Identification Association the "latter rain" was the object of earnest prayer, and at the very time of such

prayer "the latter rain has been most effectual." The phenomenon was not limited to rain but included snow as well, so that the temperature of the climate might be modified.

This snow, in January 1874 was a most timely rebuke to The Saturday Review which had suggested that a 'twenty-eighth "coming glory" should be added to Hine's twenty-seven, that of acclimatization, so that the "Israelites" upon their return would find a more suitable climate than that which presently prevailed. Furthermore, the snow reminded "the present Gentile tenants of the Holy City that their time of expulsion is at hand, and that ere long it must be prepared for the reception of Israel."³⁵ The return of the "latter rain" was truly one of the most propitious and pleasant "signs of the time."

The restoration of Israel gave rise to much speculation about the physical details of the resettlement, and plans were drawn up of divisions of land to be distributed among the tribes, of its new boundaries, of the physical changes necessary for the fulfillment of prophecy. The land of the restoration would be enclosed by the Taurus Mountains, the Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean. The choked southern channel of the Jordan

would be opened, and the Dead Sea would then flow into the Gulf of 'Aqaba. Jerusalem would become a major port, the emporium of the Orient, while the Nile would be connected to the Red Sea along its ancient course just below Thebes and the Delta abandoned (Isaiah 11:15). These boundaries were more or less those described in Number 34:3-5, 7-9, and were a commonplace of millennial prediction.³⁶ All these changes would presumably take place before the restoration of Israel, and the physical ones would be the result of the great earthquake described in Zechariah 14:4. The new and much enlarged boundaries were to be the result of the great political upheavals of "the time of the end."

This prophetic period was the time "of wars and rumours of wars" (Mark 13:7). The programme of "the time of the end" was twofold according to Hine. First, Israel would be restored to Palestine where the cities and waste places would be rebuilt and the people would live in peace and increasing prosperity. Second, while this restoration of Israel was going forward, the King of the South, who was identified as Napoleon III and the Anti-christ, would unite the Latin Nations, and, Paris having been destroyed, would establish his capital at Rome. The King of the South would have ten kings as his vassals.

Eventually, the King of the North, who was identified as the Emperor of Russia, would conquer the King of the South, and all the Latin States would come under the control of Russia. As a result of the great prosperity of restored Israel, Russia, Gog, would be driven to attack Israel, thus bringing about the great battle, Armageddon. The second coming of the Lord would take place during this cataclysm with Judah being rescued first, then Israel. Christ with the saints would then begin His thousand year reign on earth. The only detail about which Hine was not certain was whether Assyria, Germany, would be an ally of the King of the North or not. He expected that the battle of Armageddon would take place about 1996 or 125 years later, (he was writing in 1871).³⁷

Napoleon III enjoyed much the same reputation among millenarians as had his uncle Napoleon I, and his millennial role was a staple of prophetic interpretation: "The mystique of the Napoleonic legend so clouded millenarian eyes that many of them were convinced that he was destined for more than mere mortality; he was usually picked out for the role of the Antichrist."³⁸ At least in one case, Isaiah 14:12-23: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" was understood as referring to Napoleon III.³⁹ Hine foresaw the

possibility that the programme which he had outlined might take many years and that it was therefore possible that the King of the South who did battle with the King of the North would not be Napoleon III himself but his son, the Prince Imperial.⁴⁰ This Napoleonic interpretation was particularly prevalent in the early years of the 1870's, but with the death of Napoleon III in 1873 and the disappearance of Bonapartism as a political force in France it ceased to be important. No new King of the South was ever identified by Hine.⁴¹

Israel during this time "of wars and rumours of wars" was to live in peace and prosperity. The cataclysmic events of "the time of the end" were reserved to the Gentile nations and were not to be suffered by Israel who was to be in hiding, "that is, to withdraw from all part in the conflicts." This exemption from war was one of the promises to Israel that would become effective when the Identity was established.⁴² This promise poses an interesting question, Was Hine in this matter influenced by Darby's teaching about the secret rapture of the Church? Israel's peace resembles the secret rapture turned topsy-turvy. Whereas for Darby the second coming for the Church would be secret, spiritual, and unrelated to earthly events, for Hine Israel's peace which was to

arrive before the second coming would be public, material, and very much related to earthly events.⁴³ At least in Hine's teaching Israel can be said to replace the Church as the redeemed society, with the Church becoming little more than an appendage to Israel. Thus, it is possible that Hine saw Israel's peace as corresponding to the secret rapture of the Church. However, there is no solid evidence for such an inference and, as suggestive as is the comparison between the two teachings, it would perhaps be unwise to insist upon any real connection.

Nevertheless, some light may be shed on this matter by something Smyth had to say. He believed that the troubles of "the time of the end" would be visited on those who were left on earth after the elect had been gathered up to heaven to meet the Lord where they would remain with Him until the second coming. This event Smyth believed was foretold in the arrangement of the upper end of the Grand Gallery and the Antichamber to the King's Chamber of the Great Pyramid. Thus, Smyth like Darby believed that there would be two second comings of the Lord. The first would be to gather the elect and the second would be for "national, public, and governmental Salvation."⁴⁴ Smyth never identified these whom he meant by the elect, but the part of Great Pyramid that referred

to their rapture was also closely associated with the future of Israel. When we consider this rapture of the elect in the light of what Smyth and Hine taught about Israel, (and it must be said that they were not in complete agreement,) it is possible to suggest that the elect were, in fact Israel. But such a suggestion is at best just that, and it is not certain that it faithfully represents Smyth's teaching about the rapture of the elect. As far as Hine is concerned, he does not seem to have thought that there would be a secret coming of the Lord. Our conjecture cannot probe deeper and the intriguing question as to whether Hine and Smyth believed that there would be some kind of rapture of Israel must be left unanswered.

1882

"The time of the end" was the subject of much speculation among British-Israelites and, a quite complex programme had been established for that period. What was still uncertain was the date when one might expect that this programme would begin to unfold. However, around 1875 a consensus began to appear as to the most probable date for the beginning of that long awaited period; it was thought that about the year 1881 or perhaps 1882 very remarkable things would begin to happen. This date was

the result of the measurements of the Grand Gallery of the Great Pyramid which, it will be remembered, was understood to represent the Christian dispensation. The floor at the upper end of this gallery is broken by a step so that in order to obtain the true length it is necessary to extend an hypothetical line to arrive at the end wall. When this was done, the floor measured 1881.4 pyramid inches long and consequently the present Christian dispensation was expected to end in 1881.4 which was usually understood to mean May 1882.⁴⁵ This date was believed to be confirmed by other predictions and calculations. The apocryphal English prophetess Mother Shipton was said to have predicted that the world would come to an end in 1882. In fact, this date was contained in a set of spurious prophecies put out by a Charles Hindley in 1862. They attracted wide attention, but in 1873 Hindley confessed that they were forgeries. Nevertheless, that date was awaited with alarm in rural England and with expectation by British-Israelites.⁴⁶ One confirmation of this pyramid date was offered by the expected end of the Islamic era. Forty and two prophetic months or 1260 years from the date of the Hegira in 621-622 was 1881-1882. Islam of course was one of the

manifestations of the Antichrist which explains why its power was to endure for the 1260 prophetic years.⁴⁷

The date 1881.4 became widely accepted by British-Israelites. Hine believed that it was to be "a year of glorious events" which had reference to the restoration of Israel.⁴⁸ The Banner of Israel confidently announced in the issue of January 7, 1880 that the decade of the fiery deluge of God's wrath had now begun.⁴⁹ In January of the next year, 1881, readers of that journal were informed that they were now living "within measurable distance" of the "great earthquake" (Revelation 11:13), that unparalleled convulsion among the gentile nations, and that this great catastrophe was foretold by the Great Pyramid for May 1882.⁵⁰ Smyth believed that this was the date when the elect would be caught up to heaven to meet their Lord.⁵¹ Thus, there was quite general agreement that this date marked the beginning of "the time of the end."

The Banner of Israel while especially stressing the date 1882, suggested that 1880 and 1881 were important dates as well.⁵² Of great interest are the reasons given for the importance of each of these years. The year 1880 was significant because the government of Turkey had collected its taxes in advance up to that period which would suggest that, "they do not expect to hold the country

beyond that time." The next solar eclipse would take place on December 31, 1880. The tenure of all emoluments had been limited to that same date by the Cambridge University Commissioners, and the contract for the transport of the mails between London and Bombay by the London and Oriental Company expired in January 1880. In 1881 the next census of the inhabitants of the British Isles would be held, and the contract for the new Law Courts in London would expire. Finally, in 1882, in addition to the evidence of the Grand Gallery of the Great Pyramid, the Channel tunnel would be opened! To say the least, the reasons advanced by The Banner of Israel for the various dates were strange, but these were very much the same type of rationale that was advanced in support of the Identity itself. It must be said that given the inherent importance of the date of "the time of the end", the evidence for it including that of the Great Pyramid was extremely unconvincing and insubstantial.

The beginning of "the time of the end" was not of course the beginning of the millennium; it was only that period of time that was necessary to make up the six thousand years of creation. Given that "the time of the end" would begin in 1881.4, there were still two possible dates for the millennium which depended on whether Christian or Jewish computations of time were used. According to Hine,

if the former were used then only 123 years were necessary to complete the six thousand years. But he believed that it was far more likely that the Jewish computations were correct, so that from the moment of writing, 1873, 367 years more would complete the six thousand years. Therefore, "the time of the end" would last 360 years.⁵³

Using the Christian computation, another writer concluded that "although the forty-nine years from 1881 to 1930 may thus partake of the great Sabbath to Israel, the following period, or from 1931 to 2000, will be the true Jubilee."⁵⁴ In fact, the millennium would be something of an anticlimax because Israel in a very real sense would have experienced many of the joys and blessings of that age immediately following the restoration in "the time of the end."

All the proposed dates came and went and nothing happened. The failure of "the time of the end" to manifest itself as predicted apparently did not cause undue difficulties, and the Identity movement continued. British-Israelites, unlike many disappointed millenarians, did not turn to secular revolution.⁵⁵ Instead, explanations were sought for the apparent failure of the predictions. The Banner of Israel explained to its readers that "the time of the end" had indeed begun and that the transition from one era to another need not be spectacular.⁵⁶

Hine, ever optimistic, writing from Buffalo in 1887 looked for great events in that year as "the end of the step of the Grand Gallery is touched by 1887". How suitable that would be in the year of the Queen's Jubilee! Hine wondered "if the stone will give forth any sign June 21, when our lady the Queen is in the abbey."⁵⁷ The Stone of Scone as far as history has recorded gave forth no sign.

Some later writers have maintained that something of great prophetic importance did take place in 1882 just as had been foretold. In that year Britain captured Alexandria and occupied Egypt.⁵⁸ But what came to be one of the most widely accepted explanations was that Smyth had made certain miscalculations in interpreting the evidence of the Great Pyramid. It would seem that he made two errors: first, he dated the Christian dispensation from the birth of Christ and "accepted the date of the Nativity as 1 A.D. The Christian Dispensation did not begin until the Resurrection or until Pentecost of the Crucifixion year." If Smyth, and his followers, had realized this and also had "adopted a perpendicular coordinate instead of a vertical coordinate for the end of the Grand Gallery" his calculations would have proved to be correct.⁵⁹ The refinement and reinterpretation of the Great Pyramid evidence was no doubt the most successful

means of explaining away errors of prediction.

The millennialism of British-Israel and the programme of "the time of the end" were never clear or consistent. That of course is no doubt true of most if not all millennial movements. There are far too many imponderables for it to be possible to develop a detailed plan of the age to come. Furthermore, British-Israel was not a centralized and unified system of teaching with one dominating prophetic figure. With that in mind, it must be conceded that Hine and his collaborators were quite successful in outlining a programme for "the time of the end."

British-Israel included two distinctive elements in its millennialism that set it apart from comparable movements of the nineteenth century: the Great Pyramid and the Identity. The importance of the Great Pyramid was twofold. It was thought to provide a scientific proof of the Bible and the opportunity to establish a prophetic timetable that did not depend on the notoriously problem-ridden biblical texts. However, in that, the Great Pyramid was to prove a broken reed and much of the same problems presented themselves as in the biblical texts. The Identity itself was an original formulation of the problem of the "lost" tribes of Israel. While the "lost" tribes

had sometimes figured in the speculations of millenarians and it was thought that they must be discovered so that prophecy might be fulfilled, this was surely the first time that the "lost" tribes had to discover themselves so that such a result might be obtained.

British-Israel was a variation on the predominant nineteenth century millennialism; the return of the Lord was expected before the thousand year reign of righteousness. But, in terms of Israel itself, there was very definitely an element of postmillennialism in that Israel was to enjoy peace and righteousness before the return of the Lord unless, of course, there was to be a secret coming of the Lord to Israel at the beginning of "the time of the end." But that does not seem to have been the case. Furthermore, in terms of the controversy about the time of troubles that broke out among millenarians at the end of the nineteenth century, British-Israel was divided in much the same way as it was about the second coming of the Lord. In respect to the Gentiles the Identity was post-tribulationist in that the Lord would come after the time of troubles, but for Israel it was pretribulationist in that Israel would be spared the troubles. And finally, there can be no doubt that British-Israel represented the historicist position because it was believed that the events

described in Revelation were being fulfilled in contemporary history.⁶⁰ As suggested earlier, the different experiences of Israel and the Gentiles in "the time of the end" poses the very interesting question about the influence of Darby's teachings. The answer, if there was such influence, is probably to be found in the very diffuse effect of Darby's teachings on nineteenth century millennialism generally.

The specific millennial aspects of British-Israel always appeared to be somewhat secondary to the Identity itself. For that reason, they have been frequently overlooked. Few modern writers have recognized this aspect of the Identity.⁶¹ Yet, the millennial hope was an integral part of the Identity. In fact, it would be justifiable to go even further and say that it was of the very essence of the Identity. Without the millennial hope British-Israel becomes nothing more than idle speculation and antiquarianism run wild. Only when it is seen as an expression of a longing for the promised return of the Lord and the fulfillment of prophecy is it possible to understand how it could grip the imagination and inspire the faith and hope of those who accepted the identification of Britain as Israel.

CHAPTER 17

THE POLITICS OF ISRAEL-BRITAIN

The tenets of British-Israel examined in the preceding chapters had very practical applications.

British-Israelites took a lively interest in both domestic politics and the affairs of the empire. Unlike many nineteenth century millenarians whose reading of "the signs of the times" was essentially passive, British-Israelites believed that the Identity indicated actual political courses that should be followed. Hine wrote that "the almighty has Himself directly provided for our rulers a policy for the internal management of the nations."¹ Elsewhere he remarked that "the prime political aim" of the upholders of the Identity was "to maintain the glory of the Empire and that of its Head."² What this policy and this political aim were, and how they were to be applied in the 1870's and early 1880's, is the subject that must now be considered.

The attitude of Victorian Englishmen to the empire was ambivalent. The empire was both a source of pride and an object of indifference or even hostility. Its ambivalent character is reflected in these words: "If there was one thing more likely to anger the Victorian public than heavy expenditure on empire, it was the cession of any of the Queen's possessions, however undesirable." ³ This ambiguous attitude went hand in hand with a sense of mission both secular and religious. The mid-Victorians were certain of "their ability to improve the human condition everywhere," and to them this was "a moral duty to the rest of humanity." ⁴ Yet, it was only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the grandeur of the empire became an important consideration. ⁵

The attitude of British-Israelites was generally that of the other mid-Victorians; they opposed imperial expenditures and the cession of territory. On the other hand, they were ardent expansionists. Their understanding of the empire did not permit any consideration of the utility of such expansion. Rather, every addition to the empire was a further proof of the Identity. And as with the empire, so with domestic affairs, the Identity was the criterion by which all things were judged.

After the election of 1874 when Benjamin Disraeli became Prime Minister for the second time, Hine wrote a long article on the Queen's speech that opened the new parliamentary session. He objected to the government's commitment to use its influence for the maintenance of European peace. Hine argued that as "this is the time for the Identity of Lost Israel, and God declares that the time of the Identity shall be contemporaneous with continental warfare, therefore you [the government] can have no influence to maintain European peace."⁶ Furthermore, Hine objected to the proposed marriage of Queen Victoria's son Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia. This marriage, he insisted, would not cement the friendship between the two countries. Since Britain was Israel and the Tsar, the King of the North of prophecy, it was inevitable that Russia was bound "by the fixed decree of God to make war against our Kingdom and colonies."⁷ The war with the King of the Ashantee in modern Ghana was another testimony to the truth of scripture and Hine cited Micah 5:8. That war should serve as an example for the further acquisition of colonies as God had given to Israel a mission to "subdue the earth." Finally, in a fine example of callousness, Hine wrote:

"It is singular to observe that our two famines - Southern Irish and this Indian - affect two peoples destined by the fixed decree of God to die out before the presence of our people, and that in both cases a material decrease has already been effected."⁸ Not all the views expressed by Hine and other British-Israelites on contemporary events were as negative, or as unpleasant as these, but they were frequently as aberrant.

Hine had some very particular ideas about taxation, government involvement in trade, and military expenditures. A "righteous" taxation and the abolition of the income tax were two of the "glories" that would result from the establishment of the Identity.⁹ But one of the greatest "glories" was to be that of "Saving Millions A-Year." This savings would result from the fact that Britain, being Israel, would not need a large standing army because "one man shall chase a thousand" (Joshua 23:6), and "five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight" (Leviticus 26:8).¹⁰ Hine estimated that according to this biblically inspired disregard for military realities, the government can save at least £250,000,000 over a period of five years.¹¹ Of course, this reduction of the military could not be undertaken immediately but had to wait until the Identity was established.

Large military expenditures were unnecessary for

another reason: there would be the "glory" of exemption from war, and especially of the general European conflagration that Hine believed to be near at hand. The British policy of non-intervention was a precursor of this promised peace. But that peace would be the work of the Identity and not of Peace Societies which "have no power to prevent these troubles: were their principles to sway the earth, the Prophets would be rendered false, the Bible untrue."¹² The Peace Society, the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace, led in the 1870's by the Congregationalist Edward Miall and the Baptist J.J. Colman favoured a policy of disarmament and non-intervention very similar to what Hine proposed.¹³ However, the Identity prevented British-Israelites from working with other groups towards a common goal because it was all-embracing in its claims, and the Peace Society was as much denounced as were the interventionists.

Hine proposed that a part of the money saved from the reduced military expenditures should be spent on a programme of emigration. Such a programme would reduce pauperism, eliminate the poor rates, populate the waste spaces of the colonies, and generally increase trade and manufacturing.¹⁴ Nor was this the only social benefit of the establishment of the Identity. The evils, injustices, poverty and drunkenness in Britain would be eliminated.¹⁵ Yet, here again the Identity led Hine to draw conclusions that were rather obtuse. While fully recognizing the

abject poverty that existed in Britain, Hine was convinced that one of its causes was the work of the school boards which deprived the struggling poor of the chance to put their children out to work.¹⁶ Hine concluded that the British had the unfortunate habit of copying the Gentile nations.

The helmeting and militarising of our police force, the placing of military men, of all men the most unsuitable, as their executive; much of our prison discipline; the autumn manoeuvres; the Contagious Disease Act, with much of the same kind, are foolish imitations of Gentile nonsense.¹⁷

In sum, it could be said that the reforms of the nineteenth century were false gods, inappropriate and unnecessary for Israel.

The two great parliamentary leaders of the 1870's, Benjamin Disraeli and W.E. Gladstone, received much attention from the British-Israelites. Gladstone was not generally very popular with holders of the Identity. He was considered to be a Little Englander and a ritualist. The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland by his government in 1869 did little to endear him to British-Israelites, and, furthermore, it suggested that he was a secret Romanist. His Irish policy was believed to have been largely determined for him by the Catholic hierarchy of that country.¹⁸ On the other hand, Hine dedicated his first pamphlet, Eighteen Identifications, to Gladstone in 1870.¹⁹

About Disraeli, however, the opinion of the British-Israelites was very different. He was almost a prophetic figure. At the very moment that the Identity was about to be established and the Davidic descent of the Royal House confirmed, a member of the tribe of Judah became Prime Minister. Hine wrote ecstatically in 1874 that he had

faith to look upon this man as one specially raised by God as a deliverer for our nation. I see, by the eye of faith, intense glory ready to flash across our path under his Premiership. His whole surroundings are touched as by the finger of God. We get in him the very parts required to carry out in completeness our position upon the world's stage: and surely, under his banner, we shall be led to honour, instead of dishonour. 20

Disraeli's imperial policies were certain to receive the support of most if not all British-Israelites.

The empire excited great interest among believers in the Identity. It was there that were to be found some of the most positive proofs of the Identity and some of the most striking examples of divine providence. The imperial developments of the 1870's and 1880's were seen by British-Israelites as being full of significance and provoked much comment. The patriotic sentiments inspired by the empire were expressed by one adherent of the movement in these words:

No English-speaking reader can fail to have his patriotic pulse stirred with a grander pride than that of the great apostle of the Gentiles as he asserted his freeborn Roman citizenship. For we are the subjects of an

empire which dwarfs into insignificance that of Rome in its palmiest days—an empire upon which the seal of divine approval has been signally placed—an empire with which the highest destinies of the ages are fraught—an empire into whose keeping God has committed the "gates" of the earth. 21

The most valuable possession of the empire was India. However, British-Israelites had mixed feelings about the millions who inhabited the sub-continent. The visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1876 was described in an article bearing the title "Israel's Heathen Empire Responding to Israel's Prince."²² The proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1877, was, of course, an occasion for rejoicing.²³ However, the administration of the country in the following years gave rise to concern. Great objection was taken to the appointment in 1880 of Lord Ripon as Viceroy because he was a Roman Catholic. Even greater controversy was raised by the Indian Criminal Procedures Bill as Europeans would be subject to the jurisdiction of native magistrates.²⁴ But the real difficulty in India was that the natives, or at least some of them, were not dying out as foretold by prophecy; the natives of lands occupied by Israel were to disappear. The solution found for that unaccountable state of affairs was the identification of the Brahmins as descendents of Abraham through his second wife, Keturah (Genesis 28:1), and thus a distant part of Israel. Nevertheless, the problems of India were simple compared to those of Ireland.

As an integral part of Israel's home in exile, Ireland could not but be a source of concern in the 1870's. The pressure for Home Rule, encouraged by Gladstone, continued to mount and the Irish problem was proving to be intractable. Hine, as usual, had a great deal to say about Ireland. According to Identity teaching, there were two peoples in Ireland. In the North, there were the descendants of Dan and in the South, the descendants of the Canaanites. Hine argued that the problem of Ireland was not really a serious one. "To give Home Rule serious consideration," he wrote, "would be equivalent to violating God's special instructions, who has willed that the Canaanites should be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to us." ²⁶ Eventually, they would vanish from the earth. In the meantime, Israel had to continue to rule the Canaanite-Irish with a firm hand. How easily problems were resolved when the Identity was fully understood!

Both imperial expansion and imperial federation were strongly advocated by British-Israelites. The annexation of the Fiji Islands in 1874 was viewed as a further fulfillment of prophecy and an additional proof of the Identity. The opening up of Africa offered "A Fine Prospect for Israel." ²⁷ A forward policy in Afghanistan was strongly advocated by The Banner of Israel, which greatly favoured imperial expansion. Secession from the empire was impossible and Australia, where there was a secessionist movement in the 1880's, would be kept in the empire by God, even if the government and people wished to withdraw. ²⁸ All British-Israelites

looked on with favour at the developments in Egypt under Sir Samuel White Baker in the 1870's and the occupation of Egypt in 1882.

Prophecy was being fulfilled.²⁹ The Banner of Israel was a firm supporter of imperial federation which it saw as a prophetic necessity.³¹ Hine too was of this opinion, and hoped that there might be cooperation between British-Israelites and the Imperial Federation League founded in 1884. The last chapter of Ezekiel, the sealing of Revelation 12, and the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem were all prophecies of imperial federation. He went on to say that "Only the tribes could be federated, so it would be absurd to talk of federation in connection with the Gentiles."³¹

It was a subject that concerned Israel alone, and federation was the logical consequence of the British-Israel view of empire.

Of all the imperial questions of the second half of the nineteenth century, the one that most stirred the imagination of British-Israelites was the fate of Palestine. They were all convinced that, sooner or later, Britain would gain control of Palestine. Furthermore, there was the fervent hope that the Queen would be spared so that she might "exercise dominion from our Throne, when again re-seated in Palestine."³² These expectations were greatly reinforced by the events of 1877 and 1878: the Russo-Turkish war, Bismark's Congress of Berlin and the Treaty of Berlin. The expectation that this series of events would lead to an almost immediate occupation of Palestine by Britain was very widespread.³³

That happy prospect was seen to be the result of both prophetic and political necessity. Not only did prophesy guarantee the return of Israel to the ancient land, but imperial policy demanded the protection of the route to India. The return of Israel to Palestine was one of the central themes of the British-Israel millennial hope as it was of many millenarians. When British forces actually captured Jerusalem on December 11, 1917, there was unbounded joy, and a prophetic conference in Philadelphia was told,

The capture of Jerusalem is one of those events to which students of prophesy have been looking forward for many years. Even before Great Britain took possession of Egypt, there were keen-sighted seers who foresaw the day when God would use the Anglo-Saxon peoples to restore Jerusalem. 34

But in the meantime, there was much hopeful speculation as to how this result would be brought about.

As early as 1873, Hine had worked out a detailed account of the means by which Britain would gain control of Palestine. He thought that while France was occupied elsewhere, Russia would attempt to conquer Turkey. But since Israel's return was to be peaceful and not the result of war, Russia would agree to a compromise. All of Palestine as far as the Euphrates would go to Britain. Russia would receive part of Turkey, but a strip "along the north coast of the Mediterranean Sea, extending on the side of the Euphrates as far as Media" would go to Germany to form a buffer between Britain and Russia. Furthermore, this strip would compensate Germany for

giving up her colonies in Palestine as she had "with a somewhat short-sighted policy taken possession of country that the Almighty assigns to the Levites upon their return." ³⁵ This might have proved to be a very impressive look into the future. Unfortunately for Hine, Britain was to occupy Palestine under very different circumstances.

The Banner of Israel devoted a great deal of space to the consideration of the Eastern Question, and every year, beginning in 1877, this journal predicted its early solution. In 1878, a British protectorate of Asiatic Turkey in accordance with the metallic image of Daniel 2:31-33 was announced. The head of gold was India and the silver breast and arms Turkey. ³⁶ The Eastern Question provoked a certain amount of disagreement among British-Israelites, and Hine was attacked in the pages of The Banner of Israel for his support of Disraeli's refusal to agree to a partition of the Ottoman Empire. ³⁷ The optimistic tone of the Banner of Israel was continued in the next year, 1879. The leader for the new year began:

The Eastern Question, early in 1879, will, we are assured by Great Pyramid teaching... enter on a critical stage in reference to a new treaty or covenant yet to be concluded between Israel and her "enemies". In 1879, we hope the period may arrive...{for} "The Great Outpouring of the Holy Spirit" and the "New Covenant"...We look to see the Identity established in power." ³⁸

Despite the fact that none of this came to pass, The Banner of Israel began the next year, 1880, still expecting the speedy return of Israel-Britain to Palestine.

The expectation that Britain would soon occupy Palestine led to the formulation of plans for its settlement. The country was held to be an ideal area for British emigrants.⁴⁰ In 1877, a Palestine Colonization Society was formed by members of the Anglo-Israel Association of London. The purpose of this colonization society was ~~to~~ to hasten the return of Israel and Judah to their long forfeited inheritance, upon the consummation of which it is hoped and believed that the present dispensation on earth shall end."⁴¹ This was not the only group that had plans for the settlement of Palestine; but there is no indication that any British-Israelite did emigrate to the land promised to Israel.

One area outside the empire was of supreme importance in the imperial perspective of British-Israelites. This was the United States of America. It was unclear as to whether Manasseh had to be united with the other tribes before the establishment of the Identity or whether that union would be one of the results of the Identity. Nevertheless, the British-Israel teachings were being well received in that country and there were many hopeful signs.

The British Empire and the United States were fulfilling and would fulfill the prophecies. One British-Israelite, reflecting the views of many, wrote at the end of the nineteenth century that if Britain and America were "true to God and to the principles of the Gospel...incorporating them into their laws...(and) their foreign policy...we would very soon be blest with the millennial

dawn," ⁴² Glover recorded that an American Episcopal clergyman in Cologne when informed of his views on Judah, replied, "If that which you have told me is true, we shall have to come back!" ⁴³ For Glover this was no doubt a gratifying testimony from an American that the United States would one day rejoin the British Empire.

Much in the same line were the comments of the author of a report about a banquet held in Richmond, Virginia in 1874 to celebrate Queen Victoria's birthday. The author thought that the identity being established, the United States might

come under the British Crown as one Monarchy, ...and the form of Government of our brethren in America being Republican, under a President elected every four years by the universal vote of the whole people, the change to a Monarchy could be effected with the greatest ease. ⁴⁴

Why this writer thought that the transition from republicanism to monarchy would be easy is unclear, unless he assumed that Manasseh would start electing Israel's sovereign as president every four years until the arrangement was made permanent. The Banner of Israel, not surprisingly, expected the United States eventually to take its place within an imperial federation. ⁴⁵ The necessities of prophetic fulfillment forced British-Israelites into a position of expecting the impossible to happen. As a consequence, even the slightest hint of the desired result was forced into service to support and further the argument.

The pillar of the empire was the monarchy. It was a divinely appointed and ordained form of government "selected, designed, and given by God." There was no hope for republicanism. "The only alteration that could in any way occur to the British Constitution was when that time arrived when God Himself would restore 'Judges as at the first!'" ⁴⁶ This position led to a veneration of the Queen and the Royal Family that was all but idolatrous. The Queen was given a sacred importance; she was "the embodiment of a Scripture Character,...the woman destined to 'compass a man'" (Jeremiah 31:22). ⁴⁷

The Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII, fell dangerously ill in December 1871, and he was thought to be close to death. His recovery brought the following joyful effusion from one of Hine's correspondents:

And was there ever a greater miracle than the restoration of our Prince to life, in answer to the united prayers of Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, in all quarters of the globe, on that wonderful Sunday when we all waited breathless for his death, but when towards evening, hope seemed to revive even more than was warranted by a mere delay? What was he that we should pray so earnestly? There are plenty of sons and daughters to take his place. But may he not be the Lord's Anointed, who is to gather together His people, and make them a blessing to all nations upon earth by leading them to Christ? ⁴⁸

Even with the most sympathetic assessment of the Prince of Wales, that was a very optimistic view of his character, and it could only be sustained by a belief in the Identity that overrode all other

considerations.

The identification of Britain with Israel resulted in an extreme form of imperialism. Israel-Britain was called by God to universal dominion and consequently every step in that direction had to be encouraged. Certainly, the international situation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century seemed to support the British-Israelite interpretation of events; the expansion of the empire went forward almost without opposition of any kind. From the heights of the Victorian empire, British-Israelites had no desire to descend and thus they were faced with an awkward dilemma. According to Hine, if Britain were not Israel, then "it will be our mission, when Lost Israel is found, to go to God, in the presence of Israel, with the ugly confession that our fathers have inherited lies, vanities, and things wherein is no profit."⁴⁹ Furthermore, Britain would have to become subject to Israel just as the world was now becoming subject to her. Such a situation was unthinkable.

However, the imperialism of British-Israelites was not unique even if it was of a rather special kind. A religiously inspired imperialism was to be found among many nineteenth-century English-speaking Christians. A number of historians have observed that many Methodists supported a xenophobic and even racist social imperialism in the late nineteenth century. In the opinion of those Methodists, the Pax Britannica was maintained not only by Britain, but also by

Anglo-Saxon America and other "Teutonic" nations true to the Reformation.⁵⁰ Is it possible that this attitude was due, at least in part, to the influence of the Identity? However, there is very little information stating how widespread, if at all, the British-Israelite ideas were among English Methodists.

The imperialism of British-Israel was largely but not completely governed by the conviction that the present Christian dispensation was about to come to an end. Thus, the solutions put forward for such problems as Ireland, which in fact was to do nothing, were logical only when viewed from this perspective. This was equally true of the plans for sending colonists to Palestine since that country was not particularly well suited for English-speaking emigrants except in terms of the British-Israel understanding of prophecy. On the other hand, the proposed emigration of the poor and others to the colonies depended little on the near approach of the millennium. Still, it could be argued that this emigration was a part of Israel's imperial expansion of "the time of the end." And certainly, this was a means of taking possession of the "desolate heritages" (Isaiah 49:8) that were believed to be promised to Israel. The millennial hope of British-Israelites was expressed primarily in terms of the political realities of the late nineteenth century, and every development in national and international affairs was examined in order to discover its connection with this prophetic period. Of course, this was not unique to British-

Israelites but was the common practice of most millenarians. What set British-Israelites apart was the leading role assigned to Britain as Israel in the programme of "the time of the end."

It is difficult to separate the Identity from the imperial experience because it was an expression and interpretation of it. However, the Identity should not be understood as primarily a manifestation of this world supremacy; rather, the nineteenth century experience of empire gave to the identification of the British as Israelites its particular character. Many of the so-called proofs of the Identity were founded on the power and glory of this world-wide dominion. In addition, the empire was incorporated into the scheme of "the time of the end" and was regarded, at least in some respects, as the type of the thousand year reign of Christ on earth." But the Identity itself was ultimately based on the assumption that the tribes of Israel had migrated to the "isles of the west," and that the discovery of "lost" Israel was a prerequisite for the arrival of the millennium.

CHAPTER 12

RIGHTLY DIVIDING THE WORD OF TRUTH

-- 2 TIMOTHY 2:15

In the preceding chapters British-Israel teaching has been examined in detail, but only limited attention has been given to the materials on which it was based or the way in which these were used. The primary source for the Identity was the Bible, and it is necessary to consider at some length the methods used by British-Israelites to interpret the Scriptures. Other sources were also used to supplement and reinforce the biblical information, and these too shall be examined briefly. Once these matters have been dealt with, some attention should be given to the principal "proofs" of the Identity. Finally, one British-Israelite writer, J.H. Titcomb, adopted a rather different approach to the Identity, and a consideration of this would perhaps suitably conclude this discussion of the sources of British-Israel teaching and the use made of them.

Prior to a study of the use of the Bible in the Identity, we must draw your attention to the sources which were utilized by many

of the writers. A large number of them relied on the authority of other writers on the subject of the Identity and particularly on Hine, Glover, Wilson and Smyth. This fact explains why so much of the literature repeats again and again the same arguments and examples. Rarely, if ever, was this dependence openly acknowledged, although the name of Hine or someone else might be mentioned in passing. Rather, the impression most often given was that the author had made a profound study of the subject, diligently searching Scripture for his material. However, it does not take much familiarity with the literature of the movement before the arguments and scriptural texts and, indeed, the other references are recognized as being part of a long established and much used series of proofs.

In any examination of the use of the Bible by British-Israelites, it is important to remember the state of biblical studies in Britain at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. Orthodox biblicism was deeply entrenched and had the support of both the evangelicals and the leaders of the Oxford Movement. The shock of Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) and of Essays and Reviews (1860) only served to deepen this conservative approach to the Bible among many of the clergy and laity.

For the rest of the nineteenth century there were two mutually exclusive understandings of the Bible, that of the traditional conservatives and that of the higher critics, both of which were engaged in a struggle for the mind of the Church. However, the conservative position was not one of rigid uniformity, as it included diverse schools of interpretation including that of the extreme literalists most of whom were millenarians. British-Israelites maintained that the Identity was a refutation of the higher criticism because it proved "the literal fulfillment of the words of the Prophets."¹

British-Israelites accepted the Bible as the inspired and inerrant word of God. According to one writer, the Bible was a revelation from God to man, or more exactly, to Israel-Britain.² Every part of the Bible was literally true, and if any part of it could be shown to be untrue and especially any passage dealing with the promises to Israel, then it was "a fabrication from beginning to end."³ Furthermore, the Bible contained clear and unambiguous language, according to Hine. God spoke to his people "in words having a literal meaning, intended to be literally understood." And, as a consequence, the Bible should be freed "from the insipid and prevailing methods of explaining it away employed by our priests."⁴

Until this was done, seven-eighths of the Bible would continue to be misunderstood. Finally, it must be remembered that in all British-Israel literature of the nineteenth century it was the Authorized Version that was being used, and the interpretation of texts was based on the wording of this version of the Bible.

One further matter should be noted before turning to the interpretation of the Scriptures as found in the Identity literature; British-Israel teaching was based almost exclusively on the Old Testament. Genesis and Isaiah were used more frequently than any other books, but there were also numerous references to Jeremiah, Deuteronomy, Psalms, and the minor prophet Hosea. This preference for the Old Testament is no doubt to be explained by the importance of the question of the tribes of Israel, but the prominence of the Old Testament in the English-speaking world should not be overlooked. One writer on the Identity clearly expressed this Old Testament bias in his views on the superiority of English Protestant education over that of Roman Catholics; the former did not give children "any dry outline of New Testament history, but chiefly the history of the Hebrew Nation as delineated in the Old Testament."⁵ It is remarkable

that the new Testament was hardly referred to and particularly the Gospels. When Christ was mentioned in British-Israel writings, it was almost always in connection with His second coming and not His first. Finally, references to Daniel and Revelation were most frequent when the millennium was being discussed.⁶

It is necessary to insist on the importance of what was called the literal interpretation of the Scriptures by British-Israelites. Every writer beginning with Wilson, insisted that Israel must mean Israel and Judah; that the words of Scripture must have a plain, literal sense; and that the prophecies must mean what they say.⁷ Furthermore, it was generally agreed that any kind of spiritual interpretation made the Scriptures obscure, and in particular divested them of their "national, political and social aspects."⁸

The fundamental distinction between Israel and Judah was central to British-Israel teaching and was used in interpreting the Bible. However, it was not limited to those scriptural passages that were purely historical; rather, it was extended to almost the entire Bible. Hine believed that when this distinction was not made the Bible was incomprehensible. This type of differentiation was not unprecedented; however, in most

cases Israel was understood as representing the reprobate and Judah or the church the elect. J.N. Darby, for example, had distinguished between texts intended for the church and those intended for Israel. Even in the time of St. Jerome, there was a long-standing tradition "that, in elucidating the Old Testament, Israel should be understood as denoting heretics, Judah the Church."⁹ It is not certain that this tradition was known to Hine, but in any case, because the Identity was that of the "lost" tribes of Israel, they were the elect and Judah the reprobate.

Hine marked his own Bible in various colours to indicate those passages that referred to Judah and those that referred to Israel. His system was as follows: those passages referring "literally to the literal seed of Israel" were coloured red; to Judah including the Levites, blue; to the Gentiles generally, green; showing how the Lord is in the midst of his people, gold; and showing "relationships of Israel," pink. Hine's biographer described the result:

In accordance with this plan, throughout every book those four {sic} classes of passages are painted under, in one of those colours; giving a strange bizarre appearance to the volume. In some verses only two or three words will thus be under-painted. Sometimes the whole verse, or

several verses together, or a whole chapter, or sometimes several chapters together, are painted. Sometimes one chapter, or one verse even, will be coloured with two or more tints. 10

In addition to this system of colours, Hine marked his Bible with various symbols such as pyramids, flags, crowns, eyes, and figures. There were as well many annotations.¹¹ Hine recommended this method to every serious student of the Bible, and he looked forward to the day when Bibles would be printed with differing type faces to make these distinctions clear.¹² This method was no doubt very colourful, but it did serve a very practical purpose, for this was exactly the way in which Hine did his biblical exposition:

There are three examples of Hine's exposition of biblical texts that were published in Life From the Dead. Such exegeses are unusual in early Identity writings, and that makes these examples of particular interest. The scriptural passages were reproduced in three different type faces to indicate which parts were addressed to Israel, which to Judah, and which to the Gentiles.

It is not necessary to follow all the details of Hine's explanation verse by verse, but some of his comments should be noted. The first of these was of Romans 11: 1-27.

In verse 2 "his people which he foreknew," referred to Israel and not to the Christians because the latter were an entirely new people. Hine rejected the interpretation of this phrase that found there "the doctrine of predestination in a Calvinistic sense." Verses 4, 5, and 6 all concerned the tribe of Benjamin. In verse 7 Judah was rejected while Israel was called to "election." This passage had nothing to do with "the impious distortion of Scripture of a few being saved in Christ." Verses 8, to 12 referred to Israel. Verses 14 and 15 indicated that missionary work would prosper only as a result of the Identity. In verse 22 the severity was for Judah, the goodness for the Gentiles. In verse 25 "this mystery" was the identity of Israel, the "blindness in part" ignorance of the Identity on the part of the British people, and "the fulness of the Gentiles" over-population. Finally, in verses 26 and 27 "all Israel" meant the ten tribes whose salvation would take place when the Identity was known.¹³ The term "all Israel" Hine had explained elsewhere. It did not mean all of the twelve tribes but a number of the tribes or a part of a tribe. In Ezra and Nehemiah it meant "the 'one tribe' of Benjamin, which was the only remnant of Israel in the land in Ezra's time."¹⁴

Hine's consideration of Romans 9: 1-6 was very similar. He maintained that Paul was writing to the ten tribes at Rome.¹⁵ In Hine's exposition of Isaiah 65:11-16 the distinction between Israel and Judah was very clear. In verses 13, 14, and 15 "my servant" meant Israel, the curses were for Judah, and "call his servant by another name" was obviously a reference to Israel-Britain. Hine's comment was that there were clearly two different people meant in these verses and "no man with a trained intellect could declare that they were the same." In verse 16 "in the earth" indicated that the promises and curses would be effective here on earth, and excluded any spiritual interpretation.¹⁶

These three passages clearly demonstrate Hine's method of expounding Scripture; word was divided from word and phrase from phrase. The Bible was a maze through which it was necessary to thread one's way. One critic of the Identity wrote that for Hine, prophecy was

made up of separate fragments given forth at separate times, and frequently without any intention of conveying the idea that they are connected with the fragments that have preceded, although contained in the same chapter. ¹⁷

A literal interpretation did not mean understanding the texts in their literal sense but the historical fulfillment

of the prophecies and the exclusion of any spiritual interpretation of them. In fact, the method employed by British-Israelites might better be called the "proof word" system in that individual words and groups of words, and not even whole verses, were the subject of exposition and the basis for "proving" the Identity. Nevertheless, British-Israelites believed that they were making a literal interpretation and that was a hallmark of nineteenth century millennialism although there was of course little agreement as to what constituted a literal fulfillment of a particular prophecy.

Hine and other British-Israelites could not be convinced that their method of exposition was questionable and far from a correct procedure of reading the Bible. There was a very real lack of understanding on their part as to just how artificial their method of interpretation was. Hine believed that he was following the best expositional methods. He did not, he claimed, build his theories upon individual and isolated passages; rather, he diligently compared scripture with scripture. Not one passage, he asserted, had been "used to bear upon Israel that was not given to her."¹⁸

The great advantage of this kind of literal exposition and interpretation of Scripture was that it

made one's position almost unassailable. Even when critics adopted a similar stance, as did John Wilkinson and Robert Roberts,¹⁹ they were unable to refute the Identity simply because a literal interpretation, as practiced by British-Israelites and other millenarians, was arbitrary and often irrational. Scriptural texts could be made to mean almost anything. In this insistence on a literal interpretation British-Israelites appeared to enjoy the same apologetic advantage as other millenarians, in that they could claim that one had to accept their position or deny the truth of the Bible. However, this was only an advantage when confronting some who were already predisposed to literalism, and precluded the possibility of a rational discussion of the meaning of any particular text.

It should now be evident that British-Israel biblical exposition was a question of finding support for the Identity in the scriptural texts rather than developing the Identity out of those texts or attempting to understand them for themselves. The theory came first, then the supporting biblical data. The situation was much the same with the other materials that were used to document the Identity.

Some of these secondary sources have already

been mentioned.²⁰ Although this material was quite varied, as in the case of the scriptural texts, the same small selection was referred to repeatedly. Generally, these secondary sources were used to bridge the gap between the biblical narrative and the supposed appearance of the tribes in the British Isles. They also provided additional details to the Identity.

The most frequently cited of this other material was Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons. Turner was the first systematic student of the Anglo-Saxon period of English history. It has been said of his work that it stood "in something of the same relation to the revival of the study of the Anglo-Saxons in history as Horace Walpole's 'castle' at Strawberry Hill to the later revival of Gothic architecture."²¹ Yet, whatever the defects of Turner's work, it marked a great advance over that of previous historians. During Turner's lifetime his work was very popular and much respected by scholars such as Henry Hallam, the historian, and Robert Southey, the poet. It was also admired by Scott and later by Tennyson.

The popularity of Turner's book with the British-Israelites was largely due to one passage in which he suggested that the Germanic tribes, of which the Anglo-

Saxons formed a part, had their origin in "Asia, to the east of the Araxes." Furthermore, Turner believed that the Saxons "must have come into Armenia from the northern regions of Persia."²² This was the very place where the ten tribes were lost according to the British-Israelites.²³ Many classical authors were cited by Identity writers in confirmation of Turner's view. These included Strabo, Homer, Herodotus, Diodorus, Pliny, and Ptolemy. In fact, however, this list was to be found in Turner's book, and one is left with the impression that these classical authors were not known at first hand by Identity writers.

The British-Israelites interpreted Turner in such a manner as to give the impression that he himself suggested the Saxons came from the same place where the tribes were believed to have vanished from history. However, Turner said nothing at all about the tribes of Israel, "lost" or otherwise. Instead, he had an acid comment or two concerning fanciful theories about the origins of the Saxons. At least one critic of the Identity attacked the way in which Turner was used and took what Turner had to say about the Saxons to refute Hine.²⁴

One other example must be considered briefly in connection with this question of the fidelity with which material was cited. Dean Stanley in his Historical

Memorials of Westminster Abbey recounted one of the legends about the Stone of Scone that connected it with Jacob. He very carefully indicated that it was a legend. Yet, when Poole cited Stanley's account of the stone he gave no indication that Stanley was recounting a legend. Instead, Poole attributed the story of Jacob's stone to Stanley, and as a historical fact.²⁵ That, to say the least, was a dubious manner in which to proceed, and if a popular and easily accessible book such as Stanley's was treated in that way, what was done in the case of much less easily available material? Certainly Hine's attitude towards Josephus was ambiguous; he wrote, "I have no faith in Josephus except so far as he answers my purpose."²⁶ Without tracing every reference to its source, there can be no way of knowing whether Poole's case was an isolated incident or a widespread practice in British-Israel writings. However, it is suggestive.

In fact, what it suggests is the true attitude of British-Israelites towards history. On the one hand, history was considered to be an ally of the Identity, and use was made of any historical reference that seemed to confirm it. However, no effort was made to evaluate this material critically. Thus, all the claims to be found in old annals and chronicles, no matter how improbable,

were taken at face value and incorporated into the theory if they could be made to serve the desired purpose. This was the way in which the legends concerning the early conversion of England to Christianity and particularly those associated with Glastonbury, were eventually brought into the Identity.²⁶ On the other hand, there was the feeling among some writers that history was not entirely reliable. Hine wrote, "History I say, at the best, must be faulty, therefore not a safe guide; and the time comes when we shall be ashamed of many of our beliefs and wonder at our folly."²⁷ It is not certain what Hine meant, but from the context it would seem that he expected that modern historical scholarship would be refuted eventually and the truth of the Identity view of the past vindicated. In fact, British-Israelites were not really interested in history at all, but in constructing a past that would "prove" the Identity. Their historical approach was just as arbitrary as their biblical interpretation, and just as unassailable as long as they refused to admit the generally accepted critical methods.

With these comments in mind, it is possible to begin to understand the "proofs" of the Identity that were based on language, racial type, customs and

institutions, and religion. These had been basic to British-Israel teaching since the time of Wilson, and are characteristic of the Identity. As usual, it is Hine who provides some of the most interesting examples of these "proofs", but this was an area that also attracted many writers of lesser importance and they often brought their special knowledge to bear on some particular aspect of the identification of the British as Israelites.

The argument concerning language was the most interesting and extraordinary of these "proofs." To demonstrate that English was derived from Hebrew was difficult, and many ingenious explanations were offered. Wilson had argued for an indirect connection between the two because the Anglo-Saxons spoke an "Indo-Germanic" tongue. Hine took much the same position, and suggested as supporting evidence Isaiah 28:11 where it is said that God will speak to his people with another tongue.²⁸ And all British-Israelites more or less followed suit. However, there were different opinions as to what was the connecting language between English and Hebrew. Wilson had favoured Persian; others were to opt for Old Armenian or Sanskrit, but no definitive conclusions were

reached on this matter.²⁹

What attracted the greatest interest and speculation was the tracing of English words back to their Hebrew "original." The great authority for this subject seems to have been Robert Govett's book English Derived from Hebrew (1869). Govett was an Anglican minister who eventually formed his own independent congregation in Norwich and a prominent controversialist who advocated Darby's teaching of the secret rapture.³⁰ English was said to contain "the roots of no less than eight hundred Hebrew words."³¹ Some of these included scale derived from shekel, kitten from quiton (katon=little), garden from geder, and jig from char (hag=festival). In addition, there were the two most famous: British from Berit-ish meaning man of the covenant, and Saxon from Isaac meaning son of Isaac.³² A certain Henry Edgcumbe Nicholls collected a long list of British surnames which he believed were Israelitish ones. There are a number of versions of this list, one of which begins with Abihail, Arah, Andrew, Addy, Adey, Allie, and ends with the "good British names" Ure, Unna, Unni, Urea, Uria, and Ullins.³³

This "proof" from language was a popular one, and it must have seemed that it offered great scope for confirming the Identity. British-Israelites obviously had no difficulty in ignoring the fact that English was totally unlike Hebrew. However, some of them were aware of contemporary linguistic studies because they correctly associated English with the "Indo-Germanic" family of languages and this was significant for the argument from language. Nevertheless, it also indicates that they had imperfectly understood these studies.³⁴ Finally, this was one of the typical Identity arguments that cut both ways; the Identity was "proved" by the fact that English was unlike Hebrew showing the migration of the tribes, and "proved" by the fact that English was shown to be derived from Hebrew.

The "proof" from racial type was very similar in that it was just as ambiguous. The British plainly did not resemble any preconceived Jewish stereotype; yet, if they and the Jews were both descended from the same ancestors, there had to be an explanation for this lack of resemblance. The basis for an answer was supplied by Hine from Isaiah 3:9 where it was said that the Jews were to be known by their countenance.³⁵ However, it was still unclear whose features had changed, Israel's or

Judah's. Hine held that it was those of Judah which had changed, most probably at the time of the Roman siege of Jerusalem in punishment for the crucifixion of Jesus.³⁶ Others claimed that it was the features of Israel which had changed during the migration "towards the north-west of Europe; and either through climatological causes, or by intermarriages among the heathen."³⁷ The supposed loss of Mongolian features by the Turks was cited as an example of such a change. This argument from racial type was one that was fraught with all the difficulties of the nineteenth century preconceptions about race, and it was only used to answer critics who observed that the facial features of the British and the Jews were generally very different.

The "proof" from customs and institutions was something of a catchall, and both Wilson and Hine made much use of it.³⁸ Almost anything, no matter how implausible, that could be given an Old Testament origin and used to support the Identity became one of these "proofs." As an example, the cities of refuge (Numbers 35:6) were taken as the direct prototype of the medieval English sanctuaries; the education of the young in Britain was supposed to follow the pattern set down in Deuteronomy 11:19, 20; and English music was discovered to be identical with that of Israel especially in that no

single instrument was favoured but instead a combination of various instruments. ³⁹ These illustrations should be sufficient to demonstrate the way in which the Identity was "proved" from customs and institutions.

In many respects, the argument from religion was a variant of the "proof" just mentioned. Not only were English and Israelitish music the same, but so were the English cathedral service and that of the Temple. ⁴⁰ However, the most important aspect of this argument was the answer to the question, What happened to the Hebrew religion among the Israelites? The generally accepted view was that the ten tribes having "lost their land, their religion, their language, name {sic} and themselves...

... became worshippers of Baal,...and yet they retained enough Judaism to incorporate it with Baalism." ⁴¹ This altered religion of the Israelites was Druidism, and it was thus that certain Hebrew traditions were preserved by the tribe of Dan in Ireland. ⁴² Other tribes kept other traditions which found expression in the religion of the Saxons. The most important of these was the knowledge of the "Great First Cause." ⁴³ It was in this way that Israel in "the isles of the west" was prepared for the coming of Christianity. This "proof" from religion was no different from the others in offering the opportunity for extravagant and fantastic assertions.

These so-called proofs of the Identity were as completely arbitrary as were the biblical and historical interpretations of British-Israelites. Furthermore, they were not even proofs in any strict sense but specious confirmations of the a priori assumption the British were Israelites. They followed the pattern established by Wilson in being suggestive comparisons that were put forward as statements of fact. In addition, the possibility was ignored that these supposed similarities were due to the transmission by Christianity of the heritage of ancient Israel. The fact that these "proofs" and interpretations could be put forward in good faith, as they undoubtedly were, suggests that there is no limit to human credulity.

At least one British-Israelite did make an attempt to use a somewhat more critical approach in "proving" the Identity. In 1876 Jonathan Holt Titcomb published The Anglo-Israel Post Bag; or "How Arthur Came To See it." Titcomb was one of the more distinguished adherents of the Identity. Born July 29, 1819, he was a scholar at St. Peter's College, Cambridge and took his degree in 1841. After the usual curacies and rectorships, he was named the first Bishop of Rangoon in 1877. He resigned his see in 1882 and returned to England where

he acted as coadjutor to the Bishop of London for the English chaplaincies in northern and central Europe until 1886. He died April 2, 1887. 44

The Anglo-Israel Post Bag consisted of a series of fictitious letters in which Titcomb tried to show how he came to accept the Identity. He wrote that it was

a subject on which...no absolute proofs can be given. It involves, after all, a mere question of contingencies and probabilities. Accordingly, the aim of these letters has been to show that the Anglo-Israel theory presents (1) no insuperable Difficulties, on the ground either of Philology, Physiology, or History; (2) many strong Probabilities, on the ground of Scripture predictions...; and (3) some singular Confirmations resulting from a number of independent facts. 45

This sounded very promising, but the result was the same.

The "difficulties" were easily solved, and in the usual manner. Although Titcomb was perhaps more aware than most British-Israelites of the philological, physiological, and historical research being done in the late nineteenth century, he ignored it as much as possible when it interfered with his conclusions. He seems to have been just as suspicious of history as was Hine, but he rejected its inconvenient testimony on more critical

grounds. The evidence of both Josephus and St. Jerome that the ten tribes were still to be found beyond the Euphrates was not admissible; the former because of textual problems and the latter because it was hearsay.⁴⁶ The prophetic "probabilities" were the usual series of texts about Israel being in "the isles of the west" and being a "nationality." The "confirmations" were very similar to those that Wilson had advanced more than thirty years before. Having examined all this material, Titcomb concluded that while in his own mind the case was proved, the Identity admitted "of no absolute demonstration."⁴⁷

Titcomb's candour had a mixed reception from other British-Israelites. On the one hand, he was an important addition to the ranks of the movement; but on the other, his expression of a certain tentativeness was not appreciated. He eventually went further and suggested that it might not be necessary to accept all parts of the British-Israel theory. This earned him a stern rebuke.⁴⁸ It is perhaps significant that Titcomb's British-Israel activities were not mentioned after his death except in Identity circles.⁴⁹

All British-Israelites adopted more or less the same approach to the Bible, history, and the "proofs" of the Identity. If nothing else, there was great scope

for the imagination. However, it is important to remember that as absurd as much of this material now seems, this type of interpretation, which was essentially pre-scientific, had a long history. The nineteenth century was the period in which serious scholarship began to be separated from non-scientific learning, and British-Israel was definitely an example of the latter. This non-scientific tradition was then still very much alive and British-Israel less of an aberration than it now appears. One modern critic has observed that "British-Israel is to Biblical interpretation what alchemy is to chemistry; it is to historical science what astrology is to astronomy." ⁵⁰ This seems to sum up perfectly the place of British-Israel in the history of learning.

The use of the Bible and other sources by British-Israelites examined in this chapter has been commented on by almost all its critics past and present. Their method has been characterized by modern non-millenarians as being "private" or arbitrary and crassly literal. ⁵¹ However, the true meaning of this method of interpretation is that it was symptomatic of a division between the Christian leaders and the ordinary believers. Here is an almost classic example of the supposed defection from the truth by the traditional religious authorities.

which is one of the characteristic features of millennial movements.⁵² The leaders of the Christian churches were not preaching the truth about Israel and Britain, according to British-Israelites, and that truth had to be made known if prophecy was to be fulfilled. Furthermore, when British-Israelites claimed that their interpretation of the Bible would destroy infidelity, it clearly indicated that they believed that the leaders of the churches were not doing so and could not do so.

CHAPTER 13

CONFRONTING THE CRITICS

It should come as no surprise that British-Israel teaching aroused opposition, and it is remarkable that it did not arouse a great deal more. The opposition came from all directions; from other millenarians, from missionaries to the Jews, from historians and scientists, and from the clergy. It would be a thankless task to examine all the debates about the Identity, but some consideration of them should assist to understand better this movement.

However, before considering what the critics had to say about the Identity, it might be well to consider what British-Israelites had to say about what were believed to be among the greatest obstacles to the Identity: the churches and the clergy. Certainly, Hine had a very favourable attitude towards both the Church of England and the Nonconformists among whom Hine himself most probably belonged. As far as he was concerned

there should be no conflict between the two. The Established Church, as a national church, prevented a narrowness of party spirit, while the Nonconformists were a part of God's plan for Israel. The Identity would result in disestablishment because a state church was one of the supposed sins of Israel in exile, and in church union. Hine believed that the present antagonism among Christians was due to pew rents, endowments, patronage, and sectarianism, all of which would disappear once the Identity was established.¹ But until the churches began to discuss the question of the "lost" tribes, the future of Israel, and the prophetic role of Britain, they were a hindrance to the spread of British-Israel teaching.

If the churches presented a problem for the Identity, so too did many of the clergy, and the movement was to find some of its most enthusiastic supporters and some of its most vehement critics in their ranks. From the very beginning there was evidence of a certain hostility towards the clergy, and it must be remembered that Wilson and Hine were both laymen. According to Hine, the mission given to British-Israelites by God was "to expose erroneous statements emanating from the pulpits concerning Israel."² The clergy did not preach the truth about Israel, and were largely responsible for

the increase of infidelity. They were also engaged in imposing an arbitrary doctrinal authority.³ Furthermore, it was the clergy who were promoting the "ridiculous theory" of a "spiritual Israel," instead of which they should occupy themselves with instructing their people about the "signs of the times."⁴ And the Identity ! Hine demanded, "Why should it be left to the congregation to force the question into the pulpit, when it should have been there from the first?"⁵ The laity had pressed the clergy on the matter, but had received little satisfaction; therefore, a committee should be appointed to investigate the subject. And, Hine insisted, "if the theories prove unsubstantial let the people know that they are so, and that their shepherds are caring for the sheep."⁶ The clergy, however, were recalcitrant, preferring to believe that the ten tribes had coalesced with Judah or been absorbed by the gentiles.⁷

The first refutation of the Identity seems to have been that of the Reverend Edward Bickersteth. He was the rector of Watton, Herefordshire, a prolific writer on prophecy and a leading millenarian.⁸ His book of 1841 The Restoration of the Jews to Their Own Land was a rejoinder to Wilson's Our Israelitish Origin. Wilson replied in 1844, and there, in the words of one critic, "the controversy languished and expired, the victory, in

the opinion of all men of intelligence, remaining completely with Mr. Bickersteth, who entirely disposed of all the arguments of his antagonist. " ⁹ Almost nothing more was heard of the matter until the appearance of Hine's pamphlets. However, Wilson did have one critic who was not unsympathetic, George Moore of Hastings. He wrote,

Mr. Wilson, who has not advanced any direct evidence of {a} Saxon connexion with Israel by descent, while he has indicated a great deal in the Anglo-Saxon character and customs which accords better with the notion of our Israelitish origin than with any other explanation of our peculiarities, lays most stress upon the circumstances that the prophecies are not fulfilled, unless in the Anglo-Saxons. This, however, will scarcely serve to prove that the Gothic and Saxon races are the direct descendants of Joseph to whom were promised all the blessings of increase and abundance. ¹⁰

Moore of course, was perfectly correct. Wilson had not proved his case, but his suggestion was thought-provoking.

The publication of Glover's book in 1861 did produce a few sarcastic comments. It was remarked that unfortunately the Church of England had to endure the discredit of having among its clergy one who could so

waste his time as to produce such a "farrago of nonsense." ¹¹ Yet, on the whole, the works of Wilson and Glover aroused little comment, and it was to be Hine who was to find himself embroiled in controversy.

What was probably the first reply to Hine was that of George Rawlinson (1812-1902), historian, author of Five Great Monarchies, and Oxford professor. His article "Where are the Ten Tribes?" appeared in the July 6th, 1872 number of the Leisure Hour, a family journal published in London. Rawlinson had very little to say about the Identity itself although his article had as its occasion Hine's Twenty-seven Identifications. He observed that some subjects continued to come up and that the ten "lost" tribes of Israel was one of these. After commenting on Wilson's book, Rawlinson turned to Hine's pamphlet though without mentioning the author's name.

As he thought that the pamphlet would not "produce the slightest effect on the opinion of those competent to form one," he did not intend to refute Hine's "Identifications." In any case, there was absolutely no similarity between the British and the Israelites either in language, physical type, religious opinions, or manners and customs. Instead, he proposed to point out "what has

actually become of the Ten Tribes" in the "hope that a knowledge of the teachings of history upon the point may tend to check such speculations, and curtail the waste of time and thought which at present takes place in the reading of them." ¹² That was to prove to be hopeless. His conclusions were four: (1) those of the Ten Tribes who had not been carried away mingled with the foreign colonists; (2) those who had been carried away returned under Cyrus; (3) those who did not return merged with the other people of Mesopotamia; or (4) they coalesced with the Jews of the Diaspora. ¹³ Thus, Rawlinson's article was simply a presentation of historical conjectures concerning the "lost" tribes.

Hine found Rawlinson's treatment of the question highly unsatisfactory and replied with a pamphlet of some sixty pages entitled Oxford Wrong in Objecting to the English Being Identical with Israel (1872) in which he took the opportunity to answer other critics as well. In particular, Hine considered Rawlinson's refusal to discuss or refute the "Identifications" very presumptuous. He wrote that the "Identifications" seemed "to be above his reach, they stand upon too firm a basis; his strongest effort would not even shake them." ¹⁴ Hine then challenged Rawlinson to a debate in

the pages of his forthcoming journal Life from the Dead. He hoped that Rawlinson would accept the challenge as a Christian and a patriot. As a Christian, because if the Identity were disproved then there would be "no hope for overthrowing disbelief, schism, and disputes." And as a patriot, because if the Identity were discredited, Britain would become "a subservient and cringing people" whose national glory and achievements would "be obliterated from the light of heaven." 15

The rest of Hine's pamphlet was devoted to a point by point refutation of Rawlinson's arguments, and in particular stressed the similarities in language, physical type, religious opinions, manners and customs. However, in this material there was nothing really new; it was an elaboration of what Hine had previously said in his Twenty-seven Identifications and Flashes of Light. Rawlinson's arguments were dismissed with contempt and as insulting to the Deity, and Hine concluded with "Twenty-seven Reasons why Israel could not have Returned." 16

Much to Hine's disappointment, Rawlinson did not take up the challenge to debate and the Leisure Hour had not the least intention of lending its pages to a "lengthened controversy" on the subject. Only one

further notice of the matter appeared in the pages of this journal. The reception of a letter from Hine was acknowledged and some of his comments with particular reference to the "racial" features of the Jews were presented. The Leisure Hour concluded that it was "a very impressive theory. But before any bewildered student of prophecy accepts it, he had better see how it looks in the light of Professor Rawlinson's historical statement."¹⁷ The year 1872 was apparently a bad one for Hine and the Identity as there would seem to have been at least fourteen refutations of the "Identifications" by the middle of that year.¹⁸ Two of these were made by well-known students of prophecy: the Reverend Michael P. Baxter, editor of the journal Signs of Our Times (1867-1872), and the Reverend R. A. Purdon, editor of Last Vials (1846-1872).¹⁹ Purdon in particular attacked Hine's interpretation of Isaiah 28:11, "For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to his people." Purdon wrote, "Mr. Hine dexterously leaves out the whole context, and builds his argument upon the single word "Tongue," as if it meant a language, while it means in reality only the literal human tongue."²⁰ Purdon also challenged Hine on the question of the physical type of the Jews. Hine maintained that the modern Jews had

features that were different from the ones that they had when they were in "Babylon". At that time their features were the same as those of the Israelites. According to Hine, the features of the Jews were changed as a result of the crucifixion of Jesus.²¹ Finally, Purdon was able to point out one of the real problems with the "Identifications". He wrote, "If the Saxons resemble Israel in anything, that is one proof that they are Israelites; but if they differ from Israel in features, etc., that is another proof of the identity."²² This was a penetrating observation and expresses what most unsympathetic readers of Hine's works must feel about his method of identifying the British as Israelites.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science also succeeded in getting involved in a discussion of the Identity. At a meeting in Brighton, a paper was read by A.L. Lewis, Honorary Secretary of the London Anthropological Society entitled "The Alleged Identification of the English Nation with the 'Lost House of Israel'."²³ This same discourse was later given before the London Anthropological Society and then published by the author. Lewis was answered by Hine in Oxford Wrong and there was a long unsigned review probably by Hine, in Life From the Dead. Whereas Rawlinson had been condescending,

Lewis was satirical, sarcastic and given to ridicule.

The attack by Lewis was prompted by his belief that errors such as Hine's "if allowed to remain unmolested, had a habit of becoming permanent, and often produced most mischievous results, which might have been prevented by timely interference."²⁴ Lewis undertook to demonstrate that in questions of physical type, customs, and religion there was no similarity between the Israelites and the British. In the opinion of the reviewer in Life From the Dead, he had not succeeded, nor were Lewis' theological objections any better received. But Lewis was not really interested in the theological question and did not give it much attention. His main objection was that the Identity made arbitrary and capricious use of scriptural texts.

A much more acrimonious debate arose between Hine and various representatives of the missions to the Jews. One of the early critics of the Identity was a certain Reverend E.R. Talbot of Sheffield. He was a member of a society for the conversion of the Jews, and therefore, according to Hine, partisan. Talbot's principle objection was that the Identity discouraged missionary work to both the Jews and the gentiles. Hine denied this because missionary work was one of his

Identifications, the fourteenth, but he insisted that money spent on the effort to convert the Jews was "money thrown away."²⁵

This was mild enough, but the controversy with John Wilkinson, founder of the Mildmay Mission to the Jews, descended to a much less polite level. Wilkinson wrote two pamphlets against the Identity: Englishmen not Israelites in 1874 and The Ten Tribes: Where are they not? And Where are they? probably in 1879. The latter was reproduced almost in its entirety in Wilkinson's book "Israel My Glory" or, Israel's Mission and Missions to Israel. Wilkinson's first pamphlet was answered by Hine in Life From the Dead in February 1874. Hine complained that Wilkinson had considered only part of what he had written on the subject of the Identity and that Wilkinson was guilty of "many misrepresentations." He was particularly upset by the statement that he asserted that Jews were not Israelites. He also accused Wilkinson of writing his pamphlet to make money because contributions to his society had very probably decreased as a result of Hine's own pamphlets.-- Hine described Wilkinson as "a sort of country traveller for some agency seeking the conversion of the Jews; in a general way he attends

as 'the deputation'. The real object of a deputation is to obtain funds." In conclusion Hine asked if it was not an "imposture to quote, for the sake of extorting money, passages of Scriptures as applying to Judah that God has only given to Israel?"²⁶

Wilkinson was hardly less severe. He had dedicated his life to understanding God's "purpose concerning Israel," "the truth respecting the first and second Advents of the Lord," and "the duty of the Christian Church in relation to the spiritual interest of the Jews."²⁷ Although Wilkinson did make a distinction between Israel and Judah, for all practical purposes he considered them to be the same and to be found in the modern Jews. Thus, he believed no matter how "plausible and palatable" the Identity might be, it was "unscriptural, and consequentially mischievous."²⁸

Wilkinson adduced a number of scriptural reasons for rejecting the Identity. Citing Numbers 23:9, "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations," he held that it did not apply to the Anglo-Saxons despite their island. On Hosea 1:4,5 where Hine interpreted "children of Israel" as meaning Judah, Wilkinson wrote, "If the Word of God is to be treated after this fashion and thus made to

mean anything to anybody, it will soon mean nothing to anybody."²⁹ Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxons were neither without princes nor a knowledge of God as the "children of Israel" were supposed to be according to these verses of Hosea. On Genesis 17: 10, 14, Wilkinson commented that as the Anglo-Saxons were uncircumcised they were excluded "from all the privileges of the national covenant."³⁰ Finally, on Galatians 3:10, Wilkinson remarked that the "Anglo-Saxons are either saints or sinners; if saints, then detached (though Israelites) from the nation, ... if sinners, then under the curse of law."³¹ Wilkinson was able to use many of the same texts to disprove the Identity that Hine had used in support of it.

Wilkinson was just as opposed to "spiritual" interpretations as were Hine and almost all millenarians. He also rejected the concept of "spiritual Israel" as it led to indifference towards the Jews.³² But he rejected even more vigorously the Identity. In this controversy, the last word should perhaps go to Wilkinson:

So now we have another masterstroke of Satan; a determined struggle to get the Anglo-Saxons to believe, without the slightest evidence, and, indeed, against the clearest Scripture testimony, that they are the natural Israel to whom all the promises are

made, and promises only; and then by a hard and arbitrary line drawn between Judah and Israel, as though Jews were not Israelites, to hand over all the curses, and curses only, to the Jews. This we believe to be the nature of the mischief of this modern theory, and it is one of the leading latter-day errors of these "perilous times." 33

Hine and the Identity also came to the attention of The Saturday Review, a popular London journal of politics, literature, science, and the arts. In an article entitled "The Prophet Hine" the readers of this journal were treated to a fairly accurate, but not in the least reverent, examination of Hine's writings. The article took a particular interest in England's Coming Glories and concluded by recommending the theory to the supporters of the claims of Henry V, the French pretender.³⁴ The Saturday Review was to return again to the Identity in 1876 in an article entitled "The Standard of Israel." This article was also written in a jocular vein and passed in review the twelfth number of the second volume of The Standard of Israel and Journal of the Anglo-Israel Association. It was characterized as a "crazy magazine," and The Saturday Review concluded that the Anglo-Israel Association was "really a craze for the sake of a craze." 35

The Identity was taken much more seriously when The Saturday Review returned to the question in 1883. The jocular and irreverent tone of the earlier articles had almost disappeared. The article reported that one of the Identity's critics, "Octogenarius Evangelicus," had observed that "amongst the many reasons for not accepting it, perhaps the most constantly recurring and irresistible are its so-called proofs." But on a more serious note, The Saturday Review judged that the theory was aggressive and agreed with the Church Quarterly that it was a "moral misam [sic]." The article solemnly warned that it was "certainly not a movement which bishops and clergymen can safely afford to coquet with." The Saturday Review concluded that the Identity degraded "sacred names and associations to the level of an ill-constructed romance."³⁶

Of all those who criticized or attempted to refute Hine and the Identity, it was the Christadelphian Robert Roberts who most nearly succeeded in reducing Hine to silence. The two men met in a three-night debate at Exeter Hall, London in April 1879. The Christadelphians were primarily a working-class millennial sect and at least some of its adherents were interested in the Identity which was the reason for the debate.³⁷ The

proposition was "That the English Nation is Identical with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel" with Hine affirming and Roberts denying the claim. Hine's contribution to the debate consisted of a reiteration of the material which appeared in his pamphlets and journals. Roberts, on the other hand, was a millenarian who had not only searched "the signs of the times" for the fulfillment of prophecy, but had thoroughly studied the Identity and was actually prepared to debate the question and put forward what he believed to be a better theory.³⁸

Hine and Roberts began from a common ground; they were both biblical literalists, and they agreed about the meaning of some scriptural texts. For example, Roberts also believed that the "isles" of Isaiah 41:1; 42:4,10 referred to Britain, but he denied that the "isles" were Israel. These texts, according to Roberts, proved "that they are not Israel but adjuncts and servants of Israel, who co-operate with Israel in obeying the command of the King of Israel."³⁹ Britain had a great prophetic role to play in the restoration of Israel, but it was not the dominant one. Roberts believed that it was only "a question of curious interest" as to whether the British were the lost tribes or not.⁴⁰ However, he

did see a great danger in the Identity in that the "glorious things spoken of Zion" were eclipsed from view by "the godless world of British society."

Roberts found Hine's theory illogical and not able to withstand a critical examination, and cited Titcomb on the point that it was not susceptible to an actual demonstration.⁴¹ He insisted that the promises were made to all twelve tribes and that they were conditional on obedience. Therefore, the ten tribes and the two must today be in desolation together and, consequently Britain could not be Israel.⁴² In fact, Roberts was able to refute all of Hine's arguments. He also taxed Hine on his use of nonbiblical material, particularly Josephus and Sharon Turner, suggesting that Hine was quite arbitrary in the use he made of them.⁴³

Hine was generally evasive when answering the questions posed by Roberts and frequently went off on tangents that had little to do with the subject under discussion. Roberts on the second evening, no doubt exasperated, remarked that Hine "indulges in a perpetual stream of assertion. He says God Almighty says this of His people and that of His people; but he does not prove that He does so."⁴⁴ The following exchange about I Kings 15:4 should clarify the rather confused nature of the

discussion:

Roberts: Does David require a spiritual illumination outside himself?

Hine: David does require, that is, our queen, from David does require the light of the gospel redeemed from Moses under Christ.

Roberts: You said you believed David himself would come back, and my question refers not to Queen Victoria, but to David.

Hine: I do believe that David will yet re-arise, but I don't believe that David will take the throne, because it is David's seed that is to have possession, the custody of the Sceptre, until he comes whose right it is to reign.

Roberts: "Until he comes", — how can that apply to a woman?

Hine: David's seed can apply to a woman; otherwise, it would be a very poor Christ for Mr. Roberts. 45

Roberts, understandably, was not convinced by this type of argument.

The three-night debate was possibly one of the few occasions on which Hine had to face someone who was willing and had the patience to undertake a detailed scrutiny of the Identity. In such a situation Hine was not able to emerge victorious. One further brief

exchange demonstrates how easily Roberts was able to

corner Hine. Roberts quoted Romans 9:30,31. "But

Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness,

hath not attained to the law of righteousness," and

asked:

What does he mean by
"Israel" here?

Hine: Oh, I think the Jews.

Roberts: Why not Israel?

Hine: Well, because he was
speaking to the people
of the Jews in that
region.

Roberts: How do you know that,
seeing the term "Israel"
is used?

Hine: I think so.

Roberts: You are not sure?

Hine: I am almost sure.

Roberts: Then if we may understand
he means the Jews, when
he speaks of Israel; how
are you to discriminate
between the Jews and Israel
in your sense of that
distinction, in other parts
of Scripture?

Hine: Because I never allow
Scripture to contradict
Scripture. 46

Even this inglorious exchange did not cause Hine to withdraw and the third evening continued until its appointed end. Roberts went right to the heart of the theory and pointed out its inconsistencies. At one point in the debate he was even able to show that if Hine were in fact right, then the time for the Identity had not yet arrived.⁴⁷ But no matter how accurate and penetrating the criticism, nothing could overturn the conviction of those who accepted the Identity.

Another controversy should be noticed briefly because it presents a number of interesting features. The Reverend John Campbell, professor at the Presbyterian College, Montreal, on December 17, 1877 delivered a lecture entitled "The Lost Tribes" to the Young Men's Society of Erskine Church, Montreal. His purpose was to refute the theories of Wilson and Hine, and he devoted a considerable part of his lecture to Hine's arguments. He noted that most, if not all, the similarities between English institutions and customs and those of the Israelites were due to the influence of Christianity. However, the interesting part of Campbell's remarks was what he had to say about Hine. He called him ignorant, but only "in relation to the subject of his teaching." On the other hand, Campbell continued, Hine's

writings evince an acquaintance with current events and national topics; they exhibit powers of observation, and a considerable amount of tact and ingenuity in the accommodation of his theory to persons and to facts. He seems also to have a good acquaintance with the literal text of our English Bible. 48

In his final comment about Hine, he called him a typical product of an island; "the most insular thinker—if indeed, the product of his brain can be called thought—that ever framed a theory or played a demagogue's part."⁴⁹ This was perhaps the most acute, even if rather acid, assessment of Hine made by any critic of the Identity.

One month later, on January 14, 1878, William Greig, one of the members of the Montreal Anglo-Israel Association, replied to Campbell before the Young People's Society of the Stanley Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal. Greig suggested that if Campbell had "eschewed the writings of Mr. Hine and studied the writings of those whose learning and attainments according to the Professor's standard entitle them to some respect, he would in them have found opponents much more worthy of his steel."⁵⁰ He recommended in particular the writings of Titcomb and W.E. Bird, the editor of The Banner of Israel. Obviously, at least Greig believed

that Hine could be sacrificed if the defence of the Identity so required.

Before terminating this consideration of the critics of British-Israel in the 1870's and early 1880's, two other critics should be mentioned: W.M. Flinders-Petrie (1853-1942), and B.W. Savile (1817-1888). Flinders Petrie, the great Egyptologist, undertook to present his objections to the Identity in the first number of Hine's journal, Leading the Nation to Glory. He had ten criticisms of the Identity and these may well serve to summarize the position of many of its opponents. He maintained that:

- (1) Jacob would be materially blessed only when restored to Palestine;
- (2) Israel and Judah are inseparable as to their blessing, their restoration and their conversion;
- (3) "Israel" and "all Israel" generally refer to all twelve tribes or representatives of all twelve tribes unless "an exception is distinctly stated or implied in the immediate context;"
- (4) the prophecies of Israel's increase apply to the increase in and re-population of Palestine;
- (5) Israel is to be found mainly in the north and to the east of Palestine, and "isles" refers to any country with a sea coast;
- (6) there "is no proof of any distinctive change of physical appearance" in the history of either Israel or Judah;
- (7) there are no historical

connections between Israel's banner and the English national arms; the unicorn was not mentioned in the Old Testament; (8) if proposition three "be not accepted, the guilt of the crucifixion lies on Israel as well as Judah;" (9) the apostles did not go exclusively to the northwest from Palestine, but in all directions; and (10) the Sakai who were probably the Saxons had no connection with the Israelites.⁵¹ Nothing could have been more concise or direct than these well-founded objections. But no objection, however well formulated, could disabuse the minds of most British-Israelites of the truth of the Identity. One believer, writing some twenty years after the controversies here surveyed, could claim that Hine's writings "were strongly criticised by men of learning and ability, but their ablest efforts totally failed to show that Mr. Hine was in error with regard to his contentions."⁵²

There was at least one British-Israelite who changed his mind, Bouchier Wrey Savile. Educated at Westminster School and Emanuel College, Cambridge, and an Anglican minister, Savile was a prolific writer on many esoteric subjects.⁵³ He was an early adherent of the Identity and a frequent contributor to the pages of The Banner of Israel.⁵⁴ In 1880 he rejected the Identity

and with it the prophetic role of the Great Pyramid. Savile made the repudiation of his former views public in his book Anglo-Israelism and the Great Pyramid. This work is of particular interest because it is extremely unusual to find any type of considered comment by an ex-adherent of a millennial group. The review of Savile's book in The Banner of Israel came very close to being libelous. 55

Savile rejected the Identity because he came to the conclusion that it was unscriptural to attempt to determine the hour and the day of "the time of the end." Furthermore, he believed that the British-Israel interpretation of the past, the present, and especially the

extraordinary speculations which they have put forth concerning the Future, can not be accepted by "sober-minded Christians" (Titus ii.6), who regard Holy Scripture as containing the truth and nothing but the truth, respecting "these things which are coming on the earth." 56

He did not cease to have millennial views, but he did object to the literalist understanding of the millennium. His comments on one number (July 7, 1880) of The Banner of Israel emphasize his disapproval. In that issue, he wrote, there was a

melancholy admixture of worldly politics with heavenly things,

the confusion in the writer's mind between Abraham's literal and spiritual seed, and the more serious and even fatal error of applying to the British Empire what the Word of God applies solely to Christ and His faithful Bride. 57

But such feelings were rare, and Savile was exceptional in not only repudiating the Identity but in making public his reasons for doing so. No one else, at least in the early 1880's, seems to have followed his example, and, as with Flinders Petrie, his carefully considered objections fell on deaf ears.

One keen observer of nineteenth century religious movements, Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911) who in her youth was a Friend, explored many of the byways of nineteenth century religion, and remarked that with fanatics nothing one could say had the slightest effect "no matter how convincing one's argument or how clear one's reasoning." Fanatics were "raised above the region of human argument or human reasoning." 58 To what extent British-Israelites were fanatics in her sense of the word is perhaps open to question, but she did include the expectation of the second coming among the types of fanaticism. Smith concluded from her own experience that fanatics succeeded in explaining away their disappointments "because they are not in any

sense led by reason; and so do not feel a need for their experiences to follow any logical plan." 59 Or, one might add, for their theory to be susceptible of logical proof and discussion. On this criterion, British-Israel must be included among the religious fanaticisms of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 14

THE PERSONNEL AND PROPAGATION OF BRITISH-ISRAEL

In the 1870's and 1880's, due to the manifold efforts of Edward Hine, the Identity ceased to be a private speculation and began to attract adherents throughout the English-speaking nations and in other parts of the world. The purpose of the present chapter is twofold: first, to attempt to discover who some of these adherents were and to determine whether the Identity appealed to any particular segment of society; and second, to note briefly the organizations and publications supporting the Identity and the means by which it was disseminated. Neither of these subjects has been treated exhaustively because of the fragmentary nature of the available material which makes this a difficult task. Nevertheless, it has been possible to reach some tentative conclusions about the social composition of the movement, and many if not all the major organizations and the most important journals have been identified. This material should help complete the picture of British-Israel drawn in this study.

Some Representative Adherents of the Identity Movement

Who became a British-Israelite? This is a question that is not easily answered. The discovery of the social class to which members of millennial groups belong is one of the most difficult problems in the study of such groups. This is especially true for nineteenth century Britain where the millennial hope did not always give rise to sectarian groups. Instead, this hope often found expression in loosely organized societies which were formed to promote millennialism generally or a specific interpretation of it. British-Israel was an example of the latter case. Furthermore, millennialism "never became the possession of a single group, a doctrinal badge of allegiance or aversion" and thus easily found acceptance.¹ This phenomenon meant that there was never a well-defined group of millenarians and as a result there is limited information about them. In the case of British-Israel, it would be possible to compile a list of names, but in most cases the possibility of knowing anything about these people is minimal. Something can be learned only about those British-Israelites who were leaders in the movement or who were socially prominent. It is on the basis of this

limited information that any conclusions as to the social composition of the movement must be based.

Since the Identity movement was never a highly structured or centralized one, there are no precise figures as to the number of believers. However, there are some clues as the composition of the movement attracted the attention of observers early in its inception. An article written in 1876 reported that the Identity numbered among its adherents two generals, a professor, and a countess.² At the beginning of the twentieth century it was claimed that there were two million adherents of the theory. On what information this estimate was based is uncertain. Another report of almost the same date mentioned a colonial bishop and a member of the House of Lords. The colonial bishop was no doubt J.H. Titcomb; the peer was probably the Earl of Radnor.³ By the 1930's the list of adherents was said to include many members of the nobility, numerous bishops and other clergy, many generals and colonels, numerous doctors, and a few professors. It was also said that the "most spiritually-minded and most prayerful members" of the churches were usually British-Israelites.⁴

The task of identifying adherents of the Identity movement would have been simplified if the "Anglo-Israel Roll" proposed in September 1874 by A.B. Grimaldi had come into existence. This list was to be published in the pages of Hine's journal Life From the Dead, and was to contain the names of all who accepted the Identity. The name "Anglo-Israel" was chosen so as not to exclude the holders of the "Teutonic Theory." Among the purposes that Grimaldi thought the "Roll" would serve was the refutation of "slanders, and misrepresentations as to believers." It would make clear that they were "a very large number" and gradually increasing, and show that they came from "every grade of society and rank of life" including "the distinctly learned,"⁵ Unfortunately, this excellent idea never seems to have come to fruition. It would have provided much information as to who actually held British-Israelite ideas and were not afraid to have it known. Grimaldi's proposal suggests that in 1874 the Identity was engaged in a struggle for respectability.

British-Israelites were described in the following terms by one perceptive critic:

The rank and file of the disciples... are to be found in the large class of shallow religious speculators, the good imaginative people who buy the books of Dr. Cumming and other writers upon unfulfilled prophecy, and read them. A few, like the Astronomer Royal for Scotland, are men of heavier caliber, but are not reckoned safe judges in other matters that they have sought to lay before the world. 6

These observations can be supplemented by others. In an article in the Church Times of February 18, 1881, British-Israelites were classified more or less as follows: (1) returned Anglo-Indians; (2) retired officers of the army and navy; (3) "self-educated men who have read at random"; and (4) "men who belong to classes with no solid knowledge, and apt to run after will-o-the-wisps." Considering much of the material used in elaborating the movement's theory, it is easier to understand the reasons for the last two categories than it is the first two. It is surprising that no specific mention was made of the clergy as they were very numerous in the movement. Perhaps they were to be included in categories three and four, but that seems unlikely.

The attraction of the Identity for returned Anglo-Indians and retired army and naval officers is at first glance difficult to explain. It may be that the

Identity in some way justified their professional activities and was for that reason a comfortable doctrine. Furthermore, many Anglo-Indians probably held racist views and retired officers would tend to be ultra-patriotic. However, there are other possibilities as well. Millennialism frequently attracts the socially isolated and those whose expectations exceed the means for their satisfaction. In addition, many studies of millennial movements have "underlined the prominence of members of a frustrated secondary elite among the leaders."⁸ These conditions would describe those of many Anglo-Indians and officers whose return and retirement frequently meant giving up long-enjoyed social position and income.

Some of the officers and Anglo-Indians can be identified. E.W. Bird, the publisher of The Banner of Israel, was a retired Indian judge. Colonel John Cox Gawler (1830-1882), an active writer and speaker for the cause, was Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London. Most of his military career was passed in India. From 1876 until his death he was chairman of the executive committee of the Syrian and Palestine Colonization Society.⁹ A Major J.S. Philips, who wrote on the boundaries of the restored Palestine; Captain

B.W. Tracey R.N., who wrote on the Great Pyramid; and Major R.W.D. Nickle of Stuttgart, who wrote articles with such titles as "The Truth of Christianity Displayed in The Coloured Garments of the High Priest" were officers closely associated with the movement.¹⁰ Finally, there was Admiral Dunn who was vice-president of the Metropolitan Anglo-Israel Association in 1880, and Admiral Norman Bernard Bedingfield (1824-1894) who was counted a supporter.¹¹ No doubt there were other officers in this early period who supported the movement but little would be gained by seeking out their names.

Information about other adherents of the Identity is supplied by a drawing-room conference held in 1874 at a Mrs. de Bergue's. In addition to three of the officers previously mentioned—Gawler, Philips, and Tracey—Professors Haslem and Tanner were in attendance. About Tanner nothing is known. William Haslem was a professor of music. Of Mrs. de Bergue herself nothing is known except that she was the widow of a civil engineer, Charles L.A. de Bergue.¹² Her house, at 17 Kensington Palace Gardens, was located in "a private road consisting almost entirely of very wealthy private mansions in

their spacious gardens on the site of the kitchen gardens of Kensington Palace."¹³ Also present on that occasion were Hine and the Reverend J. Gore Tipper who wrote at least one book on the Identity. Who else might have been present is unknown as the names recorded were those of the people who read papers and made statements. It was most assuredly a very select group.

A number of other socially prominent individuals were associated with the movement in the early years. Viscount Folkestone (1841-1900), a Conservative M.P. (1874-1889) was president of the Metropolitan Anglo-Israel Association in 1880. He succeeded his father as Earl of Radnor in 1889. Viscount Folkestone was Treasurer of the Household (1885-1891) and Grand Master of Free Masons (1891-1900). His will was proved at over £120,000 gross.¹⁴ Charles Casey Esq. of Pelberton Castle, Carlow, Ireland, collaborated with Smyth and wrote articles that appeared in the journals of the movement. Nor should the patrons of John Wilson a half a century earlier be forgotten and in particular, Mrs. Boyd of Williamstown Castle, County Dublin. Alfred Lord Tennyson was thought to hold British-Israelite views and his brother Frank apparently did since he wrote a letter of support that was

published.¹⁵ Other names could be added, but those listed here are sufficient to give an indication of that section of nineteenth century society which took a leading role in the movement.

We add to this list, although with great reserve, the name of the most prominent personage of nineteenth century England. Was Queen Victoria a British-Israelite? This is one of the intriguing questions posed by a study of the Identity. According to one modern British-Israelite author, Queen Victoria did adopt the Identity, and this possibility has been suggested by at least two non-British-Israelite writers.¹⁶ No doubt, she had opportunities to be informed about it. F.R.A. Glover wrote to John Wilson that

I have the pleasure in informing you that this view of her position and responsibility {set forth in his book} has gone to Her Majesty, and has been presented to her as "a striking thing" by a nobleman of the highest rank and undaunted courage. What effect it may have, God knows. We may hope...that she may be allowed to have the book. ¹⁷

Whether she did receive a copy of Glover's book is not recorded. However, the following paragraph appeared in Hine's journal Life From the Dead:

We are pleased to read the following paragraph in a newspaper: — The Queen has been pleased, through Sir Thomas Biddalgh, K.C.B., to signify to the

Rev. Robert Polwhele, vicar of Averbury, her Majesty's gracious acceptance of his recent work "The English, the Descendants of the Ten Tribes" sent to her by the author. 18

There was also a report that Hine's Flashes of Light aroused great interest in the Queen's household. 19

An interesting story concerning the Queen appeared in one of Hine's letters.

Years ago, Hine wrote, Edward Corbould, the Queen's artist, told me he had had scores of conversations with the Queen upon the Identity, and that her Majesty told him, smilingly, that whenever Mr. Hine's time came she would only be too glad to transfer her Parliament to Palestine. This means that her mind is familiar with the question, so prepared for the emergency — a great thing to have done. 20

It is difficult to know what to make of this; if the story was true, was the Queen serious or was she being facetious? There is no reference to the Identity in the printed papers of Queen Victoria and mention of her adherence to the movement is limited to British-Israelite publications and works dealing with the Identity. Unfortunately, there is no corroborating evidence that the above is true and the whole matter

must remain tentative.

Those of a less exalted social standing who were attracted to the movement are more difficult to identify. But one group which was drawn to the Identity at least momentarily was the Christadelphians. This interest was vigorously opposed by the leaders of the group as previously mentioned in the case of Robert Roberts who debated with Hine in 1879. The Christadelphians seem to have been domestic servants for the most part but there was also an appreciable number of manual workers and small artisans.²¹ What is uncertain is whether this case should be understood as an example of the Identity's success with the working class generally, or as an isolated example of its interest for that particular social class.

One very heterogeneous section of the nineteenth century population has yet to be considered, the clergy. Many of them have been mentioned in this study, including E.F. Jackson, W.M.H. Milner (Oxonian), J.H. Titcomb, F.R.A. Glover, A.B. Grimaldi, B.W. Savile, J.G. Tipper and R. Polwhele. These men were all Anglicans, and all wrote books and articles on the Identity. J.H. Titcomb, first Bishop of Rangoon, was

president of the Clapham Auxiliary of the Anglo-Israel Association in 1875. In addition to those already named, there was Dr. Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem, who presided over a number of meetings concerned with the Identity and was considered by at least one writer as a supporter.²² Although there may well have been other Anglican clergy in Britain who were British-Israelites, we only mentioned those who seem to have been most active in the period covered by this study.

In North America, the only other area for which information is readily available, the situation was very similar. It was the Anglican clergy who were most closely associated with the Identity movement. Bishops William Bond of Montreal (1879-1906) and Isaac Hellmuth of Euron (1871-1883), and Dean Lewis Evans of Montreal (1902-1920) were all mentioned as being sympathetic and preaching British-Israelite sermons.²³ Both Bond and Evans were evangelicals, Bond being "one of the most uncompromising champions of the Evangelical School."²⁴ London, Ontario, Hellmuth's see city, was something of a centre for Canadian millennialism, and J.N. Darby spent much of his time in Canada in that city. Hellmuth's successor, Maurice S. Baldwin who succeeded Bond as Dean of Montreal, was an active participant in the

Niagara Bible Conferences held by millenarians in the latter part of the nineteenth century.²⁵ Whether Baldwin held British-Israelite views is unknown, but he was certainly surrounded by those who did.

However, in North America the two leading exponents of the Identity were not Anglicans but a Methodist and a Congregationalist, William Henry Poole (1820-1896) and Joseph Wild (1834-1908). Poole served Methodist congregations in Canada and the United States and was popularly known as "Anglo-Israel" Poole. Wild apparently began his ministry as an Anglican but ended it as pastor of the Bond Street Congregational Church in Toronto. Wild was Hine's host in New York. Both Poole and Wild wrote and lectured extensively.²⁶ Further evidence that in North America British-Israelite teaching was not limited to Anglican circles is to be found in Hine's letters. During his lecture tour he was welcomed in Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Disciples, Congregational and Baptist churches, and at the Y.M.C.A.²⁷ Finally, although the value of the evidence is doubtful, the letters of commendation published at the end of Poole's book, whose authors can be identified, were written by Anglicans and Methodists.²⁸

As far as it is possible to draw any conclusion at all from this very random sample, the vast majority of British-Israel clergy in Britain were Anglicans and in North America, Anglicans and Methodists. But, it is more than probable that there were sympathetic clergy in other churches.

Interest in British-Israelite teaching was not entirely confined to the English-speaking world. Two Italian Protestant pastors seem to have become convinced of the Identity. Both A. Chièrè and Serafino Beruatto, the pastor of the Evangelical Church at Venice, published in 1880, books on the subject.²⁹ The Identity also provoked an interest in Germany where S. Bachaus published Die Germanen ein Semitischer Volkstamm in Berlin in 1878.³⁰ Despite these first signs of interest from the non-English-speaking world, the Identity was to remain an English phenomenon.

Three other members of the clergy remain to be mentioned. All three men were involved in the catholic "underground" of nineteenth-century England. This is surprising considering the extreme protestant bias of the Identity movement. Richard William Morgan (1815-1889) was an Anglican minister who had Welsh nationalist, Jacobite and Non-juring interests. He

accepted the Druids as the forerunners of Christianity, and subscribed to the Trojan discovery of Britain. His book The British Kymrig (1857); a history of Britain from before the Flood to 700 A.D., was reissued by a British-Israelite group in 1922. Morgan's book St. Paul in Britain, dedicated to Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. Davids, was even more popular and went through numerous editions. Sometime in 1879 Morgan was consecrated to the episcopate by Jules Ferrette, one of the most famous of the "episcopi vagantes", and taking the title Mar Pelagius I, Hierarch of Caerleon-on-Usk, became the first Patriarch of the restored Ancient British Church.³¹ Father Ignatius O.S.B. of Llanthony whose attempts to restore Benedictine monasticism in the Anglican Church met with failure, held British-Israelite views. Finally, the Nazarene Episcopal Ecclesia founded in the late 1880's by James Martin, a friend of the Armenian "bishop" Leon Chechemain, had a British-Israelite ethos.³² The adoption of the Identity by these men would suggest that, at least in some cases, it attracted the marginal, unstable and eccentric among the clergy.

It is not the purpose of this study to follow the history of British-Israel beyond the 1880's but

mention might be made of its influence on certain groups in the twentieth century. Many Christian Scientists were thought to believe in the British-Israel tenets. The leaders of two schisms in the 1920's, Augusta Stetson in New York and Annie C. Beel in London, were British-Israelites, as was John V. Dittmore a member of the Board of Directors of the Church.³³ In the 1950's, British-Israel became the vehicle for white supremacist preaching.³⁴ And finally, in the 1960's and 1970's the World Wide Church of God under the leadership of Herbert W. Armstrong and his son Garner Ted has made the Identity one of its central tenets.³⁵ These three twentieth century examples would tend to confirm the conclusion drawn from the nineteenth century material, viz., that British-Israelite teaching appealed to a variety of groups and individuals for whom the unifying element was usually millennialism. The exceptions such as the Christian Scientists and the white racists indicate that the Identity also had a wider appeal and was occasionally adopted by non-millenarians.

From the preceding examination of those who accepted British-Israelite teaching it is possible to draw a few tentative conclusions. The "self-educated men" and those "with no solid knowledge" listed by the Church Times

were very much in evidence. In no case is there the slightest indication that any of those who wrote on the Identity were qualified to do so. That Wilson, Taylor, Glover and others had read widely there can be no doubt, but this did not mean that they judged critically what they read. Glover, Titcomb and Savile were all university men from Cambridge, but again, this did not guarantee a developed critical faculty, although Savile eventually rejected the Identity and Titcomb held that it was not subject to demonstrable proof. Hine had no critical judgment at all, and Smyth, whatever his talents as an astronomer, could not accept anything that did not agree with his preconceived ideas. It is perhaps significant in this regard that Smyth was a professor of practical astronomy. British-Israel is a very good example of a situation in which "pseudo-intellectuals" and "pseudo-professionals" and their followers engaged in an endless discussion of ideas that are only partly understood.³⁶ The holders of the Identity were completely lost when confronted with the history and science of the second half of the nineteenth century and took refuge in a theory that explained everything in a way far more acceptable to them.

British-Israelites were predominantly Anglicans although there were important exceptions. Furthermore, the Anglicans were almost exclusively evangelicals.

Of the five men whose writings formed the basis of the Identity teaching, only Glover was definitely an Anglican. Wilson was a Presbyterian, while Taylor apparently became an Anglican or returned to that Church late in life. Of Smyth's and Hine's church affiliation nothing is known. Among the clergy, in England all those who have been identified were Anglican, while in North America, although Anglicans were associated with the movement, the most well-known leaders were non-Anglicans. This evidence is meagre to say the least, but it does tend to confirm what was the generally accepted view of the movement, viz., that its adherents were usually Anglicans.³⁷

Furthermore, these Anglicans would seem to have been members of the middle class and the upper-middle class with an occasional representative of the nobility. The leadership of the movement was drawn from the clergy, the military and a few representatives of the other professions. Hine was the great exception in that he was a clerk and lower middle class. This fact may well

explain the isolation and neglect of his last years. A further indication of the generally middle class nature of the movement is suggested by some of the opponents to the Identity. Leisure Hour and The Saturday Review were all middle-class Victorian journals and would not have given the space that they did to a subject that held little or no interest for their readers. Nor is there any indication in the articles that appeared in these journals that the movement was one that was supported by the working class. Again the information is limited, but of the middle class basis of British-Israel there seems to be little doubt.

There is not sufficient evidence at present to go beyond these few tentative conclusions. That British-Israel was a major manifestation of nineteenth-century millennialism must remain open to question. However, that British-Israel was at least one aspect of that phenomenon should be clear.

Proclaiming the Identity

The teachings of British-Israel were the subject of a many-sided programme of dissemination. From the publication of Hine's first pamphlet in 1870 the Identity was actively promoted by an increasing number

of adherents, and more than just a handful of people were drawn to consider the "Israelitish origin" of the British nation. This programme of dissemination produced a great variety of publications and organizations advocating the Identity. In addition, men such as Hine delivered public lectures at every opportunity. It was by means of publications, organizations, and public lectures, all of which were commonly used by millenarians, that the British-Israel movement made known its teachings in the years after 1870, and has continued to do so.


There is no doubt that the low cost of printing in the nineteenth century greatly facilitated the spread of the Identity. Much of the literature appeared in the form of tracts and pamphlets which had a wide circulation. Hine's were reported to have been printed in great numbers and widely distributed. Twenty-seven Identifications had reached 77,000 copies in 1872, a year after its publication, and had reached 90,000 copies in 1874. Flashes of Light, also published in 1871, had reached 46,000 copies in 1880, while Forty-seven Identifications, published in 1875, had reached 120,000 copies in 1880.³⁸ The demand for British-Israel material was sufficiently strong in the last quarter

of the nineteenth century that at least two London firms were engaged in publishing it. These were W.H. Guest with S.W. Partridge, who issued works individually and together, and Robert Banks, who seems to have taken over from Guest and Partridge towards the end of the century.³⁹ Other publishers occasionally issued material but none on the scale of those already mentioned. Taylor's book on the Great Pyramid was issued by Longman, Green in 1869, while Smyth's book in its various editions came from W. Isbister, London. By the 1880's, some publications began to appear bearing the imprint of the various organizations formed to promote the Identity and, eventually, in the twentieth century, almost all publications came to be issued by Covenant Books, in London, the publishing arm of the British-Israel World Federation.⁴⁰

The number of periodicals advocating the Identity that were published by various groups and individuals is quite surprising.⁴¹ The following list of British-Israelite publications is probably incomplete, but it does provide an indication of the activity in this area. Unfortunately, there are no distribution figures available. Hine's weekly Leading the Nation to Glory by Our Identification with Lost Israel, whose title was shortened in 1876 to The Nation's Glory Leader, appeared from 1875 until 1880. Hine's monthly Life From the Dead begun in 1873 also

continued to appear until 1880. These two journals were to have been superseded by The British-Israel and Judah Prophetic Messenger and Universal News at the end of 1879. But as Hine's biographer wrote, "it was carried on too expensively, it seems, and so it soon collapsed."⁴² After the failure of The Prophetic Messenger, Hine took no further active part in the publication of any journal. This last of his journals was apparently revived as The Messenger and continued as The Covenant People by Oxonian (W.M.H. Milner).⁴³

John Wilson had published The Watchman of Ephraim from 1866 to 1868, and A.B. Grimaldi was to publish another short-lived journal The Standard of Israel and Journal of the Anglo-Israel Association in 1875 and 1876. Wilson's and Grimaldi's journals supported the "Teutonic Theory" and were little appreciated by Hine. The Standard of Israel, Hine wrote, "simply represented a false Anglo-Israel Association," while The Watchman of Ephraim was characterized as "a treacherously false and most dangerous journal, for it was TEUTONIC."⁴⁴ There was a similar variety of journals published outside Britain and these seem to have maintained contacts with the British publications. There were at least two journals in Australia: The Standard of Ephraim of Australia published in the late 1870's and The Australian British Israel Pioneer of which two numbers appeared in 1890.⁴⁵ In North



America there were a number of journals that appeared at different times. The Reverend Joseph Wild published The Champion in the 1870's, G.W. Greenwood published The Heir of the World in Brooklyn at the beginning of the 1880's, and in Boston the Reverend Joseph Williams published The Trio in the middle of the 1870's and The Trumpet of Israel at the beginning of the next decade.⁴⁶ Finally, in 1880, the Reverend James Christie announced that he would publish an Identity journal in Truro, Nova Scotia.⁴⁷ Most of these journals disappeared very quickly leaving behind only their names.

However, there was one journal that was to have a long life. The Banner of Israel. A Weekly Journal, Advocating The Identity of the British Nation with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel first appeared on January 3, 1877. It was edited by "Philo-Israel", E.W. Bird, a retired Indian judge, and a Mr. Cookson.⁴⁸ The Banner of Israel proposed to treat exclusively the Identity and eschewed all participation in millennial controversies.⁴⁹ The material published in this journal fell into certain clear categories. There were many articles that dealt with attacks on the movement, and, perhaps to balance these, extracts from books and pamphlets favourable to the Identity. There were testimonies to the Identity by the "Blind", that is, by people who were not adherents and who very often may have known little or nothing

about it. For example, an article of this type concerning the expectations of the natives of Palestine that Britain would take possession of the country bore the title "H.H. Kitchener, R.E., of the Palestine Exploration Survey, Gives Blind Testimony to Our Identity." Of course, Kitchener had done nothing of the sort, but for The Banner of Israel the facts that he reported were a proof of the Identity.⁵⁰ There were vague political articles containing numerous biblical citations; historical articles on the "gates", that is, the important colonies and ports of the empire which were understood as being the "gates" of Israel's enemies (Genesis 22:17); articles of biblical exposition; and articles on the Great Pyramid. The material in The Banner of Israel was typical of that contained in the other journals of the movement. Each yearly volume of The Banner of Israel ran to five hundred pages or more. It was published until 1924 and then was continued as The National Message, the present journal of the British Israel World Federation. The National Message eventually absorbed two other journals, The Covenant People (1894-1921) and New Vision (1930-1970).

While the journals of the movement had an important role in disseminating the Identity, of equal importance were the lectures and conferences on the subject. Hine spent the last twenty years of his life lecturing. Wilson was similarly occupied. The journals were full of reports of lectures and addresses

given by the exponents of the Identity. But frequently it is difficult to learn very much about these lectures other than their contents. For example, sometime in 1874 a certain Protheroe Smith, M.D., read a paper entitled "The Identity of Israel with the English and Kindred Races" at "The Conference on Israel on the Probable Israelitish Origin of the English Nation." Although Smith's paper had appeared in the published proceedings of this conference, he also published it personally as a protest against the use of the word "probable" in the title of those proceedings.⁵¹ He believed that the "Israelitish origin" had been demonstrated. But further details about the conference such as who convened it and where it was held are unavailable.

One conference about which we have more information than usual was held June 26, 1872 at Mildmay Park near London.⁵² This conference on Israel "Inclusive of the Saxon's Glorious Origin and Destiny" was presided over by Dr. Samuel Gobat, Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem. One of the lectures was probably "The English, The Descendants of 'The Ten Tribes'" by the Reverend Robert Polwhele. At the conclusion of the conference, Dr. Gobat refused to pronounce an opinion as he had not sufficiently studied the subject. It is possible that the Bishop had not understood the true nature of this conference on Israel.⁵³ However, Dr. Gobat must have eventually studied the subject because on June

23, 1875, he presided over a conference sponsored by the Anglo-Ephraim Association, an Identity group about which practically nothing is known.⁵⁴ Conferences of this type were a standard feature of nineteenth century millennialism.

Another kind of meeting that was popular was the drawing-room conference. At least two such conferences were held at the home of Mrs. de Bergue in Kensington Palace Gardens, London, in 1874. One of these meetings was presided over by Colonel J.C. Gawler, Keeper of the Crown Jewels. A paper entitled "The Unveiling of Israel under the Scepter of Judah" was read by a Professor Tanner M.R.A.C., F.C.S. Also in attendance were the Reverend J.G. Tipper, Major J.S. Philips, Captain Tracey, Professor Haslem and Edward Hine.⁵⁵ All these people were familiar names in the movement, but we have no knowledge of the others who attended this drawing-room conference.

Hine's activities as a lecturer have been mentioned already, but some further details might help to fill out this aspect of British-Israelite activity. His biographer described Hine's lecturing as follows:

From 1869 he was continually engaged in lecturing in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as holding drawing-room meetings, attending conferences and tea-meetings, in connection with the subject of Israel; and occasionally also preaching upon it. In this way he visited all the large cities, and a great number of the

smaller towns and villages. His fee at first was two pounds, but finding this did not cover expenses, he raised it to three. He generally had good attendances, and sometimes overflowing ones. Many places he visited, on invitation, more than once. His delivery was clear and emphatic, and he generally held his audience's attention firmly up to the last. 56

Hine had at least three standard lectures—on the Identity, on the "Importance of Emigration," and on the "Political, Social, and Religious Uses" of the Identity. These were advertised as being particularly suitable for "Sunday School Teachers, Adult Bible Classes, and Young Men's Associations."⁵⁷ The high point of Hine's career as a lecturer was undoubtedly his three-night debate with the Christadelphian Robert Roberts in April 1879 at Exeter Hall, London. 58

The importance of the lecture in the nineteenth century as both a form of instruction and of entertainment must not be forgotten. A good example of this combination is to be found in the lectures of the Reverend W.H. Poole who was active in both the United States and Canada. Poole's lectures, nine in number, contained a fairly complete exposition of the British-Israel theory. But it is not this material that is of interest here despite its coherent presentation; rather, it is the secondary material contained in these lectures that sheds interesting light on the popularity of this mode of communication in the nineteenth century. A good example is Poole's fifth lecture, "Archaeology,

or Echoes from the Rocks of Eastern Lands, Clearly Identifying the Saxon Race with the Lost Tribes of Israel." It contained the latest information concerning ancient Egypt and its religion; the Rosetta Stone, the Moabite stone, the Behistun rock, and ancient alphabets generally. The eighth lecture on "Our Gates" was a veritable travelogue of the British Empire in 1880's. It began with Heligoland in the North Sea and circled the globe, ending with the expected annexation of Constantinople. Nor did Poole hesitate to introduce humorous anecdotes as in the sixth lecture on the "Lia-Fail, or the Stone of Destiny, or Jacob's Pillow" in which the audience was treated to stories of the confused prayers of the clergy and odd inscriptions on tombstones.⁵⁹ It is little wonder that Poole was in great demand as a lecturer, and the same was true of other Identity speakers.

Those who adopted British-Israelite teachings quickly began to form organizations to support the further spread of the Identity. These early organizations were as diverse and varied as the publications, and equally ephemeral. The earliest formally organized group would seem to be Israel's Identification Association founded in London in the spring of 1874. A call had been made by a W.T. Green in January 1874 for a meeting of workers for the Identity to "ask our Father to bring it to pass, and to acknowledge us himself to be his children."⁶⁰ After

several meetings an association was formed, its purpose being to bring about the "Identification of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel." The means to be employed in this endeavour were "the holding of prayer meetings, public meetings, conferences, lectures, {and} the circulation of books and papers bearing upon the subject." Membership was open to both men and women upon the payment of an annual subscription of one shilling. Furthermore, it was decided to form auxiliaries throughout the country with a central committee formed of three members of each auxiliary. Finally it was recommended that a quarter hour three times a day, at 8:15 A.M., 12:15 P.M. and 9:15 P.M., be set aside for prayer to help promote the work of the association. These times were considered to be "the most suitable to numerous classes of people."⁶¹ Hine was probably associated with this group as its formation took place through the pages of his journal.

At the end of the 1870's and the beginning of the 1880's a number of new organizations made their appearance. The Anglo-Israel Association was founded in 1878.⁶² This may have been the same organization as the Metropolitan Anglo-Israel Association of which Viscount Folkestone M.P. was president in 1880, or it may have been a different one. In any case, it does not appear to have been associated with Hine, and it was probably the organization which he denounced for holding the "Teutonic

Theory."⁶³ In 1879, Hine proposed the formation of a new group to work for the Identity, The British-Israel Identity Corporation, Ltd. The corporation was to publish journals and literature and to take part in parliamentary elections. Its official publication was to be The Prophetic Messenger mentioned earlier. This group lasted for only a very short time.⁶⁴ In the next year, 1880, another organization was formed of which Hine was a founder. This was the Identity Farm Produce and Fisheries Co. Ltd. Its purpose was to provide cheap food in accordance with Old-Testament dietary laws, but the company does not seem to have prospered.⁶⁵ In 1884 still another organization was formed called the British-Israel Association.⁶⁶ This plethora of Identity groups continued for the rest of the nineteenth century with new groups appearing as old ones disbanded. In 1919 the British Israel World Federation was formed. It is the only modern group of any size.

Such organizations were not limited to Great Britain. In Canada an association was formed in Montreal on February 16, 1880. It had the support of Bishop Bond of Montréal, Canon Lewis Evans, and Senator James Ferrier.⁶⁷ But of far greater interest because of its possible uniqueness, was the formation of the First Identity Church in Brooklyn, New York in January 1881. This church was probably the result of Joseph Wild's preaching to the Lost Israel Identification Society in Brooklyn in the late 1870's. However,

Wild does not appear to have been pastor of this church. Hine occupied the pulpit there in 1885.⁶⁸

The various organizations and publications are indicative of the unstructured nature of the Identity movement. Furthermore, they exhibit the division in the movement between the supporters of the "Teutonic Theory" and those of Hine. Each group had its own associations and journals. Nevertheless, this division was never a sharply defined one, and the differences may well have been due at least in part to a conflict of personalities. Hine does not appear to have been someone with whom it was easy to work. However, what is truly significant about these activities is their very profusion. Quite obviously there was a large public which was interested in the Identity and willing to purchase these journals. The number of active members of any of the organizations may have been relatively small, but there is evidence that there were numerous auxiliaries such as the one at Clapham of which Titcomb was president. Thus, in the final analysis, the total number of active British-Israelites in Great Britain may have been quite large.

The means used to disseminate the Identity were those common to all nineteenth century millennial groups. Even Hine's extensive lecturing was not unusual. And as far as his North American tour was concerned, J.N. Darby had undertaken the same

trip earlier. Conferences, large or small, were a standard feature of millennialism in this period as were journals supporting various millennial positions. Furthermore, many of the Identity journals would have been hard to distinguish from other millennial publications by their titles alone. It was only their contents that set them apart. In summary, it can be said that, in terms of the methods used to proclaim the Identity, British-Israelites differed not at all from other millenarians.

British-Israel never developed into an exclusive millennial sect, but remained a voluntary association whose members continued to belong to one of the traditional churches. The formation of the Identity Church would appear to be a departure from the norm because the ideology of the Identity was not separatist. One modern commentator on the movement has remarked that British-Israel is "an appendage to orthodoxy, existing on the periphery of what is normally believed, and cannot readily find distinctive religious expression in any self-evident form." It is "a special teaching which must, for inherent ideological reasons, be promulgated within the existing churches."⁶⁹ The Identity was not a complete system of doctrine although it was seen by its adherents as being all-embracing and everything came to be interpreted in its terms. But, viewed objectively, it did not impinge upon any of the central doctrines of the Christian

faith as understood by many Protestants. Hence, British-Israelites were not forced to withdraw into a separate community. In this as well, it resembled much of the millennialism of the nineteenth century which was non-sectarian and whose adherents were to be found in most of the traditional churches.

CHAPTER 15

AND DID THOSE FEET IN ANCIENT TIMES...
--WILLIAM BLAKE

This study has been concerned with the early history of British Israel; the origins of its theory or at least, the first suggestions that the English were Israelites. We have traced this movement from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Attention has also been focused on the history of British and North American millennialism of the same period in order that the Identity should be appreciated in a wider historical perspective. The teachings of Wilson, Glover, Taylor, Smyth, and Hine have been considered in detail. Furthermore, their theories and those of other British-Israelites concerning the ten "lost" tribes of Israel and the Great Pyramid, the millennialism of the Identity, its political expression, and the methods and some of the materials used to support it have been examined separately. Finally, some of the early critics of the Identity have been considered, the early organizations and publications catalogued, and an attempt has

been made to discover the social composition of the movement. There remains to be considered only some general conclusions about the nature of British-Israel: in particular, its millennialism, its Christian or religious character, and its use of the past.

Throughout this study of British-Israel, millennialism has been a recurring theme, and yet the millennialism of the identification of the British people as Israelites has perhaps not become sufficiently apparent. By summing up the conclusions of this study the millennialism of British-Israel becomes much clearer.

There are two basic questions that can be asked about the millennialism of British-Israel. The first is, Why should British-Israel be considered as an example of a millennial movement at all? The immediate answer is that it was a millennial movement because all the early advocates of the Identity understood it in terms of the shortly expected millennium. Hine, Smyth, Glover, Wilson, all believed that the Identity was one feature of the programme of "the time of the end." For them and their immediate successors the Identity and the millennium were inseparable. That this was the case may have been obscured by the great importance they gave to the identification of the British people as Israelites, but they

been made to discover the social composition of the movement. There remains to be considered only some general conclusions about the nature of British-Israel: in particular, its millennialism, its Christian or religious character, and its use of the past.

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definitively terminated by Christ's first coming. At best, any possible eschatological role for the Jews was dependent on their conversion to Christianity and would be limited to having the place of honour at the head of the Christian community as it entered the millennial kingdom.

British-Israel was an ingenious solution to the problem posed by the Jews because it transferred their eschatological role to a Christian people and made the future of the Jews dependent on them. In this way, all the prophecies concerning the restoration and the future glory of the chosen people of the Old Testament could find a literal fulfillment that at least outwardly did not compromise the Christian faith. The result produced by this solution was for all practical purposes identical with that achieved by the idea of a "spiritual Israel" to which British-Israelites took such exception. In both cases the inheritors of the Old Testament promises were the Christians.

The second question is, What characteristics of a millennial movement did British-Israel exhibit? Millennialism has been described by Norman Cohn as being collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and miraculous.¹ It would be appropriate to inquire how these terms apply to British-Israel if it was in fact an expression of the

millennial hope. However, before considering these terms, it must be said that in the ideology of the Identity "the time of the end" which was to precede the millennium was accorded far greater attention than the millennium itself. Indeed, in some respects for Israel, many of the special features of the millennium would be present during this antecedent period, but the true millennial age would begin only with Christ's second coming. Thus, the millennial hope of British-Israel was a twofold one: first "the time of the end" and then the millennium itself.

The millennialism of the Identity was collective in that it included all the faithful, that is, all true Israelites. These Israelites were first of all the inhabitants of the British-Isles and their overseas relatives, and secondly those inhabitants of the United States who were of Anglo-Saxon descent. There were as well small groups of Israelites scattered throughout Europe and Asia. It was all these people together who would participate in the glories of "the time of the end."

This millennialism was also terrestrial because both "the time of the end" and the millennium itself would take place on the existing earth. Furthermore, the type of the millennial kingdom was already in existence

in the British Empire.

The arrival of the millennium was only relatively imminent according to British-Israel teaching, because it would be preceded by "the time of the end" and it was this period that was about to begin. However, for Israel it would be a foretaste of the joys of the millennial age. The millennial hope of British-Israelites was also total in that the condition, not only of Israel but also of Judah, and finally of the rest of humanity, would be completely changed. The establishment of the Identity would be the beginning of the radical transformation of the earth.

Finally, the arrival of the millennium would be miraculous. This new age would begin with Christ's second coming. On the other hand, "the time of the end" would follow the establishment of the Identity. However, the time for the discovery of "lost" Israel had been fore-ordained by God and could neither take place before or after that appointed time. Thus, it as well, was ultimately the result of divine intervention. In summary it would seem that British-Israel fulfilled reasonably well these general criteria of a millennial movement.

Turning from the general to the more particular, it is also possible to examine how close the British-Israel

ideological pattern followed that of other nineteenth century millennial groups. Four basic tenets have been attributed to millenarians in this period: (1) the belief in the literal fulfillment of the biblical prophecies; (2) the belief that the Gospel alone could not and was not intended to accomplish the salvation of the world; (3) the belief that Christ would literally return before the millennium began and that the Jews would be restored before His return; and (4) the belief that the whole plan of these events had been foretold and could be discovered in the Bible.² These four tenets must be considered individually in relation to the Identity.

Did British-Israelites believe that the biblical prophecies were to be fulfilled literally? Of this there can be no doubt. In fact, it might be said that British-Israelites understood the prophecies even more literally than most literalists. Not only was this evident in the insistence that Israel must mean Israel and Judah, Judah, but in the interpretation of "the isles of the west" as the British Isles. Of course, this was a literal interpretation that was determined by the fact that the expositor lived in these islands, but there could be no doubt that the "isles" must be islands. And of course British-Israelites were not alone in accepting the latter

interpretation. Many nineteenth century millenarians were convinced that Britain had a prophetic role even if they did not accept the Identity. British-Israelites thought that theirs was a literal interpretation of the prophecies that conformed to all the best standards for expounding the Scriptures.

British-Israelites agreed with other millenarians in believing that the Gospel neither could nor was intended to accomplish the salvation of the world. It was only when the Identity had been established that the triumph of the Gospel would begin. However, here also it was the Identity and not Christ's second coming that seems to have been considered to be the decisive eschatological event. The Identity was the means by which the way for the ultimate victory of the Gospel in the millennial age was to be prepared.

The return of Christ and the restoration of the Jews were both to take place before the beginning of the millennium according to British-Israel teaching. However, here again the Identity itself gave a special character to this doctrine because the restoration of the Jews was subsidiary to that of Israel. The return of the ten tribes to the land of Palestine was the main event in which the return of the Jews was absorbed.

Finally, British-Israelites believed that the whole plan for the end of the present Christian dispensation was foretold and could be discovered in the Bible. And, they were certain that they had in the Identity the means to discover and understand this plan. These means, were the distinction between Israel and Judah, and the identification of the British as Israelites. Once these two propositions had been accepted the whole programme of "the time of the end" became comprehensible and the prophecies could be correctly interpreted. It only remained to set out a timetable for this prophetic age based on contemporary events.

The understanding and interpretation of prophecy that formed the basis of the Identity was essentially that of other millenarians. Prophecy was seen as a closed system, and the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments were thought to cover the whole time span of the existence of the world. For Biblical literalists such as the British-Israelites there could be no extra-biblical prophecy. Therefore, when the biblical prophecies had been fulfilled, and it must be remembered that in the Identity they were thought to concern first and foremost Israel, the present Christian dispensation would come to an end automatically. For this reason, British-Israelites, like

most millenarians, were anxious to discover the fulfillment of these prophecies and to establish a chronology that would provide an accurate date for the beginning of the millennium. The role of the Great Pyramid was that of an aid in establishing this chronology, and in confirming "scientifically" the prophecies of the Bible. It was not considered to be extra-biblical.

The appeal of millennialism has been attributed to various factors. Among these are estrangement from society, anxiety, the "aesthetic" appeal of millennial thought and imagery, and the tension in society between recognized leaders and a secondary elite. While millennialism has often been considered the product of a radical estrangement from the society in which it appears, this was not the case with British-Israel. On the contrary, it would seem to have been an expression of certain aspects of nineteenth century British society. But, radical estrangement is not an absolute requirement for the appearance or adoption of millennial ideas, and much nineteenth century British millennialism would seem not to have had that as its basis. However, it is not always evident, nor is it easy to determine, to what degree an individual may feel himself estranged from his society. And, indeed, there was an element of protest in the

Identity although it is extremely difficult to define. It might best be described as a rejection of what was perceived as the secularization of the British self-understanding. British-Israel was the manifestation of a refusal to accept that Great Britain was one nation, one imperial power, among many. The Identity was an attempt to reassert, in terms that had been a part of the subconscious of the English since the sixteenth century, that they were a unique people, especially blessed and chosen by God. An additional element of protest that should not be overlooked was the attempt to establish the literal truth of the Bible in opposition to nonliteral interpretations and in the face of growing historical and scientific criticism. Thus, while not expressing a radical estrangement from society, British-Israel did represent a protest against certain aspects of nineteenth century society.

The "aesthetic" appeal of the Identity should not be ignored. The Identity contained all the elements necessary for a great national myth which glorified the past and justified the present. All the rough hewn blocks out of which this myth could be created were there: the wanderings of the ten tribes, the romance of the "Remnant of Judah," and the mystical significance of the Great

Pyramid. Furthermore, as a foundation for this national myth, there was the fully elaborated and complex Old Testament myth, many of whose themes such as exile and restoration were present of necessity in the Identity from the very beginning. But this great national myth was never fully realized. Nevertheless, it should not be difficult to imagine what the result might have been had British-Israel become widely and officially adopted as the ideology of the English-speaking people. The misfortune of the Identity is that it never inspired a poet who might have worked this mass of material into a great national epic. Instead, the materials for this mythic history of Britain remain where they were placed by Wilson, Glover, Taylor, Smyth, and Hine, and the literature of the identification of the British people as the "lost" tribes of Israel is extremely pedestrian.

British-Israel was a movement whose leaders came from a secondary elite, composed of returned Anglo-Indians, retired officers, and clergy most often drawn from the lower grades. Even colonial bishops were rarely among the most important ecclesiastics. These men were in reality, whether or not they themselves realized it, in competition with the traditional ecclesiastical and political authorities. They knew the "truth" about

Britain's immediate political and spiritual future, and they were desirous of not only making this "truth" known, but of having it universally accepted. Furthermore, here was an almost classic situation in which "pseudo-intellectuals" competed with the orthodox and debated with their followers "half-understood ideas."³ These ideas included the interpretation of Bible, the origins of the English language, anthropology, Egyptology, and, in fact, all the scientific learning of nineteenth century.

There were other aspects of British-Israel as well that are among those frequently attributed to millennial groups. In terms of the arrival of the millennium, British-Israel corresponded to those groups whose members could hasten the arrival of salvation at least partly by their actions. In the present situation, it was by proclaiming the Identity.⁴ On the other hand, the time for the establishment of the Identity was fore-ordained so that the active role of British-Israelites was a somewhat limited one. Nevertheless, it was the national acceptance of the Identity which was the decisive event for the beginning of "the time of the end." Furthermore, it was the salvation of Israel, that is, the identification of Britain as Israel; which would make possible that of all mankind. This was another

characteristic of many millennial groups. ⁵

There was never a messianic leader of the Identity movement. Instead, British-Israel followed the opposite pattern associated with millennialism. There was a joint leadership with a small inner circle of followers associated with them and then a much larger and less well-defined number of adherents. In this British-Israel resembled much of the millennialism of the nineteenth century. ⁶ The fact that there was no messianic leader is undoubtedly one of the reasons why British-Israel did not develop into an exclusive millennial sect. In addition, the Identity itself was not sufficient to bring about such a development as it was not a complete and all-embracing system of doctrine. British-Israel was a part of that non-sectarian millennialism which was so prevalent in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the adherents of the Identity remained members of the traditional churches.

While millennialism was the motivating force of the Identity, yet it was not in itself sufficient to ensure the widespread acceptance of the identification of the British people as the Israelites. The Identity had to compete with many other expressions of the millennial hope, some of which had a far more complex and compelling ideology.

In addition, many millenarians were not convinced that the identification of the "lost" tribes of Israel, whether as the British or any other people, was of any real importance. In the contest for the support of millenarians, British-Israel had to surmount a number of obstacles. It must also be remembered that millennialism in any form, was embraced by only a minority, no matter how large a one, of Protestants in the nineteenth century.

Turning from the millennialism of British-Israel to its Christian or religious character, the most striking feature is the predominance of the Old Testament. In the writings that have been examined in this study the New Testament was generally ignored, and the Christian dispensation was considered, when it was considered at all, primarily in terms of Israel itself because Israel when found was to be a Christian people. The real concern of British-Israelites was not with Christ's first coming but with His second. This virtual avoidance of the New Testament is understandable because the tribes of Israel have little or no place in it. But there were other reasons as well for preferring the Old Testament.

The prominence and influence of the Old Testament in English Protestantism were at the origin of the

Old Testament bias of British-Israel. United with this, was that eccentric proclivity towards Judaism, itself at least in part the result of the prominence and influence of the Old Testament, which had a long and bizarre history in England since the seventeenth century. The adoption of Jewish laws and customs, such as the dietary laws, never became an integral part of British-Israel teaching, but the suggestion was there. Among some modern British-Israelites, in particular the Armstrongs, this proclivity has been manifested itself in the adoption of such laws and customs. The prominence and influence of the Old Testament achieved in the Identity its most exaggerated expression.

The Identity was also another response, although surely an unconscious one, to the question about the role of the Old Testament that has troubled Christians since the earliest days of the Church. What was that status of the Old Testament for the Church? Was it the word of God or had it been completely superseded by the Gospel? There have been many answers to these questions, from that of Marcion in the second century who rejected the "Old Testament entirely," to that of the British-Israelites who almost went to the other extreme of disregarding the New Testament. Indeed, British-Israel was an example of

what might be called Old Testament Christianity.

There is another reason, which is equally important, for the secondary role of the New Testament in British-Israel teaching: the Identity was a supplementary doctrine to the theology of conservative Protestantism. British-Israelites were in general agreement with other evangelicals about most of the doctrines of the Christian faith.⁷ However, there were attempts to reformulate some doctrines so that they might reflect the Identity, as in the case of the distinction between redemption and salvation made by Hine. One British-Israelite believed that the Identity was the means by which Calvinism and Arminianism might be reconciled. This was possible because

...the promise and oath of God to Abraham, down through the ages, the elect according to the foreknowledge of God, have been blessed with great temporal power and national blessing, and at the same time, free grace, through Jesus Christ, is offered to all mankind.⁸

But here, as with millennialism, it was the Identity itself which occupied most of the attention of British-Israelites, and such attempts at reformulating doctrines were rare.

As a religious teaching, the Identity had in addition to millennialism other attractions for adherents,

some of which have been mentioned already. It offered a sure and certain refutation of the higher criticism, and a positive and satisfying proof of the truth of God's revealed word, and much stress was laid on these two points in the literature of British-Israel. Furthermore, British-Israel was an example of what might be called esoteric religion. Over the centuries this type of religion has found expression in various forms, but it has almost always included a special teaching which set its adherents apart from the mass of ordinary Christians. The Identity was a special teaching that provided its adherents with the "truth" about the Bible and the British people. It also had the added advantages for its largely middle class adherents of appearing to be learned, and of not requiring them to separate themselves from their denominational community, usually the Anglican Church.

The use made of the past in British-Israel presents a number of features that are worthy of comment. The past as distinct from history has always been used didactically. In the words of one historian, the past has been used by man

to explain the origins and purpose
of human life, to sanctify institu-
tions of government, to give validity

to class structure, to provide moral example, to vivify his culture and educational processes, to interpret the future, to invest both the individual human life or a nation's with a sense of destiny. 9

This is not to say that the past so used does not contain history, but that the purpose to which the past and history are put are quite different.

The past has been used by all ruling classes to justify their authority and to educate the classes without power to accept that authority. "The personal ownership of the past has always been a vital strand in ideology of ruling classes." ¹⁰ This explains, for example, the importance attached to genealogies whether in the Bible, Tudor England, or British-Israel. Ownership of the past means the construction of a past that will explain, justify, and legitimize the present. Thus, the use made of the past by an individual or a group can disclose a great deal about their understanding of themselves and their present situation.

In considering the materials that were used to support the Identity, it became apparent that the use made of these materials was often very arbitrary, and this was particularly true of the historical ones. British-Israelites thought that anything that could be

used to support the Identity, no matter how dubious, should be used. However, the truth of the matter is that, despite what supporters of the Identity might say about the historical evidence for it, they in fact were not interested in history at all. It was the past that was important, the past of the British people that was created out of those allegedly historical materials.

British-Israelites in identifying the British people as the true, lineal descendants of the Israelites of the Old Testament found a means of explaining, justifying, and legitimizing Britain's nineteenth century experience of empire, industrial power, and supposed cultural supremacy. Who could better fulfill the role of the dominant world power than God's chosen people of old? As one modern critic has remarked, the Identity provides to those who accept it "a Biblical warrant for the importance of their nation in the affairs of the world. One might go further and say that it is particularly attractive to those who believe themselves to be the Herrenvolk." ¹¹ Another modern critic has stated that the Identity "is really the Gospel of the Glory of the British Empire. It breaks the joint between patriotism and religion." ¹² The Identity made explicit and literal that self-understanding which combined religion and patriotism and which

emerged probably in the middle of the sixteenth century.

It is not surprising that British-Israel appeared when and where it did. It sanctified the imperial ambition of the British people. No other period in their history seemed to be as divinely blessed as did the nineteenth century. For a people who were still at least nominally Christian, the most natural explanation for the might and glory of the British Empire was that it expressed the will of God. Nor is it surprising that so many adherents of the Identity were Anglicans because the Church of England was in a sense an imperial church; it was the British Empire at prayer. Without the experience of Empire, it is doubtful that the identification of the British as Israelites would ever have developed into the coherent and complex teaching that it did in the nineteenth century.

In one respect at least British-Israel went beyond the traditional owners of the past, the ruling class, and in doing so proved itself to be very much a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. The sanction of the past was given to the whole nation instead of to just one part of it. The result was very similar to the situation that is to be found in the Old Testament. The nation is not divided into the rulers and the ruled;

rather, the world is divided into Israelites and non-Israelites. The consequences of the latter situation of course are exactly the same as in the former, only the scale being changed; there are still the rulers and the ruled. British-Israel was an attempt to provide an official ideology, an official history, for nineteenth century Britain. This official ideology, in the form of a great national myth, explained the past, justified and legitimized the present, and foretold a continuing glorious future in the final triumph of Israel at the end of the age.

It may well be significant that at the same period as the Identity was first being proclaimed, the legend of King Arthur and his knights gained a new popularity throughout the English-speaking world. The Victorian "Matter of Britain" like British-Israel was an attempt to give meaning to the nineteenth century British experience. Tennyson's Idylls of the King had both a political and a moral purpose. He described the Victorian monarchy in romantic terms in order to give it a new meaning and appeal, and at the same time to suppress the republicanism that flourished at the time of Queen Victoria's retirement from public view. The Idylls presented a "daydream of Christian monarchy firmly linked

to the queen and her almost canonized husband." 13
 Tennyson's legitimization of the monarchy by invoking the authority of Arthur was not unlike that of Glover's who invoked David. Interestingly enough, Tennyson was thought by some to have been an adherent of the Identity. The Arthurian legends were used to justify imperial Christian Britain in much the same way as was the Identity. The only real difference was that King Arthur was understood symbolically while Israel was understood literally. In both cases a national myth was created that interpreted and justified the present.

However, these myths of King Arthur and of Israel never coalesced. King Arthur and his knights remained outside the history of Israel, despite the fact that the "once and future King" must have been an Israelite according to the Identity because, of course, the ancient Britons were descendants of one of the tribes of Israel. The only figure common to the two myths was Joseph of Arimathea, and his appearance in the story of British-Israel was a relatively late one. In the Identity he was one of the apostles to the "isles of the west" along with St. Paul, and not the bearer of the Holy Grail whose place as a sacred object was taken by Jacob's pillow. That nineteenth century Britain should have

been provided with two national myths is extraordinary, particularly as they were so similar in many ways. Obviously, many people must have felt the need for the sanctification of the present by the past. And the two myths no doubt appealed to different aspects of the British character: Arthur perhaps to the more historical and literary and British-Israel to the Christian or at least the religious. However, in neither case were these myths adopted as official national ones. The time for that, at least in Britain, was already long past.

The development of the Identity has been traced from its first formulation by John Wilson in Ulster to its elaboration by Edward Hine and his successors into a soon to be world-wide movement with its appropriate organizations and publications. At the same time the underlying assumptions on which the Identity rested - the eschatological role of the tribes of Israel and the millennial hope - have become apparent. This is the twofold purpose of this study.

The identification of the British people as the ten "lost" tribes of Israel was one of the more "quixotic" forms of nineteenth century Protestantism. The Identity was the product of a large number of elements

some of which have been considered in these conclusions. The result of this synthesis was a complex national and religious myth continuing the one of the Old Testament. Because of the deep roots that this myth had in the English psyche it was to prove to be an enduring one. Although its success is limited, it still continues to attract partisans in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

No attempt has been made in this study to trace the history and development of British-Israel both as a movement and a doctrine beyond the end of the Victorian age. That is another area and in many respects a much less pleasant one, which is still to be fully explored. The role that the Identity may have had in the racist theories that have plagued the twentieth century has only been noticed in passing. Neither is it clear in what relation British-Israel stood to the racial theorists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A form of racism was implicit in the Identity which could incite racial prejudice, but in all probability it owed little to the racist speculations of de Gobineau and H.S. Chamberlain. However, such theories of racial superiority were far removed from the visions of Hine, Wilson, Glover, and Smyth.

British-Israel was an Old Testament vision
revivified in nineteenth century Britain. It was a
dream of the promises of God made in the Old Testament
to His chosen people being fulfilled in imperial
Christian Britain. It is not without reason that William
Blake's verses on Jerusalem have become closely associated
with the Identity. No other words could better express
the spirit of this dream of Israel "in England's green
and pleasant land."

NOTES

Preface

1. N.H. Parker, The Ten Tribes and All That (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938), p. 7.

Chapter 1

1. Sylvia L. Thrupp, "Millennial Dreams in Action: a Report of the Conference Discussion", Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study, ed. by Sylvia L. Thrupp (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962), p. 12.
2. Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism. British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 5 and n. 3.
3. Especially useful are the volumes edited by Thrupp, see supra, n. 1; the two articles by Yonia Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation between Religious and Social Change," European Journal of Sociology, 111 (1962, No. 1), pp. 125-148, and "Millenarian Movements," European Journal of Sociology, VII (1966, No. 2), pp. 159-200; and Clarke Garrett, Respectable Folly (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 1-15.
4. Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revised and Expanded Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 15. For a detailed consideration of these features see Yonia Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," p. 166f.
5. Thrupp, op. cit., p. 12.

NOTES

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6. Shirley Jackson Case, The Millennial Hope (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918), p. 6.
7. Donald Weinstein, "Millenarianism in a Civil Setting: The Savonarola Movement in Florence," Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study, by Sylvia L. Thrupp, p. 197.
8. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," pp.177, 173 and passim.
9. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," p. 182 and passim.
10. Cohn, op.cit., p. 21.
11. Norman Cohn, "Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing On the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study, ed. by Sylvia L. Thrupp, p. 40 f.
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15. Ibid., p. 21 f.
16. Ibid., p. 12.
17. Ibid., p. 17.
18. Ibid., p. 13.
19. Garrett, op.cit., p. 11.

NOTES

Chapter 1

20. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium", p. 132 and passim.

Chapter 2

1. Henry Chadwick, The Early Church (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 78, n. 1.
2. Case, op. cit., p. 176.
3. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements", p. 163 and passim.
4. Sandeen, op. cit., xviii. However, millenarians themselves believed that there was a more or less continuous history that could be traced from the earliest days of the church to the nineteenth century. The rejection of millennialism was one of the great "errors" of the Roman Church; only "false" millennialism should have been rejected. See generally, Nathaniel West, "History of the Pre-Millennial Doctrine," Second Coming of Christ, ed. by Nathaniel West (Chicago: F.H. Revell, 1879), pp. 341, 354, and passim.
5. Particularly useful for the pre-nineteenth century period is Garrett, op. cit., pp. 121-143. The book by W.H. Oliver, Prophets and Millennialists. The Use of the Bible in England from the 1790's to the 1840's (Auckland University Press, 1978) became available too late to be used in this study.
6. B.S. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 24.
7. Ibid., p. 25.
8. Ibid., p. 26.

NOTES

Chapter 2

9. William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), p. 125.
10. Ibid., p. 157.
11. Capp, op. cit., p. 44.
12. Hill, op. cit., p. 325.
13. Garrett, op. cit., p. 122.
14. See also Daniel 7:25; 8:14; 9:27. This understanding of "time, times, and an half" meaning years is the generally accepted one, see the New English Bible, Daniel 7:25. This period was half of the perfect number seven and represented the prophetic time of evil. How millenarians arrived at this conclusion is unclear; according to Sandeen, "only a little more ingenuity was necessary" to make this correlation, Sandeen, op.cit., p. 6 and n. 5.
15. Garrett, op. cit., p. 13 and pp. 121 ff.
16. Ibid., p. 230.
17. Hill, op. cit., p. 336.
18. Garrett, op. cit., p. 13 and passim.
19. John F.C. Harrison, The Quest for a New Moral World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), pp. 94-97 cited in Garrett, op. cit., p. 152.
20. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 7.

NOTES

Chapter 2

21. See The Book of Remembrance (London, 1814), cited in Garrett, op. cit., p. 212. For more about Wedgewood, see infra, p. 51.
22. Bernard Semmel, The Methodist Revolution (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 157. For more on the millennial role of Napoleon and Louis Napoleon, see infra, pp. 181-182
23. For these terms, see supra, p. 2.
24. Sandeen, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
25. Ibid., p. 214, n. 12.
26. Ibid., p. 39.
27. Ibid., p. 89 f.
28. Ibid., p. 63.
29. Ibid., p. 62.
30. Ibid., p. 66.
31. Samuel H. Kellogg, The Jews or Prediction and Fulfilment (new ed.; New York: Anson D.F. Randolph & Company, 1887), p. 90.
32. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 13.
33. Ibid., p. 110.
34. Ibid., p. 111.

NOTES

Chapter 2

35. John Wilkinson, "Israel My Glory" or Israel's Mission and Missions to Israel (2nd ed.; London: Mildmay Mission, 1889), p. 110 f. For Anglican millenarians, see Sandeen, op.cit., pp. 40, 88-89.
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37. R.H. Martin, "United Conversionist Activities Among the Jews in Great Britain, 1775-1816: Pan-Evangelicalism and the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews," Church History, 46 (December 1977, No. 4), p. 441.
38. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966), I, p. 451.
39. Sandeen, op.cit., pp. 152, 157-158, 163-164.
40. Ibid., pp. 19, 134, 145 f, 177, and passim.
41. Ibid., p. 210.
42. George Shepperson, "The Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study, ed. by Sylvia L. Thrupp, p. 48.
43. See supra, p. 9.

NOTES

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1. J.H.Plumb, The Death of the Past (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 30 f.
2. Garrett, op. cit., p. 122.
3. Haller, op.cit., p. 225.
4. Haller, op.cit., p. 243; Emil G. Kraeling, The Old Testament since the Reformation (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 41 f.
5. Haller, op.cit., p. 53.
6. Haller, op.cit., p. 245.
7. Garrett, op.cit., p. 124.
8. Haller, op.cit., p. 240.
9. Kraeling, op.cit., p. 42. See also Herbert Schöffler, Wirkungen der Reformation (Vittorio Klostermann: Frankfurt am Main, 1960), pp. 25 ff. This work includes Schöffler's "Abendland und Altes Testament" (1937).
10. Schöffler, op.cit., pp. 42 f, 44 f.
11. Ibid., pp. 47 ff.
12. Haller, op.cit., p. 239.
13. Ibid., p. 241.
14. Thompson Cooper, "John Sadler," D.N.B., XVII, 593-594;

NOTES

Chapter 3

Albert M. Hyamson, "Anglo-Israel", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 482; C.S. Braden, These Also Believe (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 388. Sadler's book was reprinted in 1682. For Sadler and John Wilson, see infra p. 74.

15. Schöffler, op.cit., p. 58.
16. Alexander Gordon, "Thomas Tany," D.N.B., XIX, 363-364; Schöffler, op.cit., p. 57; Matthews, op.cit., xv f.
17. Alexander Gordon, "John Robins," D.N.B., XVI, 1323-1324, Schöffler, op.cit., p. 57 f; Matthews, op.cit., xv.
18. Allen H. Godbey, The Lost Tribes a Myth (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1930), p. 666. Joseph Jacobs, "Lost Ten Tribes", Jewish Encyclopaedia, (1901), XII, p. 249.

The twelve traditional sons of Jacob were Levi, Joseph, Simeon, Reuben, Gad, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Dan, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali. Levi was the priestly tribe. The southern kingdom of Judah was composed of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the northern kingdom of Israel of the other nine tribes. The tribe of Joseph was often divided into two subtribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, and it was thus that the number of the ten "lost" tribes was made up. British-Israelites were to give Benjamin to Israel instead of Judah making Manasseh a thirteenth tribe, see infra, p. 159 f.
19. Godbey, op.cit., pp. 5, 666.
20. Ibid., p. 1.
21. Ibid., pp. 2 ff.
22. Garrett, op.cit., p. 185.

NOTES

Chapter 3

23. A.H. Grant, "Jacques Abbadie", D.N.B., I, 1 ff.
24. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 134.
25. Cited in John Wilson, Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin (5th ed.; London: James Nisbet & Co., 1876), p. 136 n. 1.
26. W.H. Poole, Anglo-Israel or the Saxon Race Proved to be the Lost Tribes of Israel in Nine Lectures (Toronto: William Briggs, n.d.), p. 131. For other references to Abbadie, see Edward Hine, The Anglo-Saxon Riddle (London: W.H. Guest, S.W. Partridge, 1877), p. 284 (in The British Nation Identified with Lost Israel); and Lost Israel (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, Printers, n.d.), p. 4.
27. See infra, pp. 67, 128, 151.
28. Christopher Smart, Rejoice in the Lamb, ed. by William Force Stead (New York: Henry Holt and Company, n.d.), XV, 1.23, XVI, 11.1,2 (pp. 114, 117); Garrett, op.cit., p. 185.
29. James Woodforde, The Diary of a Country Parson, ed. by James Beresford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), I, p. 165.
30. Thompson Cooper, "Thomas Cooke," D.N.B., IV, 1021 f, and Schöffler, op.cit., p. 60 f.
31. Leslie Stephen, "Lord George Gordon," D.N.B., VIII, 197 f, and Schöffler, op.cit., p. 61.
32. Semmel, op.cit., p. 178.
33. The idea that the tribes of Afghanistan might be the

NOTES

Chapter 3

- decendants of Israel is still current today; see the article by Abram Rabinovich, "Are Pathans the Lost Tribes?" Globe and Mail (Toronto) February 2, 1980.
34. Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography (London: Frank Case, 1965) II, co. 948.
 35. George Moore, The Lost Tribes (London: 1861), pp. 143-160, see Godbey, op.cit., p. 1.
 36. Jacobs, "Lost Ten Tribes," p. 250.
 37. Moore, op.cit., p. 93, cited in F.R.A. Glover, The Remnant of Judah (2nd Ed.; London: Rivingtons, 1881), p. 161.
 38. For Moore and John Wilson see infra, p. 59 and for Moore and F.R.A. Glover see infra, p. 84.

Chapter 4

1. There are a number of studies of Brothers: Alexander Grant, "Richard Brothers," D.N.D., II, 1350-1353; Cecil Roth, The Nephew of the Almighty (London: Edward Goldston Ltd., 1933); Ronald Matthews, English Messiahs (London: Methuen & Co., 1936), pp. 85-125; and Garrett, op.cit., pp. 179-207. None of these studies deals at any length with Brothers' ideas about the tribes of Israel.
2. Roth, op.cit., p. 30.
3. Matthews, op.cit., p. 96 f.
4. Ibid., p. 100.
5. Ibid., p. 90.

NOTES

Chapter 4

6. For Halhed, see Alexander Gordon, "Nathaniel Brassey Halhed," D.N.B., VIII, 925-926. For Finlayson, see Boase, op.cit., I, col. 1049. For both men, see the studies cited in note 1, supra.
7. No copy of this work has been available and no description of it has been discovered. Brothers' later writings seem to have had a very limited circulation. This work may have elaborated what was said in A Revealed Knowledge or it may have just repeated it, but unfortunately there has been no way of finding out.
8. Matthews, op.cit., p. 89.
9. Brothers, A Revealed Knowledge, II, p. 85; Matthews, op.cit., p. 96.
10. Matthews, op.cit., p. 98.
11. Brothers, op.cit., II, p. 87.
12. Ibid., II, p. 89.
13. Ibid., II, p. 99.
14. Ibid., I, pp. 7, 9, 54; II, pp. 85, 88, 91, and passim.
15. William Bryan, A Testimony of the Spirit of Truth Concerning Richard Brothers (London: 1795), p. 8. For Bryan see Garrett, op.cit., pp. 175-178.
16. Garrett, op.cit., p. 185.
17. See supra, p. 19.

NOTES

Chapter 4

18. Matthews, op.cit., p. 82; Garrett, op.cit., p. 185.
For Southcott, see Alexander Gordon, "Joanna Southcott," D.N.B., XVIII, 685 f.
19. Matthew, op.cit., p. 82; Schöffler, op.cit., p. 61 ff;
Alexander Gordon "John Wroe", D.N.B., XXI, 1073 f.
20. William Blake "Jerusalem", plate 42, ll, 46-47.
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22. Mark Schorer, William Blake, The Politics of Vision (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), p. 93.
23. C.P. Smyth, Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid, 3rd edition. (London: Daldy, Isbister, 1877), p. 521.
For Smyth, see Chapter 7.
24. Charles Williams, "The Figure of Arthur", Arthurian Torso, ed. by C.S. Lewis (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1976), p. 264.
25. Hyamson, op.cit., p. 482; Joseph Jacobs, "Anglo-Israel", Jewish Encyclopedia, I, p. 600; Garrett, op.cit., p. 180; Schöffler, op.cit., p. 66; Roth, op.cit., p. 109 f. However, none of these writers has demonstrated a direct connection between Brothers and later British-Israelites.
26. C.P. Smyth who mentioned Blake said nothing about Brothers. Among the early critics such as Professor G. Rawlinson no mention was made of Brothers.
For Rawlinson, see infra, pp. 240-243.
For John Wilson, see Chapter 5.

NOTES

Chapter 4

27. The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879), p. 292, for Hine, see Chapter 8.
28. The Banner of Israel, XXIX¹ (1905), p. 223.
29. The Banner of Israel, I (1877), p. 160 f.
30. Garrett, op.cit., p. 12.

Chapter 5

1. Hyamson, op.cit., p. 482.
2. This work is always known as Our Israelitish Origin from the title of later editions. The fifth edition of 1876 which contains some added material, usually at the end of chapters, has been used in this study, see supra, p. 39, n. 25. There are also short notices on Wilson in Boase, op.cit., VI, cols. 917-918, and in Robert Polwhele, The English, The Descendants of "The Ten Tribes" (London: S.W. Partridge, 1873), p. 22.
3. Wilson, op.cit., p. 412 f.
4. Ibid., p. 415.
5. Wilson, op.cit., pp. 425-428. For Marsh, see supra, p. 25.
6. Ibid., p. 432. For Glover, see Chapter 6.
7. For Moore, see supra, p. 41 f.
8. Ibid., p. 435.
9. Ibid., p. 435.

NOTES

Chapter 5

10. For Mimiriss, see Boase, op.cit., II, col 898, and for his support of British-Israel Leading the Nation to Glory Leader, I (1875), p. 12.
11. Wilson, op.cit., v.
12. Ibid., v.
13. Ibid., vii.
14. Ibid., p. 3.
15. Ibid., p. 2.
16. Ibid., p. 7.
17. Ibid., p. 17.
18. Ibid., p. 24-30.
19. Ibid., p. 32 ff.
20. Ibid., p. 49.
21. Ibid., p. 51 ff.
22. Ibid., pp. 57 ff, p. 65.
23. Ibid., p. 66.
24. Ibid., p. 65.
25. Ibid., p. 32.

NOTES

Chapter 5

26. Ibid., p. 94.
27. Ibid., p. 112.
28. Ibid., p. 117.
29. Ibid., pp. 135-136.
30. Ibid., p. 139.
31. Ibid., p. 149.
32. Ibid., pp. 139 ff.
33. Ibid., pp. 198 ff.
34. Ibid., p. 244.
35. Ibid., p. 253.
36. Ibid., p. 291.
37. Ibid., p. 246.
38. Ibid., pp. 258-259.
39. Ibid., p. 254.
40. Ibid., p. 260.
41. Ibid., p. 260.
42. Ibid., p. 270.

NOTES

Chapter 5

43. Ibid., p. 283 ff.
44. Ibid., p. 315.
45. Ibid., p. 311.
46. Ibid., p. 327 and passim.
47. Ibid., p. 196.
48. Ibid., pp. 269, 159, 192 f, and passim.
49. For a further consideration of the Hebrew origins of the English language, customs, and institutions, see infra, pp. 225-230.
50. Ibid., p. 368.
51. Ibid., p. 397.
52. Ibid., p. 405.
53. Ibid., pp. 391, 392.
54. Ibid., p. 409.
55. Ibid., p. 305. It has not been possible to identify this work. It may have been another title for Sadler's book.
56. Ibid., p. 136.
57. For the role of the "Teutonic Theory" in later British-Israel teaching, see infra, pp. 151-157.

NOTES

Chapter 5

58. For reaction to Wilson's theory, see infra, pp.238-239.
59. For lists of some of these writers see Edward Hine, Oxford Wrong (London: S.W. Partridge, n.d.), p. 140 f. (in The British Nation Identified with Lost Israel); and The Banner of Israel, I (1877), p. 160 f.

Chapter 6

1. The second edition would appear to be almost identical with the first except for a new preface and a postscript, and has been used in this study. For Glover, see Boase, op.cit., V.col, 425. Much of Glover's book was reprinted in Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 118-123, 213-221, 268-275, 341-345.
2. Glover, op.cit., p. 13. The presentation has been modified slightly.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. Ibid., p. 36.
5. Ibid., p. 43 ff. Glover indignantly rejected any comparison between the Stone of Destiny and the House of the Annunciation at Loretto, Italy.
6. Ibid., p. 50 and passim. See also Jeremiah 44:12-14, 28; 1:19; 15:20; 20:13.
7. Ibid., p. 87.
8. Ibid., p. 77.
9. Ibid., p. 128. For the Tuatha Dé Danann, see Nora Chadwick, The Celts (Penguin Books, 1970), p.169 ff.

NOTES

Chapter 6

10. Glover, op.cit., p. 96 ff. Others were to work out in detail this genealogy that Glover gave only in outline, see infra, p.150.
11. Nora Chadwick, op. cit., p. 90.
12. Glover, op.cit., p. 119.
13. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
14. Ibid., p. 3. As early as 1838 he had discovered "Representative Pre-Christian Judah" by which he presumably meant the Davidic descent of the English Royal House, Ibid., p. 149.
15. Ibid., p. 124.
16. Ibid., p. 139.
17. Ibid., p. 141.
18. Ibid., p. 142 f. Glover was to change his mind about Manasseh and adopt Hine's identification, see infra, p.159 f.
19. Ibid., pp. 163, 155.
20. This was written before Benjamin Disraeli became Prime Minister. He was not of the "Remnant of Judah," but he was certainly of Judah and not of the "Joseph-part of the Empire."
21. Ibid., p. 84. For the Irish Canaanites, see infra p. 160 f.
22. Ibid., p. 125.

NOTES

Chapter 6

23. Ibid., pp. 171-172.
24. Ibid., p. 181 and passim.
25. A.P. Stanley, Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey (1st American ed.; New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1888), I, p. 73 and n. 1.
26. Glover, op.cit., p. 42.
27. Ibid., pp. 75, 42, and passim; and F.R.A. Glover, "Jacob's Stone.--A Pillar Of Witness," Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 213, 269.
28. Alexander Gordon, "Godfrey Higgins," D.N.B., IX, pp. 819-820.
29. Ibid., I, pp. 128 ff. Pineda's book was dated London 1754. The work in the words of Life From the Dead gave "historical and biographical notices of the public life and actions of the members of the Family of Brigantes or Douglas, which extend back as far as the time of Moses and the Pharaohs; and includes within their scope the origin of several cities and nations, more particularly in Spain, Portugal, France, Ireland and Scotland. The presence of a remarkable stone amongst them may greatly assist the inquiry now so generally awakened as to the former owners of Jacob's Stone."
30. For the relation of the Jews to Israel-Britain, see infra, pp. 148-150.

Chapter 7

1. I.E.S. Edwards, The Pyramids of Egypt (rev.ed.; Penguin Books, 1961), p. 117 and passim.

NOTES

Chapter 7

2. There is a biography of Taylor by Edmund Blunden, Keats' Publisher. London: Jonathan Cape, 1936. There is also much information in Amy Lowell, John Keats, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), II, 287 and passim. There is also a brief memoir by Mrs. C.P. Smyth in the fourth edition of C.P. Smyth, Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid (London: W. Isbister, 1880), pp. 637-652.
3. Blunden, op.cit., p. 34 f; Lowell, op.cit., II, p. 288.
4. Blunden, op.cit., p. 129; Lowell, op.cit., II, p. 288.
5. Augustus de Morgan, Budget of Paradoxes cited in Blunden, op.cit., p. 206. The reference is to Acts 19:25.
6. Blunden, op.cit., p. 155 f.
7. Cited in Blunden, op.cit., p. 225.
8. John Taylor, The Great Pyramid. Why was it built? and who built it? (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), V. (Hereafter cited as The Great Pyramid.)
9. Ibid., p. 2.
10. Ibid., p. 3 and passim.
11. Ibid., p. 37 and passim.
12. Ibid., p. 143 and passim.
13. Ibid., p. 145.

NOTES

Chapter 7

14. Ibid., p. 183 and passim.
15. Ibid., p. 200.
16. Ibid., p. 201.
17. Ibid., p. 201 f. His date is reasonably close to that given by modern Egyptologists who date the Great Pyramid to the end of the Old Kingdom (2686-2181 B.C.). However, this would seem to have been a question of luck because the Egyptians apparently did not have means to make such accurate calculations, Edwards, op.cit., pp. 256 ff.
18. Taylor, op.cit., p. 207.
19. Ibid., pp. 209, 221 and passim. Taylor noted many references to the Great Pyramid in the Bible. On Job 38:1-7, Taylor wrote that "the Creation of the Earth is described in language borrowed apparently from the building of the Great Pyramid." See p. 262 f and p. 270 f.
20. Ibid., p. 224.
21. Ibid., p. 228.
22. Ibid., p. 242.
23. Blunden, op.cit., p. 277.
24. Smyth, 4th.ed., op.cit., p. 643.
25. A.M. Clerke, "Charles Piazzi Smyth," D.N.B., Second Supplement, I, 1222-1223; Boase, op.cit., VI, col. 589.

NOTES

Chapter 7

26. C.P. Smyth, Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid. Third edition (London: Dalby, Isbister, 1877), vii. This book went through a number of editions and the third edition has been used in this study. The fourth edition of 1880 which was reprinted as recently as 1978 has been used occasionally (see supra, p. 91, n. 2). However, all references are to the third edition unless the fourth edition is specified.
27. Ibid., viii.
28. Ibid., p. 5.
29. Ibid., p. 11. Smyth described this concept as "the most modern and Evangelical form of Christianity." Ibid., 4th ed., p. 12.
30. Ibid., p. 10 f.
31. Ibid., p. 8.
32. Ibid., p. 13.
33. Ibid., p. 20 f. The casing stones had been removed.
34. Ibid., p. 30. This length was 69.850 cm, and the "Pyramid inch" .2.794 cm.
35. Ibid., pp. 39, 43 and passim.
36. Ibid., p. 315 ff.
37. Ibid., p. 357 and passim.
38. Ibid., p. 369.

NOTES

Chapter 7 .

39. Ibid., p. 596 ff, and 4th ed., p. 331 ff.
40. Ibid., pp. 115, 361 ff.
41. Ibid., p. 351.
42. Ibid., p. 312.
43. Ibid., p. 373 ff, p. 377.
44. However, Smyth thought Philitis might also be identified as Job or Shem. Ibid., 4th ed., p. 630.
45. Ibid., pp. 323, 353, 496 ff.
46. Ibid., p. 214.
47. Ibid., pp. 534, 529.
48. Ibid., p. 78 f. The Great Pyramid fulfilled this description by being at the border between Upper and Lower Egypt and at the edge of the cultivated Nile basin. It was also the centre of "all the dry land habitable by man all the wide world over."
49. Ibid., p. 391 and passim.
50. Ibid., p. 426.
51. Ibid., p. 428.
52. Ibid., p. 510.
53. Ibid., p. 430 f.

NOTES

Chapter 7

54. Ibid., p. 512 f.
55. Ibid., p. 513.
56. Ibid., p. 514.
57. Ibid., p. 516 ff.
58. Ibid., p. 503.
59. Ibid., p. 510.
60. Ibid., p. 216.
61. Ibid., p. 520.
62. Ibid., p. 366.
63. Ibid., x.
64. Ibid., p. 573.
65. Ibid., p. 550.
66. Ibid., p. 551.

Chapter 8

1. A.B. Grimaldi, Memoir of the Late Edward Hine. London: Robert Banks & Sons, 1909. (Hereafter cited as Memoir.) Grimaldi also contributed the material for the article in Boase, op.cit., V, cols. 666-667. Fifteen articles on Hine's life appeared in The Banner of Israel, XXI (1905), Nos. 1477-85, 1487, 1491-4, 1497 and on Hine's family, No. 1474.

NOTES

Chapter 8

2. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 11.
3. Boase, op.cit., V, col. 666. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 10. Nikolaus Pevsner, London, The Buildings of England (Penguin Books, 1952), p. 114. Robert Vaughan was a Congregational minister; professor of history, University of London; and founder-editor of the British Quarterly Review; Boase, op.cit., III, col. 1081.
4. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 10.
5. Ibid., p. 11.
6. For Hine's Bible, see infra, p. 216 f.
7. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 12. Bermondsey and Rotherhithe are on the south shore of the Thames to the east of Southwark.
8. Forty-seven Identifications, Flashes of Light, Oxford Wrong, England's Coming Glories, and The Anglo-Saxon Riddle were later issued in one volume with the title The British Nation Identified with Lost Israel. (London: S.W. Partridge, n.d.). It is this edition of these works that has been used in this study. The journal Leading the Nation to Glory (1875) was continued as The Nation's Glory Leader (1876-1880).
9. January 31, 1874, p. 148. For The Saturday Review, see infra, pp. 249-250.
10. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 19. For Hine's lectures, see infra, pp. 287-288. For the drawing room meetings, see infra, pp. 268f-287. For the Exeter Hall debate, see infra, pp. 250-255, and for other critics, Chapter 13. For organizations and journals with which Hine was associated, see infra, pp. 282, 289 ff.

NOTES

Chapter 8

11. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 17.
12. Ibid., p. 18.
13. The Banner of Israel, XXIX (1905), pp. 281, 313. For the controversy about the "Teutonic Theory", see infra, pp. 151-157.
14. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 18.
15. Totten was in close touch with C.P. Smyth. He was a Lieutenant in the U.S. Army and publisher of Our Race. For Wild, see infra, p. 284. For Poole, see infra, p. 274.
16. Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 31 f. Hine interestingly enough seems to have made no distinction between the Reformed Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church. Ussher in Hine's letters was identified simply as Bishop of Montreal and Newfoundland.
17. Ibid., p. 46.
18. Ibid., p. 32.
19. Ibid., p. 18.
20. Ibid., p. 21.
21. Ibid., p. 24.
22. Ibid., p. 25.
23. Ibid., p. 39 and passim.
24. Ibid., p. 29.

NOTES

Chapter 8

25. Edward Hine, The English Nation Identified with the Lost House of Israel by Twenty-seven Identifications (Manchester: J. Heywood, 1871), III. (Hereafter cited as Twenty-seven Identifications.)
26. For British-Israeli millennialism, see Chapter 10.
27. Hine Twenty-seven Identifications, v.
28. Ibid., p. 3.
29. Ibid.,
30. Ibid., p. 5.
31. For the distinction between Israel and Judah, see infra, pp. 144-147.
32. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, pp. 5-6.
33. For Sharon Turner, see infra, pp. 222-223.
34. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 8.
35. Ibid., p. 9.
36. Ibid., p. 10.
37. Ibid., p. 10 f.
38. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
39. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

NOTES

Chapter 8

40. See also Isaiah 49:8; 54-Israel is the divorced wife; Hosea 2:23; and Zechariah 10:8, 9.
41. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, pp. 14-15.
42. Ibid., pp. 15-16; and Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 27.
43. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 18.
44. Ibid., p. 20.
45. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
46. For further consideration of this point, see infra, pp. 226-227.
47. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 23.
48. Ibid., pp. 23-24; and see infra, pp. 226-227.
49. Ibid., pp. 24-26.
50. Ibid., p. 28.
51. Ibid., p. 27.
52. Ibid., p. 29 f.
53. Ibid., p. 33.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., p. 31.
56. Ibid., p. 34 f.

NOTES

Chapter 8

57. Ibid., p. 36 f.
58. Ibid., p. 38.
59. Ibid., pp. 39-40. For the Normans, see infra, pp. 158-159.
60. Ibid., p. 41. Hine would seem to have had little experience of the services of the Established Church. It was during the recitation of the Creed that it was customary to turn towards the east.
61. Ibid., p. 41 f.
62. Ibid., p. 42.
63. Ibid., pp. 42 f.
64. Ibid., pp. 45-46. For the end of papal "tyranny," see infra, p. 174.
65. Ibid., p. 47.
66. Ibid., pp. 48 ff.
67. See also Zechariah 10:6 ff; Romans 11:7; Isaiah 42:16-19.
68. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 51.
69. Ibid., p. 52.
70. For Hine's "British-Israel" theory and his rejection of Wilson's "Teutonic Theory," see Chapter 9. For Manasseh, see infra, p. 159 f.

NOTES

Chapter 8

71. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 138.
72. Ibid., p. 140.
73. For the letter of Smyth to Hine, see Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 56. In Flashes of Light Smyth contributed pp. 77-79, 91-94, and 112-116 on the Great Pyramid and Divine Metrology. Glover contributed pp. 120-134 on Jacob's Stone. Hine used Glover's book for the section on the English monarchy, pp. 116-119.

Chapter 9

1. Edward Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 3. The presentation has been slightly modified.
3. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 106.
4. Hine, Anglo-Saxon Riddle, p. 286.
5. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 4.
6. A.S., "Sketches for Scripture Study of Israel History - No. 11," Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 277.
7. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 192 f.
8. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 52.
9. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 189 f.
10. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 1.

NOTES

Chapter 9

11. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 66.
12. F.C. Danvers, The Covenant (London: W.H. Guest, 1877), p. 97, and Edward Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 206.
13. Life From the Dead, I (1874) p. 45.
14. Ibid., p. 296.
15. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 109. Hine presumably meant reunited into one people as Judah was to join with Israel for the return. On the other hand, this may well be one of the many inconsistencies in Hine's writings.
16. Life From the Dead, I (1874) p. 296. For an example of Jewish support, see Glover's relations with the German Rabbis, supra, p.86 f.
17. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 116.
18. Hine, The Anglo-Saxon Riddle, p. 296.
19. The Banner of Israel, I (1877), p. 7.
20. Poole, op.cit., p. 232 ff.
21. Wilson, op.cit., v.
22. Glover, op.cit., p. 125. The Irvingites in the 1830's seems to have held a view similar to that of Wilson. France was supposed to represent Asher among the twelve tribes. However, it is unclear whether this was meant literally or symbolically.

NOTES

Chapter 9

23. Danvers, op.cit., p. 148.
24. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, V-VII. In fact, the letter was written by a Miss G. Jeremie of Ealing; Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 12.
25. J. Gore Tipper, "Israel in Europe", The Standard of Israel, I (July, 1875), p. 27 ff; Tracey, op.cit., p. 328.
26. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, v.
27. For the unsigned letter, see supra, p. 153. For Hine's letter to a Mr. Dunn: Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 14-15.
28. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, v ff.
29. Edward Hine, Robert Roberts, Are Englishmen Israelites? A Three-Night Debate (London: F. Fitman, 1879), p. 31 f. (Hereafter cited as Three-Night Debate.)
30. Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 27-30, 99-102, 208-210, 267-268.
31. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 75. For the Normans, see infra, p. 158 f.
32. Leading the Nation to Glory, I (1875), p. 337 ff.
33. The Roadbuilder (W.G. Mackendrick), The Destiny of the British Empire and the U.S.A. (9th ed. revised; Toronto: Commonwealth Publishers Ltd., 1928), pp. 205-213.

NOTES

CHAPTER 9

34. Mackendrick was not the first person to hold this opinion. A certain McLeod demonstrated the Israelitish origins of the Japanese in his book Epitome of the Ancient History of Japan (Tokyo, 1879), see Godbey, op.cit., p. 2.
35. Life From the Dead, I (1874) , p. 325.
36. The Banner of Israel, I. (1877), p. 109 f; VII (1883), p. 269; IX (1885), pp. 347-349.
37. Glover, op.cit., p. 125; Oxonian (W.M.H. Milner), Israel's Wanderings (London: John Heywood, W.H. Guest, 1881), p. 24; and Poole, op.cit., p. 394.
38. Oxonian, op.cit., p. 113.
39. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, iv ; Hine, Flashes of Light, pp. 86 ff; Oxonian, op.cit., pp. 119 ff.
40. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 89 f; Oxonian, op.cit., pp. 124-126.
41. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, pp. 22-24; Life From the Dead, I (1877), pp. 321-326, 353-359, 372-378. For more on Manasseh, see infra, pp. 205-206.
42. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 17.
43. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 98.
44. Ibid., p. 83 ff and Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 27. For further information on Ireland, see infra, p. 201.
45. Hine, The Anglo-Saxon Riddle, p. 285.

NOTES

Chapter 9

46. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," p. 176.
47. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 72. Hine seems to have held that there were two redemptions: that of Israel which had already happened, and that of Judah which would happen only when "they see Him come whom they have pierced." Hine, Roberts, Three-Night Debate, p. 113.
48. Danvers, op.cit., p. 97.
49. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 72. This differentiation was also an answer to those critics who believed that the Identity taught at least implicitly if not explicitly that the benefits of the Cross were restricted to Israel alone.
50. Danvers, op.cit., p. 105.
51. E.F. Jackson, "The Analogy Between Christ's Resurrection and That of Israel. A Sermon for Easter-Day," Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 194.
52. Reader Harris, The Lost Tribes of Israel (2nd ed.; London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1908), p. 84. Harris was founder of the Pentecostal League.

Chapter 10

1. For the basic millennial creed, see supra, p. 21. For the methods of prophetic calculation, see supra, pp. 16-17.
2. The "lost" tribes were not even mentioned in such works as Nicholson's "The Gathering of Israel," or Brown's The Restoration of the Jews. Brown was not a millenarian, but he presented a comprehensive view of the question. For millenarians interested in the Great Pyramid, see infra, pp. 120 f.

NOTES

Chapter 10

3. "The Prophet Hine," The Saturday Review, . 37 (January 31, 1874), p. 148. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 59 f and Seventeen Identifications, pp. 24, 29. Hine as usual provided a list of twenty-seven results that would follow the establishment of the Identity, Forty-seven Identifications, vii.
4. Kellogg, op.cit., pp. 60 ff.
5. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium," p. 132.
6. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 151. The calculations were those of Reverend J. Gore Tipper of Tasburgh Rectory. His reference to Isaiah was to 8:8 which is wrong. $742-65+3+1840=2520$.
7. Wilson, op.cit., p. 17.
8. Ibid., p. 397. The chapter "Providence and Prophecy" covers pp. 380-410.
9. See for example his book Wealth; The Name and Number of the Beast (1844)..
10. Charles Casey, "Review," Life From the Dead, I. (1874), p. 415.
11. That is the subtitle of a book by Howard B. Rand, The Challenge of the Great Pyramid Merrimac, Mass.: Destiny Publishers, 1966.
12. Smyth, op.cit., p. 573.

NOTES

Chapter 10

13. Joseph A. Seiss, A Miracle in Stone: or The Great Pyramid of Egypt. Fourth Edition (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1878), p. 233. For Seiss, see Sandeen, op.cit., p. 94 f. For another follower of Smyth, see William Cooke, "Scientific Truths Embodied in the Structure of the Great Pyramid", Canadian Methodist Magazine, V (January, June, 1877), pp. 4-12, 112-121. The Christian Herald a futurist and non-Identity journal used the Great Pyramid to establish that the end of the Christian dispensation would take place in 1890, B.W. Savile, Anglo-Israelism and the Great Pyramid (London: n.p., 1880), p 102 f.
14. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 204.
15. Smyth, op.cit., p. 225.
16. Ibid., p. 551.
17. Ibid., p. 562.
18. Ibid., p. 563; Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 231.
19. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 230.
20. Harrison Oxley in The Nation's Glory Leader, V. (1877), p. 32; The Banner of Israel, VII (1883), P. 368. Revelation 11:1 was understood by some to refer to Smyth: "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." Savile, op.cit., p. 100.
21. The writer in question was again Harrison Oxley although it is unclear as to whether he actually named Hine. The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879) pp. 273 ff, 291 f, 333 f.

NOTES

Chapter 10

22. British-Israel was virulently anti-Catholic as were most nineteenth century Protestant millenarians. This matter has not been dealt with in this study except in passing as there was nothing either particularly interesting or distinctive about British-Israelite anti-Catholicism. For a typical example in which the Roman Church is charged with sanctioning every "vice upon the face of the earth", see Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 102.
23. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 46, vi. See also Danvers, op.cit., p. 110 ff. Who Hine meant by first pope in 606 is unclear, and that date was very probably determined by the date of the "fall" of the papacy in 1866. The prophetic period of 1260 years was almost always related to the Roman Church. "It is remarkable", wrote one British-Israelite, "that all year-day commentators have selected an era for the commencement of 1260 years from some event connected with an antichristian church". B.W. Tracey, "Scripture Emblems-No. 1.-"The Bow'", Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 331.
24. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 208.
25. Ibid., p. 278.
26. Ibid., p. 208. For the promised glories, Ibid., p. 279.
27. Ibid., pp. 265-6, 280 and passim.
28. Ibid., p. 266 f.

NOTES

Chapter 10

29. Jeremiah's title deeds were expected to be found sometime between 1879 and 1882, Hine-Roberts Three-Night Debate, p. 80. The French branch of the Rothschilds had been active from the early 1860's in helping to better the condition of the Jews in Palestine. James Parkes, A History of Palestine, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 265.
30. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 252 and passim.
31. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 252.
32. Ibid., p. 266. It is unclear whether Hine and others expected that the restoration of the Jews would entail the rebuilding of the temple and the reinstitution of the system of sacrifices. Very possibly they did as the Jews were to be in the land some time before their conversion to Christianity, and Hine certainly expected that "the feast of the Tabernacles" would be observed after the return and before the millennium, Ibid., pp. 209-210. Many millenarians and others rejected the restoration of the Jews as a prophetic event because they could not accept the re-establishment of the Jewish ritual after the advent of the Christian era, see Brown, op.cit., p. 67 f.
33. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, iii, and p. 40 f.
34. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 293.
35. E.F. Jackson, "The Twenty-Eighth Coming Glory", Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 237. "The Prophet Hine", The Saturday Review, 37 (January 31, 1874), p. 148.

NOTES

Chapter 10

36. Major J.S. Philips, "Resettlement of Israel in Syria," Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 65 ff. This article was an extract made by A.B. Grimaldi from Philips' paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Aberdeen, September 16, 1859. For a non-British-Israelite with similar ideas, see Kellogg, op.cit., p. 74 f.
37. Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 15-16, and Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 39. The figures of the Kings of the South and the North are from David 11:5 ff, Gog is to be found in Revelation 20:8 and Ezekiel 8:2ff. Hine's scenario here should be compared with that he proposed for Britain's capture of Palestine, see infra, p. 203 f.
38. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 97 f.
39. The Banner of Israel, III (1879), p. 485.
40. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 15. In one of the ironies of history, the Prince Imperial, Eugène Louis Jean Joseph (1856-1879) died fighting for "Israel-Britain" in Zululand.
41. For Hine's views particularly on Russia in 1887, see Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 43.
42. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 240 ff, and Flashes of Light, p. 75. Hine cited Matthew 24:7; Isaiah 26:21; 42:13,14; Zephaniah 3:8 for the coming conflict and Isaiah 26:12,20 for the peace to Israel. see also, The Banner of Israel, VII (1883), p. 269.
43. For Darby, see supra, p. 203 f. and Sandeen, op.cit., p. 63. Hine never mentioned Darby or the secret rapture. At least some British-Israelites rejected the secret rapture, The Banner of Israel, X (1886), p. 150.

NOTES

Chapter 10

44. Smyth, op.cit., p. 545, and 4th ed., p. 548 ff. Smyth does not mention Darby but that does not necessarily mean that he was not influenced by Darby's teaching which had become almost a commonplace among nineteenth century millenarians, Sandeen, op.cit., p. 90 and passim.
45. Smyth, op.cit., pp. 512-513.
46. The Nation's Glory Leader, VI (1878), pp. 296-298.; Sidney Lee, "Mother Shipton," D.N.D., XVIII, pp. 119-120; "Mother Shipton," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., XXIV, p. 989. The date given by Hindley was not 1882 but 1881.
47. Smyth, op.cit., p. 545. Other dates were possible of course. Smyth noted: "Pasteur M. Rosselet prefers to date the 1,260 years from the taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens in 636 A.D. for the close of Mohammedanism," Ibid., 4th Edition, p. 588 n. 2. In the edition of Danvers' The Covenant in the Toronto Public Library there is an handwritten note on page 119 that is of interest in this connection: "Some of the best prophetic students believe that prophetic periods of Daniel--1260, 1290, 1335--begin at A.D. 622, the epoch of the Moslem era. Notice how these dates harmonize with the teaching of the Great Pyramid, as interpreted by Piazzzi Smyth in 'Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid'." The note is undated.
48. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 257 and passim.
49. The Banner of Israel, IV, (1880), I.
50. Ibid., V, (1881), p. 1.
51. Smyth, op.cit., p. 545.

NOTES

Chapter 10

52. What follows is based on Savile, op.cit., pp. 96-98, who makes reference to the issues of October 2, 1878 and April 7, 1880. In the latter, August 6, 1882 was picked out as the critical date. For Savile and his rejection of the Identity, see infra, pp. 258-260.
53. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 278. In the Christian calculation three years must be added for the commencement of the Christian era. The seven year difference in the Jewish calculation was the time necessary "yet required to accomplish our Identity." Hine expected the Parliament elected in 1874 with Disraeli as Prime Minister would last seven years. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 50.
54. James Simpson, "1881 and the Millennium," The Nation's Glory Leader, III (1876), p. 40.
55. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium," p. 143.
56. The Banner of Israel, VI. (1882), p. 219.
57. Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 44-45. The Banner of Israel apparently agreed that 1887 was a significant date.
58. "The Roadbuilder," op.cit., p. 32 f.
59. Rand, op.cit., p. 4. Rand dated the Nativity to 4 B.C. He dated the end of the Grand Gallery at the bottom of the Great Step as January 25, 1844 and at the top as August 2, 1909. Rand's dating is much more precise than anything attempted by Smyth.
60. For these categories, see supra, p. 20.

NOTES

Chapter 10

61. Among these, Sandeen mentions "Anglo-Israelism" only in passing, Sandeen, op.cit., p. 210. T. Francis Glasson in his book His Appearing and His Kingdom. The Christian Hope In The Light Of Its History (London: The Epworth Press, 1953), p. 61, mentions British-Israel briefly but recognizes its premillennial character..

Chapter 11

1. Leading the Nation to Glory, I. (1875), 1.
2. Life from the Dead, I (1874), p. 315.
3. Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher with Alice Denny, Africa and the Victorians, (New York: St. Martins Press, 1961), p. 71.
4. Ibid., pp. 1, 3.
5. See John Gross's introduction to J.R. Seeley, The Expansion of England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), xi ff. Seeley's book published in 1884 embodied a restrained approach towards empire but this did not prevent it from enjoying a great popularity. Seeley supported the Imperial Federation League.
6. Life From the Dead, I. (1874), p. 233.
7. Ibid., p. 234.
8. Ibid., p. 235.
9. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 249 f.
10. Ibid., p. 244. The Nation's Glory Leader, II, p. 105.

NOTES

Chapter II

11. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 71; Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 247.
12. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 242.
13. N.W. Summerton, "Dissenting Attitudes to Foreign Relations, Peace and War, 1840-1890", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 28 no. 2 (April 1977), pp. 158, 162 f.
14. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 71. Emigration was part of the twenty-sixth Identity, see Hine, Twenty-Seven Identifications, p. 45 f.
15. Leading the Nation to Glory I (1875), p. 49 f, and The Nation's Glory Leader, II (1876), p. 293 f.
16. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 268.
17. Ibid., p. 272.
18. The Banner of Israel, II (1878), p. 301; The Nation's Glory Leader, VIII (1880), p. 103; Life From The Dead, II (1874) p. 181 ff; Hine Flashes of Light, p. 85 f.
19. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 12 and P. 60. Gladstone has a rather ambivalent place in the history of British-Israel. Savile had addressed a public letter to him and Gladstone replied "that on ethnographical grounds the theory you mention is a fair subject for discussion" if treated on the grounds of evidence. However, Gladstone apparently concluded that the Identity was "almost a delusion". Savile, op.cit., iv f.
20. Life From The Dead, I (1874), p. 160. See also, The Nation's Glory Leader, VIII (1879), p. 291.

NOTES

Chapter 11

21. W.H. Withrow, "Introduction," Poole, op.cit., vi.
22. The Nation's Glory Leader, II (1876), p. 29 f.
23. Ibid., III (1877), p. 205.
24. The Banner of Israel, IV (1880), p. 259; VII (1883), p. 137.
25. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 83. For the disappearance of native populations, see supra, p. 131 f.
26. Life From The Dead, I (1877), p. 182 ff.
27. Leading the Nation to Glory, I (1875), p. 40; The Nation's Glory Leader, III (1876), p. 133 f.
28. The Banner of Israel, II (1878), p. 157 f; III (1879), p. 45 f; VII (1883), p. 456.
29. Ezekial 24:14; Isaiah 19:24. Leading the Nation to Glory, I (1875), p. 25 f; The Banner of Israel, VII (1883), p. 277 f.
30. The Banner of Israel, III (1879), p. 504 f; X (1896), pp. 93 f, 119 f, 317 f, 324 f.
31. Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 43-44.
32. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 117.
33. T.P., "The Probable Manner in which the British Nation will come into Possession of Palestine," Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 345-349; The Banner of Israel, I (1877), p. 149; II (1878), p. 182 f; and Poole, Op.cit., p. 72 f.

NOTES

Chapter 11

34. A.E. Thompson (who was not a British-Israelite) in Light on Prophecy (New York, 1918), p. 144 cited in Sandeen, op.cit., p. 234.
35. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 254 f.
36. The Banner of Israel, II (1878), p. 253 f.
37. Ibid., pp. 270 f.
38. The Banner of Israel, III (1879), p. 1.
40. Poole, op.cit., p. 89 f.
41. Danvers, op.cit., iv.
42. J.M. Simpson, God's Nation, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902), p. 148.
43. Glover, op.cit., p. 153.
44. T.P., "The Attachment which the Offshoots from the British Nation retain for the Mother Stem," Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 374.
45. The Banner of Israel, V (1881) p. 37 f.
46. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 116.
47. Ibid., p. 118.
48. Hine, The Anglo-Saxon Riddle, p. 293.
49. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 103.

NOTES

Chapter 11

50. Semmel, op.cit., p. 182.

Chapter 12

1. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 220, Kraeling, op. cit., p. 89 f; and Stephen Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1961 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 32 and passim.
2. S.de B. (Mrs. de Bergue?), "The Bible," Life From the Dead, I. (1874), p. 430. For Mrs. de Bergue, see infra, p. 268.
3. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 27, and p. 24.
4. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 80, and p. 110.
5. E.F. Jackson, "Education of the Young," Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 174.
6. While these comments apply particularly to Hine, using the two pamphlets Twenty-seven Identifications and Forty-seven Identifications as a basis, they also apply to Identity writers generally. On the basis of a cursory count of these two works, Hine cited the Old Testament seven to eight times more frequently than the New Testament. The impression given by his selection of texts suggests that they were chosen by using a biblical concordance. For the purposes of comparison, the "Textual Index" of the Second Coming of Christ (ed. by Nathaniel West, pp. 523-528), a series of premillennial essays from a conference in New York City in 1878, gives 74 Old Testament references and 485 New Testament ones, or about seven times more New Testament texts than Old Testament ones. Isaiah and Daniel were the most frequently cited Old Testament books and Matthew and Revelations the New Testament ones.

NOTES

Chapter 12

7. Wilson, op.cit., v, Danvers, op.cit., p. 63.
8. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 31. This principle did not prevent British-Israelites from undertaking fanciful or perhaps mystical interpretations; see Major R.W.D. Nickle, "The Truth of Christianity Displayed in the Coloured Garments of the High Priest," Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 15-19.
9. J.N.D. Kelly, Jerome (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 294.
10. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 58.
11. For a full description of Hine's "Chromatic Bible" see: Ibid., pp 57-64, and The Banner of Israel, XXIX, (1905), pp. 99-100, 110-111, 123-144.
12. Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 112.
13. Life From the Dead, I. (1874), pp. 9-15.
14. Hine, Oxford-Wrong, p. 189 f.
15. Life From the Dead, I, (1874), p. 223 f.
16. Ibid., pp. 72-76.
17. John Campbell, The Lost Tribes, (Montreal: William Drysdale & Co., 1878), p. 20.
18. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 53.
19. For John Wilkinson and Robert Roberts, see infra, pp. 246-249, 250-255.

NOTES

Chapter 12

20. See particularly the sources used by Glover, supra, pp. 88-89.
21. Thomas Seccombe, "Sharon Turner", D.N.B., XLX, p. 1283. Turner was born in 1768 and died in 1847.
22. Sharon Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, three volumes. Seventh Edition (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1852), I, pp. 84, 87. The fourth edition of 1823 said exactly the same thing.
23. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 7; Poole, op.cit., p. 113 f; Danvers, op.cit., p. 149; Oxonian, op.cit., p. 1.
24. Hine, Roberts, Three-Night Debate, p. 64 f.
25. Stanley, op.cit., I, p. 73 f; Poole, op.cit., p. 487.
26. Adam Rutherford, Israel-Britain or Anglo-Saxon Israel (London: By the Author, 9, Belsize Road, Harrow Weald, Mddx., 1934), pp. 121-143.
27. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 15.
28. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 15. For Wilson, see supra, pp. 71-72. For Hine, see supra, p. 133.
29. Wilson, op.cit., p. 188; J.H. Titcomb, The Anglo-Israel Post Bag (London: W.H. Guest, 1876), p. 8; and Captain Carter in Hine, Flashes of Light, p. 102 f.
30. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 88; Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 155; and Poole, op.cit., pp. 325 ff.

NOTES

Chapter 12

31. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 15. It was claimed that a certain Canon Lysons of Gloucester Cathedral had a list of some five thousand English words derived from Hebrew in his book Our British Ancestors; Hine, Robert, Three-Night Debate, p. 70; Poole, op.cit., p. 319; and Schöffler, op.cit., p. 68.
32. Jacobs, "Anglo-Israel," p. 601; Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 16. The derivation of "Saxons" was as follows: "it is entirely in accordance with the old usage of cutting off the prefix and adding an affix; that of taking away the prefix 'i' in Isaac, and adding the affix 'ons' we obtain in the word Saxons nothing more than the 'Sons of Isaac' [sic]; Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 53. For a list of Wilson's English words derived from Hebrew, see Wilson, op.cit., p. 192 and passim.
33. Poole, op.cit., pp. 335-336. For other versions, see Hine, Oxford Wrong, pp. 171-172; and Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 85-86.
34. For a lengthy presentation of the argument from language, see Poole, op.cit., pp. 307-367.
35. Hine, Forty-seven Identifications, p. 17; and see supra, p. 133.
36. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 188.
37. Titcomb, op.cit., p. 32.
38. For Wilson, see supra, pp. 69-71. For a long list, see Hine, Oxford Wrong, pp. 164 ff.

NOTES

Chapter 12

39. J.B. Barnett, "Ancient Sanctuaries in England," Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 170-171; E.F. Jackson, "Education of the Young," Ibid., pp. 173-175; William Haslem, "English Music Identical with Israelitish Music," Ibid., pp. 210-213.
40. Haslem, op.cit., p. 212.
41. Poole, op.cit., p. 377; and see Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 189 f.
42. Poole, op.cit., p. 119.
43. Ibid., pp. 388 ff. For Wilson's view, see supra, p. 68.
44. Boase, op.cit., III, col. 977.
45. Titcomb, op.cit., VII.
46. Ibid., p. 20.
47. Ibid., p. 164.
48. The Nation's Glory Leader, VIII (1880), p. 425 f.
49. Boase, op.cit., III, col. 977 contains no mention of Titcomb's British-Israel beliefs or writings.
50. Parker, op.cit., VIII. Parker's remark did not really have the historical dimension that has been given to it here, but it does express that dimension admirably.
51. Horton Davies, Christian Deviations. (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1954), p.83.

NOTES

Chapter 12

52. See supra, p. 8.

Chapter 13

1. Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 97 f, 154 ff: Hine, England's Coming Glories, pp. 230, 217. According to Hine a state church was one of the sins of Israel because in violation of Ezekiel 43:7-9 the dead were buried in the churches.
2. Leading the Nation to Glory, I (1875), p. 10.
3. Hine, England's Coming Glories, pp. 231, 235.
4. Ibid., p. 205. Robert King, "Woe unto the Shepherds of Israel Who Feed Themselves and Not the Flock" Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 80.
5. Hine, Twenty-seven Identifications, p. 28.
6. The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879) p. 38. Hine, The Anglo-Saxon Riddle, p. 296.
7. Hine, England's Coming Glories, p. 205.
8. Sandeen, op.cit., pp. 25, 82, 97.
9. George Rawlinson, "Where are the Ten Tribes?" Leisure Hour, 1071 (1872), p. 426.
10. Moore, Lost Tribes, p. 94 cited in Glover, op.cit., p. 137. For Moore, see supra, pp. 41-43.
11. The Guardian (Manchester ?) cited in Glover, op.cit., p. 179.

NOTES

Chapter 13

12. Rawlinson, op.cit., p. 426.
13. Rawlinson, op.cit., p. 426.
14. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 153.
15. Ibid., p. 154.
16. Ibid., p. 192 f.
17. "Where are the Ten Tribes?" Leisure Hour, 1094 (December 6, 1872), p. 800.
18. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 194.
19. Ibid., p. 142. For Baxter and Purdon, see Sandeen, op.cit., pp. 59, 87, and 293.
20. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 156.
21. Ibid., p. 157 f. For Hine's views, see supra, pp. 228-229.
22. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 158.
23. The date of the meeting is unknown, but it was probably late in 1871 or early 1872. Hine, Oxford Wrong, pp. 142, 160; and Life From the Dead I (1874), pp. 314-319, 350-362.
24. Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 160.
25. Ibid., p. 195. For missionary work, see supra, p. 133 f. Wilson had also been attacked by a representative of one such society; Wilson, op.cit., p. 416 f.
26. Life from the Dead, I, (1874), pp. 125-128.

NOTES

Chapter 13

27. Wilkinson, op.cit., p. 101.
28. Ibid., p. 87.
29. Ibid., p. 89.
30. Ibid., p. 92.
31. Ibid., p. 92. Wilkinson also cited Deut. 4:26,27; 28:62,66, Jer. 30:3,4,19. Zech. 8:13. The whole discussion covers pages 88 to 94.
32. Ibid., p. 110.
33. Ibid., p. 111, Wilkinson was answered in a very long article by a J.W. Forrest in The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879), pp. 312-319.
34. "The Prophet Hine," The Saturday Review, 37, (January 31, 1874), pp. 148-149. The article was reprinted in full in Life From the Dead, I. (1874), pp. 196-201. Charles Casey objected to the tone of the article in his "The Sardonic Saturday," Life From the Dead, I (1874), pp. 201-202.
35. "The Standard of Israel," The Saturday Review, 42, (October 21, 1876), pp. 506-507.
36. "Anglo-Israelism," The Saturday Review, 56, (October 20, 1883), pp. 502-504. By "misam" The Saturday Review presumably meant miasma.
37. Bryan R. Wilson, Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of Three Religious Groups in Britain (London: William Heinemann, 1961), pp. 373, 294, and see infra, p.272.

NOTES

Chapter 13

38. The debate was held on the evenings of April 21., 22., 23, 1879 with Lord William Lennox in the chair. The debate was published from shorthand notes taken by people engaged by Roberts to do so. Hine agreed to this publication but would have nothing else to do with it, very possibly because he felt that the debate had gone badly for him. Additional matter provided by Roberts was included as a supplement to the text of the debate.
39. Hine, Roberts, Three-Night Debate, p. 100 and passim.
40. Ibid.,
41. For Titcomb, see supra, pp. 231-233.
42. Hine, Roberts, Three-Night Debate, p. 12 f.
43. Ibid., p. 36 ff, p. 64 f.
44. Ibid., p. 35.
45. Ibid., p. 54.
46. Ibid., p. 73.
47. Ibid., p. 66 f.
48. Campbell, op.cit., pp. 6-7.
49. Ibid., p. 25.
50. William Greig, Anglo-Israel (Montreal: William Drysdale. (1878), p. 3.

NOTES

Chapter 13

51. Leading the Nation to Glory, I (1875), p. 17 f. The controversy was not confined to the English-speaking world. In 1880 Paulus Cassel published Ein Sendschreiben an Revd. Mervyn Archdall über die Abstammung der englischen Nation (Berlin). Nothing is known about Archdall.
52. J.M. Simpson, op.cit., p. 92.
53. Boase, op.cit., III, col. 425.
54. One of Savile's pamphlets was reviewed and the identity rejected in "Anglo-Israelism," Canadian Methodist Magazine, XIII (1881), pp. 471-472.
55. The Banner of Israel, IV (1880), p. 506 f.
56. Savile, op.cit., p. 112.
57. Ibid., p. 103.
58. Hannah Whitall Smith, "Personal Experience of Religious Fanaticism" in Roy Strachey, Religious Fanaticism (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928), p. 226. Smith does not mention British-Israelites in her work.
59. Ibid., p. 261.

Chapter 14

1. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 40.
2. "The Standard of Israel," The Saturday Review, 42 (1876), p. 506.
3. Hyamson, op.cit., p. 482, and Jacobs, "Anglo-Israelism," p. 600.

NOTES

Chapter 14

4. Schöffler, op.cit., p. 69.
5. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 378.
6. Campbell, op.cit., p. 6. Dr. John Cumming followed Edward Irving to the National Scottish Church, Crown Court, London. He was a popular millennial writer and had predicted great events for the years 1866-1867. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 82 f.
7. Quoted in The Banner of Israel, V (1881), p. 188.
8. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," p. 187. The number of retired officers holding important positions in the British-Israel movement has continued to be high as any perusal of a recent number of The National Message, the present journal, makes clear.
9. Boase, op.cit., V, cols. 391-392. His articles were published in Life From the Dead. See for example, "Possible Origin of the Names Getae and Massagetae," I, (1874), pp. 19-20. It is uncertain whether this colonization society was an Identity organization or not.
10. Life From the Dead, I, (1874), pp. 15-19.
11. The Banner of Israel, IV, (1880), p. 76; VII, (1883), p. 258.
12. Boase, op.cit., I, col. 845. She may have written articles for Life From the Dead, see, I (1874), p. 430 f.
13. Pevsner, op.cit., pp. 260-261. These houses were built between 1844 and the 1860's. The "style" is Italianate from a pure High Renaissance to more fanciful varieties."

NOTES

Chapter, 14

14. The Banner of Israel, IV (1880), p. 16. H.A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White, and Lord Howard de Walden, The Complete Peerage (London: St. Catherine Press, 1945), X, p. 720 f.
15. Poole, op.cit., p. 226. The Nation's Glory Leader, V (1887), p. 38.
16. M.H. Gayer, The Heritage of the Anglo-Saxon Race (3rd ed.; Haverhill, Mass.: Destiny Publishers, 1941), p. 137 cited in Braden, op.cit., p. 389. The non-British Israelites are Roth, op.cit., p. 110; and Schöffler, op.cit., p. 69 who also includes King Edward VII. I have been told by British-Israelites that King George V and Queen Mary took great interest in their supposed Davidic descent.
17. Wilson, op.cit., p. 432.
18. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 254.
19. The Banner of Israel, XXIX (1905), p. 201.
20. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 44. Edward Corbould (1815-1905) was a water-colour painter who was "instructor of historical painting to the Royal Family." He taught members of the Royal Family for twenty-one years and many of his best works were bought by Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, etc. A.M. Hind, "Edward Corbould" * D.N.B., 2nd supplement: I, p. 418 f.
21. B.R. Wilson, op.cit., p. 301.
22. Leading the Nation to Glory, I (1875), pp. 71, 172; Poole, op.cit., p. 184. For Gobat, see infra, p. 286 f.
23. The Banner of Israel, IV (1880), p. 128 (Bond and Evans); V (1881), p. 195 (Evans); VI (1882), p. 263 (Bond and Hellmuth). The Nations Glory Leader, V (1877), p. 259 (Bond); VI (1878), p.p. 209-212 (Bond).

NOTES

Chapter 14

24. John Irwin Cooper, The Blessed Communion (Montreal: Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), p. 116.
25. Sandeen, op.cit., pp. 72, 142 n. 20, 149.
26. W. Stewart Wallace, The Macmillian Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Third Edition (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), pp. 559, 798.
27. Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 21-50.
28. Poole, op.cit., iii-viii.
29. The Banner of Israel, IV (1880), p. 331; V (1881), p. 93.
30. For Paulus Cassel, see supra, p. 258, n.51.
31. Peter F. Anson, Bishops at Large (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), pp. 43-45.
32. Ibid., pp. 217, 221. This association of British-Israelites and the catholic "underground" has continued into the twentieth century. B.E.R. Gaunlett, sometime bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church was a lecturer for the British Israel World Federation in the 1920's, Ibid., p. 334 n. 2. W.C. Cato-Symonds, sometime Anglican priest and Bishop of Elmham in the Old Holy Catholic Church, was in the late 1960's registrar of the Society for Proclaiming Britain Israel, Ibid., p. 389.
33. B.R. Wilson, op.cit., pp. 147, 148, 178-9.

NOTES

Chapter 14

34. Ralph L. Roy "Religion and Race," The Christian Century, 23 (April 1953), pp. 474-6. Ralph Roy, Apostles of Discord (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), pp. 92-117.
35. M. Thomas Starkes, Confronting Popular Cults (Nashville, Tenn: Broadman Press, 1972), pp. 44-55. William C. Martin, "The Plain Truth about the Armstrongs and the World Tomorrow," Harpers Magazine, July 1973, pp. 74-82.
36. Thrupp, op.cit., p. 22.
37. Jacobs, "Anglo-Israelism" p. 600.
38. Rawlinson, op.cit., p. 426; Hine, Oxford Wrong, p. 140; "The Prophet Hine," The Saturday Review, 37 (1874), p. 148; "Anglo-Israelism," The Saturday Review, 56 (1883), p. 502.
39. In Canada, William Briggs of Toronto and William Drysdale of Montreal both published much British-Israel material.
40. Covenant Books does not limit its advertising to the religious press or the movement's journals. A book entitled The Coming Battle for World Sovereignty by C. Joseph Collins and published by Covenant Books was announced in Books and Bookman, 19 (February 1974), p. 63.
41. The John Bull newspaper was used as a medium of communication by supporters of the Identity in the early years, see Hine, The Anglo-Saxon Riddle, pp. 291-296, and "The Prophet Hine," The Saturday Review, 37 (1874), p. 148.

NOTES

Chapter 14

42. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 17. The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879), p. 542. The editor was John Urwin of Sheffield.
43. The Banner of Israel, XXIX (1905), pp. 313-314.
44. The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879), p. 223. It is not entirely certain that The Watchman of Ephraim which Hine so disliked was Wilson's but no other journal of this name has been discovered. Hine's remarks were made in 1879 long after both The Watchman and The Standard had disappeared.
45. Ibid., and Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 52.
46. The Banner of Israel, III (1879), p. 463. Life From The Dead, I (1874), p. 443.
47. The Banner of Israel, IV (1880), p. 361.
48. Smyth, op.cit., p. 568. The Banner of Israel was printed by W.H. Guest.
49. The Banner of Israel, II (1878), p. 331.
50. Ibid., p. 182.
51. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 222 f.
52. Midmay Park was the site of a conference hall seating twenty-three thousand people built in 1870, by the Reverend William Pennefather as a centre for prophetic conferences. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 145 f.
53. Polwhele, op.cit., pp. 12, 65.

NOTES

Chapter 14

54. The Nation's Glory Leader, II, (1876), p. 172.
55. Life From the Dead, I (1874), p. 359.
56. Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 13.
57. Hine, Twenty-seven identifications, p. 54.
58. For this debate, see supra, pp. 250-255.
59. Poole, op.cit., pp. 395-460, 567-638, 461-512, and especially 497 f.
60. Life From the Dead, I, (1874), p. 91.
61. Ibid., p. 258.
62. Braden, op.cit., p. 389. This association published The Banner of Israel.
63. The Banner of Israel, III (1879), p. 283; IV (1880), p. 16; The Nation's Glory Leader, VI (1879), p. 223.
64. The Nation's Glory Leader, VII (1879), pp. 254 f. 416, 607.
65. Ibid., p. 375 f. In the same year there appeared an article entitled "Pork is Forbidden to Israelites," Ibid., p. 94. Hine was to form one more organization on his return from North America. The National Anti-Poverty and Misery League was founded in 1888 with Hine as president-secretary. The prospectus did not mention the identity and indicated no purpose for this league. Was Hine trying to set up a private charity for himself? See Grimaldi, Memoir, p. 51.

NOTES

Chapter 14

66. The Banner of Israel, Vlll (1884), p. 322.
67. The Banner of Israel, lV (1880), p. 128; and Tract No. I of the Montreal Anglo-Israel Association.
68. The Banner of Israel, V (1881), pp. 43, 298; The Nation's Glory Leader, Vll (1879), p. 117; and Grimaldi, Memoir, pp. 23, 25.
69. John Wilson, "The Relation Between Ideology and Organization in a Small Religious Group: The British-Israelites," Review of Religious Research, 10 (Fall, 1968), p. 59 and passim.

Chapter 15

1. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, p. 15 and see supra, p. 3.
2. Sandeen, op.cit., p. 39 and see supra, p. 21.
3. Thrupp, op.cit., p. 21 and see supra, p. 8.
4. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium," p. 132.
5. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," p. 176.
6. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium," p. 134.
7. Braden, op.cit., p. 380.
8. Poole, op.cit., p. 682.
9. Plumb, op.cit., p. 11. For Plumb's distinction between the past and history, see, Ibid., p. 12.

NOTES

Chapter 15

10. Ibid., p. 31, n. 2, and passim.
11. Davies, op.cit., p. 87.
12. Parker, op.cit., viii.
13. Geoffrey Ashe, "The Visionary Kingdom," The Quest for Arthur's Britain, ed. by Geoffrey Ashe (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 25. See also, Plumb, op.cit., p. 49 f.

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