KING SOLOMON'S WHITENESS:

KING JAMES AND THE SCRIPTURALIZATION OF WHITENESS

IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

by

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AB   Anchor Bible

ABD   *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman, et al. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992

ABS   Archaeology and Biblical Studies

ANE   Ancient Near East

AOTC   Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries

BDB   Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*

BHS   *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983

BI   *Biblical Interpretation*

BibInt   Biblical Interpretation Series

BZAW   Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

Contemplations Joseph Hall. *Contemplations upon the Principall Passages of the Holy Storie*. 8 vols. London: Nathaniel Butler, 1612-26

CRT   Critical Race Theory

DCH   *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2016

EEBO   Early English Books Online. http://eebo.chadwyck.com

FOTL   Forms of the Old Testament Literature

HALOT   *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann Jakob Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994-2000

Heb.   Hebrew

HB   Hebrew Bible

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSTOR	www.jstor.org
KJV	King James Version
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NIB	*The New Interpreter's Bible*. Edited by Leander E. Keck. 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994-2004
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*. www.oed.com
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
Paraphrase	Joseph Hall. *An Open and Plaine Paraphrase, upon the Song of Songs, which is Salomons*. London: 1609. Reprinted in Hall, *Solomon's Divine Arts*
Pilgrimage	Samuel Purchas. *Purchas His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*. London: William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1626 (STC 205085). EEBO

Pilgrimes	Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*. 4 vols. London: Henry Fetherston, 1625 (STC 20509). EEBO
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
WBC	*The Women's Bible Commentary*. Edited by Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992
WC	Westminster Bible Companion
Wing	Donald Wing. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*
Workes	James, *The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, Iames, By the Grace of God King of Great Brittaine, France & Ireland Defendor of the Faith &c: Published by Iames, Bishop of Winton & Dean of His Majestie's Chappell Royall*. London: Robert Barker & Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, 1616, 1620 with supplement (STC 14345). EEBO

CHAPTER 1

KING JAMES, "GREAT BRITAIN'S SOLOMON"

The religion of the American people centers around the telling and retelling of the mighty deeds of the white conquerors. This story hides the true experience of Americans from their very eyes. The invisibility of Indians and blacks is matched by a void or a deeper invisibility within the consciousness of white Americans. The inordinate fear they have of minorities is an expression of the fear they have when they contemplate the possibility of seeing themselves as they really are.

—Charles Long, *Significations*[1]

Overview

Summary of Thesis

This dissertation analyses the role that biblical interpretation played in endowing racial whiteness with scriptural authority and privilege at the beginning of the British colonial project in North America, justifying imperial domination as the ideologies of race and empire coalesced in Britain over the course of the seventeenth century. I investigate the mechanisms behind such use of the Bible in what Vincent Wimbush calls the "scripturalization" of whiteness.[2] In broad terms, scripturalization is the process by which aspects of culture become scripturally or religiously authoritative by getting read back into the biblical text through interpretation. Wimbush defines scripturalization as "*a social-psychological-political structure establishing its own reality.*"[3]

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[1] Charles H. Long, *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (1986; Aurora, CO: Davies Group, 1999), 163, ProQuest ebrary ebook.

[2] Vincent L. Wimbush, *White Men's Magic: Scripturalization as Slavery* (New York: Oxford, 2012).

[3] Ibid., 19, italics original. More fully, he states: "I theorize scriptures in terms of scripturalization and have isolated four stages in or aspects of the phenomenon: (1) scripturalization as social-cultural matrix, within which ideological and discursive rules and practices are made evident and common; (2) scripturalization as framework for nationalist polity and the politics of nationalization, in which the evident and common ideological and discursive practices are legitimized, encoded, and regulated; (3) scripturalization as socio-psycho-logical carapace/overcoat, by which the evident, common, encoded, and regulated discursive practices are naturalized for the sake of social regulation, self-regulation in the social-cultural matrix and the nation; and (4) scripturalization as the translocal/transcendent field on which or regime in which power dynamics and strategies are played out or advanced as discursive coercion and sometimes negotiated and resisted on these terms" (ibid.).

My thesis is that the scripturalization of whiteness, biblical interpretation fusing imperial, racial, and sacred ideologies, coalesced in early seventeenth-century Britain due to shifts in biblical interpretation caused by the rise of the British Empire, emergent racial ideology, and epistemological changes fueled by the combination of Protestant biblical literalism, emergent scientific discourse, and the rise of individual authority, as expressed through late pre-critical biblical typology. Specifically, I argue that the scripturalization of whiteness can be recognized in representations of King Solomon as King James, especially Solomon's maritime commerce with Ophir and his interactions with the figure of the Queen of Sheba in 1 Kgs 9:10-10:29. Such identifications participated in a wider interpretive tradition of understanding Britain as Israel that included portrayals of non-Christian, non-European lands and peoples as non-Israelite, all of which was foundational to the legitimating ideology of British imperialism.

Britain arrived late to participation in the scheme of European global imperialism, and British apologists for empire needed powerful tools to convince their isolationist compatriots to support such far-flung colonial projects. For backing, British imperialists drew upon Iberian models and justified themselves by recourse to Roman and biblical types. These biblical typologies became useful politically when strengthened by the related phenomena of the spread of Protestant biblical literalism, the increasing authority of individuals in interpretation, and the development of scientific discourse. In cycles of mutual reinforcement, politically infused biblical interpretation was strengthened by the growth in British power and effectively sanctified English exceptionalism, glorified nascent whiteness, and justified British imperialism's exploitation of foreign lands and peoples, as manifested in British colonial America and its appropriation of American land and African labor. Thus, a particular mode of interpretation, unacknowledged as contextual, was universalized and made dominant through European,

increasingly British, cultural hegemony. Whiteness was scripturalized in an age of biblical interpretation when empirical evidence and individual authority were increasing in epistemological importance; however, due to the supreme authority of scripture in the Protestant age, situating the present in the world of the Bible remained imperative.

This dissertation employs methods of biblical reception history and hermeneutics of cultural criticism, postcolonial theory, and Critical Race Theory (CRT) to argue this thesis. I elucidate this process of scripturalization using writings from early seventeenth-century Britain, including those of King James I of England (1603-25) and prominent Anglican priests John Williams, Samuel Purchas, and Joseph Hall.

Structure of Argument

My argument aims to show why early seventeenth-century Britain is crucial in the process of the scripturalization of whiteness and how this scripturalization happened. The first key influence on the scripturalization of whiteness in the early seventeenth century was the birth of the British Empire. King James was interested in increasing his own stature among the royalty of Europe by strengthening the profile of his new empire, having united the crowns of Scotland and England. He needed religious, biblically-based ideology to sanctify his imperialistic endeavors in expanding British control over more lands and peoples, and there were opportunities, literally on the horizon, for increased trade through colonization in North America. At this foundational moment in the English colonial project James used the biblical figure of Solomon to sacralize and legitimate his imperial ambitions. Identification of Britain as Israel and James as Solomon greatly aided the gathering of popular support for this new British imperialism, and the rise of British power in the seventeenth century, vis-à-vis other European nations, made these British

views of themselves more dominant on the global stage in ideological, economic, military, and political spheres.

Integral to early seventeenth-century British imperial ideology was the increasing importance of racialization, especially the movement in this period from nascent racial ideas of the late sixteenth century to the well-articulated racial stratification of the mid-late seventeenth century. Inherent English ethnocentrism was strengthened in this period by contemporary attempts to extricate themselves from European Continental marginality by abjecting, in the terms of Julia Kristeva,[4] their closest cousins, the Scots and Irish, as barbaric. This English ethnocentrism, often expressed in terms of exceptionalism, became increasingly culturally articulated and somatically defined by English imperial experiences in the newly formed North American colonies, as indigenous Americans were displaced and exterminated and Africans enslaved.[5]

The early seventeenth century was also a critical juncture in European philosophical and religious history, when empirical evidence was rapidly gaining epistemological weight but Christian reality was still legitimated primarily through reference to religion. In the Protestant world, the greatest authority was the Bible. Due in no small part to Protestantism's questioning of the authority of Church tradition, the rise of science can be discerned in the proto-scientific discourse of the early seventeenth century, including the recently formulated idea of "fact," legally defined as "eye-witness" and impartial. The influence of scientific thought rapidly increased the epistemological weight of allegedly objective visual evidence and reason. The

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[4] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. L. S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). For the psychoanalytic theory of Kristeva, abjection is part of the process of the infant developing its subjectivity by trying to stabilize the borders of its self by "abjecting" what threatens those borders, what has formerly been a part of it: the body of the mother.

[5] Exceptionalism, discussed in detail in the following chapters, asserts that one group is so unique that special treatment/consideration is deserved.

increased importance of supposedly impartial, empirical data in the establishment of knowledge influenced changes in biblical interpretation regarding sources of authority. By the mid-seventeenth century, biblical interpretation had begun its movement from biblical literalism and historical typology toward historical criticism, which emerged fully in the late eighteenth century. Late pre-critical biblical interpretation, however, was characterized by fascination with typology, and many correlations were made between Britain as Israel and King James as King Solomon. Such typologies were applied toward political ends, notably in strengthening the monarchy by appropriating biblical and divine authority for the ruler. Thus, the experiences of white, male, English, Protestant Christian elites were universalized as incontrovertible "fact" and applied directly to biblical, typological interpretations, concretizing (through power) nascent racial, imperial ideology in sacred scripture: the scripturalization of whiteness.

Considering examples of biblical interpretation of Solomon from the reign of King James I of England, this dissertation will proceed through analyses of the writings of James himself and prominent Anglicans: Bishop John Williams, the Reverend Samuel Purchas, and Bishop Joseph Hall. For example, in 1603, the year he ascended to the throne of England, King James republished *Basilikon Doron*, written in 1599, in which he advised his son Prince Henry to compare himself with the kings in the books of Kings and Chronicles. On the title plate to his collected *Workes* (1616), James compared himself directly to Solomon by quoting 1 Kgs 3:12, God's grant of the most "wise and discerning mind."[6] John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, preached *Great Britains Salomon* on 1 Kgs 11:41-43 at the funeral for James, comparing James

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[6] James, *The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, Iames, By the Grace of God King of Great Brittaine, France & Ireland Defendor of the Faith &c: Published by Iames, Bishop of Winton & Dean of His Majestie's Chappell Royall* (London: Robert Barker & Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, 1616, 1620 with supplement [STC 14345]), 158, Early English Books Online (EEBO), http://eebo.chadwyck.com. In-line citations from this source will use the short title, *Workes*.

to Solomon in uniting an empire (Scotland and England), in patronizing religion and the Bible, in

establishing justice and maintaining peace (through colonization and trade), and in instructing his

son in kingly wisdom.[7] Samuel Purchas placed the figure of Solomon at the center of the opening

section of his magnum opus, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, and argued that

Solomon's bringing gold by sea from Ophir (1 Kgs 9:26-28; 10:11-12) sanctified the expansion

of English overseas commerce and colonization.[8] As represented by Purchas, Solomon (James) is

a model for the idealism and exceptionalism of the divinely-chosen, commercial, Christian

Englishman. During the reign of his son and successor Charles I, James is portrayed in ceiling

paintings by Peter Paul Rubens in Whitehall as wise Solomon sitting in judgment and ruling over

peace and plenty.[9] By contrast, Joseph Hall was outspoken in opposition to overseas

imperialization and colonization, yet Hall's writing demonstrates the pervasiveness of English

exceptionalism.[10] In attending to these representations of James as Solomon, I will show the

contextual particularity of the scripturalization of whiteness and point toward the consequent

need for new cultural hermeneutics. Such hermeneutics are needed if white Americans are to

strive authentically to dismantle the institutionalized legacy of racist cultural privilege.

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[7] John Williams, *Great Britains Salomon: A Sermon Preached at the Magnificent Funerall, of the Most High and Mighty King, Iames, the Late King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. At the Collegiat Church of Saint Peter at Westminster, the Seventh of May 1625* (London: John Bill, 1625 [STC 25723]), 37-39, EEBO; Ralph Houlbrooke, "James's Reputation, 1625-2005," in *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 169-70.

[8] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Fetherston, 1625 [STC 20509]), EEBO. Reprinted by the University of Glasgow (New York: Macmillan, 1905-7), 20 vol. Hereafter I will reference the original (1625) edition by the conventional short title, *Pilgrimes* (not to be confused with either of two previous works: *Purchas His Pilgrimage* [1613] or *Purchas His Pilgrim* [1619]), and will use in-line citations by volume, book, and page (book one was printed last and is paginated separately).

[9] Peter Paul Rubens, Ceiling Paintings in the Banqueting House of Whitehall (1634).

[10] Joseph Washington discerns that Hall is free of the "virulent prejudices" of others at the time, yet he nonetheless portrays blackness as a lesser quality (Joseph R. Washington Jr., *Anti-Blackness in English Religion, 1500-1800* [New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984], 17-18).

Rationale

The founders of the English colonial project in North America used religious justifications to
advantage a particular social group: white, male, English, Protestant Christian elites. The
expansion of the power and physical presence of this particular group beyond the bounds of the
British Isles was attributed to an alleged divine mandate to bring "civilized" culture, including
European-style education, science, and Christian salvation to other, "inferior," groups.[11] Social
constructions of race played a key role in this ideology and similar European imperial-colonial
endeavors. In the words of Robert Jensen:

> The United States of America at the beginning of the twenty-first century—a century and
> a half after the end of slavery, four decades after the passage of the Civil Rights Act—is a
> white-supremacist society.
>   By "white supremacist," I mean a society whose founding is based in an ideology of
> the inherent superiority of white Europeans over non-whites, an ideology that was used to
> justify the crimes against indigenous people and Africans that created the nation. That
> ideology also has justified legal and extralegal exploitation of every non-white immigrant
> group, and is used to this day to rationalize the racialized disparities in the distribution of
> wealth and well-being in this society.[12]

As Jensen emphasizes, the legacy of seventeenth-century England, as the progenitor of the
European colonies that would become the United States, is profoundly influential in US society
still today, forming the primary basis of the political and economic systems, as well as religious
cultures. Looking back on early seventeenth-century biblical commentary, Gerald Sheppard

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[11] See, for example, Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 1-2; Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 1-10; or Winthrop D. Jordan, *The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 1-25.

[12] Robert Jensen, "White Privilege/White Supremacy," in *White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism*, ed. Paula S. Rothenberg, 4th ed. (New York: Worth Publishers, 2012), 127. Reprinted from *The Heart of Whiteness: Confronting Race, Racism, and White Privilege*, by Robert Jensen (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2005).

wrote, "English Protestant religious themes of election and predestination of a chosen people composing a 'New Israel' took on a powerful political thrust in the milieu of the colonies, themes that were further fueled by the Great Awakening and the American Revolution in the [next] century."[13] While perhaps relatively few current US citizens would claim descent, biological or cultural, from seventeenth-century English colonials, nevertheless white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideology has undoubtedly dominated US culture. The cultural revolutions of the 1960s were especially widespread in long traditions of questioning this authority, but the hegemony of cultural whiteness still needs to be further addressed.

Toni Morrison has asked, "What does racial ideology do to the mind, imagination, and behavior of masters"; she was an early leader in "an effort to avert the critical gaze from the racial object to the racial subject; from the described and imagined to the describers and imaginers; from the serving to the served."[14] In addressing the related question of why white religious scholars have not written and spoken more about racism, theologian James Cone suggests that white privilege, guilt, and fear all restrain white scholars in this regard.[15] White theological ethicist Jennifer Harvey claims that in the past whites have "affirmed values of justice and equality," yet "in evading white racial particularity, they missed the only available route for true reconciliation and solidarity."[16]

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[13] Gerald T. Sheppard, "Introduction: Joseph Hall's *Solomon's Divine Arts* among Seventeenth-Century Commentaries, 1600-1645," in *Solomon's Divine Arts*, Joseph Hall, ed. Gerald T. Sheppard (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1991), 5-6. Sheppard adds that "Sydney E. Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* ... argued persuasively that the inheritance from seventeenth-century England in America had not been adequately recognized" (ibid.).

[14] Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 12, 90.

[15] James H. Cone, "Theology's Great Sin: Silence in the Face of White Supremacy," *USQR* 55, no. 3-4 (2001): 1-14.

[16] Jennifer Harvey, *Whiteness and Morality: Pursuing Racial Justice through Reparations and Sovereignty* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 174.

A major obstacle to whites engaging with our own "racial particularity" is the cultural transparency of whiteness in US society. Richard Dyer, pioneering scholar of whiteness, has written, "White power ... reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill, and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness, but as normal. White people need to learn to see themselves as white, to see their particularity. In other words, whiteness needs to be made strange."[17] Likewise, Peggy McIntosh, another foundational scholar critiquing whiteness, has reflected, "My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. ... Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal."[18] Harvey recognizes a deep "unwillingness of white people to admit, understand, and confront the power of white supremacy in our lives," but "until white people acknowledge our complicity in maintaining white supremacy and take responsibility for dismantling it, the racism most of us claim to oppose will maintain its stranglehold on us all." Harvey insists "that we go back to discover our racist pasts" in order to see clearly how white supremacy functions as "standard operating procedure."[19]

Attempts to expose whiteness and its effects are not new. In *White Men's Magic*, Wimbush examines just such work of the eighteenth-century Black British writer Olaudah Equiano. Wimbush states: "Equiano's agenda [was] to bring his readers to a point of (re-)provincializing Britain and the rest of Europe, defamiliarizing their own cultural practices, and challenging them

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[17] Richard Dyer, "The Matter of Whiteness," in Rothenberg, *White Privilege*, 12. Abridged from Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 1-10.

[18] Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," in Rothenberg, *White Privilege*, 122.

[19] Jennifer Harvey, Karin A. Case, and Robin Hawley Gorsline, eds., *Disrupting White Supremacy from Within: White People on What We Need to Do* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 2004), 4-6.

to come to terms with the violence associated with radical essentialisms and binaries produced by their crafted universalisms."[20] This analysis speaks directly to the still-needed critique of whiteness in the current European-American cultural climate in the US today. In the words of James Baldwin: "White Christians have ... forgotten several elementary historical details. ... America and all the Western nations will be forced to reexamine themselves and release themselves from many things that are now taken to be sacred, and to discard nearly all the assumptions that have been used to justify their lives and their anguish and their crimes so long."[21] This dissertation is in part a response to the call of Harvey and others to further understand the implications of white "racial particularity." More precisely, it is intended as one means of going back to fathom our racist past by trying to comprehend the role of biblical interpretation in constructions of race, especially in simultaneously representing and obscuring whiteness, and how biblical interpretation sanctified combinations of racial whiteness and imperial power to the detriment of colonized peoples.[22]

Methodological and Hermeneutical Lenses:
Postcolonial Biblical Criticism, Critical Race Theory,
Biblical Reception History, and Cultural Criticism

Informed by postcolonial theory and CRT, this dissertation employs biblical reception history in order to explore cultural aspects of the scripturalization of whiteness. In the mode of Wimbush, this project emphasizes racial dimensions of the cultural reception of biblical texts. Accordingly, I locate my analysis within contexts of European ideologies of exceptionalism, racial

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[20] Wimbush, *White Men's Magic*, 23-24.

[21] James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (1963; New York: Vintage International, 1993), 44-45.

[22] For a concise summary on this topic, see, for example, Elaine Robinson, *Race and Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2012).

essentialism, and, to a lesser extent, the intersectionalities of race and gender. Furthermore, I highlight the importance of the context of imperialization for interpretation and thus examine the utilization of race and religion within imperial-colonial power dynamics. While this dissertation is not explicitly structured around any of these theories, this section illuminates its relevant ideological foundations.

Informed by postcolonial theory and scholars like R. S. Sugirtharajah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, my work emphasizes the importance of imperial-colonial contexts for biblical interpretation. Sugirtharajah has recognized that postcolonial criticism meshes well with biblical interpretation because not only did "most of the biblical narratives come out of various ancient colonial contexts …" but just as importantly "the Christian Bible and biblical interpretation played a pivotal role in modern colonialism."[23] He sees that "the primary aim of postcolonial biblical criticism is to situate empire and imperial concerns at the center of the Bible and biblical studies." Similarly, Schüssler Fiorenza emphasizes how biblical texts have been "used in the service of empire, colonialist expansion, racist exploitation, and heterosexist discrimination," due to their development "in the context of imperial power … determined by rhetorical political imperial contexts … [of] submission, violence, and exclusion."[24] Empires were the contexts of biblical texts, and they are the contexts of biblical interpretations. The history of biblical studies is entwined with colonialism and has promoted Christian triumphalism. In the spirit of Sugirtharajah and Schüssler Fiorenza, I attend to the reception of the Solomonic narratives of the Bible within a particular historical empire: early modern Britain.

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[23] R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 46.

[24] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 6.

Following postcolonial theory's emphasis on the totalizing nature of imperial ideologies,[25] I seek to highlight imperial metanarratives at work in biblical reception history, concentrating on the effects of colonialization from its inception.[26] In such analysis, I am motivated by a redirected form of the analytic schema of Musa Dube, who models postcolonial biblical criticism by asking the following questions of imperializing literature: What is this text's relationship to "the political imperialism of its time? Does this text encourage travel to distant and inhabited lands, and if so, how does it justify itself? How does this text construct difference: Is there dialogue and mutual interdependence, or condemnation and replacement of all that is foreign? Does this text employ gender representations to construct relationships of subordination and domination?"[27] Dube asks these questions of biblical texts, as do I, but I also direct these questions toward early modern texts that use religion and the Bible to glorify Europeans and marginalize colonized peoples.

In addition to postcolonial theory, CRT provides invaluable bedrock for this dissertation. Begun in legal circles in the 1970s but now multi- and interdisciplinary, CRT is an orientation and set of concerns, a way of looking at and exposing the power dynamics of race and racism for the purposes of actively shaping a more egalitarian world.[28] A core tenet of CRT is that race is a

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[25] Linda Hutcheon defines "totalizing" as "the process by which writers of history, fiction, or theory render their materials coherent, continuous, unified" (Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism*, 2nd ed. [New York: Routledge, 2002], 59).

[26] A relevant example of this type of analysis is found in the work of King James, John Williams, Samuel Purchas, and their contemporary Spanish interpreters, all who identify European monarchies with the figure of Solomon, a repeated pattern illustrating the religious legitimation of empire.

[27] Musa W. Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* (St. Louis: Chalice, 2000), 57.

[28] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2, ProQuest ebrary ebook. For the wide influence of CRT, see the fields of literary and cultural criticism (bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* [Boston: South End Press, 1990]), sociology (Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. [New York: Routledge, 1994]), history (Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Race in the 21st Century* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000]), and religion (Cornel West, *Race Matters* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1993]).

social construction. One aspect of this social construction, the construction of whiteness, garners

particular scrutiny in this dissertation.

Especially significant for this dissertation is the way that critical whiteness studies (CWS),

a more recent subfield within CRT, seeks to analyze representations of whiteness by white

Europeans and Euro-Americans (how whites see themselves), the role of whiteness in history

and culture, white privilege as manifested in racializing and gendering exploited and colonized

peoples, and systems of racial hierarchies like "the ladder of whiteness."[29] Thus guided by CRT,

I identify within early modern European biblical reception history European ideologies of

cultural exceptionalism, racial essentialism, and the intersectionality inherent in racialized and

gendered representations of Africans, indigenous Americans, and all women.[30]

Biblical reception history is a relative newcomer on the methodological scene, but it has

found widespread acceptance and popularity in the past decade.[31] Reception history can be

defined succinctly as examining "the socio-historical contexts of interpretive practice."[32] Biblical

reception history is "based on the premise that how people have interpreted, and been influenced

by, a sacred text like the Bible is often as interesting and historically important as what it

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[29] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997). The "ladder of whiteness" is a concept describing different "degrees" of whiteness, which are given higher or lower status based on approximations to an imagined ideal of whiteness (Irish, Italians, or Jews, for example in twentieth-century US history).

[30] Essentialism, discussed further in the chapter on race below, assumes that there are inherent, immutable differences between different types of people, for example according to gender and/or ethnicity/race. Intersectionality focuses analytical attention on multiple social dynamics of differences, for example in gender as well as ethnicity/race. On intersectionality, see Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991), 1244 n. 9, doi: 10.2307/1229039.

[31] Demonstrating the acceptance of biblical reception history as a valid method is a research center at Oxford University, the Centre for the Reception History of the Bible, begun in 2002 (www.crhb.org); a biblical commentary series using reception history, launched around 2003, developed by Blackwell publishers; and the recent *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*, being published by de Gruyter in a projected thirty volumes.

[32] James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein, eds., *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2001), xii.

originally meant." Critical analysis is therefore directed toward the cultural effects of the Bible: "the *influence* of the Bible on literature, art, music, and film, its *role* in the evolution of religious beliefs and practices, and its *impact* on social and political developments."[33]

Theoretical underpinnings of biblical reception history can be discerned from multiple influences like cultural criticism, the history of biblical interpretation, and reader-response literary theory. I follow biblical reception history pioneer David Gunn in locating biblical reception history within cultural studies and viewing biblical reception history as the merger of cultural criticism and the history of biblical interpretation. Whereas the latter focuses on interpretations by religious professionals and scholars, reception history, like cultural studies, gives equal analytic weight to popular interpretations.

Gunn is not enamored with the term "reception history" because it seems to him to imply passivity, where in fact active participation by the interpreters is assumed. In this regard, Gunn considers reception history to be akin to reader-response criticism. He identifies an important question that biblical reception history addresses in its process: "What circumstances, and what hidden cultural assumptions, govern our use of the Bible?"[34] Given reception history's focus on the use, influence, and impact of the Bible, Mary Callaway asks: "What's the use of reception history?" She answers that "it can illuminate the mutual interplay of effects that the Bible has had on a given culture, and that a culture sometimes manages to encode in a biblical text. It can send us back to the text with a new perspective that allows us to see something that our own horizon concealed. It can keep us alert to the limitations of our own readings, and especially to

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[33] John Sawyer, Christopher Rowland, Judith Kovacs, and David Gunn, Series Editors' Preface to *Exodus through the Centuries*, by Scott Langston (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), xi, italics mine.

[34] David M. Gunn, "Cultural Criticism: Viewing the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter," in *Judges and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, ed. Gale A. Yee (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 204.

the moral consequences of absolutizing our own horizon." Callaway describes reception history as "studies that employ a mixture of historical, sociological, and anthropological approaches" to the interaction of Bible and culture.[35]

In my use of the methodology of biblical reception history, I must address what Gunn names as some limitations of reception history: the interpreter's choice of material automatically biases the research and, relatedly, the availability of material is incomplete. Limited by its own time and space, my project necessarily engages just a few texts from a particular era and region, yet these texts are selected as highly influential, extant representatives. Moreover, the specified theoretical umbrella promotes an openly activist agenda, in the manner of bell hooks's cultural criticism as cultural intervention. My approach, thus, is valid and morally urgent, without making any claim to exclusivity in this regard.

Finally, and most significantly, I rely on the work of Wimbush as emblematic of the intersection of cultural criticism of the Bible and biblical reception history. Wimbush argues that the traditional foci of biblical studies in the modern period, the text and its ancient contexts, occlude the meaning that the Bible has in contemporary culture. Traditional biblical studies does this by overly restricting the field of inquiry to ancient texts and ancient cultures, completely ignoring the tremendous impact that modern and contemporary cultures and interpreters have in determining the meaning of the texts in our current world.[36] According to Wimbush, re-balancing biblical studies by increasing focus on culture serves to bring the biblical text itself

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[35] Mary Chilton Callaway, "What's the Use of Reception History?" the website of *Blackwell Bible Commentaries*, 2004, http://bbibcomm.net/files/callaway2004.pdf, 13.

[36] Vincent L. Wimbush, "And the Students Shall Teach Them … The Study of the Bible and the Study of Meaning Construction," in *The Bible and the American Myth: A Symposium on the Bible and Constructions of Meaning*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 2.

into clearer focus, by allowing interpreters to recognize how much of biblical interpretation is actually accretions of culture and reactions to recent effects of culture.

Wimbush is one of a few scholars within the field of biblical studies who have sought to address the issue of white supremacy and racism. Wimbush concentrates his inquiry on understanding not only how the Bible became whitened (that is, a book thought to be primarily by, about, and addressed to white people) in Euro-centric interpretation but also how white supremacy became scriptural.[37] White supremacy became scriptural, or religiously authoritative, when the Bible was interpreted by white religious leaders and others through the lens of white European/American culture, inherently incorporating ideologies of white racial supremacy. This process, incorporated into the cultural foundations of European colonialist societies, like the US, is what Wimbush calls the scripturalization of whiteness.

Contributions of Dissertation

This dissertation, to borrow another term from Wimbush and others, is a project of "excavation."[38] I seek to expose the "work" of scripturalization of whiteness and to explicate *how* whiteness is scripturalized in a critical period of British and Euro-American history. I am choosing to foreground roots of the British colonial racialization project, in order to show not merely that white supremacy is the lens that white European and Euro-American interpreters are

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[37] Vincent L. Wimbush, "TEXTures, Gestures, Power: Orientation to Radical Excavation," in *Theorizing Scriptures: New Critical Orientations to a Cultural Phenomenon*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 1-20. Despite this whitening, however, the Bible was never a "whites-only" book. See, for example, Theophus H. Smith, *Conjuring Culture: Biblical Formations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Vincent L. Wimbush, *The Bible and African Americans: A Brief History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).

[38] For example, Wimbush, *White Men's Magic*; and Wimbush, "'No Modern Joshua': Nationalization, Scriptures, and Race," in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Laura Nasrallah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 259-78.

using but that this lens was developed with the support of biblical interpretation, which reflected

and contributed to the construction of race as an imperial-colonial project.

    The reception history of Solomon has been previously addressed in ancient, medieval, and

recent contexts,[39] but little attention has been given to the early modern period.[40] In addition to

focusing on early modern reception of Solomon, my research contributes to the state of the

discussion on the reception of the Bible regarding race, by helping to clarify the early modern

British roots of racial constructions.[41] Furthermore, studies have been done on the literature and

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[39] For primarily ancient contexts, see André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, eds., *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception* (Boston: Brill, 2010); and Joseph Verheyden, ed., *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage, Architect* (Boston: Brill, 2013). For medieval contexts, see Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). For recent contexts, see Steven Weitzman, *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Annelies Glander, *The Queen of Sheba's Round Table: A Study of the Most Favored Daughters of Eve* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); and Nicholas Clapp, *Sheba: Through the Desert in Search of the Legendary Queen* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

[40] James Pritchard's edited collection seeks the historical "credibility of the biblical narrative," and includes several essays on "what use is made of the narrative in several cultural traditions," namely Judaic, Islamic, Ethiopian, and Christian (James Pritchard, ed., *Solomon & Sheba* [New York: Phaidon, 1974], 13). Paul Watson's chapter therein surveys Sheba's reception in art from the 12th-20th centuries, including a brief discussion of the early modern period (Paul Watson, "The Queen of Sheba in Christian Tradition," in Pritchard, *Solomon & Sheba*, 115-45). Walter Brueggemann limits his discussion to canonical accounts but includes a brief section on Solomon in early modern Freemasonry (Walter Brueggemann, *Solomon: Israel's Ironic Icon of Human Achievement* [Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005], 238-42).

[41] The most relevant work is Benjamin Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," (*William & Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 [Jan 1997]: 103-42, JSTOR). For sources on race and the Bible focusing on US reception, see Conrad Cherry, ed., *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny*, rev. ed. (1971; Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1998); Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, eds., *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Smith, *Conjuring Culture*; James H. Moorhead, "The American Israel: Protestant Tribalism and Universal Mission," in *Many Are Chosen: Divine Election and Western Nationalism*, ed. William R. Hutchison and Martmut Lehmann (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 145-66; Vincent L. Wimbush, ed., *African Americans and the Bible: Sacred Texts and Social Textures* (New York: Continuum, 2000); Richard T. Hughes, *Myths America Lives By* (Chicago: Univ. Illinois Press, 2003); Peter T. Nash, *Reading Race, Reading the Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003); Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Michael Joseph Brown, *Blackening of the Bible: The Aims of African American Biblical Research* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International/Continuum, 2004); Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Scott M. Langston, "North America," in *Blackwell Companion to the Bible and Culture*, ed. John F. A. Sawyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 198-216; and Mark A. Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). Also see studies on the so-called "Curse of Ham," such as David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); and Sylvester A. Johnson, *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth Century American Christianity: Race, Heathens, and the People of God* (New York: Palgrave, 2004).

history of King James, but there is no in-depth research on his political use of the biblical

Solomon.[42] Historical and literary studies have addressed the writings of Purchas and Hall, but

no major work exists on racialized aspects of their uses of the Bible.[43] This dissertation, in the

unique way just described, makes a contribution to biblical reception history in general and in

particular to an understanding of how the narratives of Solomon regarding Ophir and Sheba have

been used in early modern Europe.

Moreover, my work, from the perspective of HB studies, will contribute to the research that

has been done in biblical studies, mostly by NT scholars, using CRT and concerning whiteness.[44]

This contribution is important because few biblical scholars are familiar with CRT and its

potential for application in all aspects of biblical interpretation from ancient contexts to current

interpretations. Greg Carey observes that "few white people have proposed strategies for

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[42] Literary studies include Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2007); and James Travers, *James I: The Masque of Monarchy* (Surrey, UK: The National Archives, 2003). Historical treatments include Ralph Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*; Pauline Croft, *King James* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Maurice Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

[43] Loren E. Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*: Samuel Purchas and the Promotion of English Overseas Expansion," *Emporia State Research Studies* 14, no. 3 (March 1966): 5-39; Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook: Studies in the Life, Times, and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997); T. F. Kinloch, *The Life and Works of Joseph Hall, 1574-1656* (New York: Staples Press, 1951); Leonard D. Tourney, *Joseph Hall* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979); Frank Livingstone Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall, 1574-1656: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, Ltd, 1979); Washington, *Anti-Blackness in English Religion*; Ralph Bauer, *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

[44] On the use of CRT in biblical studies, see Gay L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Exploring the Intersections of Race, Gender, Status, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies," in Nasrallah and Schüssler Fiorenza, *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings*, 1-28; Cheryl B. Anderson, *Ancient Laws and Contemporary Controversies: The Need for Inclusive Biblical Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Anderson, "Reflections in an Interethnic/racial Era on Interethnic/racial Marriage in Ezra," in *They Were All Together in One Place? Toward Minority Biblical Criticism*, ed. Randall C. Bailey, Tat-Siong Benny Liew, and Fernando F. Segovia (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 47-64. On the topic of whiteness and biblical interpretation, see Wimbush, various; Shawn Kelley, *Racializing Jesus: Race. Ideology and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Denise Kimber Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); and J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2008).

acknowledging how whiteness shapes biblical interpretation or what whiteness-sensitive interpretation might look like."[45] This dissertation, with its excavative approach, is intended as just one such strategy, and the implementation of CRT and its critical whiteness studies to HB studies in a major study such as this will add to the very small number of theoretically similar articles that have been published thus far by HB scholars.[46]

Finally, this project has the potential to contribute to conversations around the current state of race relations in the US. Such input would be especially informative for those for whom the Bible remains a key text around which ethical reflection is carried out, but, given the importance of the Bible in the history and political culture of the US still today, it has relevance for all in the US and others powerfully affected by the legacy of European colonialism.[47]

Overview of Following Chapters

The following chapters offer context and argument for the scripturalization of whiteness in early modern Britain. **Chapter two** discusses relevant historical, literary, and ideological contexts for

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[45] Greg Carey, "Introduction and a Proposal: Culture, Power, and Identity in White New Testament Studies," in *Soundings in Cultural Criticism: Perspectives and Methods in Culture, Power, and Identity in the New Testament*, ed. Francisco Lozada Jr. and Greg Carey (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 5-6.

[46] Timothy K. Beal, "The White Supremacist Bible and the Phineas Priesthood," in *Sanctified Aggression: Legacies of Biblical and Post-Biblical Vocabularies of Violence*, ed. Jonneke Bekkenkamp and Yvonne Sherwood, LHBOTS (New York: T&T Clark Continuum, 2003), 120-131; and Erin Runions, "Signifying Proverbs: *Menace II Society*," in Wimbush, *Theorizing Scriptures*, 145-154.

[47] In recent years in the US context, then-presidential-candidate Barack Obama called for a national conversation on race in March 2008. My own denomination, the United Church of Christ, amplified that call that April, urging its member churches to engage in "Sacred Conversations on Race." Other denominations have promoted similar forums. Obama's call for such discussions was renewed again in July 2013 in the wake of the Trayvon Martin murder trial, which event itself tragically reinforces the crucial need for ongoing discussion and further research and education on topics such as those addressed in this dissertation. Since I began writing this dissertation, horrific deaths of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Walter Scott, Freddie Gray, the Emanuel AME 9, Sandra Bland, Christian Taylor, and too many others in places like St. Louis (Ferguson), New York (Staten Island), Cleveland, North Charleston, Baltimore, Charleston, Prairie View (TX), Dallas (Arlington), Charlotte, Cincinnati, and Tulsa continue to highlight the desperate need in the US to substantively address the ideological consequences of racialization and whiteness.

representations of James as Solomon. I introduce the principal primary texts and authors featured in this dissertation, and I locate "empire" and "race" in the rapidly changing milieu of the early seventeenth century.

Empire-building in early modern Europe required religious authority; in Protestant Britain, biblical authority was most persuasive. In **chapter three** I argue that the British sanctified imperialization by recourse to King Solomon. As Musa Dube articulated in her "four Gs" of "God, gold, glory, and gender," imperialization could take the forms of conversion, commerce, conquest, and colonization, and an ideology of empire included justification for any or all of these.[48] The primary British model for empire, at least initially, was that of the Iberians. The British longed for financial gain, principally by finding their own, northerly, sea route around the globe to the rich trade in the Far East, and the success of the Portuguese traders and Spanish conquistadors seemed repeatable. The Roman model of violent conquest and colonization provided much philosophical support, especially in light of the Greek and Roman literary influence in the Renaissance and in light of the benefits of European civilization and Christianity that allegedly accrued to the Britons as side effects of Roman imperialization.

In **chapter four** I argue that part of British imperial ideology was justifying imperialism by recourse to British exceptionalism supported by biblical exceptionalism. The British used biblical exceptionalism of the uniqueness of Israel to justify British cultural exceptionalism; that is, they applied typologies of Britain as Israel and James as Solomon, in concert with views of resource-rich foreign lands and peoples as Ophir and Sheba, to support imperial ideology. Even in instances when Solomon and Ophir were not used to support imperialization, connections made between Britain and Israel and James and Solomon still supported exceptionalist thinking.

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[48] Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation*, 201.

Whiteness was essentialized in Britain when traditional European color symbolism was combined with British cultural exceptionalism. Racial ideology proceeded from perceived cultural differences between the English and their prospective imperial subjects and was used to justify imperial exploitation of lands and peoples. Portraying indigenous Americans and Africans as inherently or irredeemably deficient human beings justified military conquest, lop-sided commercial trade, enslavement, persuasive if not forcible enculturation (including religious conversion), and physical invasion and colonization.

Finally, in **chapter five**, I argue that the sanctification of both imperialization and racialization led to the scripturalization of whiteness by means of the combination of the epistemological rise of empiricism, literalism, and individualism. When interfaced with late pre-critical typology, these epistemological changes resulted in influential, experience-based, literal-historical, late pre-critical biblical interpretations of Britain as Israel. Along with increased authority of biblical literalism in the Protestant world was the increasing authority given to individual experience and reason as part of the rise of scientific discourse. Experience as allegedly objective (eyewitness) and universal (impartial) was used to establish the new authoritative idea of "fact." As the English "Adventurers," as they called themselves, encountered differences between themselves and non-Christian, "uncivilized," non-Europeans, these religious and other cultural differences were mapped onto the religious and other cultural differences between Israelites and their neighbors in the Bible.[49] These biblical interpretive maps were then seen as literal-historical reality as viewed through the framework of scientific "fact," with its claims to objectivity and impartiality. Thus, scientific discourse combined with biblical

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[49] As an example of the imperialist use of "adventure," Robert Gray addresses the "Adventurers for the plantation of Virginea" in his sermon *A Good Speed to Virginia* (London: Printed by Felix Kyngston for William Welbie, sold at his shop at the signe of the Greyhound in Pauls Churchyard, 1609 [STC 12204]), A3r, EEBO.

literalism and individual authority to influence late pre-critical typology in the context of growing imperial power and increasing racialization to make the scripturalization of whiteness possible and dominant. This white, English, Christian view of reality became hegemonically entrenched through the growing rise of power, as the sun rose, not soon to set, on the British Empire.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL, LITERARY, AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS
FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF JAMES AS SOLOMON
AND THE SCRIPTURALIZATION OF WHITENESS

America cannot affirm the future until it affirms its past.
—Charles Long, *Significations*[50]

The Early Modern Context of Jacobean Britain

Before discussing the historical context within which the casting of James as Solomon takes

place, I first explain my use of several key terms related to the period and the location. The Early

Modern Period, sometimes overlapping or even used synonymously with the Renaissance

Period, features the development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of important

modern concepts, such as nation, science, and colony. The term "renaissance" centers on the

Mediterranean region and the recovery of classical Greek and Roman philosophy and texts,

while "early modern" has a more global, forward-looking focus.[51] The English Renaissance is

most associated with the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and the flourishing of Shakespeare in the late

sixteenth century. Thus, with my focus on King James I and the global consequences of race and

imperialism deriving from early seventeenth-century Britain, I have chosen to use the

terminology of "early modern."

Another potentially confusing term, at least in reference to the seventeenth century, is

"Britain." Although not formally adopted as a national designation until 1707 when the

parliaments of Scotland and England voted to unite, the term "Britain," as an ancient name for

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[50] Long, *Significations*, 159.

[51] Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), vii.

the entire island, was heavily promoted by King James in order to recognize his union of the two crowns and to legitimate his rule as a Scottish monarch over England. James hoped to lead full political union of the two countries, but the English parliament refused such a merger at the time. Since, however, the Stuarts were Scots ruling England as well as Scotland, I will often use the terms Britain and British within the context of the Jacobean period, which is the focus of this study.[52] Occasionally I will also use England and English when I think that English particularities, like differentiation from or prejudice against Scots, are especially important to consider.

With these terms in hand, an understanding of the historical context of Jacobean Britain is necessary in order to engage my argument, which is based in biblical reception history. My account of the history of King James and the Jacobean period is drawn broadly from the secondary sources listed in the footnote below.[53] Succeeding Queen Elizabeth I as reigning monarch in England in March 1603, James brought to the English throne a lifetime of experience as a sovereign ruler. Born in 1566, he was crowned King James VI of Scotland in his infancy in 1567. Elizabethan England had witnessed several historic changes: the firm establishment of English Protestantism, the height of the English Renaissance, including growing popularity of Shakespeare and English drama, global exploration of Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh, and the

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[52] "Jacobean" is the term used for the reign of King James, from the Latinized form of the English name James. James is also the first of the Stuart dynasty in England, and "Stuart period" describes the English dynasty established by the Scottish James Stuart in 1603, which persisted, intermittently, until the conclusion of the reign of Queen Anne in the early eighteenth century. Stuart rule in England was interrupted by the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth (1649-60) and the "Glorious Revolution" of William of Orange in 1688. Reigning monarchs included James I (1603-25), Charles I (1625-49), Charles II (1660-85), and James II (1685-88). Mary II (1689-94) married William of Orange (1689-1702), and Queen Anne (1702-14) was the final ruling Stuart monarch. See, for example, Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603-1714*, 4th ed. (New York: Pearson, 2012).

[53] Coward, *The Stuart Age*; Croft, *King James*; Christopher Durston, *James I* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon*; Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Travers, *James I*; and Jenny Wormald, "James VI & I," *History Today* (June 2002): 27-33.

"defeat" of the Spanish Armada in 1588, perhaps largely due to stormy seas but taken in any case to be a sign of the increasing power of the English navy.[54] The peaceful transition from Elizabeth's long, forty-five-year reign was a great relief to many, after years of anxiety about the repercussions of the childlessness of England's "Virgin" Queen, and due in no small part to decades of maneuvering by James and Elizabeth's closest advisor, Cecil.

Having achieved his life-long goal of becoming king of England, as well as Scotland, James VI and I immediately set about to formalize the union of the two countries, made manifest in his own royal person.[55] However, James underestimated the ethnocentricity of the English, and, despite almost a decade of legal proceedings, he was unable to convince the English parliament of the merits of union with Scotland, an allegedly barbaric, uncivilized nation. Nevertheless, James, through royal proclamation in 1604, was the first to create the Empire of Great Britain, complete with a new coat of arms and a new union flag in 1606.[56] His disappointment at the beginning of his reign over such swift and forceful denial of his great dream of national union was to poison his relationship with parliament for the rest of his life.

With peace ensured at least between Scotland and England, if not within his English parliament, James turned his efforts at peacemaking toward continental Europe. He moved swiftly to formalize peace with Spain in 1604, and, despite popular domestic anti-Roman Catholic sentiment, James made repeated, extended efforts to cement religious and political

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[54] Lisa Hopkins and Matthew Steggle, *Renaissance Literature and Culture* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 6-10.

[55] "James VI and I" refers to his titles: King James VI of Scotland and King James I of England.

[56] The concept of "empire" was also undergoing change in this period. Previously the term empire was used for any sovereign state, equivalent to "kingdom" or "realm." However, English nationalists like John Dee and Richard Hakluyt drew from Roman and Iberian models the idea of empire as including widely geographically separate colonies. Hence, they and others began to speak of the British Empire as including at first the whole of the British Isles and then overseas colonies in North America.

peace in Europe through a dynastic marriage between one of his sons and either a Spanish or French princess. His daughter Elizabeth married a prominent Protestant monarch on the continent, which boosted James's popularity at home but embroiled him in unwanted political tension abroad, as Europe careened toward the Thirty-Years War. These desires of James for an extensive, peaceful empire led him to identify strongly with the biblical Solomon, as one who wisely mediated between quarreling parties both religious and political.

As king of Scotland, James had successfully moved past his precarious position as a ruling minor and had managed both his feuding nobility and the headstrong Scots Kirk (Church). He had done this by carefully balancing power among the nobles and church leaders by strongly rejecting extremists on both sides of clan feuds and church disputes and by warmly embracing those moderates willing to work with him in loyalty. This middle path had worked extremely well in Scotland where informal, personal gatherings were warmly received by the Scots, and indeed James was one of their own, born and bred, who loved hunting as much as reading the classics and debating theology—a true Scots Renaissance man.

In England, however, James was an outsider, and Scots were not well loved in London society. English government and Church, too, were larger and in some ways more formal. Queen Elizabeth had spent decades polishing the mystique and majesty of the monarchy, so James's informality was a shock to many in the southern kingdom. James followed a moderating strategy by rejecting any militant Roman Catholics or any Puritans who would not be loyal, law-abiding subjects. He believed treason and rebellion to be the worst sins, and he insisted upon a patriarchal role as father and husband of his people. He saw himself as God's representative on earth, in charge of the welfare, even the life or death, of his people. James insisted that he had the best interests of his subjects at heart, so he never seemed to understand why many of his English

subjects did not trust him. The way the English despised the Scots was deeply disappointing to James, but he never wavered from his conviction that he and his heirs were the divine lieutenants of Great Britain. In a speech at Whitehall, March 21, 1609, to both houses of parliament, James begins, "The State of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth: For Kings are not onely Gods Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called Gods." He spoke of kings as "fathers of families" and as "head ... of the body"; "they have power ... of life, and of death ... and yet accomptable to none but God onely." He continues, "For to Emperors, or Kings that are Monarches, their Subiects bodies & goods are due for their defence and maintenance." He reasons that "Kings ... planted and spread themselves in Colonies through the world" (*Workes*, 529-30).[57]

Through the eyes of James, the inhabitants of the whole "Isle," English and Scots alike, had the same ancient heritage and had the same destiny as a rising power in Europe. In his early writings James seeks to create Protestant solidarity between his Scotland and Elizabeth's England in contrast to continental European Roman Catholics, by representing the Spanish as Philistines.[58] In his 1588 "A Meditation" (on 1 Chron 15:25-29), James writes, "as of late when greatest appearance of perill was by that forreine and godlesse fleete," that "amongst us in this Isle" is "now a sincere profession of the trewth." James's "trewth" is that all British Isles should band together against their common enemies, the "Philistines" of the nations that "pursue us."

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[57] Here and elsewhere, I have replaced "long s" with the "round s," as in "ſupremeſt" at the beginning of the quotation above; I use current forms of "v" and "u"; and I have omitted proper-name italics and capitalization of words in all-caps (unless significant for my discussion). Otherwise early-modern spelling has been retained. Also, regarding early modern dates, until 1752 the British used Old Style dates, meaning New Year fell on March 25 (Alden T. Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1995]). Thus, any original publication dates from January 1 – March 25 will need a year added to modernize. To further complicate matters, many Roman Catholic European countries had already switched to the Gregorian calendar c.1582, so years and even days between various European publications often do not match.

[58] Such an interpretive move has racial implications for Britain as Israel and non-British as non-Israelite. This will be discussed further in the chapter on race below.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada, like God's "mightie windes, put the Philistines to flight" (*Workes*, 81, 87-88). Later, in a speech at Whitehall, March, 31, 1607, to both houses of parliament, James addresses "the weight of the matter, which concernes the securitie and establishment of this whole Empire, and litle world" (510). He was disappointed that parliament had not yet agreed with his proposed "Treatie of the Union" to merge the kingdoms of Scotland and England into the Empire of Great Britain. James's own position was that "if the Empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no matter" if there are small private losses here and there (519). James concludes his speech by professing, "the trewth and sincerity of my meaning, which in seeking Union, is onely to advance the greatnesse of your Empire seated here in England" (525).

James was obsessed with empire-building and its necessary, attendant ideology. Linda Levy Peck emphasizes that James was "the first English monarch to portray himself on his coinage as a Roman Emperor." In fact, "in the first year of his reign he called himself Emperor of Great Britain."[59] In harmony with his vision of Great Britain as a unification of the whole of the British Isles, James focused his personal involvement in empire-building on Ireland. As king of Scotland, James had success in mainstreaming Highland and coastal island Scots by using his "middle path" strategy of supporting moderate leaders most likely to be open to partnership and loyalty to the crown, while simultaneously repressing militant separatists. The theory was that the "civilizing" influence of these moderate, loyal leaders would spread and enlighten the "barbaric" people. His approach in Ireland was similar. The "plantation" of Ulster forcibly

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[59] Linda Levy Peck, "The Mental World of the Jacobean Court: An Introduction," in Peck, *Mental World*, 4-5.

removed native Irish to make way for British settlers (mostly Scots).[60] In this way, the persistent

Roman Catholicism and alleged cultural barbarism of the Irish could be moderated by the solid

Protestantism and relatively more acceptable (to the English) culture of the Scots. The civilizing

influence of these British settlers, it was thought, would spread to the native peoples. No more

popular in Ireland today than it was then, this colonization scheme, though successful in

enduring, sowed lasting seeds of animosity that have continued in the more recent "Troubles" in

Northern Ireland in the late twentieth century. Furthermore, the cooptation by the English, when

it suited their purposes, of the previously abjected Scots as a way to further abject the less-

desirable (to the English) Irish, established a pattern that was to repeat itself in North America as

the English eventually coopted other European people as "white" in contrast to the Africans and

Native Americans who were enslaved or annihilated.[61]

The British took approaches theoretically analogous to Irish "plantation" in their

colonization and settlement of North America. In the introduction to their important collection on

the writings of James, Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier state that "James's place in the history of

colonial enterprise is a significant aspect of his complex diplomatic and imperial affiliations,

especially in terms of his role in the funding of new world exploration …. Also important are his

interest in the founding of Jamestown [and] his relationship to the Virginia Company and the

English East India Company," among other ventures.[62] Historian Pauline Croft writes that

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[60] Here and elsewhere I use "plantation" in its historical sense of establishing a colony, or the colony itself, "in a conquered or dominated country. Chiefly with reference to the colonies founded in North America and on the forfeited lands in Ireland in the 16th-17th centuries" (*OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/145169).

[61] For more on this later dynamic of constructing whiteness, especially in connection with Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, see Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race: Volume Two: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America*, rev. ed. (1997; New York: Verso, 2012).

[62] Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, "Introduction: 'Enregistrate Speech': Stratagems of Monarchic Writing in the Work of James VI and I," in *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 38.

"vigorous overseas expansion in both trade and colonies pointed forward to an imperial future in the East Indies and the New World."[63] This imperial "future" was only in its infancy in the early seventeenth century, however, when Britain first began to be directly involved in global trade, imperialization, and colonization. The English East India Company was established in 1600 to develop trade with Indonesia ("the Spice Islands") and India. The first English colony at Jamestown, Virginia, was established in 1607. During the next few decades "the English Empire in the New World expanded in three areas": tobacco colonies of Virginia, Bermuda (1615), and Maryland (1633); sugar colonies in the Caribbean (late 1620s); and "farming, fishing, and trading" colonies in New England (Plymouth in 1621 and Massachusetts in 1629).[64] Barry Coward stresses the importance of population growth in Britain at this time, which led not only to hunger and unemployment but also to interest in colonial resettlement. Some were motivated by religious freedom (especially in New England and Maryland), but in Coward's view "a desire to cure England's overpopulation problem and open up new trades and new markets was a persistent motive behind most of the colonization schemes."[65]

The growth of colonial trade in the early seventeenth century was slight to nil: "in the early seventeenth century there was no increase in the total volume of English overseas trade, and the bulk of trade was still the export of cloth to Europe from London."[66] The Dutch were dominant in the Far East, and the British colonies in North America had not met the fantastic expectations of their supporters. The Virginia Company paid no dividends and fell apart in 1624, due in large part to opposition in the colony from indigenous Americans and "opposition in England to their

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[63] Croft, *King James*, 187.

[64] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 10.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 13.

attempts to establish tobacco as the staple export crop."[67] These problems, as well as the colony's "severe labor shortage," would be solved and all of these colonial projects would become immensely profitable, but this was not the case in the early Stuart period. Other issues during the reign of James included court intrigues involving male "favorites" and financial mismanagement, outbreaks of plague (such as that which postponed for a year James's coronation festival in London),[68] and the rise of experimental science as rapid global exploration radically challenged traditional European worldviews (discussed further below). Thus, James needed strong apologetics to motivate his English public to back his imperial ambitions.

James was nothing if not ambitious, for himself and his people, and this vision of Great Britain, though popularly rejected in his own time, was to have great impact and long-lasting effects: the union of the crowns of Scotland and England in the person of James VI and I brought these two warring kingdoms together in a peace that persists today. Although not fully, legally united until the Act of Union was ratified by both parliaments in 1707, James's vision of Great Britain still endures.[69]

Contexts and Significance of Primary Texts and Authors

In this section I provide contextual introductions and assessments for the primary texts and authors most frequently referenced in this dissertation: the *Workes* of King James (1616, 1620), *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* by the Reverend Samuel Purchas (1625), *Great Britains Salomon* by Bishop John Williams (1625), and *Contemplations* (1612-26) and

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[67] Ibid., 14.

[68] Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon*, 107-8.

[69] As I began writing, Scots voted on a referendum for independence in September 2014 and decided to remain in the Union.

Occasional Meditations (1630) by Bishop Joseph Hall. This context is important because these were very prominent and influential texts written by very prominent and influential leaders in religious and political spheres. Moreover, the circle of London religious and political elites was relatively small, and these four men knew each other professionally and read each other's works.

Indeed, part of the historical context of Jacobean Britain is its literary history. Early seventeenth-century England produced an explosion of popular printing, as the development of public theatre and the English language reached what some consider to be a high-water mark symbolized by the publication of the King James Bible in 1611 and Shakespeare's First Folio in 1623. Croft writes that "the popularity of … pamphlets testified to the steady growth of English print culture since the late sixteenth century"; in conjunction with printing, literacy rates were rising, especially in the cities.[70] The rapidly expanding role of the popular press influenced James to publish much of his own writing and speeches, and James, in return, had a profound impact on printing by contributing to the emerging role of the "author" as an individual with "authority." I return to the issue of individual authority in a later chapter.

The *Workes* of King James (1616, 1620)

King James not only published his own "authorized" version of the Bible, colonized Virginia, received Pocahontas at court, promoted Shakespeare, and condemned witchcraft and tobacco, he also wrote his own poetry and biblical commentary. James commissioned the new Bible translation in 1604, and it was first published in 1611. Shakespeare's company was employed by James at the beginning of his reign for his coronation procession and as primary court entertainers, the King's Men. James wrote against witchcraft in his 1597 *Daemonologie* and

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[70] Croft, *King James*, 121.

against tobacco in his 1604 *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*. His biblical works include translations

of a few dozen Psalms, meditations on texts from Revelation, Matthew, and Chronicles, as well

as a longer "paraphrase" of Revelation.

The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, Iames, originally published in 1616 and

republished with supplementary works in 1620, includes most of his prose works in many genres

ranging from biblical commentary to political speeches.[71] The frontispiece and title page

emphasize the divine and secular authority of King James. These visual images connect James

with King Solomon, as a wise, divinely inspired ruler and author, and with the Bible that James

"authorized" in 1611. The "Preface" by Bishop Montague further depicts James as Solomon in

wealth, glory, and peace enforced by violence. The biblical commentaries on Chronicles,

Matthew, and Revelation emphasize the roles of James as inspired interpreter and biblical author,

like Solomon. His "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ" ("Basilikon Doron," literally "Royal/Kingly Gift"),

first published in 1599, republished in 1603, and included in his 1616 *Workes*, is kingly advice to

his princely son, in the mode of David's instructions to Solomon and Solomon's advice in the

book of Proverbs. His "Trew Law of Free Monarchies" and political speeches emphasize his

belief in the divine right of kings, which he supports by his frequent references to himself as a

divinely appointed biblical king like David, Solomon, and the "good kings of Judah."

Some of James's writings, such as his commentary on Revelation and his treatise on

witchcraft, display color symbolism prevalent at the time. When combined with British

exceptionalism in the context of imperialism, this color symbolism developed into nascent racial

consciousness, as evidenced in the courtly performance of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*

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[71] For his poetry, see James Craigie, ed., *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955-58).

and James's pamphlet denouncing the use of tobacco.[72] All of these texts will be analyzed further below.

Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes by the Reverend Samuel Purchas (1625)

Of particular importance for this dissertation is the preeminent place of the figure of King Solomon in the opening chapter of the Reverend Samuel Purchas's 1625 magnum opus, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Purchas (1577-1626), chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury and rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, in London, interpreted the biblical reference to Solomon bringing gold by sea from Ophir (1 Kgs 9:26-28; 10:11-12) as religious justification for the expansion of English overseas commerce and the establishment of English colonies in America.[73] As represented by Purchas, Solomon is a model for the idealism and exceptionalism of the divinely-chosen, commercial, Christian Englishman. Since close ties in *Pilgrimes* between James, Solomon, imperialization, exceptionalism, and biblical interpretation are so central to my larger argument, I offer a more thorough introduction to its author.

Purchas was an influential and popular writer and religious leader. According to his own account, his first book, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), was read by James,[74] and Purchas preached at St. Paul's Cross a 1622 sermon, *The Kings Towre*, on 2 Sam 22:51 about God

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[72] Ben Jonson, "The Queenes Masques: The First, of Blacknesse: Personated at the Court, at White-Hall, on the Twelv'th Night, 1605," in *The Characters of Two Royall Masques: The One of Blacknesse, the Other of Beautie: Personated by the Most Magnificent of Queenes, Anne, Queene of Great Britaine, &c., with her Honorable Ladyes, 1605 and 1608 at White-hall* (London: Thomas Thorp, to be sold at the signe of the Tigers head in Paules Church-yard, 1608 [STC 14761]), EEBO. I will refer to this drama using the common short title, *Masque of Blackness*.

[73] See Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 11.

[74] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present* (London: William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1626 [STC 205085]), ¶3r, EEBO. Not to be confused with *Pilgrimes*, editions of *Pilgrimage* were published in 1613 [STC 20505], 1614 [STC 20506], 1617 [STC 20507], and 1626. Purchas dedicated the fourth edition of *Pilgrimage*, which he fashioned as fifth volume or supplement to *Pilgrimes*, to King Charles and George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury.

blessing James.[75] Purchas was the immediate successor to the library of the Reverend Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616), consisting of a wide array of first-person European travel and exploration narratives. Hakluyt was another prominent Anglican priest and an outspoken promoter of English colonization during the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods.

The writing of Purchas was very important in promoting and supporting British imperialization in the early seventeenth century. In his study of colonial literature, Ralph Bauer has found that the writing of Purchas "performed important cultural work in the formation of a 'British' imperial ideology during the reign of the Stuarts by narrativizing not only Britain's inter-imperial rivalry with Spain and the Netherlands but also the supersession of Elizabethan aristocratic individualism by the mercantile subject under the Jacobean monarchy."[76] Loren Pennington, who edited the two-volume *Purchas Handbook* in which he annotated four centuries of scholarship on Purchas, wrote in an earlier essay, "If Richard Hakluyt was the historian of the early English colonial effort, Samuel Purchas was its philosopher."[77]

According to an excellent biography of Purchas by D. R. Ransome in *The Purchas Handbook*, Purchas was born fifth of ten children of a yeoman's family in 1577 in Thaxted in Essex; graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1597; finished his MA there in 1600; was ordained in 1601; and got a position as curate to the rector of Purleigh in Essex.[78] He also married that year, eventually had at least 3 children, Mary, Samuel, and Martha, and became active vicar of Eastwood in Essex from 1604-14. Pennington reasons about Purchas that "his

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[75] Samuel Purchas, *The Kings Towre, and Triumphant Arch of London: A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, August 5, 1622* (London: W. Stansby and Henrie Fetherstone, 1623 [STC 20502]), EEBO.

[76] Bauer, *Cultural Geography*, 81.

[77] Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 5.

[78] My biographical account of Purchas closely follows D. R. Ransome, "A Purchas Chronology," in Pennington, *Purchas Handbook*, 1:329-80.

proximity to one of the great seafaring centers of England [as 'vicar of Eastwood, near the shipping center of Leigh on the Thames'] fused with his religious commitment and combined with an interest in anthropology quickly involved him in the study of the many native peoples of the new worlds which the age of the discovery was bringing to the astounded attention of Europe."[79] While living close to this large seaport at the mouth of the Thames, he wrote his first book on religious history and geography, *Pilgrimage* (1613), and became a member of the prestigious Mermaid Club in London, where he was able to meet prominent contemporaries like Robert Cotton, John Donne, Ben Jonson, and Inigo Jones, as well as Andrew Battell, Captain John Smith, and others.

The notoriety of his first book led to a series of professional promotions. Purchas was appointed a chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, in 1614 and moved to London to become rector at St. Martin's, Ludgate, in the center of London next to St. Paul's Cathedral. Also that year he met Richard Hakluyt and received help from him in publishing an expanded second edition of *Pilgrimage*. Purchas was honored by Archbishop Abbot with a BD from Oxford,[80] and, with his advancement in London society, Purchas was able to leverage his connections with Captain John Smith and Bishop John King to meet Pocahontas and interview her uncle Uttamatomakkin when they visited London from Virginia in 1616.

The next few years were very difficult ones for Purchas. After what seems to be some falling out between them in 1615-16, Richard Hakluyt died in November 1616. Purchas's father-

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[79] Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 5.

[80] Abbot was another very prominent religious and political leader who was very interested in and published on world geography and English exploration. See George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (London, 1599 [STC 245-1826]), EEBO. See also, Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, "George Abbot (1562-1633)," in *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*, ed. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 145-50. Abbot's brief work was very popular, enjoying six revised editions during Abbot's lifetime and seven additional posthumous editions. Abbot located Solomon's Ophir in the East Indies, as Purchas also thought. The Bachelor of Divinity degree (BD) is now known as Master of Divinity (MDiv).

in-law died April 1617; a brother-in-law died April 1618; his next-younger brother Daniel ("tailor of Blackfriars") died May 1618 (Daniel's wife had died August 1617), leaving four children to manage; Queen Anne and his mother Anne both died March 1619; and, perhaps most tragic of all, his 15-year-old daughter Mary died April 1619. Somehow he managed to publish a new work, *Purchas His Pilgrim* (1619), about the human condition, which he dedicated to the bishop of London.[81]

Purchas then began work on his magnum opus, *Pilgrimes*. Ransome thinks that about 1620 Purchas obtained Hakluyt's manuscripts, purchasing them from Hakluyt's heirs. This estimation seems correct, since Bishop John King, Purchas's patron, died in March 1621, and that same year Purchas became a fellow at Chelsea College, which was started under King James in 1610 to train Protestant apologists. There, Purchas spent four summers writing, working with Hakluyt's library. After his first summer of writing, August 1621, printing for *Pilgrimes* began.

Purchas's relationship with the Virginia Company impacted his writing. In May 1622, the Virginia Company admitted eight new members, including Purchas and his London clergy colleague, John Donne, dean of St. Paul's, which was next door to Purchas's church. In the spring of 1624, according to Ransome, Purchas had written one of his most influential personal editorials to appear in *Pilgrimes*, "Virginias Verger," addressing the ongoing controversy over the struggling Virginia colony and its divided support within the English Virginia Company. King James assumed royal control of the colony in May 1624, dissolving the charter of the Virginia Company.

In January 1625, the printing of *Pilgrimes* was finally complete. The four volumes that made up the massive, complete set of *Pilgrimes* were each dedicated to different patrons,

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[81] Ransome, "Purchas Chronology," 349-52. *Pilgrim* is also not to be confused with either *Pilgrimes* or *Pilgrimage* (three major works of Purchas with very similar titles).

arguably the four most powerful men in England, other than James, when the work was published in early 1625: Prince Charles, the Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers), Bishop John Williams, and Archbishop George Abbot. Ransome writes: "Between Christmas and Twelfth Night ... Purchas went to court and presented sets to the King and the Prince of Wales. The King received Purchas in his Bedchamber and pointed to a copy of the *Pilgrimage* which he said that he had read seven times." James questioned Purchas about both books and their differences, and "the King closed the interview with a promise, which he apparently kept, to have the *Pilgrimes* read to him."[82] Purchas died shortly thereafter, in September 1626, and was buried at St. Martin's Ludgate where he had served for twelve years.

The writing of Samuel Purchas was thus aimed at appealing to popular contemporary sentiment among powerful leaders in London. Writing and editing brought Purchas repute in English society and advancement in his personal, professional, and financial life. In a world of royal patronage, such as early modern Britain, an ambitious person like Purchas from a humble background had to rely on the favor, promotion, and recognition of his social betters. As an obviously skilled intellectual, based on his wide use of classical and then-current scholarly and biblical commentaries to inform his global geographical and political writing, he additionally had his finger on the pulse of what spoke to his contemporaries, including the cultural leaders of his time. Clerical leaders like the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury, business leaders from the East India and Virginia Companies, and political leaders like King James all

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[82] Ransome, "Purchas Chronology," 365-66. According to the dedication to King Charles in the 1626 edition of *Pilgrimage*, James sent a message to Purchas from his sickbed in March 1625 to encourage Purchas that he had read *Pilgrimes* and wanted to reward him (*Pilgrimage* [1626], ¶3r-v). Regarding his other two patrons, Purchas presented a copy of *Pilgrimes* to the archbishop, and "at the request of John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and a considerable benefactor of the library of his old college, St. John's, Cambridge, Purchas presented ... *Pilgrimes* to the library" (Ransome, "Purchas Chronology," 370).

seemed to have been interested in and supportive of his work.[83] In addition to professional

advancement, there are some records of Purchas having been paid directly from some of his

patrons.[84] Some of the extreme perambulations in his prose are surely due to his attempts at

avoiding offense from his various patrons. In seeking patronage from many different sources (not

only royal but also religious, not only the East India Company but also the Virginia Company),

Purchas had to deal with often conflicting agendas. Further complicating matters was the rapidly

changing political climate over the four years that he spent writing this work. For example,

James did not want to offend Spain during his politically sensitive negotiations for a "Spanish

Match" for Prince Charles,[85] but for Purchas's Calvinist religious patrons (and most of the

English public) the Spanish were "heretical papists." Another example is the conflicting

commercial interests between the East India Company's focus on Asian and African trade and

the Virginia Company's focus on colonization in North America.

The strong, biblically-based apologetics that infused the writing of Purchas, demonstrated

below, were so important because in the mid-1620s, as Purchas was writing, the English

"Adventure" in North America was far from certain. Conflict between English colonists and

indigenous Americans turned into full-blown war with the so-called Massacre of 1622,[86] and

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[83] There was much crossover in the early seventeenth century between political, religious, and financial spheres, but I illustrate the wide appeal of Purchas's work.

[84] Pennington reports that Purchas received £100 from the East India Company upon publication of *Pilgrimes* (Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 15).

[85] James sought a political alliance with the Spanish Empire by attempting to arrange a marriage for his son with a Spanish princess. Although the Spanish crown was not amenable, Spanish ambassadors were instructed to prolong negotiations in order to keep England out of political alliances with Spain's other Protestant rivals in Europe. The Protestant English public strongly opposed a potential alliance with Spain, and James's policy in this regard was thus immensely unpopular.

[86] For references to several secondary works dealing with early English-Powhatan violent conflicts, see James Horn, "Tobacco Colonies: The Shaping of English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny, The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 175.

constant threats from Spanish America compounded English inexperience in their New World, which had led to crippling famine in the fledgling colonies and financial loss at home in England. King James asserted royal control over the private Virginia Company in 1624,[87] and Purchas stepped into the role of imperial apologist for God, King, and Country.

Purchas, like his literary predecessor Richard Hakluyt, was not himself an explorer, traveler, or colonist but was instead a compiler of the journals and records of others. Purchas himself claimed that he "never travelled two hundred miles from Thaxted in Essex ... where hee was borne" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.x.1970). In *Pilgrimes*, Purchas printed some texts that Hakluyt had previously published, some previously unpublished texts that Hakluyt had collected, and some that Purchas collected himself. Almost all of these were abridged by Purchas in some way, often, he claimed, in order to mitigate the overall length of the four-volume work. This claim is perhaps not the rhetorical feint it might be if Pennington's assertion is true that *Pilgrimes* was "the lengthiest work printed in English up to that time," encompassing over two thousand folio pages.[88] Purchas in this compilation included the work of hundreds of authors, his "eye-witnesses."

Issues of authority and authorship are forefront in interpreting Purchas. He was often explicit about where and how he edited his source texts, a seemingly commendable habit from the view of present day scholarship (Hakluyt often did the same but without acknowledging his method). However, most scholars who have used the work of Purchas, at least in the past three

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[87] John C. Appleby, "War, Politics, and Colonization, 1558-1625," in Canny, *Origins of Empire*, 73.

[88] L. E. Pennington, "Samuel Purchas: His Reputation and the Uses of his Works," in Pennington, *Purchas Handbook*, 1:95. William Foster writes, "It may be said with confidence that so large a work had never before been printed at an English press" (William Foster, "Samuel Purchas," in *Richard Hakluyt and his Successors*, ed. Edward Lynam, Hakluyt Society Second Series, vol. 93 [1946; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010], 58, ProQuest ebrary ebook).

hundred years or so, have been vituperatively critical of Purchas's emendations.[89] Unfortunately for these disappointed scholars, many of the texts that Purchas cut have not otherwise survived, so they feel deprived of the tantalizing details of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel and exploration that have been denied them. Moreover, Purchas amended, abridged, and edited his sources, while writing in the first person. So, like James's Revelation paraphrase discussed below (where the words of James are presented on the lips of John, who is often quoting Christ), Purchas, who never left his own study, put his own words and interpretations on the lips of his "authoritative" sources.

Purchas's work is also important in the way its arguments reveal popular opinion. Many scholars of Purchas have been interested in the historical, geographical, or ethnological details recorded by Purchas's "pilgrims," and they have largely ignored the literary and rhetorical value of Purchas's own editorializing. While the travel narratives are the focus of the work on one level, the editorial sections *frame* and *augment* the "Eywitnesse-Authors" (titlepage). Thankfully for the present study, the rise in interest in literary criticism in the second half of the twentieth century has led to renewed attention on the literary rhetoric of Purchas's own editorials. "Purchas's prose," in the words of Pennington, is "noteworthy not for originality, but for the way [it] represent[s] Jacobean thinking."[90]

Within *Pilgrimes*, David Armitage has identified "four major editorial discourses": "A Large Treatise of King Salomons Navie Sent from Eziongeber to Ophir" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.1-48), "Animadversions on the Said Bull of Pope Alexander" (I.ii.18-25), "The Churches Peregrination by this Holy Land Way ... or a Mysterie of Papall Iniquitie Revealed ..." (II.viii.1245-71), and

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[89] Bauer, *Cultural Geography*, 79; Pennington, "Samuel Purchas," 4.

[90] Pennington, "Samuel Purchas," 104.

"Virginias Verger: Or a Discourse Shewing the Benefits which May Grow to this Kingdome from American English Plantations, and Specifically Those of Virginia and Summer Ilands" (IV.ix.1809-26).[91] To this list, I would add, especially for the purposes of this study, the framing provided by Purchas's preface and concluding statement: "To the Reader" (I.¶4r-6v) and "The Conclusion of the Worke, with Some Later Advertisements Touching His Majesties Care for Virginia" (IV.x.1970-73). Discussion of these editorials within this dissertation will focus on "King Salomons Navie," "Virginias Verger," and "The Conclusion," where the scripturalization of whiteness in support of imperialization is most apparent.

Much of the recent scholarship on Purchas's editorials has focused on his colonial apology in "Virginias Verger." In the aftermath of violent conflict between Powhatans and English colonists at Jamestown in 1622, Purchas wrote "Virginias Verger" as an attempt at explanation and apology for continued settlement in Virginia. Louis Wright sees "Virginias Verger" as "the climax of Purchas's propaganda," calling it "a reasoned and persuasive argument for expansion, written with the fervor of religious conviction."[92] Purchas was able both to evade taking sides in internal factional disputes and to support the recent 1624 assumption of royal leadership of the colony.

There has been less scholarly historical or literary interest (none from biblical scholars) in how Purchas uses his introductory chapter on Solomon's voyages to Ophir to justify the whole national project of imperialization and colonization in the name of Britain's Solomon. One of the first to move in this direction was Perry Miller, who suggested reading "Virginias Verger" in

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[91] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 84.

[92] Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 123.

light of "King Salomons Navie." According to Miller, Purchas in these two passages expounded

an imperial "philosophy of history" dominated by the "doctrine of Providence." As Purchas

interpreted history, "English colonization in the present [in 1625, principally Virginia] was the

fulfillment of [God's] plan."[93] There is thus much for biblical reception historians to explore

regarding Purchas's Ophirian Voyage.

Contemplations (1612-26) and *Occasional Meditations* (1630) by Bishop Joseph Hall

Bishop Joseph Hall was a conservative, dissenting voice in the English push to expand influence

overseas, and his early work lampoons imperialist use of Solomon and Ophir. Hall was not

immune, however, to exceptionalist views of English culture; furthermore, his isolationist

philosophy did not carry the day. In this dissertation, I focus most of my discussion concerning

Hall on two of his principal works: *Contemplations upon the Principall Passages of the Holy*

Storie (1612-26) and *Occasional Meditations* (1630).[94]

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[93] Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1956), 115. As stated by Miller, "Virginia ... was the first and, still in 1625, the principal English colony" (ibid.); thus, I use "Virginia" very broadly in this dissertation to refer to colonial British America in general.

[94] There are many editions of Hall's collected works, *Works of Joseph Hall* [early editions entitled *Recollection* (1614, 1615, 1617, 1621)] (1625; 1628; 1634; 1647); [posthumous title *The Shaking of the Olive-Tree* (1660)], as well as several nineteenth-century scholarly editions that are frequently cited in Hall scholarship, *Works*, ed. Josiah Pratt (1808), 10 vols.; ed. P. Hall (1837), 12 vols.; and *Works of Joseph Hall*, ed. Philip Wynter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1863), 10 vols. [1969 reprint], Google books. I am using Joseph Hall, *Contemplations*, vol. 6 (London: J.H. for Nathaniel Butter, 1622 [STC 12657a]), EEBO; and Hall, *Occasional Meditations*, ed. R. Hall (London: Nath. Butter, 1630 [STC 12687]), EEBO. In-line citations will be drawn from these texts unless noted otherwise. Published in eight successive volumes from 1612-26 (as well as under various titles and as part of collected works in later years, the bulk of *Contemplations* covers the OT, but in 1618 Hall began to publish reflections on the NT appended to his OT reflections. A final installment, completing his *Contemplations* on the NT, was published in 1634. Full publication details are as follows: 1612, vol. 1 (bks. 1-4); 1614, vol. 2 (bks. 5-8); 1615, vol. 3 (bks. 9-11); 1618, vol. 4 (bks. 12-13) [NT bk. 1]; 1620, vol. 5 (bks. 14-15) [NT bk. 2]; 1622, vol. 6 (bks. 16-17) [NT bk. 3]; 1623, vol. 7 (bks. 18-19); 1626, vol. 8 (bks. 20-21); NT 1628, vol. 1 (bks. 1-3); 1634, vol. 2 (bk. 4); 1661; 1679. Adding to the confusion of titles, dates, and contents, the component books were sometimes slightly reorganized in the many additions of his collected works. For example, bk. 17 on Solomon is part of vol. 5 in the 1634 ed. of his *Works*, although bk. 17 was originally published in 1622 as part of vol. 6.

The influence of Joseph Hall was no less in his own day than it has been in centuries following, at least until recent decades, and the work of Hall is important in revealing popular opinions. Over half of English books printed between 1600 and 1640 were religious,[95] and one main category of religious literature that "proliferated during the early Stuart period and take[s] us deep into the psychology of the age" is "manuals of practical piety and meditation."[96] As biographer Frank Huntley explained, "Hall wrote three kinds of meditation as first distinguished in [his] *Arte* [*of Divine Meditation*] of 1606: 1) the 'occasional meditations,' induced by something external to one's self; 2) the 'deliberate meditations' which are 'rational' [such as 'the studied *Contemplations* upon stories in the Bible']; and 3) the 'deliberate meditations' which are 'affective.'"[97] According to Huntley, "Joseph Hall became seventeenth-century England's most eminent theorist and prose artist" in meditations; "though he helped to initiate several literary genres in England, he became most famous for this one."[98] Fisch found that "Hall ... aimed in his Meditations at ... referring all his wayward thoughts and all seemingly insignificant worldly events to the higher life. It was to become the repository for all the miscellaneous gear which the ruminating but spiritually directed mind collected in its contacts with the world of books, men, and nature: ... a compendium of Elizabethan and Jacobean commonplaces, enlightened ... by Hall's own characteristic doctrines and colored by his attitudes."[99] As Huntley recognizes, "It was through his meditations that Hall became part of the inner circle of Prince Henry and King

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[95] Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), 294.

[96] Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 82-83.

[97] Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 81.

[98] Ibid., 89-90.

[99] H. Fisch, "Bishop Hall's Meditations," *The Review of English Studies* 25, no. 99 (1949): 211, www.jstor.org/stable/511641.

James's court"; accordingly, the 1617 and 1628 editions of his *Works* focus praise on his meditations.[100] John Whitefoot in his funeral sermon called Hall "one of the first that taught this church the art of divine meditation."[101]

The greatest of Hall's life-works was his grand *Contemplations*. The work offers edifying meditations for laypeople on all of what Hall thought were the major parts of the Bible (142 OT meditations and 49 from the NT). Hall considered *Contemplations* "the 'quintessence' of his thought"; he wrote them by drawing on his weekly sermons and distilling them into much shorter, more accessible meditations.[102] Presenting the Bible "emotionally as well as intellectually," Hall wrote *Contemplations* in a simple style with "conspicuous absence of the normal paraphernalia of seventeenth-century exegesis: learned allusions, Latin and Greek quotations, dogma and polemics, or textual criticism."[103] This approach succeeded in that *Contemplations* was popular in Hall's time and through the next century. Kinloch claims that *Contemplations* was "the book on which Hall's fame as a religious writer chiefly, if not almost entirely, depends"; "it has found more readers and admirers than all his other works put together."[104] Kinloch sees Hall as important not for his novel ideas "but because he had learned to handle familiar ideas in a new way."[105] Gerald Sheppard concludes, "[Hall] is most famous in

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[100] Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 89-90.

[101] Wynter, *Works*, I:lxxiii.

[102] Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 98.

[103] Ibid., 93-4.

[104] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 61.

[105] Ibid., 67.

the history of biblical interpretation for the magnificent prose and insight of his

Contemplations."[106]

Hall devotes the majority of Book 17 of *Contemplations* to the history of Solomon, filling

six of the seven chapters of the book. Hall characterizes the narrative of Solomon in the

following way (using his chapter titles), which in later chapters I will relate to Hall's

construction of English exceptionalism: 1) Peace ('Davids end and Salomons beginning' and,

ironically but tellingly, 'The execution of Joab and Shimei'), 2) Wisdom ('Salomons choice,

with his judgement upon the two Harlots'), 3) Building the Temple ('The Temple'), 4) the Queen

of Sheba ('Salomon with the Queene of Sheba'), and 5) his Fall due to foreign wives ('Salomons

defection'). In the dedication of bk. 17, Hall summarizes the book with these words:

> Wherein you shall see Salomon both in his rising and setting; his rising hopefull and
> glorious, his declination fearefull: You shall see the proofes of his earely graces; of
> mercy, in sparing Adonijah, and Abiathar; of justice, in punishing that rivall of his, with
> Joab, and Shimei: of wisedome, in his award betwixt the two Harlots, and the
> administration of his Court, and State: of piety, in building and hallowing the Temple; all
> dashed in his fall, repayred in his repentance. (*Contemplations*, 136)

In addition to his lengthy *Contemplations* on the Bible, Hall wrote *Occasional* [ordinary]

Meditations on general theological topics. One of these latter is his "Upon the Sight of a

Blackamoor," discussed in a later chapter. Originally compiled and published by Joseph Hall's

son Robert Hall in 1630 with 91 meditations, *Occasional Meditations* proved popular, resulting

in an expanded edition in 1631 with 49 additional entries tacked on the end of the 1630 text, a

revised edition in 1633 with all 140 meditations integrated together, and a Latin version in 1635.

This work was "Hall's last important series of devotional exercises," and it included short essays

"more descriptive and more personal" than the earlier *Contemplations*.[107] Biographer Kinloch

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[106] Sheppard, "Introduction," 1-2.

[107] Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 98.

found the object lessons of *Occasional Meditations* to be "of no great importance."[108] However,

Fisch took a different view: "The *Occasional Meditations* published and, no doubt, mostly

written whilst Hall was Bishop of Exeter contain his most finished performances, though they

often lack the vigor and pithy Senecan quality of the earlier *Meditations and Vows*."[109]

Tourney notes the breadth of subjects addressed in *Occasional Meditations*: some themes

are traditional (grave, heavens, flowers), some unpleasant (swarming flies, shaming a harlot),

some unusual ("blind men, fools, dwarfs, left-handed men, and a blackamore in the road"), some

mundane (drying herbs, shutting an eye).[110] All give details of Hall's world. "Upon the Sight of a

Blackamoor" is located in the larger collection of meditations as part of a section on creation,

relating to creation of "Man." Here Hall makes use of any part of God's creation for Christian

meditation.[111]

A final text briefly discussed below is Hall's *An Open and Plaine Paraphrase, upon the*

Song of Songs, which is Salomons, appended to his 1609 *Salomons Divine Arts*, which used

Proverbs and Ecclesiastes to discuss ethics of behavior, politics of commonwealth, and

economics of family.[112] The fact that Hall treats these three biblical books, traditionally

attributed to Solomon, early in the reign of King James, Great Britain's Solomon, is seen by

some commentators as no coincidence.[113] In fact, Hall was known to have participated in the

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[108] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 80.

[109] Fisch, "Bishop Hall's Meditations," 214.

[110] Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 99.

[111] Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 92.

[112] Joseph Hall, *An Open and Plaine Paraphrase, upon the Song of Songs, which is Salomons* (1609), reprinted in Hall, *Solomon's Divine Arts*. In-line references are to this reprint, which I abbreviate as *Paraphrase*.

[113] Huntley attributes "Hall's almost sycophantic admiration for James" to his study of Solomon's books in his 1609 *Solomon's Divine Arts*. In its dedication to Robert Earl of Essex, "Hall refers to Solomon as 'the royalist philosopher and wisest king,' a description James no doubt applied to himself" (Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 53).

frequent contemporary portrayals of James as Solomon, the wise and peaceful ruler. For

example, Huntley reports that Hall preached about the wisdom of James in a "sermon before the

king in celebration of the tenth anniversary of his accession" and about his peace in a sermon

"'The True Peace-maker,' preached before the king at Theobalds on September 19, 1624,"

comparing Solomon's wisdom and peace to James.[114] The Geneva Bible's introduction to Song

of Solomon names for the reader, "Iesus Christ, the true Salomn and King of peace,"[115] an

appellation which would have been interpreted with added significance in the reign of the

"peacemaking" King James, the British Solomon. Peacemaking, however, as I discuss in the next

chapter, was not always so peaceful.

Great Britains Salomon by Bishop John Williams (1625)

It is perhaps fitting to end this section with a brief introduction to the political and ideological

significance of the preacher of the funeral sermon for King James. Bishop John Williams, dean

of Westminster Abbey and lord keeper of the great seal, delivered this sermon entitled *Great*

Britains Salomon: A Sermon Preached at the Magnificent Funerall, of the Most High and Mighty

King, Iames (1625). Interested in politics at least as much as religion in an age before the

separation of church and state, Williams began the political aspect of his career by preaching

before the king in 1611.[116] He was appointed as chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham's mother

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[114] Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 51-52.

[115] Matter, "Joseph Hall," 59.

[116] Politics and religion were often overlapping spheres in this historical moment. Since estates were passed down to the eldest son, a religious career was often one of the only avenues of advancement for younger sons or any of common birth.

and became dean of Salisbury in 1619.[117] Williams went on to become dean of Westminster

Abbey (1620-44), bishop of Lincoln (1621-41), archbishop of York (1641-?), and lord keeper of

the great seal (1621-25).[118] When Francis Bacon was impeached as lord chancellor in 1621,

Williams was appointed by James to the post leading the House of Lords, although with "the

lesser title of lord keeper."[119]

Williams maintained a close relationship with James in the final years of his reign and

attended him on his deathbed. Yet Williams had distanced himself from his former patron the

Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers) during the unpopular "Spanish Match" trip, so after the

death of James on March 27, 1625, Williams quickly fell out of favor with the new king, Charles

I, upon the recommendation of his closest advisor, Buckingham.[120] In his position as the head of

the state chapel, Westminster Abbey, Williams had one last opportunity, however, as a national

leader to publically memorialize his patron King James and to make his own case as a valuable,

loyal servant to the new king. The sermon itself is a masterpiece of exegesis: Williams is a

careful reader of the biblical text, and he is perhaps an even closer reader of his audience.

Williams presents no fewer than sixteen points about Solomon, whom he proceeds to tie closely

to James. As I argue below concerning the whitening of Solomon, King Solomon ultimately

appears as a "pale" reflection of the majestic, imperial King James.

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[117] C. S. Knighton, "The Lord of Jerusalem: John Williams as Dean of Westminster," in *Westminster Abbey Reformed, 1540-1640*, ed. C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 234.

[118] Ibid., 232.

[119] Ibid., 236.

[120] James had sent Charles and Buckingham to Spain in hopes of arranging a match for Charles with a Spanish princess. The Spanish emperor, however, rejected the British alliance, and Charles and Buckingham returned to England in disgrace and aggressively denouncing Spain. James, who had wanted to avoid war in Europe by arranging peace between leading Roman Catholic and Protestant nations, was deeply disappointed, and rifts grew between courtiers loyal to James and those loyal to Charles.

This funeral sermon for James proved to be one of the last official acts of state by Williams; Charles dismissed him as lord keeper on October 23rd. In January 1626, Williams was ordered to absent himself from his position as dean of Westminster at the new king's coronation, and the king chose Bishop William Laud as his deputy.[121]

The Importance of the Early Seventeenth Century in the Process of the Scripturalization of Whiteness: Ideological and Political Influences on Biblical Interpretation

In addition to the historical and literary contexts that this dissertation engages, a few ideological topics are also pertinent. I argue that the scripturalization of whiteness was powered by the rise of the British Empire, the development of racialized whiteness, and the effects of changing epistemology on biblical interpretation. Therefore, this section locates the development of the ideas of "empire," "race," and representations of James as the biblical Solomon, as they existed in the early seventeenth century.

The Empire and the Bible

The concept of "empire" was transforming in this period. Previously, "empire" was used for any sovereign state, equivalent to "kingdom" or "realm." However, English nationalists like John Dee and Richard Hakluyt drew from Roman and Iberian models the idea of empire as including widely geographically separate colonies. Hence, they and others began to speak of the British Empire as including at first the whole of the British Isles and then overseas colonies in North America.

The beginning of the growth of this new model of the British Empire necessitated an intense period of development of supporting ideology. This focus on national promotion

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[121] Ibid., 248.

happened most intensely from the 1570s to the 1620s in Elizabethan England and Jacobean Britain. In a passionately religious and, especially in the Protestant world, biblical age, developing ideology to move hearts and minds meant establishing biblical sanctification for one's cause. Fortunately for English propagandists, Protestant application of biblical typology and changing modes of interpretation in the age of the rise of science strengthened typologies such as Britain as Israel and non-Europeans as non-Israelites. Rising British global power, as Iberian hegemony declined, gave increasing weight to British cultural exceptionalism.

Thus, the 1570s-1620s saw the birth of the British Empire, first in aspiration, then in reality. There are several ways to define or delineate the "British Empire," but, with the benefit of hindsight, let us start with evidence of the desire and intent to imperialize as well as evidence of actions and achievements either intending or resulting in empire-building. A group of national leaders around Elizabeth promoted the benefits of English entry into the arena of global commerce. These early English imperialists included John Dee, perhaps the first English writer to use Solomon's sea trade with Ophir for gold as motivation for English involvement with European global imperialization, and the two Richard Hakluyts: the younger Hakluyt, the Anglican priest mentioned above, and the elder Hakluyt, a lawyer and uncle to the younger. Success with Portuguese eastern sea routes around Africa to India and China and with Spanish western sea routes to the Americas had enflamed European consciousness since the fifteenth century. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese hegemony seemed to be less than air-tight, as English sea captains like Francis Drake, John Hawkins, and John Lok exploited inherent vulnerabilities in geographically diffuse spheres of influence and the Spanish Armada proved assailable. All of these English naval exploits are narrated in the Rev. Richard

Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.[122] Elizabeth gave some private encouragement to her imperialists but took little public action to promote empire-building. James, on the other hand, seemed to be more interested in the idea and certainly took much more public action to promote the idea of, and lay the physical foundations for, the future of the British Empire.

This same period in England witnessed relatively rapid movements in the location of rhetorical authority. Henry VIII had followed Luther's lead in questioning the supreme religious authority of the papacy, and the Elizabethan age was the height of the English Renaissance as classical Greek and Roman texts exerted more influence alongside the authority of Church tradition and the Bible. As Protestantism projected its roots deeper into British soil, the Bible took on increasing religious authority, relative to Church tradition, and this series of developments is best embodied in King James's Authorized Version of the Bible in 1611. The authority of the Bible was, therefore, essential to wield in early seventeenth-century Britain, whether the audience was Roman Catholic or Protestant, conformist or nonconformist.

"Race" in Early Modern Britain

The English word "race" in the sixteenth century generally comprised a much narrower sense than today. Race, as illustrated in the quotations below, most often referred to a single ancestry or bloodline, equivalent perhaps with "family" or "house." In the late sixteenth century, the meaning started to broaden to indicate "tribe" or "nation," and in 1612, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term was first used to mean "a group of several tribes or peoples,

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[122] Originally published in 1589 in 2 vol., a revised edition was published in 1598-1600 in 3 vol., and a modern critical edition was published in 12 vol. by the Hakluyt Society [Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-1905]).

regarded as forming a distinct ethnic set."[123] Finally in the eighteenth century, race took on the meaning it usually retains today, referring very broadly to human groupings, often defined by physical characteristics.

To illustrate from the writing of King James, in his 1599 "Basilikon Doron" James speaks of "race" as ancestry or bloodline, such that speaking against one's parents or ancestors is "to staine the race," killing baby wolves and foxes is hating "their race," and buying a thoroughbred horse is "love of the race" (*Workes*, 158). Understanding morality to be hereditary regarding house/clan/lineage, James advises his son to choose courtly servants from "a trew and honest race" (167), adding that "ye shall oft finde vertue follow[s] noble races" (169, cf. 163). Further, he paternalistically advises, "choose your Wife ... that she be of a whole and cleane race, not subject to the hereditary sicknesses, either of the soule or the body: For ... a man wil be careful to breed horses and dogs of good kinds ..." (172). Finally, James advises his son not "to hate a whole race for the fault of one [father/son/brother]" (189).

Despite the fact that the word was used differently in the early seventeenth century, the concept of race as it is known today certainly existed then, albeit in varying guises. In fact, Kim Hall argues that "early modern English culture ... was the birthplace of current racial ideologies and ..., while differently constituted, still shares our cultural, economic, and legal history."[124] Ian Smith makes a compelling case for the concept of race both emerging from and appearing in rhetoric about "civilized" and "barbarian."[125] Prior to Smith's work, Charles Long had moved in this direction in discussing the formation of Western European "civilization":

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[123] "Race, n.[6]," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/157031.

[124] Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 265.

[125] Ian Smith, *Race and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: Barbarian Errors* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Outside of internal developments in Western Europe, this formation of ["superior" Western European] culture is caused by or correlative with the discovery of the New World by the West. The self-conscious realization of the Western European rise to the level of civilization must be seen simultaneously in its relationship to the discovery of a new world which must necessarily be perceived as inhabited by savages and primitives who constitute the lowest rung on the ladder of cultural reality. The sociogenesis and psychogenesis of this formation are equally formed by the explorers, adventurers, merchants, and literary artists whose field of opportunity and expression was the brave New World of savages and primitives beyond the Atlantic sea. (Long, *Significations*, 94)

As an example of Long's theory, consider the sobering report of John Hawkins, who made one of the first English slaving trips to the African coast in his ship, the *Salomon*, in 1562. The narrative relates that at Sierra Leone,

[Hawkins] got into his possession, partly by the sword, and partly by other meanes, to the nomber of 300. Negroes at the least, besides other merchandises which that Countrey yeeldeth. With this praye he sailed over the Ocean sea unto the Island of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negroes, trusting the Spaniards no further than by his owne strength he was able still to master them, ... made vent of the whole nomber of his Negroes, ... and so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesaide adventurers, he came home .... (Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 521-22)[126]

Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton write, "In further voyages [of Hawkins] in 1564 and 1567, investors included Queen Elizabeth, William Cecil, and the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke. As a reward for his profitable ventures, Hawkins was knighted and assigned a coat of arms featuring an African slave. Hawkins's privateering was at the center of an undeclared naval war with Spain" that continued until James made peace in 1604.[127] The report and these facts illustrate the powerful effects of the idea of racial othering, even if the conceptual vocabulary had yet to be refined.

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[126] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500. Yeers* [London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589 (STC 12625)], 521-22, EEBO).

[127] Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, "John Hawkins," in Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, 125.

In addition to developing out of the polarity between the civilized and the barbarian, the concept of race also emerges in seventeenth-century language about religion, "Christian" and non-Christian, and about culture and ethnicity, "English" and non-English. Historian Alden Vaughan has argued that seventeenth-century language does not definitively evidence the formulation of the concept of race, but rather "it showed society inventing a vocabulary to express its racial ideology."[128] For example, James used the word "Ethnick" in the sense of non-Christian, pagan, or heathen (*Workes*, 177). In sum, while the word "race" was slowly evolving in this period, the concept of race in Jacobean Britain encompassed a fluid mix of nationality, culture, religion, language, and phenotype, most often skin color. As I argue in a later chapter, the concept of racial "whiteness" began to appear in the early seventeenth century as traditional color symbolism combined with British cultural exceptionalism in the context of the burgeoning British Empire.

<div style="text-align:center">King James as King Solomon</div>

Religion was in the early seventeenth century and remains today a vital source of power and authority for many of those who seek to rule. Christian monarchs in the early modern period, therefore, commonly styled themselves as Davidic messiahs. English literature scholar John King has recognized the importance of Davidic and Solomonic iconography for connecting "representations of Stuart monarchs with their Tudor predecessors."[129] King has argued that "David assumes primacy over Solomon in Jacobean iconography," reasoning that David was

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[128] Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 171.

[129] John N. King, "James I and King David: Jacobean Iconography and Its Legacy," in Fischlin and Fortier, *Royal Subjects*, 422-23.

renowned "as the most powerful Hebrew king" and for "his union of the northern and southern kingdoms of Israel and Judah."[130] James's own translations of some of the Psalms are a particularly noteworthy example of James's self-representation as David. Similarly, the title page to James's posthumous *Psalms of King David* (1631) portrays him opposite David, both grasping the same book of Psalms in their hands (along with God's hand!).[131]

While the Davidic symbols of power, united kingdom, and religious writing were undoubtedly important for James, Solomonic attributes are similar and additionally include those of wisdom and peace. These supplementary aspects led James and others around him to ultimately emphasize the model of Solomon. Solomon, significantly for James, was the *peaceful* leader of a united kingdom, more *commercial* than military, whose piety was supplemented by the *wisdom* of a scholar and a *builder* of God's Temple, in this case the Church. This depiction of Solomon as the ideal biblical ruler became entwined with James as the ideal commercial, Christian, white, European monarch, and this combination participated in the wider interpretation of Britain as God's Israel.

Perhaps a harmonization of these two arguments of iconic primacy can be found in the suggestion of historian Malcolm Smuts that there was a diachronic transition in representations of James: "In 1589 the biblical model had been David, a king beset with internal and external enemies. By 1619 it had become Solomon, who presided over an age of peace and plenty."[132] James, in a 1620 publication, emphasized the importance of a "King of peace" and referred to Christ as son and heir of King David, Christ's body represented by Solomon. He wrote: "and

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[130] Ibid., 422.

[131] Ibid., 429.

[132] Malcolm Smuts, "The Making of *Rex Pacificus*: James VI and I and the Problem of Peace in an Age of Religious War," in Fischlin and Fortier, *Royal Subjects*, 384.

therefore as God would not permit King David to build him a materiall temple, because of his shedding of bloud; but made him leave that worke to his sonne Salomon, who was a King of peace: so had it not beene fitting that the Saviour of the World, the builder of his Church (whose body was likewise the true Temple represented by that of Salomon) should have beene borne but under a King of peace, as was Augustus, and in a time of peace."[133] James seems to imply that he himself is a fit representation of not only Solomon but also Christ. Additionally, he seeks to portray himself as the Roman Augustus, a powerful hegemonic ruler (and first emperor) of a far-flung empire. The spiritual, divine Christ and the temporal potentate, Augustus, come together in the white, Christian, British James. While James may have tended toward the peaceful Solomon, Smuts finds the most evidence for this in the final phase of his life and reign.

Other scholars, however, have found evidence of the importance of Solomon early in James's career. Roy Strong traces a connection of James to Solomon back to the celebrations in Edinburgh for James's coronation in 1579, where "on entering the city gate the very first pageant was one of the Judgment of Solomon."[134] Louis Knafla cites an anonymous poem written in 1603 for James's coronation, which reads "Beare Olive branches in your handes, / Adorne your heads with Laurell greene: / Adore your Salomon of peace, / Such golden dayes were never seene."[135] Knafla also refers to a 1603 coronation sermon by the Bishop of Winchester, who said therein "It pleased God wel, that Salomon, at his first comming to the Crowne, desired an

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[133] James, "A Meditation upon the 27.28.29. Verses of the XXVII. Chapter of Saint Matthew: A Paterne for a Kings Inauguration," in *Workes*, 609.

[134] Roy Strong, *Britannia Triumpans: Inigo Jones, Rubens, and Whitehall Palace* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 20. See *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, 1561-1650* (Edinburgh, 1822), 30-31, https://archive.org/details/documentsrelativ00edin.

[135] Anon., *Englands Wedding Garment: A Preparation to King Iames his Royall Coronation* (London: Thomas Pauier, 1603), B2v; cited in Louis A. Knafla, "Britain's Solomon: King James and the Law," in Fischlin and Fortier, *Royal Subjects*, 241 n. 15.

understanding Hart to Iudge the People: and in signe of liking and granding this request, God

gave him also that which hee asked not, even Riches and Honor above all the Kings of the

Earth."[136]

The prominence of James's Solomonic representations as a king of peace is uncontestable.

One of his most often repeated titles was *Rex Pacificus*, "Peacemaking King," and his motto,

displayed often in his portraiture, was *Beati Pacifici*, "Blessed are the Peacemakers."[137] Indeed,

King notes that "James's reign was the only one during the Tudor-Stuart era [1485-1714] that

endured without foreign war or domestic rebellion."[138] However, biblical scholars will surely

notice the irony in James's focus on a peaceful reign established and maintained on violence, just

as Solomon's was.[139] In his Lord's Prayer meditation of 1619, James writes, "I know not by what

fortune, the dicton of Pacificus was added to my title, at my comming in England; that of the

Lyon, expressing true fortitude, having beene my dicton before: but I am not ashamed of this

addition; for King Salomon was a figure of Christ in that, that he was a King of peace. The

greatest gift that our Saviour gave his Apostles, immediatly before his Ascension, was, that hee

left his Peace, with them" (*Workes*, 590).[140] Solomon's name in Hebrew, שלמה, means "his

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[136] Bishop of Winchester, *A Sermon Preached at Westminster before the King and Queenes Maiesties, at their Coronations on Saint Iames his Day, Being the 28. of Iuly, 1603* (London: Clement Knight, 1603), A8v; cited in Knafla, "Britain's Solomon," 241.

[137] Matthew 5:9 (Latin Vulgate).

[138] King, "James I and King David," 421.

[139] I explore this connection more fully in the following chapter.

[140] Ann Matter points out that the Geneva Bible's introduction to the Song of Solomon calls "Iesus Christ, the true Salomn and King of peace" (E. Ann Matter, "Joseph Hall and the Tradition of Christian Interpretation of the Song of Songs," in Hall, *Solomon's Divine Arts*, 59). Since Jesus Christ was widely interpreted as the "true Solomon," King James self-representation as Solomon indicates the degree to which he saw himself as God's representative on earth. This high view of monarchy was given a bloody challenge in the next generation, when King Charles was beheaded by parliament.

peace, well-being,"[141] and in 1 Chron 22:9 the Latin Vulgate translates Solomon's name as "pacificus." Thus, the emphasis of James on representing himself as a peacemaker solidified his preference to be represented as Solomon, rather than David, at least since his accession to the English throne in 1603.

Identification of James with Solomon further buttressed a much larger royalist, patriarchal, imperial ideology. Already earlier in the sixteenth century, the most notable examples of Britain as Israel include iconography of Queen Elizabeth I and King Henry VIII, each representing and leading God's Chosen People.[142] Other European monarchs participated in such identification as well, most relevantly the Spanish Emperor Philip II (1527-1598), who also represented himself as Solomon and was something of a model for James and his court. Significantly, Philip II was also King of England, 1554-58, when married to Queen Mary I (Mary Tudor, "Bloody Mary"). Emboldened by this contextual wisdom granted by scholars through the ages, let us consider with further specificity the first important ingredient in the scripturalization of whiteness: the rise of the British Empire.

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[141] Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, rev. W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm, trans. M. E. J. Richardson (Boston: Brill, 2001), 1540-41.

[142] John King discusses Henry VIII as Solomon (John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989], 81-88), Edward VI as Solomon (ibid., 90-93), and Elizabeth I as Solomon (ibid., 252-59).

CHAPTER 3

THE SCRIPTURALIZATION OF WHITENESS:
THE INFLUENCE OF THE RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

> In the realm of power, Christianity has operated with an unmitigated arrogance and
> cruelty ... [including] the spiritual duty of liberating the infidels. This particular true faith,
> moreover, is more deeply concerned about the soul than it is about the body, to which
> fact the flesh (and the corpses) of countless infidels bears witness.
> —James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*[143]

Religion and the Rise of the British Empire

The first component I explore in the process of the scripturalization of whiteness in early modern

Britain is the rise of British power in the seventeenth century vis-à-vis other European nations.

The establishment of Virginia as the first permanent colony outside the British Isles

conspicuously signaled the expansion of the British Empire beyond Great Britain. Motivating

ideology to align the interests of monarch, financiers, colonial settlers, and support at home was

vital to the success of the imperialist enterprise, and biblical interpretation provided important

sanctification for this project. Identification of Britain as Israel, a central feature of this

sanctification of imperialism, was so powerful that it saturated wider English culture,

encompassing far more than imperialist objectives. Focus on the pervasive implications of

empire is important because, as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o has written, "Imperialism is still the root

cause of many problems" today.[144]

In this chapter I argue that interpretation of Britain as Israel, while not new, took on

profoundly new force in the early seventeenth century with the rise of the British Empire. As

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[143] Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*, 45.

[144] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1986), 1. Addressing the totalizing nature of ideologies of empire, Ngũgĩ has written, "Imperialism is total: it has economic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world today" (ibid., 2).

Musa Dube reasons in her discussion of the four "G"s of colonialism (gold, glory, God, and gender), biblical interpretation was used to sanctify commercial, cultural, and colonial imperialism, when necessary enforced with violence. Combined with racialization and changes in biblical interpretation itself as discussed in following chapters, imperialization began the process of the scripturalization of whiteness.

King James aspired to be a powerful monarch, respected by the great royal houses of Europe, and his maneuvering to become King of England after the death of Queen Elizabeth was, while crucial, just the first step. In order to consolidate and increase his personal power, he needed to strengthen the institution of the English, now British, monarchy. Elizabeth had made great progress in laying the foundations for a strong central government, which was now ready to further consolidate and expand. In fact, as one of the earliest visionaries of English imperialism, the elder Richard Hakluyt, famously stated, the aim of the English should be "To plant Christian religion, to trafficke, to conquer, or to doe all three," as had the Spanish in America.[145]

Some historians credit John Dee with "invent[ing] the phrase 'British Impire' to describe and justify England's claim to the North Atlantic, based on the mythical conquests of King Arthur and Prince Madoc," who supposedly "discovered" North America in the late twelfth century.[146] British geographer E. G. R. Taylor revealed that "[John] Dee had already [by 1565] begun to dream of England ['this Incomparable Islandish Impire'] as Mistress of a Northern

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[145] Richard Hakluyt, "Inducements ... toward Virginia," in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), 2:332.

[146] Appleby, "War, Politics, and Colonization," 62. While there is at least one earlier record of the use of the phrase "British Empire," the idea that this Empire might extend beyond the British Isles, based on sea power (like Madoc), is still one that seems to be attributable to Dee. David Armitage, who cautions that in general usage "British Empire" meant only the British Isles "until at least the 1650s," attributes the first usage to Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum* (1572) (David Armitage, "Literature and Empire," in Canny, *Origins of Empire*, 113-15).

Empire, based on command of the seas."[147] William Sherman adds, "In a series of maps, treatises, and conferences from the 1550s to the 1590s, Dee developed an expansionist program which he called 'this British discovery and recovery enterprise.' ... Dee gradually claimed for the queen a vast imperial dominion covering most of the seas and much of the land in the Northern Hemisphere."[148] Taylor judged that "his eagerness and his enthusiasm were a stimulus to others, if not actually a driving force, and his symbolic picture of Queen Elizabeth at the helm of the Christian ship of Europe, devised as the frontispiece of his magnum opus [*General and Rare Memorials*], had in it an element of the prophetic." That work "set forth the advantages of having a Navy of vessels in permanent commission ..., a prerequisite of the policy of expansion which Dee was advocating, namely, that of establishing a British maritime Empire in the high latitudes."[149]

In addition to Dee, both Walter Raleigh and Richard Hakluyt each advocated for royal support for North American colonization in 1584: consider Raleigh's Roanoke ventures of 1584-90 and Hakluyt's 1584 *Discourse of Western Planting*. Queen Elizabeth, however, declined requests for any substantial official involvement.[150] Looking back on 1577, Dee wrote in 1598, "At the time of which boke printing great hope was perceived ... that Her Majesty might then have become the Chief Commander, and in manner Imperial Governor, of all Christian Kings, princes and States."[151] This imperialist dream remained a minority view in the late-sixteenth

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[147] E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), 105.

[148] William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 149.

[149] Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 106, 120-21.

[150] Appleby, "War, Politics, and Colonization," 64.

[151] Quoted in E. G. R. Taylor, "Master John Dee, Drake, and the Straits of Anian," *The Mariner's Mirror* 15, no. 2 (1929): 130.

century. Edmund Spenser dedicated his 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene* to Elizabeth as queen also of Virginia, but historian David Armitage thinks that such an attribution was "unparalleled during Elizabeth's lifetime."[152]

Thus, the very idea of England at the head of an expansive global empire was still quite novel when James came to the English throne at the beginning of the seventeenth century. King James was, relatively smoothly, able to continue and grow this imperialist project. In order to build power, James needed to extend political control, including economic, military, and religious dominion, over more lands and peoples, as the Iberian rulers had so effectively demonstrated. Purchas, therefore, entreated his English readers to consider that "Castile (a Kingdome which now stoops to none, and which some of her flatterers advance above all ...) grew from an almost nothing out of the Moorish deluge, to be but a petite something in comparison of others in Europe, till Ferdinands time who sent Columbus to America ... which therefore he called India, and Hispaniola Ophir" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1817). Likewise, Bauer remarks that like "the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, England's imperialist expansionism also originated in a symbiotic relationship with dynastic consolidation—as the previously separate 'kingdoms' of England, Ireland, and Scotland became united under one centralized composite monarchy with the accession of James I in 1603. ... Religion [was] the ideological glue that was to bind the previously separate kingdoms together under the common umbrella of one imperial crown."[153] James was determined to make Britain the rival of any

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[152] Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 116 n. 84.

[153] Bauer, *Cultural Geography*, 94.

European nation. To expand his empire, he needed material resources, military force, and motivating ideology.[154]

In order for the British Empire to expand at the turn of the seventeenth century, increasing revenue was essential, and the English found that colonization was the method best suited at that time for economic exploitation of North America. Goals of religious conversion of indigenous peoples were articulated and anemically attempted, along with conquest, whenever most convenient to support the economic aims and colonial methods of the English. Importantly, Samuel Purchas popularized for the English public what others before him like John Dee had maintained: biblical descriptions of King Solomon's voyages to Ophir to bring back gold to build the Temple provided spectacular religious support for commercial imperialization. As in their broader imperial ideology, the English drew on prior Spanish models in articulating this connection between Solomon and early modern European imperialism. King Philip II of Spain, briefly king of England when married to Queen Mary Tudor (1554-58), also styled himself as Solomon, and contemporary Spanish sources make much over claims of re-discovering Ophir in the New World, as will be discussed further below.

Though beginning to be challenged as discussed below, religious authority retained preeminence in early modern Europe, and any public project required religious justification. Recall that, not long before, Henry VIII had to claim religious sovereignty for himself in England and split the Church of England apart from the Roman Catholic Church just to remarry! In early modern Protestant Britain, biblical authority was especially important, and James needed a religious, biblically-based ideology of empire in order to sanctify his imperial agenda of increasing commerce, conquest, conversion and colonization. Historian Louis Knafla writes,

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[154] Ngũgĩ writes, "The biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism ... is the cultural bomb" (Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 3).

"One cannot emphasize sufficiently the importance of religion and the Scriptures in the world of early modern Protestants. Scripture became the ultimate source of authority."[155] Evidence of the importance of religious and biblical sanctification for support of ideas can be found in the fact that the elder Hakluyt had listed planting Christian religion first in his reasons to begin British imperialization. Furthermore, the Virginia Company hired many ministers, including Purchas, to write and preach sermons promoting participation in imperialistic undertakings, either as investors in Company stock or as colonists to Virginia.

The depictions of James as Solomon and rich foreign lands as Ophir by Purchas in his 1625 *Pilgrimes* epitomize seventeenth-century British imperial ideology as supported by biblical interpretation. Purchas added the first chapter, "King Salomons Navie," an editorial, "Virginias Verger," and an overall "Conclusion" to his work in order to provide vigorous biblical patterning for his advocacy of British imperialism: Britain as Israel, especially in replicating and expanding Solomon's maritime trade. Purchas was a key player at a key moment; he was able to galvanize popular support for British imperialization at a crucial turning point when momentum for continuing and expanding British settler colonialism in North America was most needed. In 1625, after the founding of Virginia and New England, increased contact with indigenous Americans had led to an increased need to justify imperialistic domination of foreign lands and peoples. To accomplish this, Purchas used religious hopes and duties as primary, promises of material gain as secondary, and military needs as tertiary justification in rousing support for British imperialization. Colonization was promoted as the means to these ends. I address all of these topics in the next section.

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[155] Knafla, "Britain's Solomon," 237-38.

Purchas's biblical sanctification of British imperialism was so important at this moment because, in the early seventeenth century, the English people, as a whole, were not convinced about the wisdom of engaging in overseas "adventures." When *Pilgrimes* was published, the "British Impyre" that Dee had argued for in 1577 was still very tenuous. Attempts at English colonization by Raleigh in Virginia in the 1580s and Gilbert in Newfoundland in the 1590s had failed disastrously. Attempts in Guiana and in the Amazon were doomed by intense Spanish opposition. Likewise, "colonization in the Caribbean" failed "until the mid-1620s, when Thomas Warner established a small tobacco colony on St. Kitts."[156] Thus, the Virginia colony at Jamestown, begun in 1607 by the Virginia Company of London under King James, was the first major achievement of English colonization. Jamestown struggled for years but eventually survived with the help of tobacco profits. The colony was led by John Smith until 1609, when starvation and war with indigenous Americans broke out. In 1624 the Company was abolished, and Virginia "became the first royal colony in the New World."[157] Bermuda was settled in 1612 and by 1622 was producing tobacco using slave labor, and there was a renewed series of attempts to settle Newfoundland from 1610-32. The Plymouth plantation in 1620 established the first of the New England colonies and religious emigration soon became a popular, permanent fixture of British settler colonialism, especially in New England. English maritime commerce grew with focus on "Eastern [Asian] spices, Caribbean sugar and tobacco, Arctic whales, and Newfoundland fish."[158] While British imperialization and colonization efforts were gaining

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[156] Appleby, "War, Politics, and Colonization," 71.

[157] Ibid., 73.

[158] Ibid., 74-75.

definite momentum, Purchas still needed in 1625 to argue the case for popular support of imperialization and colonization.

Purchas and others in the early-mid seventeenth century realized that "the merits of overseas endeavor would come to enjoy a wider appreciation only when these would be made to appear essential to the commercial, military, or spiritual interests of their home societies."[159] Purchas used biblical interpretation and religion to argue for the importance of imperialization, not only spiritually but financially and politically as well. An easy polemical target in the English mind was Spain, hatred of which had been intensely nurtured in late sixteenth-century England. As Nicholas Canny elucidates, the English came to see that their "providential role was to defend the achievements of the Reformation and to oppose the power of Spain, which was identified as the bulwark of papist superstition, both in Europe and beyond. This Protestant concern to emulate Spain while attacking its Atlantic interests ... contributed to the continuing Atlantic focus of England's colonial thrust." Purchas and other imperial apologists were thus part of a multipronged effort to propagate Protestant religion and English culture as broadly as possible.

Biblical Sanctification in the Imperialist Ideology of King James: The Quest for Ophirian Gold from the Mines of King Solomon

Prime reasons for English imperialization, proclaimed the elder Hakluyt, were "to plant Christian religion, to trafficke, to conquer." In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the English were most interested in finding a northern sea route to China (either to the northeast or northwest of Europe), since all of the southern routes were dominated by the Portuguese (to the southeast) and Spanish (to the southwest).[160] The British thought North America would be a

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[159] Nicholas Canny, "The Origins of Empire: An Introduction," in Canny, *Origins of Empire*, 20.

[160] Sherman, *John Dee*, 172. Sherman calls this the "Cathay Campaign."

good base of operations for this project and used conversion, commerce, conquest, and colonization to further their aims.

Distributed to the faithful in England, propaganda leaflets emphasized lofty aspirations to spread the Protestant gospel in the "New World" through conversion. Gold, or at least profit, soon emerged as another clear aim of all imperialistic endeavors, especially for business managers and stock holders as well as the crown. The use of force, at first much debated, was unhesitatingly employed whenever necessary to protect and further financial interests. Cultural goals of converting and civilizing indigenous peoples continued to be used to build popular support for colonialism in British North America, and colonization itself was a means for furthering economic interests. Despite little action to fulfill hopes for proselytizing, biblical sanctification of all aspects of the imperial colonial project remained imperative. In this section I first address British hopes for gaining spectacular wealth from these "Adventures."

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Biblical Sanctification of British Commercial Imperialization:
"King Salomons Navie"

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Commerce driven by greed and the promise of profit ultimately proved to be the deepest and most persistent motivator in British imperialization. As Anthony Pagden reasons, "the ability of the Spanish to extract seemingly infinite quantities of precious metals from their new dominions ... led other Europeans" to imitate them.[161] In addition, the beginning of the seventeenth century was a watershed moment when English merchants became newly interested in direct involvement in global trade, due to "the end of privateering, combined with the disruption of customary European trading networks that had occurred during the course of the war with

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[161] Anthony Pagden, "The Struggle for Legitimacy and the Image of Empire in the Atlantic to c.1700," in Canny, *Origins of Empire*, 35.

Spain."[162] Therefore, King James, who not unlike other rulers had persistent financial problems, encouraged commercial expansion in order to reap profits for the crown. For example, to supplement their primary trade in wool, the English government encouraged new companies like "the Turkey (later the Levant) Company (1581), the Senegal Adventurers (1588, later the Royal Africa Company), the East India Company (1600), the Virginia Company (1606), and the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629)."[163] Even though religious and other cultural reasons were articulated for expanding empire, economic motives turned out to be the most significant lasting concerns.

Nevertheless, in this religious age even economic imperialism needed robust biblical sanctification, and biblical typology was the most common method of biblical interpretation during this period. The Reverend Purchas famously framed his grand narrative of global exploration with a biblical foundation for English involvement in global imperialism. In the first part of *Pilgrimes*, Purchas presents an exposition of Solomon's Ophirian Voyages, based on biblical, classical, and contemporary religious sources, and he does this in order to provide a structured rationale for the exploration and travel narratives that follow. Purchas entitled the first book: "The Voyages and Peregrinations made by ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World" (*Pilgrimes*, I.¶2r). The first chapter of this first book, he titled, "A large Treatise of King Salomons Navie sent from Eziongeber to Ophir" (B1r). Thus, the cornerstone for English imperial ideology, as Purchas articulated it, is an interpretation of "King Salomons Navie sent ... to Ophir."

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[162] Canny, "Introduction," 4.

[163] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 202.

Scholars from many fields have taken note of the importance of Purchas's work, especially his interpretation of Solomon and his navy, in promoting British commercial imperialization. Historian Loren Pennington writes that "one of the chief contributions of Purchas to the English colonial movement was to provide it with a philosophical statement of purpose."[164] Pennington finds this aim expressed in the first chapters of *Pilgrimes*; most importantly, "Purchas made use of the voyages of Solomon, and the later ones of Christ and the Apostles (ch. 2), to prove that trade and navigation could be squared with the law of God, and indeed were approved and commanded by [God]." According to Renaissance English literature scholar Richard Marienstras, Purchas "attempts in his editorial on Solomon and Ophir to impose order and meaning on the chaos of discovery."[165] The basis of Purchas's imposed order and meaning is his own cultural structure, that of Jacobean Britain. Anthropologist James Boon describes the opening of *Pilgrimes* in this way: "First the West is epitomized in Elizabethan-Jacobean symbols of divine kingship. As successor to the Virgin-Astraea [Elizabeth I], James I becomes the Solomon-like sponsor of Navigation and the ultimate Apostle ushering in the last Age."[166] Also, according to Pennington's reading of colonial American literature scholar John Seelye, "Purchas's 'King Salomons navie' is an allegory presented as part of God's plan for the building of a New Jerusalem based on trade."[167] In Purchas's representation, the expansion of British commercial imperialism is God's will as presented in the Bible.

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[164] Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 11.

[165] L. E. and G. Z. Pennington, "A Secondary Purchas Bibliography," in Pennington, *Purchas Handbook*, 2:661; referencing Richard Marienstras, *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 167-69.

[166] James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 156-57.

[167] Pennington, "Samuel Purchas," 1:104-5; referencing John Seelye, *Prophetic Waters: The River in Early American Life and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 99-101.

Purchas makes his reading of the biblical tale of Solomon's voyages very clear in his first chapter. First, reflective of emerging scientific subjectivity, Purchas emphasized the priority he gave to the careful observations and analysis of his "Pilgrims" (explorers). He argues that Ophir, far from being a biblical mythic locale, is a real destination that Solomon's navy really reached. It is thus a geographic location, able to be discovered by modern scientific reasoning and reached by modern sailors using modern scientific methods. Second, he reasons that Ophir is a foreign, overseas destination, populated by a foreign, non-Israelite people. Third, he contends that God created the world with diverse commodities in diverse locations, gold in one place with wool in another for instance, thus preordaining and sanctifying the necessity of trade and overseas commerce. Finally, he maintains that Britain is God's chosen nation, God's Israel; British monarchs, especially the current king, James, are God's chosen representatives on earth, God's modern Solomon; and resource-rich foreign lands are Ophir. In this section, I address his interpretive moves most closely connected to commercial imperialization, the search for Ophir and British Ophirian Voyages, and I take up his other points in later chapters on race and biblical hermeneutics.

The Power of "Ophir": Early Modern English Exegetes in Pursuit of El Dorado

James needed religious sanctification of imperialist commerce, and one of the main biblical inspirations for obtaining gold in the early modern period was Ophir, where, according to 1 Kgs 9:28, Solomon had obtained gold to build the Temple. Purchas offered James biblical exegesis based on scientific knowledge as a way to solve the mystery of Ophir and motivate fellow Englishmen to follow Solomon's lead.

English literature scholar Robert Cawley refers to Ophir as one of the "mythical lands" like Atlantis or Eden that played an important role in inspiring early explorers and their supporters at home to take such great risks in undertaking overseas voyages.[168] In the age of European exploration and "discovery," the mythical seemed possible. Walter Raleigh led two expeditions to find El Dorado, one in 1595 and one in 1617. In a similar vein, Colin Jack-Hinton relates that "a matter of interest and concern to scholars and travelers of the sixteenth century was the existence and whereabouts of three reported places, the *Locac* of Marco Polo, the ... *Golden Peninsula* of Ptolemy, and the *Ophir* of King Solomon, individually ... or ... as different names for ... one place."[169] Ophir, known only from a few verses in First Kings, was "overlaid with innumerable additions," including other passages of scripture and "other regions of gold and silver ... fused with this one."[170] Thus Purchas, after discussing commerce, salvation, and navigation, among other things, in his first six sections, returns in section seven (regarding Ezion-geber and the building of Solomon's fleet) to his stated intention of exegeting First Kings. In this section, Purchas addresses the question of the location of Ophir: "Salomons Navie, ... in their Ophirian Voyage, and ... us here in our Ophirian Discovery" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.34).

Purchas was not alone in this Ophirian quest. Seeking biblical sanctification for imperialist commerce, sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century scholars in the age of European oceanic

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[168] Robert Ralston Cawley, *Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), 3.

[169] Colin Jack-Hinton, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon, 1567-1838* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 10. Marco Polo had identified Locac, or Locach (often misspelled as Beach or Veach), as a kingdom with gold in Southeast Asia. Ptolemy's "Golden Peninsula" was also associated with gold in Southeast Asia (ibid., 10-11).

[170] Cawley, *Unpathed Waters*, 31-32. Cawley adds that in much literature Ophir is simply a fabled source of gold (ibid., 35).

exploration wrote voluminously on the subject of locating golden Ophir.[171] Participating in this

wide discussion, Purchas in his first chapter rejects many of his Spanish contemporaries' claims

that Ophir is to be found in Peru, arguing instead that America was not inhabited then, that it

would have taken the sailors of that day more than three years to reach America and return, that

they did not have the compass to cross the ocean, and that the imports reported in 1 Kgs 10:22 do

not come from the Americas (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.25-27).[172] Columbus claimed that Hispaniola

(present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) was Ophir, but he also thought that he had

travelled around the world to the East Indies.[173] Some like Ortelius (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*,

1570) thought Ophir was Sofala (currently in Mozambique), and Purchas agrees that this is a

strong contender. Purchas also mentions that a predecessor scholar, Spanish Jesuit José de

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[171] The Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 divided the globe between Portuguese zones to the east and Spanish zones to the west of an imaginary north-south line in the Atlantic (crossing Brazil). After Magellan crossed the Pacific in the early 1520s, the two nations met again to negotiate the location of the corresponding dividing line in the Pacific. Each party was attempting to ensure that the lucrative Spice Islands were in their sphere, and Jack-Hinton believes that "a major consideration ... was the discovery and possession of Ophir and Tharshish, the lands from which King Solomon derived his wealth," thought to be in the East Indies (Jack-Hinton, *Islands of Solomon*, 2). This search for Ophir continued right up to the twentieth century; see Karl Peters, *King Solomon's Golden Ophir: A Research into the Most Ancient Gold Production in History* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969 [1899]). As Patrick Brantlinger wrote, "When Karl Mauch discovered the ruins of Zimbabwe in 1871, no European was prepared to believe that they had been constructed by Africans. So arose the theory that they were the ruins of King Solomon's Golden Ophir—the work of a higher, fairer race—a myth which archaeologists only began to controvert in 1906" (Patrick Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent," in *"Race," Writing, and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986], 215-17).

[172] For a Spanish Jesuit claim, cited by Purchas, that Ophir is in Spanish Peru, see Juan de Pineda, *Ioannis de Pineda Hispalensis e Societate Iesu, De Rebus Salomonis Regis, libri octo* (Lugduni: apud Horatium Cardon, 1609), bk. 4, 211-17, Google books. For a counter claim, also made by a Spanish Jesuit, that Ophir is in the East Indies (Purchas seems to rely on this reasoning for his own argument), see José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1587, Engl. trans. 1604); despite his acerbic anti-Jesuit rhetoric, Purchas acknowledges this work in *Pilgrimes*, I.i.19, and elsewhere in this chapter he frequently cites Acosta's *De Natura Novi Orbis* (1588). For a contemporary Spanish Jesuit biblical commentary on Kings and Chronicles, not cited by Purchas but making almost all of the same arguments, see Gaspar Sanchez, *Gasparis Sanctii Centumputeolani, e Societate Iesu Theologi, In Quatuor Libros Regum, et duos Paralipomenon, Commentarii* (Lugduni: sumpt Iacobi Cardon et Petri Cavellat, 1623), 1110-12, Google books.

[173] For a report of Columbus's claim, see Prof. Walter Raleigh, "The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century," in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1903-1905), 12:15.

Acosta "conjectureth that Ophir and Tharsis signifie no certayne Regions, but are taken in a generall sense, as the word India is with us, applied to all remoter Countreyes."

Proposing to solve the mystery of the location of Ophir, Purchas fuses scientific discourse and biblical literalism in order to insist that the truth about Ophir comes from the Genesis 10 Table of Nations (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.28). Exemplifying the changing epistemology of his age, discussed further in a later chapter, Purchas's mode of interpretation makes extraordinary attempts to scientifically reconstruct biblical accounts, working with the assumption that the Bible records historically and scientifically accurate reports. Ophir, according to the literal, "scientific" interpretation of Purchas of Gen 10:26-29, should be located with "Joctan" in East Asia, as "Africa fell to Chams part … Asia to Shem, and Europe … to Japheth" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.31). This tripartite, Noahide division of the world reveals developing racialization, discussed in the following chapter. Purchas, using the latest knowledge of the world from explorers, locates Ophir in India beyond the Ganges, specifically in "the kingdom of Pegu [currently Burma/Myanmar], and the Regions adjoyning," apparently including as far as the Southeast Asian island of Sumatra, currently part of Indonesia (I.i.31-35).

Purchas located Ophir in Southeast Asia, which was the prime trading destination for the British East India Company. In fact, the first volume of *Pilgrimes*, after the "historicall Preface" and circumnavigation narratives, mostly concerns routes from Britain to the East Indies, to and through Africa and Asia. Anthropologist James Boon recognizes that this part was "written under payment to the East India Company," and perhaps that partly explains, or at least correlates with, Purchas's identification of that region for Ophir.[174]

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[174] Boon, *Other Tribes*, 156; Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 11.

Probably more influential on Purchas in this regard was a manuscript by John Dee (1527-1608),[175] along with the work of Acosta, as the basis for much of his discussion of Ophir.[176] In Dee's 1577 *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (the larger work to which Purchas refers), Dee described his "Of Famous and Rich Discoveries," written "for the Brytish Honor and Wealth."[177] There, Dee had used Solomon and Ophir as a biblical model for the "lawful ... recover[y] and use" of extensive foreign lands, proclaiming such exploitation to be a very important part of God's will for Christian Europe and even for the "heathens." Purchas applied this same typology to his similar objectives.[178]

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[175] Having first referred to Dee's manuscript in a marginal note (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.9), Purchas, in his section ten on the treasures that Solomon brought back from Ophir, writes: "D[r]. Dee hath written a laborious Treatise almost wholly of this Ophirian argument (the same yeere in which I was borne, A. 1577. of seventie sheets of paper) howsoever intituled *Of Famous and Rich Discoveries*; of which I have a written Copie, and could willingly but for the length have published it; which may appeare in this, that he hath ten sheets of paper about these Almug trees, more profitable to the leasurely Scholler, then commodious to be inserted to so voluminous a Worke, as this Library of ours ...." The marginal note says, "It seems to have bin written by M[r]. Hakl[uyt]. hand, amongst whose papers I had it; & have here made much use of it, although much later and better intelligence be here also cited" (I.i.38). At the beginning of section eleven on the route to Ophir, Purchas states, "D. Dee hath written 23. sheets of paper in examining the miles, the dayes, the way, the employments of the time, and mustering of Men and Ships employed in this service. ... I shall bee bold both to follow him, and to adde somewhat for further light" (I.i.39). Purchas includes additional in-line references to Dee's work on I.i.34-35, 41(x2), 42(x3), and margin notes on 37(x2), 40, 41.

[176] Biographical dates are from John Parker, "Contents and Sources of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*," in Pennington, *Purchas Handbook*, 2:384. In general, it is difficult to tell definitively what is "borrowed" and what is original in the work of Purchas, since his citations (in keeping with the lack of standardization of the day) are neither comprehensive nor exact. Nevertheless, he provides quite a bit of in-line and marginal citation in order to point the reader in appropriate directions.

[177] Dee described his now-lost work: "The Discourse thereof, not only conteineth the Generall Survey Hydrographicall, of all the whole world ... but also, a particular and ample examination, of King Solomon his Ophirian three yeres voyage: And also, the lawfull and very honorable Entitling of our most gratious and Soveraigne Lady, Queene Elizabeth, (and so, this Brytish Sceptre Royall) to very large Forrein Dominions: such, as in, and by the same, duly recovered and used, the Course of the Divine providence generall, in this present Age, will bring to light and life, matter of great Importance and Consequency, both to the Glory of God, and the benefit of all Christendom, and Heathenes" (John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* [London: Iohn Daye, 1577 (STC 6459)], E4v, EEBO).

[178] The outline of Dee's work, along with the presumed timing of Purchas having received the bulk Hakluyt's papers (~1620), suggests that Dee's manuscript was a major influence on Purchas's first chapter. Unfortunately, we cannot consult the 70 pages of Dee's manuscript that Purchas used to write his chapter since they are no longer extant. Taylor writes that of Dee's *The Great Volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries* (the fourth volume of *General and Rare Memorials*) "the greater part (from chapter 7 onwards) is preserved at the British [Library]. The first six chapters (70 leaves) came into the possession of Purchas through Hakluyt, and we can glean their contents

Other early seventeenth-century English interpreters used the trope of King Solomon's Navy to encourage imperialization as well. For example, in the 1609 dedication to Robert Gray's sermon *A Good Speed to Virginia*, Gray expressed hope for the "Adventurers for Virginia" that "the disposer of al humane actions dispose your purposes, blesse your Navie as hee did the ships of Salomon which went to Ophie, and brought him home in one yeere six hundred threescore and six talents of gold."[179] Purchas, however, followed Dee in fully developing and using Solomon's voyages as precedent, encouragement, and the biblical sanctification King James needed to justify English involvement in overseas commercial imperialization.[180]

British Ophirian Voyages and Sacred Commerce

In addition to locating Ophir as a valid destination for imperialist commerce, the work of Purchas and others provided needed biblical support for the ideology of empire by sanctifying commerce itself. According to Purchas, trade is divinely ordained in order to relieve "mutuall Necessitie." This "necessitie," though, seems to have been primarily, if not completely, that of the Europeans, as Joseph Hall implies below. Purchas declares that maritime commerce, harnessing the technology of navigation, is the pinnacle of human achievement; after a panegyric to the sea, Purchas proclaims navigation to be the "Art of Arts" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.17). He furthermore attributes to Solomon the wisdom of this great accomplishment, calling him (quite unbelievably to twenty-first-century ears) "the first Founder of Long and Farre Navigations, and Discoveries."

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from this source, but unfortunately Purchas considered them too long to print, and they are now lost" (Taylor, "Master John Dee": 127).

[179] Gray, *Good Speed to Virginia*, A4r.

[180] In the wider European, primarily Spanish, world, Acosta, and probably others, used Solomon's voyages in a similar interpretive, rhetorical way, but Dee's influence on Hakluyt and his involvement in a similar enterprise of promoting British commercial imperialism makes Dee the most important source for Purchas's Ophirian voyage.

In a reversal of causality since undoubtedly the Phoenicians would have taught the Israelites the naval arts, Purchas suggests that "it is likely" that "by Salomons wisedome taught [the Phoenicians of Tyre] such remote flights" of "farre Navigation."

Commerce was promoted as important due to the wealth it could produce. Purchas "commends Navigation" to his readers for the same "ends which mooved Salomon thereto": "Gold, Silver, Ivory, precious Wood and Stones ... which gave such lustre to his State, fewel to his Magnificence, glory to his Name, Ornament to the Temple, splendour to Religion, Materials to the exercise of his Bodie and Minde, that I mention not the Customes increased, others by the Kings example, adventuring the Seas, and Merchandise quickened" (I.i.18). Thus Purchas promotes commercial imperialism for profit, in order to bolster the British realm, James's government, the Church of England, intellectual knowledge, and tax revenue through additional trade.

Commerce could lead to other, more intangible benefits as well. In addition to the primary, popular goal of material gain, Purchas expressed the hope that trade would facilitate Christian conversion.[181] The idea that commerce and colonization would ease conversion efforts dates back at least to the elder Hakluyt's 1584 "Inducements ... toward Virginia." In fact, in the view of Purchas, God could use greed as a sacred motivator to lure men into good works, such as proselytizing. Purchas, in his editorial "Virginias Verger," proclaims that riches will accrue to Englishmen for their conversion efforts in America. Metaphors of colonies were often gendered as female, expressing gender role dominance of men as imperialists. Thus dominant men and empires were to reap benefits from unpaid labor: "All the rich endowments of Virginia, her Virgin-portion from the creation nothing lessened, are wages for all this worke: God in wisdome

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[181] Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 117-18.

having enriched the Savage Countries, that those riches might be attractives for Christian suters, which there may sowe spirituals and reape temporals" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1814). Later in his essay, he expands upon this theme, calling upon the idea of British superiority to entice Englishmen to defend the female virginity of America from rape at the hands of racialized "savages": "Looke upon Virginia; view her lovely lookes (howsoever like a modest Virgin she is now vailed with wild Coverts and shadie Woods, expecting rather ravishment then Marriage from her Native Savages) ... so goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her Virgin portion nothing empaired ...; the neighboring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; ... she is worth the wooing and loves of the best Husband" (IV.ix.1818). The "best husband" is, of course, England, but ironically it was the foreign English invaders who would soon rape the American land and peoples. All of this commercial imperialistic activity is, as Purchas argues strenuously in this essay, God's will, revealed in the Bible.

Other Jacobean interpreters also supplied biblical justification for British commercial imperialism. Joseph Hall used his interpretation of James as Solomon to imply that material gain was an appropriate result for Britain's Solomon, just as it was an appropriate consequence of Solomon's wisdom. In this view, the Queen of Sheba brought gold to Solomon, and she received spiritual gain in return. Hall argued that the gold, jewels, and spices brought by the Queen to Solomon are appropriate as "thankes" to the keepers of "wisdome" (*Contemplations*, 250-1).[182] Pointedly, he added, "How shamefull is it to come alwaies with close hands to them that teach us the great mysteries of salvation" (251). Hall may not have been referring to imperialism directly here. Probably he was alluding to recorded disputes with some of his patrons who he claimed were withholding his assigned income, and indeed local nobility would frequently receive parish

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[182] In-line references to Hall's work are to Joseph Hall, *Contemplations*, vol. 6 [OT bks. 16-17, plus NT bk. 3] (London: Nathaniel Butler, 1622 [STC 12657a]), EEBO).

income and pass along only a portion to the local vicar.[183] Nevertheless, considering Hall's own

representations of James as Solomon within the wider context of the burgeoning imperialism of

the seventeenth century,[184] the justification for imperial exploitation of foreign economic

resources present in this line of reasoning is clear: foreign gold, land, and labor in exchange for

European technical knowledge and Christian religious education.

Even though, like Purchas, Hall strongly attacked greed in some of his other writings, the

biblical interpretation of Hall nevertheless sanctified building European wealth via a constrained

form of commerce.[185] Using direct scriptural precedent, Hall wrote: "The Queene of Sheba did

not bring her gold and precious stones to looke on, or to re-carry, but to give to a wealthier then

her selfe. Shee gives therefore to Salomon an hundred and twenty talents of Gold, besides costly

stones and odors. He that made silver in Hierusalem as stones, is yet richly presented on all

hands. The rivers still runne into the Sea; To him that hath shall be given" (258). Moreover, Hall

emphasizes, the action of Solomon is not "dishonourable" because Solomon, as a type of Christ,

"both teachest and givest [wisdome] abundantly" (261). Likewise, the imperialist actions of the

British are not considered dishonorable because in this view the uncivilized, heathen natives are

receiving European knowledge, civilization, and Christianity as better recompense for their land,

their labor, and their gold. For Hall, the Queen of Sheba "returnes therefore more richly laden

then she came; she gave to Salomon as a thankfull Client of wisdome; Salomon returnes to her as

a munificent Patrone; according to the liberalitie of a King" (260).

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[183] Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 44; Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 23; Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 18.

[184] For example, Hall's sermon, "'The True Peace-maker,' preached before the king at Theobalds on 19 September 1624" compared Solomon's wisdom and peace to James (Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall*, 51-2).

[185] Hall's anti-imperial writings, including those opposed to material gain, are discussed in the next chapter.

Another goal of sanctifying global commercial imperialism was advocacy for movement

toward more centralized royal control of trade in a system that was developing into mercantilism.

Mercantilism, which James promoted, was intimately connected with absolutist monarchy, as

both relied on tight central control and both were supported by interpreting James as Solomon.

Bauer concludes that "for Jacobeans such as Samuel Purchas, settler colonialism based on

mercantilist trade between Britain and her colonies was ... the key to solving the apparent

conflict between imperialism and international commerce."[186] Bauer sees the work of Purchas as

"one of the earliest and most comprehensive English articulations of the mercantilist economic

program that functioned on the principles of inter-imperial economic protectionism, a regulated

system of balanced trade, and an intra-imperial division of labor aimed at the unequal economic

development and co-dependency of colonial periphery and center: a program that would govern

British imperial policy for nearly two centuries to come."[187] Purchas proffered a "royalist

argument for political centralization, ... couched in the language of 'prosperitie' and the common

good of the nation in the imperial enterprise abroad,"[188] and he used Solomon as his model.

Purchas offered another biblical justification for commercial imperialization: satisfaction of

a sacred intellectual curiosity about the world. In his chapter from "King Salomons Navie"

discussed above, Purchas returned to the topic of gold or wealth to more fully discuss the

purpose of the journeys to Ophir: the quality and quantity of gold, gems, timber, and exotic

animals and birds (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.35-39). Purchas, however, concludes the section with the

following comment:

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[186] Bauer, *Cultural Geography*, 105. This commercial conflict pitted the imperial desire to collect all colonial resources with the desire for international trade between empires and between colonies of different empires.

[187] Bauer, *Cultural Geography*, 105.

[188] Ibid., 111.

> It apperaineth to Royall Magnificencie, and disagreeth not to humane Excellency, to procure rarities of living Creatures, and to keepe them as testimonies of our admiration of Gods various Workes, and exercise of the Minds Contemplation, the Bodies pleasure, with the right Humane over Sensitive Creatures: which Nature taught Alexander; yea Motezuma and the Incas in that Wilder World;[189] and Divine Grace our Salomon, as these scriptures manifest. (I.i.39)

Such intellectual curiosity is acquisitive like other imperial-colonial acts, yet it is also explicitly sacralized via biblical interpretation of the Solomon story. The hubris of capturing, collecting, and keeping wild animals for one's own pleasure is thinly separated from the willingness of the British to capture, collect, and keep indigenous peoples for curiosities and manual labor.

Another way that Purchas used biblical interpretation to sanctify British commercial imperialism was in judging the British, trade-based approach as superior to the Spanish conquest model. He writes, "And for Ophir, long before inhabited (as appeareth, Gen. 10.) he [Solomon] did not for the discovery thereof, then new, challenge jurisdiction or Soveraigntie, as Lord of that Sea or Region by him discovered (no more then the Ophirians had beene Lords of Israel, if they had then discovered it) but left things as hee found them, the Countrey appropriate to the Inhabitants, the Sea open to such as would and could in like manner adventure" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.16). The Spanish had claimed that, since they first "discovered" America, the whole continent was their jurisdiction and no other nations were allowed to sail or trade there. Purchas retorted "The contrary wee see in Salomons Ezion Geber. Thorow other Seas hee sailed by universall and naturall right, in this as his owne proprietie, he builded his Fleet, prepared, victualled manned his Navie, and altogether used the Sea and Shores, and Port, as is his proper and just Inheritance" (I.i.16). As Solomon did, Purchas insisted, so should the British be able to do. That is, in

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[189] "Motezuma" was an occasional alternate spelling of "Montezuma" (*Pilgrimes* [1907], 20:308).

Solomon's footsteps, the British should have the freedom to use foreign seas, lands, and ports for their own commercial endeavors.[190]

In further biblical sanctification of British commercial imperialism over Spanish predecessors and rivals, the English portrayed themselves as better (more Christian) than the Spanish because, they asserted, English economic imperialism was not only more Solomon-like but also more Christ-like than military conquest. Purchas expounds that Christ did not "send Souldiers but *Preachers*, to convert the World to the Faith truly Catholike, and therein shewed himselfe a true Salomon, a Prince of Peace, figured by this *our Salomon* who sent *Ships of Merchandise* and not of Warre to Ophir" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.16, italics mine). James is represented here as not only a Solomon but a Christ-figure; Ophir is correlated with foreign objects of imperialism; and the whole typology serves commercial-political ends.

At the outset of the rise of British imperial power, James and the British wanted to portray themselves as peaceful, gospel-proclaiming merchants. Purchas wrote, "Salomon was in this Ophyrian businesse, a man of peace, and thereof an example to all following Discoverers, according to that Christian Rule, as much as is possible to have peace with all men" (I.i.19, quoting Romans 12). Yet at times Purchas hints that both maritime commerce and naval power are essential for imperial success. In "Virginias Verger," he uses biblical typology to claim, "Yea, without a Navie, Salomon had not been so meet a Type of Christ, so glorious in Domesticall, Politicall, or Ecclesiasticall magnificence" (IV.ix.1820). Unfortunately, as I discuss

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[190] Purchas follows Acosta in defining "Tharsis or Tharshish" not as Spain (Pineda et al.) but as the ocean (as differentiated from ים 'sea' for smaller bodies of water), citing Jonah 1:3 and 1 Kgs 22:48 (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.44-45). It is most interesting that, when the British needed to challenge Spanish claims, they claimed the Americans should govern themselves without foreign invaders as overlords, but later, when the British needed to challenge indigenous land rights, then they claimed the Americans were unable or unfit to rule themselves. This double standard is related to the British view of themselves as exceptional.

next, the business of the British and other European discoverers, and those who followed in their paths, was not as peaceful as Purchas professes.

Biblical Sanctification of British Military Imperialism:
Blessed Peacemakers and Sacred Violence

Even though King James prided himself on being a peacemaker, his expanding empire required force, or at least the credible threat of force, in order to protect its interests by inspiring fear in subjects and enemies alike. Just as economic activities of empire needed cultural justification, such imperial violence needed justification, ideally biblical sanctification. The English were able to soothe any doubts about their use of force with ideas of a righteous British Israel. As Chinua Achebe has recognized, "colonialist rhetoric always turned on ... the moral inferiority of colonized peoples, of which subjugation was a prime consequence and penalty."[191]

Ideas of conquest and conversion in the Americas were articulated in England as early as the late sixteenth century, and sporadic attempts using military power did appear in early seventeenth century British North America, notably in Virginia and New England. The Reverend Richard Hakluyt had used cultural and religious motives for violence in 1587 in urging Walter Raleigh "to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly."[192]

As he did in sanctifying economic exploitation, Purchas used the Bible to legitimate England's contemporary role and future ambitions in European and global military

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[191] Chinua Achebe, "Colonialist Criticism," in *Hopes and Impediments: Selected Essays* (New York: Anchor Books, 1988), 79.

[192] Richard Hakluyt, "To the illustrious and right worthy Sir Walter Ralegh," in Taylor, *Original Writings of the Two Hakluyts*, 2:368; as quoted in Alden T. Vaughan, "Early English Paradigms for New World Natives," in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 44.

imperialization. Solomon is again his marquee model, held up for British emulation. While stating that God's people should not exploit, conquer, or take what belongs to others, Purchas insists that England in its conquests is justified by God's will. In the case of Solomon and Israel, God justified Solomon's actions due to exceptional circumstances, and Purchas argues that the English, as the true inheritors of God's covenant with Israel, should follow Israel's lead.

Musa Dube has alerted us to be concerned with imperializing texts that promote travel to foreign lands, and Purchas interprets Solomon as demonstrating "the lawfulnesse of Navigation to remote Regions." Illustrating, however, how commercial imperialism often relies on violent force, Purchas argues for the special rights of Israel, making the case for the exceptionalism of biblical Israel, in order to transfer those special rights to Britain as the spiritual successor of Israel. I highlight three steps that Purchas took to justify British imperialist violence in America.

First, Purchas reasons that the natural resources of America were created by God for all creation. These resources do not belong to the Americans exclusively, so the British are justified in taking a portion of these resources. Purchas quotes Acts 17:26, "True it is that God, which hath made of one bloud all Nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times appointed, hath also determined the bounds of their habitation."[193] But, he says, this separation does not apply regarding navigation, because God created "mutuall Necessitie" which requires that "the superfluitie of one Countrey, should supply the necessities of another." He calls this a Natural Law, which is above "the Law of Nations." Purchas claims that God "hath ... therfore encompassed the Earth with the Sea, adding ... other naturall inducements and opportunities to invite men to this mutuall commerce. Therefore hath he also diversified the Windes, which ... conspire to humaine trafficke." Purchas even suggests, "the

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[193] Acts 17:26 is frequently applied in later integration/segregation debates in the US by both sides. See also Purchas's use of this text with the Babel story (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.15).

Sunne and Starres" and all of "Nature within us and without us ... hath decreed Communitie of Trade the world thorow." He proclaims "by Nature the Earth was common Mother, and in equall community to be enjoyed of all hers." His claim is that the British have as much of a right as anyone to natural resources. In a section on Christian rights, Purchas claims that "God gave all to his Sonne, his Sonne with all to us" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.9). Yet, how the British can take it from others, sometimes violently, will require further steps of justification.

In taking this next step, Purchas avows that the British are unique successors to the special rights God gave Israel to despoil the Egyptians and invade Canaan. Purchas insists that since God "would not permit the Temple ... to bee built and adorned with robbery and spoyle," so it is important to make the case that "Solomon had a right ... to spoyle the Egyptians." The book of Exodus claims that the Hebrew slaves were justified in plundering the Egyptians when they left captivity in Egypt (Exod 12:35-36), so, according to Purchas, Solomon had an ancestral right as a Hebrew to Egyptian, extrapolated as foreign, spoil. Purchas avers, "But what had the Ophirians wronged Solomon?" Since there was no offense of Ophir against Israel, Purchas must assert, "Yet there is a universal tenure in the Universe" (I.i.4), which is to say that natural resources are held in common by everyone. Purchas maintains that "without Gods speciall command might the Israelites spoile (as they did) the Egyptians, or invade the Canaanites" (I.i.14).

A third step reveals a deep irony. Purchas in "Virginias Verger" decried American violence and used that violence to justify British violence. Since the Americans had attacked the British in the "Massacre of 1622," they had forfeited their "natural" right to the land. This too was seen by the British as God's will. Purchas wrote, "I follow the hand of God, which have given England so many rights in Virginia, ... forfeiture in that late damnable trechery and massacre, and the fatal

possession taken by so many murthered English. Gods bounty before, his justice now hath given us Virginia" (IV.ix.1826).

After this attack, Purchas, as well as many other contemporaries, did not hesitate to advocate British military intervention. English settlements completely excluded all indigenous people after 1622, and even religious leaders like Purchas who were hoping for large-scale conversion of indigenous Americans called for the use of force in British imperialist enterprises. In an analogy often used by contemporary imperial apologists, Purchas compared his present "Northerne America" as barbarous and in need of violent intervention as was "our Britaine in Caesars time." A marginal note to one of the documents Purchas edited on Virginia reads, "Ad Graecas Calendas [never].[194] Can a Leopard change his spots?[195] Can a Savage remayning a Savage be civill? Were not wee our selves made and not borne civill in our Progenitors dayes? and were not Caesars Britaines as brutish as Virginians? *The Romane swords were best teachers of civilitie to this & other Countries neere us*" (IV.ix.1755, marg. n., italics mine).[196] Purchas articulates this military aspect most directly in his overall conclusion, attributing any English violence to the necessity of keeping the peace in the midst of racialized conflict: "His Majestie is also pleased to send a Running Armie of Souldiers to scoure the Countrey of the unneighbourly malicious Naturalls; and to secure the planters from their privie ambushments. For openly they dare not attempt, but lurking in secret places attend advantages. I feare not but so bright a

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[194] This Latin phrase, often written "Ad Calendas Graecas," literally translates as "until the Greek Calends," but since the calends were part of the Roman calendar, not the Greek, it essentially means, "never."

[195] This quotation from Jer 13:23 is often used in conjunction with another phrase in this verse ("Can Ethiopians [Cushites, Heb.] change their skin?"). This verse is frequently cited to claim the essential nature of race.

[196] This marginal note is part of Purchas's publication of "A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas: his comming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre, July 15. 1610. written by William Strachy, Esquire" (IV.ix.1734-58). Other scholars have attributed the statement to Strachey himself, which is possible. However, due to the common practice of editors or publishers adding their own comments in the margins (or text) of publications, I remain cautious about attributing authorship to marginal notes.

Sunshine will quickly produce blessed effects" (IV.x.1972). This "Sunshine" is imperial power, violently wielded by an "Armie" and represented by King James.

Purchas was not the only religious leader using religion and the Bible to sanctify military imperialism. Through Biblical interpretation, Bishops Joseph Hall, John Williams, and James Montague, as well as others including King James himself, participated in biblical sanctification of imperial violence using interpretation of British Christians as God's new Israel and James as Solomon. British Israel was interpreted as justified in, what surely seemed to some even then, cruel measures toward others. Although not always explicitly referencing unorthodox others, in the colonies, biblically sanctioned violence toward "authors of idolatry and seduction" and "ringleaders of wickedness" was translated by many preachers of the day into racial cruelty toward indigenous Americans and, later, Africans, who as non-Christians were judged to be idolators and evildoers.

For example, Joseph Hall's *Contemplations*, in Book 17 on Solomon published in 1622, devotes two chapters to the subject of "peace": "Davids end and Salomons beginning" and, ironically but tellingly, "The execution of Joab and Shimei" (*Contemplations*, 136). The latter chapter discusses the story of Solomon's consolidation of power in which he eliminated all other challengers to the throne who were in any way opposed to David's rule (1 Kgs 2:13-46). Peace, for Solomon, King James, and empires in general, relies on the violent repression of any opposition. Attributing "peace" to Solomon, as was so often attributed to King James, Hall begins with these words: "It well became Salomon to begin his raigne in peace" (160). Hall spends most of the rest of this chapter, and part of the next, laboring to explain how the brutally violent consolidation of Solomon's power after the death of David could possibly be construed as "peace." Hall writes, "The best legacy that David bequeathes to his heire, is the care of piety"

(163); "After the precepts of pietie, follow those of iustice; distributing in a due recompence, as revenge to Ioab and Shimei" (164).

Recognizing the inconsistency of peace and bloody slaughter, Hall offers a triple justification of the violent deeds of Solomon: justice, typology, and the duty of authority. First, asking, "But, what shall we thinke of this? David was a man of war, Salomon a King of peace; yet David referres this revenge to Salomon" (166), Hall answers that it is poetic justice for Joab to be killed. Presumably, Joab's death meant as justice for his killing of others, specifically Abner and Amasa (the reason given in 1Kgs 2:32) and Absalom, but Hall does not explain. Secondly, he reasons that Solomon's judgments were a "type of that divine administration, wherein thou, O Father of heaven, hast committed all iudgement unto thine eternall sonne" (167). Finally, Hall adds, "Due punishment of malefactors is the debt of authoritie" (168). Hall observes that Solomon has Benaiah assassinate Adonijah, who was a previous rival to the throne, and in "The execution of Joab, and Shimei" Hall remarks on these political assassinations. Hall defends this violence by claiming that justice is necessary for peace: "The honest simplicity of those times knew not of any infamy in the execution of justice. Benaiah, who was the great Marshall under Salomon, thinkes not his fingers defiled with that fatall stroke. It is a foolish nicenesse to put more shame in the doing of justice, then in the violating of it. ... Without this there could have beene no peace" (188-89). Thus Hall justifies what he considered to be sacred violence.

Regardless of what one thinks about the implicit social theory in Hall's account, in the context of imperialist endeavors this type of biblical interpretation sanctified British imperial violence. Hall has no scruples about employing the Bible to sanctify what he sees as righteous, state-sponsored violence, since he claimed that humans in the OT were carrying out God's just

punishment.[197] For Hall, "that which apart from revelation would be termed cruelty is not really cruelty at all: it is the vengeance of God." For example, referring to Elijah's execution of the priests of Baal," Hall says, "Let no man complain that those holy hands were bloody. This sacrifice was no less pleasing to God, than that other .... Far be it from us, to accuse God's commands or executions of cruelty. ... The authors of idolatry and seduction should die the death: no eye, no hand might spare them. ... It is a merciful and thankworthy severity, to rid the world of the ringleaders of wickedness."[198] Also, "It is not for the holy severity of God, to stand at the bar of our corrupted judgment. ... The holy severity of God in the revenge of sin sometimes goes so far, that our ignorance is ready to mistake it for cruelty."[199] And, "It is not for us to examine the charges of the Almighty. Be they never so harsh or improbably, if they be once known for his, there is no way but obedience, or death."[200]

Other interpreters made more explicit connections between the biblical world and their own. Imperial apologists like Robert Gray contended that indigenous Americans, like the Canaanites, were God's enemies, thus deserving of death, at least if they would not peaceably conform to English ways. Gray preached a sermon to encourage colonists to Virginia, comparing them to Solomon's Navy to Ophir. In this sermon, he referred to Psalm 137 with the following:

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[197] Kinloch calls Hall's view here "sub-Christian" (Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 63), but this is not a study of the reception of Kinloch, so I move on!

[198] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 63-4, quoting Wynter, *Works*, II:50.

[199] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 64, from Pratt, *Works*, I:83.

[200] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 64, from Wynter, *Works*, II:68. Violence is connected to patriarchy as well. Kinloch remarks that in *Contemplations* Hall is an advocate of strong fathers who don't spare the "rod" and is very critical of women: "He has two favorite names for a wife. One is 'the rib'; the other 'the weaker vessel'" (Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 68-71). Hall thinks women should not be often seen or heard and should be submissive and obedient. He refers to women as daughters of Eve and as "helpers in sin" (Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 71, quoting Wynter I:177). Hall is particularly preoccupied with vanity in women; yet, he admitted the existence of a few good women (!) (Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 71-2). Hall's dim view of women is also apparent in his satire of women in his *Mundus Alter et Idem*.

David by way of prophecie, doth promise a blessing to those that shall take the children of the Idolatrous Babilonians and dash them against the stones, and they that have taken armes against such people, are said to fight the Lords battells. Saul has his kingdome rent from him and his posteritie, because he spared Agag, that Idolatrous king of the Amalechites, whom God would not have spared [1 Samuel 15]: so acceptable a service is it to destroy Idolaters whom God hateth, but forasmuch as God doth not delight in bloud ... for they that turne many unto righteousnesse shall shine as the starres for evermore. Dan. 12.3. (Gray, *Good Speed to Virginia*, C1r-v)

The exercise of force was important to both Solomon and James in keeping the peace, as Bishop John Williams intimates in his funeral sermon for James, *Great Britains Salomon*. Williams refers to Solomon's rule over all Israel as "his Empire," assesses that "a glorious King" like Solomon needs "the annexation of this great Empire of all Israel," and speaks admiringly of "the largenesse of [Solomon's] Empire" (*Great Britains Salomon*, 23-25). Turning his focus from Solomon to James later in the sermon, Williams recalls that "Divine Providence, [did] keepe, and praeserve those admirable parts [of his life], for the setling, and uniting of some great Empire" (43). In his assessment of "a short Index" "of these Actions of King Iames his Peace," Williams remarks on the following:

the Scottish Feudes quite abolished, the Schools of the Prophets newly adorn'd, al kind of learning highly improved, manufactures at home daily invented, Trading abroad exceedingly multiplied, the Borders of Scotland peaceably governed, the North of Ireland religiously planted, the Navy Royall magnificently furnished, Virginia, New-found-land, & New-England peopled, the East-India well traded, Persia, China, and the Mogor visited, lastly, all the ports of Europe, Afrique, Asia, and America to our red Crosses freed, and opened. (57)

Although used to facilitate trade, undoubtedly it was that frequently armed "Navy Royall magnificently furnished" that kept "all the ports of Europe, Afrique, Asia, and America to our red Crosses freed, and opened."

Peace brought riches thanks to a militarized navy, and peace itself was also due to the army. Bishop James Montague of Winchester stated this openly in his "Preface to the Reader" for the *Workes* of King James, which he concluded with a lengthy discussion of James as

Solomon.[201] Montague directly named James as Solomon and claimed the reign of James as

God-given. He wrote:

> To Conclude this Preface: God hath given us a Solomon, and God above all things gave
> Solomon Wisedome; Wisedome brought him peace; Peace brought him Riches; Riches
> gave him glory. His wisedome appeared in his wordes and Workes: his Peace, he
> preserved by the *power of his Army*: His riches he raysed, as by his Revennue, so by the
> Trade of his Navie: His Glory did accrue from them all. (*Workes*, E2r, italics mine)

Montague underscores that the representation of James as Solomon relies primarily upon the

emphases of James as wise and peaceful. The wisdom of James is here defined as manifest in his

"wordes and Workes," that is, both the words he spoke and the words he wrote (presented in his

collected *Workes*) and both his works as his deeds and his *Workes* as the collection of his

writings. Peace is said to proceed from his wisdom and riches from his peace, but his peace is

here explicitly connected to "the power of his Army," that is to say, violence. His riches are here

attributed to "the Trade of his Navie," or international, maritime commerce. Thus, James is

depicted as a wise and peaceful Solomon, ruling over an imperial, commercial, maritime empire

through the use or threat of violence. This naval commerce connects James with Solomon in his

maritime trade with Ophir and in the deployment of military power in establishing and

maintaining an empire.

Biblical Sanctification of British Colonization

Connected to their anticipated acquisition of material resources through seeking gold and

expanding commerce and their utilization of military forces, the budding British imperialists

needed a method to manage the anticipated increase in trade and travel. Successful in Ireland, the

British saw colonization as an efficient way to maintain trading posts, manage resources, supply

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[201] This text of both the dedicatory epistle, written to Prince Charles, and the preface itself ends with the name
"Ia.Winton." Ia. is an abbreviation for James, and Winton is an archaic name for Winchester.

military forces, and facilitate religious and other cultural conversion efforts. Once more, to support plans for colonization they needed good justification, and the best justification at the time was biblical sanctification.

One way the British justified their colonial project was with cultural arguments, looking back on the way the Romans had colonized and imposed "civilization" in Britain in ancient times. The British also observed Spanish colonization of the Moors in Grenada, which had informed Spanish colonizing efforts in the Americas. Historian John Elliot states that in removing barbarity by force and imposing civilization, both the English and Spanish "[saw] themselves as the heirs and successors of the imperial Romans" and not just the peaceful Solomon.[202] Many British authors, including King James, Purchas, and Hall, prided themselves in being heirs to the *Pax Romana*. In listing reasons why the British should continue their efforts to colonize Virginia, Purchas recommended in "Virginias Verger" that "The Roman Empire sowed Roman Colonies thorow the World, as the most naturall and artificiall ['skillful'] way to win and hold the World Romaine" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1816).[203]

Additionally, the British drew support for colonization from their experiences subduing nonconformist peoples in Scotland and Ireland, insisting on loyalty to English ways.[204] King James had boasted in "Basilikon Doron" about his successful strategies in colonizing and subduing the highland Scots. Colonization had also worked very well for the British in Ireland.

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[202] John Elliott, *Britain and Spain in America: Colonists and Colonized* (Berkshire, UK: University of Reading, 1994), 7.

[203] "Artificial," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/11211.

[204] Historian Nicholas Canny suggests that consolidation efforts in the Scottish Highlands and Ireland in the sixteenth century perhaps inform why the English/British were very minor players in global exploration, trade, and colonization in 1500 but by 1700 "were the most consequential European presence in the North Atlantic, ... [including being] the principal conveyors of African slaves across the Atlantic [by means of the Royal African Company] as well as being major participants in direct trade with Asia [via the British East India Company]" (Nicholas Canny, "Preface," in Canny, *Origins of Empire*, xi).

Driving Irish people off Irish land, the British maintained control of their plantations by

fortifying their colonies with military forces. The British also imported many colonists, most of

whom were Scottish, and erected a "pale," or fence, to keep out the indigenous peoples.[205]

According to historian David Armitage, "[Edmund] Spenser's remedy [in *The Faerie Queene*

(1590)] for the barbarousness of the natives [Irish] ... [was] colonization, legal reform, and

education" enforced by "fear of the sword."[206] The British viewed indigenous Americans as very

similar to the "wild Irish": uncivilized and inferior, needing civilization including proper

Protestant Christianity. The British also compared indigenous Americans with primitive British

peoples, as can be seen in the engravings Theodore de Bry made of John White's illustrations in

Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). In its

publication, Hakluyt, as editor, included very similar pictures of Picts (ancient Celtic Scots

peoples), implying that like ancient British peoples, indigenous Americans could also become

civilized.[207]

  Purchas harnessed biblical interpretation to sanctify British colonization, as he did

concerning commerce and violence. Continuing his use of biblical typology of Britain as Israel

and James as Solomon, Purchas first addressed why Solomon did *not* colonize Ophir. He wrote

in "Virginias Verger":

> Thus Salomon and Hiram had right to sayle over the Ocean, and to negotiate with the
> Ophirians for Gemmes, Gold, Ivory, and other commodities serviceable for his peoples
> necessities, for pompous Magnificence, and for the Temples Holies. And if hee did not

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[205] Not all English were sure the success in Ireland could be repeated an ocean away in America. David Armitage reports that "Francis Bacon [in 1606] compared the solid success of the Ulster plantation with the [fantastic] risks of the new venture in Virginia" (Armitage, "Literature and Empire," 111).

[206] Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 54.

[207] Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, 206. Vaughan points out that, after the 1622 uprising, use of the "primitive British" model for Americans fades (Vaughan, "Early English Paradigms," 49).

plant Colonies there, you must remember that the Jewish Pale was then standing,[208] which prohibited voluntarie remote dwellings, were each man was thrice a yeere to appear before the Lord in Jerusalem. Besides, it is a question whether the Countrey peopled so long before, had roome for such Neighbors. (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1811)

Purchas argued that Solomon did not colonize Ophir both for religious reasons and for practical reasons of presumed overcrowding. British Israel, on the other hand, had no religious restrictions about living far from the capital, and, as Purchas and other Europeans argued, there were plenty of empty, open spaces in North America to accommodate European settlers, since America was a "newer" world.

The "vacant land" principle was one of the most frequent premises for European land rights in the Americas, and much British philosophical and legal justification of colonization in North America is, in fact, based on the Roman idea of *res nullius* "empty things." The suitability of this idea was reinforced in the European mind by migratory land-use patterns of some indigenous American groups and recent diseases, often caused by earlier European contact, which had decimated some coastal indigenous settlements. The Europeans assumed agricultural land-use to be normative, so they often argued that Americans were not using the land "properly."[209] In this view, land that was not actively being used for agriculture was considered unproductive, "vacant," and open to appropriation by others.[210] The colonizers either did not realize or were not concerned that this understanding might not be shared by indigenous people, since Europeans

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[208] "Pale" as bounded territory or restrictions in general (*OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/136263).

[209] Armitage states that "the argument from vacancy (*vacuum domicilium*) or absence of ownership (*terra nullius*) became a standard foundation for English and, later, British dispossession of indigenous peoples. On these grounds, God's commands to ... assert dominion ... provided a superior right to possession for those who cultivated the land more productively than others, and hence who adopted a sedentary, agricultural existence on the land." This reasoning was presented fully in chapter five of Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* (Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 97).

[210] Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 50. According to Anthony Pagden, the "famous debate over the legitimacy of the English rights in America between John Cotton and Roger Williams, in Massachusetts in the 1630s, ... was ... limited to the validity and applicability of the *res nullius* argument" (Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 93-4).

defined "natural law" as universal and timeless—much in the same way that whiteness and white European culture was, unconsciously and as we will see increasingly consciously, taken for granted by white Europeans as the universal, abstract norm.

Europeans also explained the relatively low population densities that they encountered, especially in British North America, with the "new world" theory. Many Europeans assumed that the "New World" was not only new to them but in fact more recently peopled in general. They drew this conclusion from biblical interpretation as well as observed technological superiority, which was supposed to develop chronologically. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, many European Christians still read the Bible's story in a literal, historical way as explaining the expansion of humanity outward from Noah's Ark and the Tower of Babel. In *Pilgrimes*, Purchas claimed that North America was relatively uninhabited: "all Virginia, New England, and New-found-land, cannot have ... so many Inhabitants, so far as my industry can search, as this one Citie [London] with the Suburbs containeth." He also claimed that the Americas were "newly inhabited," truly "a New World," as apparent from the "simplicitie" of the culture. He assumed with his contemporaries that the "neerer the Regions were to the Arkes resting, and Babels confusion, so much sooner were they peopled." He suggested that "the Northerne America was first peopled [before Southern], and that probably from the Easterne or Northerne parts of Asia." He concluded that America "is either wholly unhabited, or so thinly inhabited, that men roague rather then dwell there, and so as it would feed and sustaine a hundreth, perhaps a thousand times as much people by due husbandry" (I.i.30). Thus he implied that the British should settle there. Furthermore, as Louis Wright points out, Purchas invoked the legal argument that "civilized" people can assert settlement rights by force, if "uncivilized" try to prevent them.[211]

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[211] Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 125-26.

The idea of providence features highly in the way Purchas used the Bible to justify colonization. For example, quoting Rom 13:1-2 (KJV) Purchas wrote: "The powers that be are ordained of God ...; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordenance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.15). Therefore, Purchas claimed, when new governments take over rule of different lands from previous governments, God is involved:

> In all these workes of Men, God is a coworker; the most high ruleth in the Kingdomes of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever hee will ..., whether by divine immediate vocation ..., or mixed with Lot, or meere, or free choise, or inheritance, or conquest of warre, or exchange, or gift, or cession, or mariage, or purchase; or titles begun in unjust force, or fraud at first, yet afterward acknowledged by those whom it concerned, and approved by time, which in temporall things proscribeth, and prescribeth. (I.i.15)

Thus, by whatever means the British acquire new lands, "God is a coworker" in their imperial-colonial projects. But, in the very next section, Purchas averred that it is "barbarous" "to dispossesse Barbarians of their Inheritance" (I.i.16).

Fortunately for British imperialists, there were many other preachers besides Purchas who took on the task of adding religious and biblical sanctification for colonization. Wright remarks that "The Virginia Company employed preachers to deliver sermons before the shareholders ... [and] printed ... and distributed them widely," compensating "the preachers with payments in cash" or stock.[212] Robert Gray, in his dedication to his sermon *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609), connected Solomon's legacy of "wisedome, iustice, magnificence and power" to the ensuing legacy of the "Adventurers for Virginia."[213] Gray's sermon itself, based on the book of Joshua, identifies England with Israel, compares Virginia to the Promised Land, and uses Joshua's encouragement of the Israelites to call on the English colonists "to conquer and cast out those

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[212] Ibid., 87.

[213] Gray, *Good Speed to Virginia*, A3v.

Idolatrous Cananites, & to plant themselves in their places."[214] Richard Crakanthorpe's *A*

Sermon at the Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of Our Most Gracious and Religious

Soveraigne King Iames was preached at Paul's Crosse in 1609 on the anniversary of King

James's Accession Day. Crakanthorpe used the text of 2 Chronicles 9 on Solomon and Sheba to

identify James with Solomon ("our Salomon") and James's great wisdom with "planting an

English colony" in Virginia "among those poore and savage, and to be pittied Virginians, not

only humanitie, instead of brutish incivility, but Religion also, ... who as yet in the blindnesse of

their Infidelity and superstition, doe offer Sacrifice, yea, even themselves unto the Divell" and

with "a new Britaine in another world."[215] William Crashaw's *A Sermon Preached in London*

before the Right Honorable the Lord LaWarre ... (February 21, 1610), according to Wright,

"emphasize[s] the economic and political implications of colonization," along with "conversion

of the Indians [as] a 'necessarie dutie.'"[216] Crashaw also asserted in this sermon that the English

would still be heathen barbarians without Roman civilization, whereby Christianity came to

Britain. In an appeal to both material and spiritual gain as motivation for imperial-colonial

endeavors, Alexander Whitaker, minister in Virginia, published in 1613 *Good Newes from*

Virginia, wherein he used Eccl 11:1, a Solomonic book, to encourage further investment in the

Virginia Company: "Send out your bread upon the waters, for after many days you will get it

back" (NRSV).[217] Patrick Copland preached *Virginia's God be Thanked* on April 18, 1622, for

the Company about the peace and emptiness of a new Eden to solve England's overpopulation

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[214] Ibid., D2r.

[215] Richard Crakanthorpe, *A Sermon at the Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of Our Most Gracious and Religious Soveraigne King Iames* (London: W. Iaggard, 1609 [STC 5979]), D2r-v, EEBO.

[216] Wright, *Religion and Empire*, 99.

[217] Ibid., 104-6.

problems, not knowing that "news of the disastrous massacre of March 22, 1622, was already on its way to England."[218] In response to the uprising of the Powhatans, John Donne preached *A Sermon* on Acts 1:8 on November 13, 1622, in which he insisted that New World colonization was a sacred enterprise in witnessing to the "ends of the earth."[219]

I conclude this section with a paean to English exploration and colonization that Purchas provided in order to advance divinely sanctioned colonial expansion. Purchas repeated the grand English claim of First Discovery,[220] saying that "Britaine ... hath discovered the Westerne Babylon [America] and her labyrinthian mazes and gyres of superstition, first of all European Kingdomes." He celebrated the expansion of English dominion under James, where "Scotland is added, and Ireland now at last made English ...: If you look further, ... in the West Indies, there may you see English Plantations and Colonies in Virginia and other parts of both ... the Northerne and Southerne America," trading in Africa and Asia, ocean whaling, arctic "discoveries, notwithstanding the Oceans armies of icie Ilands affronting," "and (not to mention the New Wales there discovered) England hath her Virginia, Bermuda, New England; Scotland, a New Daughter of her own name [Nova Scotia]; yea, Ireland by the care of the present Deputie is now multiplying also in America, and his Majestie hath sowne the seedes of New Kingdomes in that New World" (I.i.13).

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[218] Ibid., 109-10.

[219] Ibid., 110-11.

[220] I say "grand" claim because the English attempted to counter the relatively clear claim by Spain to "First Discovery" of North America by positing presumably apocryphal claims of their own, English, prior discoveries (as I mentioned above). The concept of First Discovery continued to be claimed, argued, and refined, as various European nations jostled for control of the ever-expanding colonies.

Biblical Sanctification of British Cultural Imperialism:
Cultural, Civil, and Christian Conversions

All of these efforts to increase British trade and military presence through colonization in North America needed popular incentives, and cultural, including religious, motivators were extremely powerful in early modern Europe. The elder Hakluyt, and many after him, had named planting Christian religion as the foremost purpose in English imperialization in America, yet Purchas lamented forty years later that Christian conversion was "first in intention though last in execution" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1813). Even that execution was still a pious hope in Purchas's day, for, despite other ideological priorities in his work, he proceeded to insist that "the scope of Christians Plantations [should be] to plant Christianity, to produce and multiply Christians, by our words and works to further the knowledge of God in his Word and Workes." Purchas's work thus also reveals a colonial operation that Homi Bhabha has concisely identified: "The exercise of colonialist authority ... requires the production of differentiations, individuations, identity effects through which discriminatory practices can map out subject populations that are tarred with the visible and transparent mark of power. ... Colonial authority requires modes of discrimination (cultural, racial, administrative ...) that disallow a stable unitary assumption of collectivity."[221] Colonialism relied on power differentials between colonizers and colonized, and religious distinctions between Christian and non-Christian encapsulated fundamental cultural differences between Europeans and non-Europeans.

In Western Europe since Constantine, Christianity had become synonymous with civilization and empire. By the seventeenth century at the dawn of the Thirty Years War, what "Christianity" meant in Western Europe was deeply contentious between Roman Catholics and

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[221] Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," in *"Race," Writing, and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 172.

Protestants, but there seemed to be much more consensus about "civilization." In fact, as Charles Long recognized, "It is the modern Western world that created the categories of civilization, ... the individual as an agent of production, the races, the primitives, and so on."[222] Seventeenth-century European civilization was rooted in classical-style, Greco-Roman education,[223] some politically authorized form of Christianity,[224] citizenship in some "Christian" nation, and use or at least awareness of contemporary European technology and customs,[225] especially writing, clothing, gunpowder, and navigation. All of these elements were implied in the British use of "Christian" or "civilized," as well as the preference and frequent assumption of some variety of Protestant Christianity. Thus, as Musa Dube has said about other colonial contexts, "No distinction [was made] between English culture and Christianity."[226] Similarly, Anthony Pagden remarked that religious conversion had to include "a corresponding political and cultural transformation."[227]

In medieval Europe, conquest had been assumed to be the best method of religious conversion, hence the impulse to Crusade. Perhaps as a slightly more benign modification of this compulsion, colonization, discussed above, was thought to be an efficient way to civilize and

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[222] Long, *Significations*, 120.

[223] For example, Armitage writes, "The heritage of Roman moral thought, above all derived from the writings of Cicero, supplemented by Latinized versions of Aristotle, as well as by the Roman historians Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, provided the intellectual framework for at least the first half-century of British colonial theory" (Armitage, "Literature and Empire," 106).

[224] Armitage attests that for Hakluyt and other English humanists of the day, civilization and Christianity went hand in hand (Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 76).

[225] Kathleen Brown argues that race is in part constructed by recourse to norms of European civilization—"standards of living, divisions of household labor between the sexes, manners, and mores" (Kathleen Brown, "Native Americans and Early Modern Concepts of Race," in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, ed. Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999], 82).

[226] Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation*, 8.

[227] Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 29.

convert indigenous Americans. For example, both Bartolomé de las Casas and Robert Johnson (in "Nova Brittannia") compared indigenous Americans to the ancient Britons before Romans brought them civilization (by force).[228] English humanist intellectuals like Spenser "transmit[ted] important assumptions regarding the superiority of civility over barbarism and the necessity for civilized polities to carry their civility to those they deemed barbarous."[229]

Some scholars have noted a theme in Western European ideology of a "westward flow" of civilization.[230] Looking at Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, Ian Smith discerns symbolism of the westward flow of two related concepts: Greco-Roman classical learning and empire. Smith understands the *translatio imperii* ('translation of empire'), "a historiographic concept developed in the middle ages," to encapsulate this "westward movement" of civilization and empire. Roman writers like Virgil envisioned "imperial succession and continuity" from ancient Troy to Rome, while English historians named London as the new Troy. Thus, "the narrative of recuperated history and prophetic glory of an empire without end strides across Europe in stately occidental relief. From the classical past to the early modern present, a spatio-temporal organization situates England, at Europe's western reach, as the inheritor of antiquity's greatest gifts."[231] With the rise in power of US culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

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[228] Elliott, *Britain and Spain in America*, 3, 8. In *Pilgrimes* (IV.viii.1567ff.), Purchas included Bartolomé de las Casas, *Spanish Colonie*, a 1583 English translation of *Destruccion de las Indias*, which described Spanish cruelty and genocide. See also Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: Offring Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia: Exciting All Such as Be Well Affected to Further the Same* (London: Samuel Macham, 1609 [STC 146993]), C2r, EEBO. Johnson urged his audience to follow Joshua and Caleb in entering the Promised Land (of Virginia) in spite of conflicting, unfavorable reports (ibid., B3v).

[229] Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 51-52.

[230] Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, "Introduction," in Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, 10.

[231] Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 65.

this mythology of the western progress of civilization was thought, at least by many white US Americans, to have reached its ultimate conclusion.

In addition to more general religious sanctification, which was understood primarily in biblical terms in Protestant Europe, specifically biblical sanctification for the concept of British cultural imperialism is perhaps best idealized by interpretations of the story of Solomon and Sheba. In early modern Europe, the biblical story of the Queen of Sheba coming from a foreign land, where she heard about Solomon's divine wisdom, to admire Solomon's imperial splendor manifests as an imperialist fantasy. The imagery of this tale provided interpreters biblical sanctification for the self-fulfilling imperial prophecy that foreign nations will flock to the imperial center with admiration and gifts of gratitude. Relatedly, the British imagined their own duty, as God's Chosen People, to be light to the nations. The 1629 seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company, for instance, depicts an American Indian saying "Come over and help us." In Pagden's words, this representation manifests the British self-view "as the Indians' potential saviors not only from paganism and pre-agricultural modes of subsistence but also from Spanish tyranny."[232] Such a cooperative metaphor is highly ironic in light of the impending British massacre of the Pequot during hostilities in 1638. Furthermore, very few preachers were ever sent from England to the colonies, and the few preachers that did travel from England to North America were not numerous enough to look after the settlers themselves, let alone mount a missionary campaign.

Sanctification of cultural imperialism leads my argument forward into the next chapter on the construction of race. Despite all the rhetoric of conversion, as Canny determines, "[By mid-seventeenth century] it was commerce rather than religion that was invoked to justify colonial

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[232] Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 95.

activity, and the communities being established on lands that had once belonged to American Indians were essentially colonies of white settlement populated by European emigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, or colonies under white management which relied on African slaves for a labor force."[233] Undergirding the entire structure of British imperial-colonial ideology, including commercial, military, colonial, and cultural, was the notion of British exceptionalism, which supposed that their superior religion of Protestantism, superior knowledge of European technology, and superior ethnic traits would be universally admired.[234] Furthermore, strong associations were made between Britain as God's Chosen People and James as God's representative on earth, Great Britain's Solomon. Naturally, rich material and human resources would, according to God's will, stream from distant lands and peoples to the Israel of Britain, as they did to Solomon's Jerusalem in Kings. Success in their imperialistic efforts strengthened British exceptionalist ideology, as their interpretations of themselves as superior and others as inferior seemed to be proved correct empirically. As I will discuss in the following chapter, the importance of British exceptionalism necessarily involved the othering of foreign lands and peoples. This othering required a racial ideology that solidified within the next generation and was combined with biblical interpretation, scripturalizing whiteness.

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[233] Canny, "Introduction," 32.

[234] Exceptionalism, discussed further in the next chapter, was not unique to England. Many other European nations and European settler colonialists viewed themselves as exceptional.

CHAPTER 4

THE SCRIPTURALIZATION OF WHITENESS:
ENGLISH EXCEPTIONALISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF RACE

Whoever questions the authority of the true faith also contests the right of the nations that hold this faith to rule over him—contests, in short, their title to his land. The spreading of the Gospel ... was an absolutely indispensable justification for the planting of the flag. Priests and nuns and school-teachers helped to protect and sanctify the power that was so ruthlessly being used by people who were indeed seeking a city, but not one in the heavens, and one to be made, very definitely, by captive hands. The Christian church itself ... sanctified and rejoiced in the conquests of the flag, and encouraged, if it did not formulate, the belief that conquest, with the resulting relative well-being of the Western populations, was proof of the favor of God. ... God, going north, and rising on the wings of power, had become white.

–James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*[235]

During the period of Western modernity the conquest and exploitation of the World by the West created a geographical and historical context in which the white races formed the centers from which the exploitation and exercise of hegemonous power took place. These centers defined the structures of authentic human existence. The distances from these centers were adjudicated by varying degrees of humanity, so that at the outermost periphery, where color or blackness coincided with distance, the centrist position held that these were lesser human beings.

–Charles Long, *Significations*[236]

Introduction

The first necessary ingredient in the process of the scripturalization of whiteness, as argued in the previous chapter, was the rising power of the emergent British Empire in the early seventeenth century. British imperial ideology was grounded in the idea of British exceptionalism, which used the typology of Britain as Israel to biblically sanctify commerce, conquest, colonization, and conversion. In addition to British imperial-colonial strength, the scripturalization of whiteness required two other factors that were emerging in the same epoch: distinct conceptions

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[235] James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*, 46.

[236] Long, *Significations*, 200.

of race, a topic to which we now turn, and key changes in biblical hermeneutics, to be considered in the next chapter.

One important tool of British imperial ideology was the construction of race, racializing both colonizers and colonized peoples. Like other forms of British imperial ideology, the construction of race was also grounded in British exceptionalism and sanctified by the interpretation of the Bible. In this chapter I discuss how biblical interpretation contributed to the construction of race in seventeenth-century Britain. Along with the power of empire, the construction of whiteness required the combination of two further elements: a significant sense of British (perhaps more specifically, English) exceptionalism and the exercise of a color symbolism, which associated all things negative with that which is black and all things positive with that which is white. These dynamics in the age of British imperialization corresponded to and facilitated both the dehumanization of non-Europeans and the assumption of the racial superiority of the British as white.

Contributing to the emerging racialization of English culture, English imperialism, marked by increasing numbers of English overseas voyages, brought the English into contact with many heretofore rarely encountered peoples. For example, contact with Africa and Africans was rising dramatically in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Ian Smith traces the beginning of significant black African presence in England to "John Lok's return from his second Guinea voyage in 1555 with five Africans—described as 'black slaves.'"[237] In the 1560s John Hawkins, backed by "prominent courtiers, city magnates, and the Queen," tried to profit "from supplying Spanish America with African slave labor." Appleby states that Hawkins "identified Africans as

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[237] Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 123; quoting Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1903-1905), 6:176. African slaves first came to Portugal in 1443 (Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, 248).

legitimate prey."[238] By the 1590s, Elizabeth was working to "expel blacks from England," citing pressure on England's limited food supply.[239]

My claim in this chapter is that when, in the context of the rise of the British Empire in the early seventeenth century, English cultural exceptionalism, correlated with biblical exceptionalism, was mapped onto traditional European color symbolism, racialized whiteness emerged. This new racial category was distinct from its predecessor concepts of "English" and "Christian" and became an essential part of the English interpretation of godly virtues, such as wisdom, power, or glory, which were attributed to biblical Israel and now could be applied to England and Englishmen as Israel's unique successor. Consequences of this essentialization of race include racist attitudes and racist violence. Using the example of James as Solomon, I illustrate the process of the racialization of whiteness in Britain in the milieu of European exploration and colonization of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. As northern Europeans, especially the British, came to increasingly dominate North Atlantic geopolitics and trade, this vision of the white, Christian, British monarch as God's representative on earth became increasingly freighted and applied to support imperialistic endeavors.

God's Chosen (and Unchosen) People: English Exceptionalism and the Construction of Racial Whiteness

The Powerful Significance of British Exceptionalism

Exceptionalism is the idea that a particular group, in this case a nation or culture, is somehow uniquely different from other groups. Exceptionalism is exclusivist, often incorporating self-

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[238] Appleby, "War, Politics, and Colonization," 59. Regarding other early English involvement with African slavery, in 1586 Drake raided 250 African slaves from the Spanish in St. Augustine, Florida, intending to take them to the English colony in Roanoke; however, the English settlers disbanded the colony and requested passage back to England (Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, 168).

[239] Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 130-31.

righteousness, a sense of self-superiority, and ethnocentrism. In the early modern period, the idea

of British exceptionalism, arising from English ethnocentrism, became combined with biblical

exceptionalism of God's Chosen People Israel and the typology of Britain as Israel. In this

section I discuss how early modern British biblical interpretation evidenced well-defined British

exceptionalism, even independent of its use in imperial ideology.

As intimated above, Continental Europe in the sixteenth century viewed England as

uncivilized. The English, in response, first abjected their nearest neighbors, the Scots and the

Irish. Continental European stereotypes for British peoples, the English insisted, did not apply to

them but only to their barbaric neighbors. In separating themselves ethnically, the English

portrayed themselves as exceptional. King James, as a Scot, had to deal with much of this

English ethnocentric prejudice when he became King of England. The case of Ireland is

particularly informative, because some scholars have argued that English experience colonizing

Ireland was an immediate model for English colonization of North America.[240] James suggested

that the methods he had used to constrain the highland Scots to conform more closely to the

"civilized" ways of the lowlanders would be useful in England's approach to the "wild" Irish.

Even at the time, many connections were made between the Celtic peoples of the British Isles

and the indigenous peoples of America. British imperialism in Ireland demonstrated similar

techniques of domination, colonization, and racialization that the British used in their American

colonies.

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[240] Regarding scholarship on Ireland as a model for colonial British America, Pennington and Pennington claim that William Christie MacLeod, *American Indian Frontier* (1928), "was one of the first to argue that the English experience in Ireland helped to determine their attitude toward the natives of Virginia" (Pennington and Pennington, "A Secondary Purchas Bibliography," 659). See also, K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair, eds., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979).

Additionally, one aspect of seventeenth-century theology that lent great immediacy to the idea of "Christian" exceptionalism was the apocalyptic ethos of the age. In the words of Loren Pennington, Purchas, for example, believed that humanity "was now nearing the Last Judgement, and it was God's purpose that the final scenes of the Redemption be carried out in the newly-discovered areas of the world through His gift to Christians of trade and navigation, along with the great communicative art of printing."[241] Thus, imperialism, which carried the promise of the conversion of the newly discovered, "last" heathens, was God's will, and it was the responsibility of Protestant Christian Englishmen to do God's will.

British exceptionalism was a powerful part of British imperial ideology, but exceptionalism was not inherently imperialistic. Furthermore, not all British in the early seventeenth century were advocates of overseas colonization. Bishop Joseph Hall, for instance, was critical of the seductive nature of imperialism in appealing to human greed and thirst for glory and adventure. His "Byting Satyres," part of his first published, individually authored work, *Virgidemiarum*, from 1598, includes a poem entitled "Quid placet ergo?" translated literally, "What pleases therefore?" or, loosely, "What satisfies?" In it, Hall criticizes the greed of Englishmen in seeking riches through military or commercial imperialism. Hall first lampoons the farmer who is tempted by the soldier rich with spoil ("the sturdie Plough-man doth the soldier see ... Whom Indian pillage hath made fortunate") to sell his farm and go off to war in search of fortune but regrets his choice when he finds out how brutal war is. Next, Hall parodies the young man who is tempted by the travel writers of the day ("Of his adventures throught the Indian deepe, / Of all their massy heapes of golden mines") to sell his land and go to sea in search of fortune but regrets his choice when he finds out how unpleasant travelling is. He concludes that "an

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[241] Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus*": 12. For example, Purchas hoped, "that ... all Nations ... may be clothed with the white robes of the Lambe" (*Pilgrimes* [1905], 1:173).

Academicke life" is best in satisfaction with learning and contentment with what one has.[242] Hall

was not always direct in his criticism of imperialism, as several of his most important satirical

works were published anonymously, yet he was remarkably consistent in his values throughout

his writing career.[243]

For example, Hall used the biblical narrative of Solomon and Ophir in a completely

different way from Purchas and most other early modern European exegetes. Hall's 1605

Mundus Alter et Idem opposes English imperialism by lampooning the early modern Spanish use

of Ophir to sanctify economic exploitation. In this satirical, dystopian, world-upside down, Hall

implies that European expansion to new lands only concentrates the worst traits of Europeans in

new places, perhaps to be deduced from the example of the Spanish conquistadors. Expressing a

common English desire to be like the conquistadors, Hall's literary siren Beroaldus says, "Why

shouldn't we win the same success and the same glory?"[244] As part of a Puritan-type effort to

curb English vices and discourage Roman Catholic proclivities, Hall also explicitly attacks

private, recreational travel abroad for Englishmen. Although allowing leeway for official, state

imperialism in the form of military, diplomatic, and commercial ventures, the implicit,

contextual impression derived from Hall's writings is an overall sense of opposition to foreign

involvement. Hall's work is focused on reforming English society and individuals to be more

godly Protestants, and, the above qualifications notwithstanding, he states very clearly that the

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[242] [Joseph Hall], *Virgidemiarum: The Three Last Bookes. Of Byting Satyres* (London: Richard Bradocke for Robert Dexter at the signe of the Brasen Serpent in Paules Church yarde, 1598 [STC 127185]), 46-48, EEBO.

[243] Satires were popular in late Elizabethan England, but there was a 1599 edict against them; Hall's earliest work of satire, *Virgidemiae*, barely escaped the pyre.

[244] Joseph Hall, *Another World and Yet the Same: Bishop Joseph Hall's* Mundus Alter et Idem, trans. and ed. John Millar Wands (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 14-16. See Wands's commentary section for references to other Ophirian texts in the Renaissance (ibid., 132-33). Wands thinks that Beroaldus's comment is "probably a slap at Sir Walter Raleigh, who is satirized in Hall's work as Topia-Warrallador, and whose last name is glossed (125, l. 13) as 'Spanish for "discoverer"'" (ibid., 132; see also p. 200).

English have no business going abroad for any reason, at least until they clean up their own hearts, minds, and society domestically. Perhaps, indebted as he was to the favor of royalty, nobility, and church hierarchy, Hall thought he could not afford to write in direct opposition to the growing tide of imperialism flowing out from Britain's shores, and hence he employed satire and focused on morals. Though Hall remained convinced of the importance of a more domestic focus in reforming one's society at home before setting out to change the world, he nevertheless was still affected by the rise of imperialism in early modern Britain, reflected in the augmentation of British exceptionalism.

Anti-imperialism and British exceptionalism come together in Hall's 1617 tract against travel abroad, *Quo Vadis?*[245] In it, Hall professes that his primary purpose in writing this tract is religious: to "save ... English soules from infection" with curiosity to travel, which he thinks is detrimental to spiritual health (A5r). Three aspects of Hall's writing in this work are important for demonstrating his English exceptionalism: 1) the anti-imperial leanings of Hall's discouragement of travel, which is not appropriate for Englishmen, 2) the self-representation of good, white, Protestant Englishness, and 3) the representation of evil, Roman Catholic, foreignness. One example of all three aspects working together in an interesting mixture of racialized rhetoric and biblical interpretation is found in his introductory dedication, where Hall writes that he hopes that "any one of the sons of Iaphet, is hereby perswaded to dwell ever in the tents of Sem" (A5v). Explicitly, this quotation engages my second two points: embracing good Englishness and rejecting evil foreignness. Hall expresses hope that his English brethren, as sons

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[245] Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travell as it is commonly undertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Henry Fetherstone, 1617 [STC 12705a]), EEBO. In-line citations in this section will be taken from this work. "Quo Vadis?" was also the name of a popular traditional story featuring Peter asking Jesus where he was going, both at the last supper and after the resurrection (Alison C. Fleming, "Quo vadis?" in *Dictionary of the Bible and Western Culture*, ed. Mary Ann Beavis and Michael J. Gilmour [Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012], 429).

of Japheth, should be faithful to God, that is, living in the tents of Shem. Implicitly, the quote addresses my first point about anti-imperial sentiment. Hall is paraphrasing Gen 9:27, the last line of which verse reads, "and let Canaan be his slave" (NRSV). Hall's omission of this final line of the verse leaves much unstated. Perhaps he means to omit it because he disagrees with the sentiment, or perhaps he hopes his readers will "fill in the blank." In Gen 9:18-27, Ham and Canaan are narratively identified (as father/son), and the son Canaan is cursed for the sin of the father, Ham, who "saw the nakedness of his father" (Gen 9:22). While Hall may mean to implicate African slaves as descendants of Ham or any foreign slaves as descendants of Canaan, by not quoting or commenting on the final clause of Gen 9:27 he may be here altogether resisting any biblical justification of slavery. Such opposition would be in line with his general resistance toward imperialism, which relied on slavery and indentured servitude.[246]

Hall's *Quo Vadis?*, published in 1617 after English colonization is underway, could not directly oppose King James's policies in the New World and still escape the censors. Hall, therefore, begins his argument against travel by admitting that travel is permissible in two instances: "Matter of trafique, and Matter of State." Concerning commerce, Hall uses the same argument that Purchas will use in his great work: God gave "commodities" to countries in different proportions, but they are meant for the use of all. God "hath stored no parcell of earth with a purpose of private reservation" (*Quo Vadis?*, 2). Also as Purchas will do, Hall justifies maritime commerce with recourse to Solomon, but Hall's biblical sanctification is much more restrictive. Where Purchas waxes poetic about the aesthetic and scientific importance of

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[246] Genesis 9:24-25 (NRSV) says, "When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, he said, 'Cursed be Canaan; lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers.'" Ham is the apparent referent, but Ham is always listed as the middle son: "Shem, Ham, and Japeth" (Gen 9:18; cf. 5:32; 6:10; 10:1). Canaan is listed as a youngest son of Ham, "The descendants of Ham: Cush, Egypt, Put, and Canaan" (10:6), but is not accused of the sin in 9:20-24. Such gaps, according to poststructural criticism, reveal hidden ideology in texts. In the case of the youngest son, the ideological point of delegitimation seems clearly to be the Canaanites, vis-à-vis Israel. In the case of Hall, the object is much less clear.

importing "apes and peacocks," which according to 1 Kgs 10:22-23 proved that Solomon

"excelled all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom," Hall is piously, perhaps

"puritanically," restrained:

> Salomon would never have sent his navie for Apes and Peacockes, but yet held gold and
> timber for the building of Gods house, and his own, worthy of a whole three yeares
> voyage: The sea and earth are the great Cofers of God; the discoveries of Navigation are
> the keyes, which whosoever hath received, may know that he is freely allowed to unlocke
> these chests of nature, without any neede to picke the wards: Wise Salomons comparison
> is reciprocall. A ship of Merchants that fetches her wares from farre is the good Hus-wife
> of the Common-wealth. (*Quo Vadis?*, 2-3)

Gold and timber, according to Hall's interpretation of First Kings, were religious necessities for

God's house and Solomon's own. But according to 1 Kgs 10:12, only the wood from Ophir was

used for God's house, while the gold was used to decorate Solomon's palace and throne.[247] Hall,

however, includes a stern warning to merchants, seemingly against greed: "Either Indies may be

searched for those treasures, which God hath laid up in them for their far-distant owners; Onely

let our Merchants take heed, least they go so farre, that they leave God behinde them; that whiles

they buy all other things good cheape, they make not an ill match for their soules, least they end

their prosperous adventures in the shipwracke of a good conscience" (3-4).

Secondly, Hall's *Quo Vadis?* offers a self-reflection of British exceptionalism in Protestant

Englishness that is separate from imperialist exceptionalism. Hakluyt and Purchas represent the

glory of England as manifested in English exploration and imperialism. Hall, in contrast,

proclaims the glory of England to be its people, religion, and scholarship. Hall claims that unlike

"early rising, that ... makes a man healthfull, holy, and rich, ... all fals out contrary in an early

travell," that is, travel makes one sick, sinful, and poor (17). Hall also claims that (except for

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[247] On the other hand, 1 Kgs 6:20-22, 28, 30, 32, 35; 7:48-51 discusses the use of great quantities of gold that "overlaid the whole house" (NRSV), and 1 Chr 29:4 says that Solomon gave "three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, for overlaying the walls of the house [of God]."

"Civill Law") "all sciences ... may be both more fitly wooed, and more surely wonne within our foure seas" (24). "The greatest masters [of all professions] have ... beene at least equalled by our home-bred Ilanders," and "I am sure the Universities of our Iland know no matches in all the world" (25). Deploring the English desire to be more like the Continental Europeans, Hall writes, "Whether it be the envie, or the pusillanimitie of us English, wee are still ready to under-value our owne, and admire forrainers" (26). Hall insists that England is the best, thanks to King James, since England is heir to both Roman might and Greek wisdom:

> Blessed be God (who hath made this word as true, as it is great) no nation under heaven so aboundeth with all varietie of learning, as this Iland. From the head of Gods anointed [James] doth this sweet perfume distill to the utmost skirts of this our region. Knowledge did never sit crowned in the throne of majestie, and wanted either respect, or attendance. The double praise which was of old given to two great nations, That Italie could not be put down for armes, nor Greece for learning, is happily met in one Iland. (26-27)

Hall proclaims that the bounty and greatness of England is due to the generosity of God. Hall counsels the English gentry to "bee happy at home: God hath given us a world of our owne, wherein there is nothing wanting to earthly contentment" (87). In fact, he adds, England is as heaven: "Motion is ever accompanied with unquietnesse; and both argues, and causes imperfection, whereas the happy estate of heaven is described by rest" (90). Furthermore, the Eden of England should make the English admire only their own freedom and themselves in all the world: "Hath not the munificence of God made this Iland as it were an abridgement of his whole earth, ... and doe wee make a prison where God meant a Paradise? Enjoy therefore (happy Countrimen) enjoy freely God and your selves; ... and care not to be like any but your selves" (91).

Lastly, the primary danger that Hall sees for Englishmen abroad is in the influence of the southern European countries where Roman Catholicism ("Antichristianisme") is strong. Like other contemporaries who used gender role stereotypes to contrast English men with indigenous

Americans, Hall compares Protestant English who travel in the Roman Catholic European continent with Eve who he says was to blame for seeking contact with evil: "It was at least an inclination to a fall, that Eve tooke boldnesse to hold chat with the Serpent" (97). Hall calls Roman Catholicism and its lands "Sodome," "Iericho," and "Babylon" (12-13). Invoking passages from Proverbs and Song of Songs, both attributed to Solomon, and employing color symbolism discussed below, Hall contrasts Roman Catholicism and "true religion" (the Protestant Church) by saying, "that Curtizan of Rome ... sets out her selfe to sale in the most tempting fashion" (colorful, perfumed, and wantonly dressed), "whereas the poore Spouse of Christ ['true religion'—Protestant Church] can only say of her selfe, 'I am blacke, but comely'" (15-16).

Hall also resists British imperial desires with an epistemological argument. Besides the fact that the imperial-colonial project corrupts values, he contends that England has no need to engage in further exploration and imperialism, since knowledge is shared widely. Therefore, travel is again regarded as generally unnecessary: "This age is so full of light, that there is no one country of the habitable world, whose beames are not crossed and interchanged with other." Finally, since "A good booke is at once the best companion, and guide, and way, and end of our journey" (36), there is no need to even leave home. Ironically, Hall provides evidence that books are not always reliable, when he ridicules "imaginative" travel, much of which was used to racialize non-Europeans as sub- or non-human:

> What hath any eye seene, or imagination devised, which the pen hath not dared to write? Out of our bookes can we tell the stories of the Monocelli, who lying upon their backes, shelter themselves from the sunne with the shadow of their one only foot.[248] We can tell

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[248] Regarding fantastic monsters popular in early modern Europe, Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton write: "Pliny's account of semihuman hybrids in Ethiopia in his *Historie of the World* (c.77 CE; English trans. 1601) is adopted in the fourteenth-century *The Voyages and Travailes of Sir John Mandevile*, strategically relocated in Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana ...* (1596), refuted in George Abbot's *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (1599), and then verified anew in John Pory's introduction to Leo

of those cheape-dieted men, that live about the head of Ganges, without meat, without mouthes, feeding onely upon aire at their nostrils. Or of those headlesse Easterne people, that have their eyes in their breasts (a mis-conceit arising from their fashion of attire, which I have sometimes seene): Or of those Coromandae, of whom Pliny speaks, that cover their whole body with their eares: Or of the persecutors of S.Thomas of Canterbury, whose posteritie (if wee beleeve the confident writings of Degrassalius) are borne with long and hairie tailes, souping after them; which (I imagine) gave occasion to that proverbiall jest, wherewith our mirth uses to upbraid the Kentish: Or of Amazons, or Pygmees, or Satyres, or the Samarcandean Lambe, which growing out of the earth by the navell, grazeth so farre as that naturall tether will reach: Or of the bird Ruc, or ten thousand such miracles, whether of nature, or event. Little neede wee to stirre our feet to learne to tell either loud lies, or large truths. (38-40)

Thus, Joseph Hall's prolific writing, including his use of Solomon and Israel to refer to Britain, is both bold in rejecting the imperialism of his day and a product of the exceptionalist thinking of the age.

Colonization and the Rise of Racial Whiteness in Britain

The early seventeenth century in England was the central period in the historical movement from nascent racial ideas of the late sixteenth century to the well-articulated racial stratification of the mid-late seventeenth century.[249] According to historian Alden Vaughan, by the mid-seventeenth century, "'white' was emerging as a ... label for [Europeans in America] in lieu of 'Christian'

Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600)" (Loomba and Burton, "Introduction," 6). For more detail, see John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

[249] George Fredrickson has discussed what he calls "the segue between the religious intolerance of the Middle Ages and the nascent racism of the Age of Discovery and the Renaissance" (George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002], 12). In this work, Fredrickson tries to connect, while holding separate, white supremacy and antisemitism; however, I attribute both to aspects of the construction of "whiteness." Fredrickson has argued that modern racism did not appear fully until the eighteenth century, even though he recognizes foundations of racism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, especially in Spain. I am arguing that whiteness, including white racism, appeared fully by the mid-late seventeenth century, as Alden Vaughan (see below) and others have contended. See, for example, Ivan Hannaford, who maintained that the idea of race had solidified by the seventeenth century, even though he locates the apogee of racism in the late nineteenth century (Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* [Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996]).

and 'English,'" but he argues that "the *idea* of races—imprecisely defined and inconsistently explained—had arrived ... with the first English settlers."[250]

The roots of the modern concept of "race" lie in European cultural distinctions between "self" and "other."[251] In Elizabethan England of the late sixteenth century, the established categories of difference were primarily either religious, that is Christian, Moor, and Jew, or national and ethnic, such as English, Irish, and Turk.[252] The English described themselves in this period as "Christian" or simply "English."[253] There was, however, considerable movement during the early seventeenth century, at least conceptually, from the nascent racialization of the late sixteenth century, perhaps manifested in Queen Elizabeth's expulsion of Africans from England and King James's demonizing of indigenous Americans, to the well-articulated racial stratification of the mid-late seventeenth century, as evidenced by colonial British slave laws.[254]

Key to this racialization was the evolution of the self-description of "English" or "Christian," meaning more broadly "European," to an explicit self-articulation of "white" as a distinct category of human beings. In spite of the captivating skin color contrast between pale

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[250] Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 16, 173.

[251] See, for example, the discussion of the "white gaze" in Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (1952; New York: Grove Press, 2008), 89-95, 139 n. 25.

[252] Anthony Barthelemy states that in the seventeenth century, "almost anyone who was not Christian, European, or Jewish could have been called a Moor" (Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987], x). For other descriptions of the multiplicity of racial markers in this period, see, for example, Lara Bovilsky, *Barbarous Play: Race on the English Renaissance Stage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 14; Joyce Green MacDonald, "Introduction," in *Race, Ethnicity, and Power in the Renaissance*, ed. Joyce Green MacDonald (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), 13; Brown, "Native Americans and Early Modern Concepts of Race," 82; Alden T. Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 4-5.

[253] See, for example, Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 94.

[254] For Elizabethan views of Africans, see Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, "Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (Jan 1997): 19-44, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2953311; Jordan, *White over Black*.

English and dark Africans, developing racial constructs were not limited to black and white. Significantly, the British had extensive contact with another large group of non-European peoples: Americans. From at least 1629, Virginia censuses identified only two types of inhabitants: "Englishe" (or "Christian") and "Negroes,"[255] but in Barbados a proclamation of 1636 read, "Negroes and Indians that come here to be sold, should serve for Life, unless a Contract was before made to the contrary." Racial whiteness appeared in English literature at least by 1630,[256] and it appeared as a legal category in the colonies in 1652, when "Rhode Island's legislature epitomized the prevailing English bifurcation of humanity when it referred to 'blacke mankind or white'" and Virginia decreed in 1662 that "mulatto children of free white fathers" were not free.[257] Illustrating racialization beyond a black-white binary, George Fox wrote in 1657 that Christ is for all "tawnies ... blacks ... and you that are called whites."[258] "Tawnies," or browns, referred most often in such contexts to Americans.

Driving much of the evolution of the concepts of race in general and whiteness in particular were economic forces. Most notably, the British in these decades expanded settlement in the West Indies, led by their colonization of Barbados in 1627 and the development of sugar production there in the 1640s. By 1650, Barbados was the leading producer of English sugar and became wealthier than all other English colonies combined. These sugar plantations by the mid-

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[255] Indigenous Americans had been excluded from English settlements in Virginia after the uprising of 1622.

[256] Joseph Hall names "our whiteness" when comparing white English to black Africans in his "Upon the Sight of a Blackamoor" (Hall, *Occasional Meditations* [Wynter, *Works*, X:45-187], 138-139). Additionally, Richard Brome's *The English Moore* (1631) uses "white Man" to refer to racial whiteness (Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995], 171, quoting Brome's 4.4.31-2 in Steen ed.).

[257] Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 157, 172, 141.

[258] Quoted in Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (1978; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 110.

seventeenth century became "the greatest British colonial market for [African] slaves," and "by 1660 the African slave trade was the [backbone] of the Caribbean economy."[259] In sum, while race was fluid in Jacobean Britain, a definite hardening of racial boundaries can be identified in the immediately following decades.

Racial whiteness was constructed by imbuing traditional European color symbolism, grounded to some extent in color symbolism found in biblical texts, with the added import of cultural, especially religious, exceptionalism, all within the context of empire. As seen in the previous chapter, Christianity and "civilization" were conflated in the European imagination, and, in seventeenth-century England, color symbolism of lightness and darkness was added to this combination to explain the mystery of skin color differences between the pale imperialists and the darker colonized peoples of the Americas and Africa. Color symbolism became racialized, and biblical exceptionalism, such as election theory, was applied to English cultural exceptionalism, producing the concept of whiteness in the ideology of empire.

Developing constructions of racial whiteness progressed along several simultaneous paths, but with common elements that Ian Smith persuasively argues can be connected to the idea of the English as civilized and non-English, especially non-European, as barbarous. The English eventually connected their cultural exceptionalism to color symbolism. Thus, as Smith argues, the English separated "whiteness ... from savagery and primitivism and reformulat[ed] [it] as the distinct, esteemed ethnic feature of the new national historiography."[260] Smith argues that "whiteness affixed to power ... constituted a national rebranding that accommodated the rise of

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[259] Hilary McD. Beckles, "The 'Hub of Empire': The Caribbean and Britain in the Seventeenth Century," in Canny, *Origins of Empire*, 224-27.

[260] Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 3.

an English colonial and imperial imaginary."[261] Englishness became increasingly well-articulated

and racially defined (culturally, religiously, and somatically) by English imperial experiences in

the newly formed North American colonies, as England competed with Spain and other

European powers, displaced and annihilated indigenous Americans, and enslaved Africans.

Smith concludes that race emerged as an "efficient means of management" for "English national

identity."[262]

English Exceptionalism and the Racial Other

English exceptionalism became an inherent and primary component of English, racial, white

supremacist thinking. Related to exceptionalism is the idea of cultural othering. Cultural othering

is ethnocentric abjection; that is, a rejection of cultural differences of others that do not conform

to cultural norms established by those in power.[263] For example, Edward Said wrote that "the

Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality,

experience."[264] One could say the same for other groups who have been culturally rejected by

European imperialists, especially indigenous Americans and Africans.

A key component of exceptionalism in constructing race is the early modern use of

Aristotle's idea of "natural slavery." Pagden describes Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's *De regno et

regis officio* ("a treatise on good government for Philip II") as an example of such Aristotelian

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[261] Ibid., 6.

[262] Ibid., 86, 151. The expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609 confirmed a developing racial animosity of lighter-skinned, Christian, Europeans toward darker, non-Christian, non-Europeans. George Fredrickson argues that "sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain is critical to the history of Western racism" (Fredrickson, *Racism*, 40). See his discussion of the racial implications of *conversos*, *limpieza de sangre*, and *Moriscos* (ibid., 31-41).

[263] See, for example, Kristeva's work cited above or Emmanuel Levinas, *Entre Nous: On Thinking-of-the-Other*, trans. Michael B. Smith and Barbara Harshav (1991; New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[264] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 1-2.

thought, since de Sepúlveda differentiates between three types of nations: those fit to rule, those who can take care of themselves, and those who "violate the natural law" and are "barbarous and inhuman." Indigenous Americans, Turks, "and most other non-European peoples" fall into the last category. Like the Romans, de Sepúlveda says, the first group had a duty to reform the last.[265]

Evidence of exceptionalism appears in many of the seventeenth-century English texts under discussion in the present study, such as the Hall text presented above. As another example, Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* declares Britain to be so special that it is like a "diamant" on the ring of the world! The light, or power, of James is also said to be "past mere nature."[266] English exceptionalism can be seen in the attitudes of superiority that characterized most interactions of English with the original Americans. Despite current US mythology about the First Thanksgiving, early English interactions with indigenous Americans were ambivalent at best. Most problematically, in the minds of the English it was never a meeting of equals. King James himself in his1604 pamphlet *Counterblaste to Tobacco*,[267] written three years before the founding of the first permanent British colony in North America, had expressed the popular British attitude toward Americans as "barbarous, beastly, ... and slavish" (*Workes*, 214). Sandra Bell has recognized that "the demonization of native American Indians in many New World exploration pamphlets provided James with the material further to assert English civility against New World barbarity." For Bell, James's caution against "reverse colonization, the Americanizing—the 'Indianizing'—of the English through tobacco use" is a good example of

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[265] Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 100. Such ideation would later be described as the "white man's burden."

[266] Jonson, "The Queenes Masques," B3v.

[267] James first published *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* anonymously in 1604 but included it as part of his *Workes* in 1616.

the king's efforts to promote English civility. She writes, "Instead of the English traveling to the New World to civilize the inhabitants there, the New World, in the form of tobacco, was traveling to England to debase English customs, to undermine English self-sufficiency, and, James suggests, to threaten religious faith."[268] Although the culture of the English colonizers was, in their own eyes, far superior to that of colonized non-European peoples, many like James and Hall still expressed concern about the dangers of cultural hybridization.

James, in this pamphlet written to dissuade his English subjects from following the American custom of smoking tobacco, used contemporary, popular English attitudes toward indigenous Americans and racist, imperialist language both to disparage Americans and to highlight English exceptionalism. He aimed to dissociate tobacco from English culture by emphasizing the connections between Americans and tobacco. James portrays Americans as ordinary, uncivilized, un-Christian, unclean, unchaste, effeminate, childish, foolish, less human (possibly less-than-human), fit for slavery, lowest-of-the-low, and smelly garbage. He then associates tobacco with these traits, completing his argument by defining English-ness as antipodal to characteristics of Americans. The English in this exceptionalist ideology are special, refined, Christian, clean, chaste, gentlemanly, wise, fully human, lordly, and supreme. James writes:

> For Tobacco being a common herbe ... was first found out by some of the barbarous Indians, to be a Preservative or Antidote against the Pocks, a filthy disease, wherunto these barbarous people are (as all men know) very much subiect, what through the uncleanely and adust constitution of their bodies, and what through the interperate heate of their Climate: so that as from them was first brought into Christendome,[269] that most detestable disease; so from them likewise was brought this use of Tobacco, as a stinking

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[268] Sandra J. Bell, "'Precious Stinke': James I's *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*," in Fischlin and Fortier, *Royal Subjects*, 327. Bell, an English literature scholar, has documented the introduction and rapid expansion of the tobacco trade in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Tobacco was marketed for medicinal as well as social uses and was imported, smuggled, and home-grown (ibid., 323).

[269] Note how "Christendome" is used to signify Europe.

and unsavourie Antidote, for so corrupted and execrable a maladie, the stinking suffumigation whereof they yet use against that disease, making so one canker or venime to eate out another.

    And now good Countrey-men, let us (I pray you) consider, what honour or policy can moove us to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish Indians, especially in so vile and stinking a custome? (*Workes*, 214)

Accusing Americans of particular susceptibility to venereal disease, "pocks" or syphilis,[270] is James's primary weapon in labeling "Indians" as uncivilized, unchristian, unclean, and unchaste. To this claim of sexual excess, barbarity, and disease, James adds other attributions reflective of his own cultural exceptionalism. Many of these become English cultural stereotypes of others, which, when combined with color symbolism, will presently define and justify white views of racial superiority. Ethnic others are seen, in the words of King James, as "stinking and unsavourie," "corrupted and execrable," "beastly," "wilde, godlesse, and slavish."[271]

English cultural exceptionalism is also highlighted in James's treatise against tobacco when he asserts: "As for curing of the Pockes, it serves for that use but among the pockie Indian slaves. Here in England it is refined, and will not deigne to cure here any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diseases" (*Workes*, 220). James highlights the utter gulf separating English culture from the culture of "the pockie Indian slaves." English culture apparently is even powerful enough to influence the behavior of a *leaf* (tobacco) and is "refined" (the word having both senses then as now), superior ("will not deigne"), clean, and "gentlemanly."[272]

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[270] "Pocks," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/146399. For confirmation of James's intention to refer to a sexually-transmitted disease, consider this quote from later in his tract: "How many [harlots] die of the Pockes in the flower of their youth" (*Workes*, 218-19).

[271] Remarkably, such white racial views of others persist even today in the US context, perhaps most pointedly directed at Muslim, Arab "terrorists" but also at Latino/as and African Americans.

[272] James's use of disease as a central metaphor connecting tobacco and indigenous Americans is doubly ironic. First, the then-unforeseen disease of cancer was to be the greatest threat to human health from tobacco. Second, despite the allegation of James that American Indians were to blame for bringing the disease of syphilis to Europe (the subject of ongoing debate, the European origin of syphilis is often attributed to the crew of Columbus, since the disease was first recorded in late fifteenth-century Italy and brought to France by French soldiers returning from Italy [see, for example, Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of*

In further defining English cultural exceptionalism, James appeals to English popular prejudice against the Roman Catholic French and Spanish, setting English-ness a rung above even these other Christian Europeans. He says (continuing from the block quotation above), "We ... disdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour France (having the stile of the first Christian Kingdome) and ... cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards (their King being now comparable in largenesse of Dominions, to the great Emperour of Turkie)." Ironically, James was in fact fiercely imitating these other great emperors of Europe both in building his own empire of Britain and in trying so hard, for the entirety of his English reign, to arrange French and/or Spanish marriage alliances for his sons. James adds support to his construction of English-ness by emphasizing the superiority of English civility, wealth, peaceful nature, fame, invincibility, fortune, helpfulness, and independence: "Wee ... have bene so long civill and wealthy in Peace, famous and invincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we ... have bene ever able to aide any of our neighbours (but never deafed any of their eares with any of our supplications for assistance)" (*Workes*, 214-15).

Discovery (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 177; or Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), 123]), the effect of *European* diseases upon the Americans was to have a much more devastating impact. As James writes in this pamplet, "With the report of a great discovery for a Conquest, some two or three Savage men, were brought in, together with this Savage custome. But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custome is yet alive, yea in fresh vigor" (*Workes*, 215). The king sounds more concerned about the persistence of tobacco use than about the death of the Americans. Pocahontas would pay for her visit to England with her life, dying of disease, and millions more Americans would die of European diseases introduced by European traders, invaders, and settlers (for a discussion of the waves of epidemics caused in the Americas by the invading Europeans, see Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, 35-63). In fact genocidal germ warfare was occasionally intentionally waged by Europeans in the Americas against indigenous populations (see, for example, Alex Alvarez, *Native America and the Question of Genocide* [Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014], 88-92; or Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* [San Francisco: City Lights, 2004], 34). Regarding syphilis specifically, the US government carried out two sets of experiments in the mid-twentieth century: one at Tuskegee from 1932-1972, studying the effects of untreated syphilis (see, for example, Susan M. Reverby, *Examining Tuskegee: The Infamous Syphilis Study and its Legacy* [Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009], ProQuest ebrary ebook) and one in the 1940s in Guatemala, where subjects were intentionally infected in order to study penicillin treatments (Rob Stein, "U.S. Apologizes for Newly Revealed Syphilis Experiments Done in Guatemala," *Washington Post*, October 1, 2010, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/01/AR2010100104457.html).

King James participates further in the cultural othering of exceptionalism by combining his rhetoric contrasting cultural English-ness with that of other, non-English, Europeans and that of indigenous Americans: "Shall wee, I say, without blushing abase ourselves so farre, as to imitate these beastly Indians, slaves to the Spaniards, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Covenant of God? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toyes, to gold and precious stones, as they doe? yea why doe we not denie God and adore the divel, as they doe?" (*Workes*, 215). Cultural others are beasts, slaves, "refuse to the world," and "aliens from ... God," with primitive lifestyles, childish preferences, fiscal irresponsibility, and tendency toward devil worship. Every single one of these claims of cultural difference, used here in the context of imperialism, becomes part of the ideology of racial othering and white racial superiority—as exceptionalism combines with common European color symbolism.

The voice of James was not the only proponent of English uniqueness and superiority. Purchas was another important articulator of English exceptionalism and cultural othering. Even though Purchas begins his tract by claiming with Acts 17:27 that God "hath made of one bloud all Nations of Men," he ultimately denies the true humanity of the indigenous peoples, disparaging native Virginians by calling them "wilde and Savage ... Barbarians, Borderers, and Out-lawes of Humanity" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1811). Further negating indigenous American humanity using narrowly defined white male honor, Purchas accuses "Indians in Virginia" of what in reality were white English crimes, but which, projected onto the racialized other with claims of self-innocence, soon became common racial stereotypes: sexual violence, inhumane brutality, and association with the Devil. Purchas writes: "Virginia was violently ravished by her owne ruder Natives, yea her Virgin cheekes dyed with the bloud of three Colonies (... this last

butchery intended to all, extended to so many hundreths, with so immaine,[273] inhumane, devillish treachery)" (IV.ix.1813). The brutality and treachery of the English, as the true perpetrators of the violence against the peoples and lands of North America, passes unmentioned. Purchas continues in this vein by claiming that Native Americans, contrasted with "so good a Countrey," are "so bad people, having little of Humanitie but shape."

English exceptionalism is not only constructed in terms of English civility compared with the barbarity of a range of others. It is also often gendered in terms of male normativity and male dominance, so that masculinity, properly circumscribed, was a defining aspect of normative Englishness. Purchas, for example, accuses indigenous Americans of deviation, in both directions, from normative masculinity, using early modern stereotypes both of wild men, as excessively masculine, and of women in general, as deficiently masculine. Purchas writes of Americans: "[They are] ignorant of Civilitie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish then the beasts they hunt, more wild and unmanly then that unmanned wild Country which they range rather then inhabite; captivated also to Satans tyranny in foolish pieties, mad impieties, wicked idlenesse, busie and bloudy wickednesse" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1814). Ignorant, devilish, foolish, excessively pious, mad, wicked, and idle were all stereotypes of women in early modern England.[274] In addition, James emphasizes the masculinity of proper Englishmen by attributing femininity to both tobacco and indigenous Americans: "And this very custome of taking Tobacco ... is even at this day accounted so effeminiate among the Indians themselves, as in the market they will offer no price for a slave to be sold, whom they find to be a great Tobacco taker" (*Workes*, 221).

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[273] "Immane," "inhumanly cruel or savage; brutal," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/91795.

[274] See, for example, Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (London: 1792), chs. 2-3.

English Exceptionalism and Biblical Exceptionalism

The principle of exceptionalism is closely related to, and can draw support from, the biblical idea of Israel as God's Chosen People.[275] English cultural exceptionalism assumes the superiority of European civilization in general and Protestant Christianity in particular. In Protestant interpretation, exceptionalism is often framed in Calvinist language of election theology: God's Elect who are chosen for salvation (for example, Isa 42:1; 45:4; 65:9, 22; Matt 24:31; Mark 13:27; Col 3:12; Titus 1:1; 1 Pet 2:6 [KJV]).[276] This section argues that a construction of biblical exceptionalism, Israel as unique and chosen by God, was used to sanctify English exceptionalism by interpreting the English (or British) as unique inheritors of God's promise to biblical Israel.

As mentioned above, properly defined religion, from a Protestant worldview, was a primary ingredient of English cultural exceptionalism. In his pamphlet on tobacco, James used rhetorical humor in defining proper Christianity as loyal Anglican Protestantism, neither Roman Catholic nor Puritan in its leanings: "O omnipotent power of Tobacco! And if it could by the smoake thereof chase out devils, as the smoake of Tobias fish did (which I am sure could smell no stronglier) it would serve for a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out devils withall" (*Workes*, 220).[277] Furthermore, the British,

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[275] For example, discussing early Massachusetts colonial governor John Winthrop (1630), historian Mark Noll writes: "in Winthrop's view, the covenant for the Puritans was analogous to God's covenant with ancient Israel" (Mark A. Noll, "'Wee Shall Be as a Citty upon a Hill': John Winthrop's Non-American Exceptionalism," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 10, no. 2 [Summer 2012]: 8).

[276] David Carr and Colleen Conway write: "Belief in the triumph of the people that God chooses [in the Hebrew Bible] is an early form of what is often termed 'election theology'—that is, the idea that God has chosen a particular people to care for and defend. ... [In this tradition] God chooses not a place, nor a territorial nation, but a people, and protects them against seemingly impossible odds" (David M. Carr and Colleen M. Conway, *An Introduction to the Bible: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts* [Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010], 49-50).

[277] This reference to the book of Tobit is interesting because, elsewhere in his writings included in his *Workes*, James insists "And as to the Apocryphe bookes, I omit them, because I am no Papist" (*Workes*, 151)!

including Purchas who met privately with Uttamatomakkin, a Powhatan priest and relative of Pocahontas, could not understand why the Americans did not enthusiastically flock to convert to what the English saw as the obvious superiority of English religion and English culture.

English cultural exceptionalism, however, involved much more than simply connecting Englishness to Anglicanism. English exceptionalism gained its greatest potency by yoking itself to religious exceptionalism found in the Bible—by portraying England as uniquely inheritors of God's covenant with Israel. James, as we have repeatedly seen, identified himself with the chosen Davidic-Solomonic monarchy and his kingdom with God's chosen people. In his writing on Revelation, James uses exceptionalist language in his paraphrase of Rev 5:9. Whereas the Bishops' Bible reads, "And they song [*sic*] a newe song, saying: Thou art worthy to take the booke and to open the seales therof: for thou wast kylled, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, [*] out of al kinrede, and tongue, and people, and nation," James adds [at the *] the phrase "and hast chosen us" to his version of this verse, reading "Thou ... hast chosen us out of all Tribes, tongues, people and nations" (*Workes*, 17).[278] James's addition to the biblical text makes Englishness identity equivalent to those that genuinely belong to God.

Purchas likewise expresses belief in English cultural exceptionalism as a manifestation of the unique English role as God's Chosen People. In his 1613 *Pilgrimage*, Purchas writes that James and Britain are specially chosen of God, "this Israel of Great Britaine" (*Pilgrimage* [1613], 5r). Purchas emphasizes English cultural exceptionalism and relates it to the Bible: interpreting the British as God's true Israel, commanded by God to subdue and possess the land and people of Canaan in North America. For example, in "Virginias Verger," Purchas used twin

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[278] This added phrase is not found in the Greek NT, the Latin Vulgate, or any then-contemporary English translation, including the KJV (1611), the Bishops' Bible (1568), the Geneva Bible (1557-60), or Tyndale's NT (1526); thus, it appears to be original to James himself.

arguments of spiritual imperative, relying on biblical interpretations of religious exceptionalism,

and material gain. According to Purchas, England was under a spiritual imperative as inheritor of

God's covenants with Adam, Noah, and Abraham. God commanded people in Genesis to

"replenish the earth" and to have dominion over earth and living things. Christians, closely

identified with the English in this exceptionalist worldview, are to enter and possess the spiritual

realms, "as the Israelites entred upon the houses, Cities and possessions of the cursed

Canaanites" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1809). But, Purchas avers, it is not "lawfull for Christians to

usurpe the goods and lands of Heathens," for "it was [only] by speciall indulgence that Israel

both spoiled the Egyptians and disherited the Canaanites" (IV.ix.1810). Purchas argues that the

English right to settle in North America is given biblical precedent by the "holy Patriarks,"

Abraham and Jacob, who moved to "parts of the world [that] were not yet replenished."

Referring to Hebrews 11, Purchas asserts that just as "the Holy Patriarks had promise of

Canaan," so "Virginia [is] by so many rights naturalized English, ... [since] disloyall treason hath

now confiscated whatsoever remainders of right the unnaturall Naturalls had, and made both

them and their Countrey wholly English" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1813). Thus, the English, as an

exceptional people, appropriate God's "speciall indulgence" to Israel to disinherit the

Canaanites: "Canaan, Abrahams promise, Israels inheritance, type of heaven, and joy of the earth

... [is] like ... to this of Virginia" (IV.ix.1814).[279] Purchas portrayed the British American

colonies as God's Chosen People Israel when he expressed his hope that the "two Colonies of

[279] Other contemporary British interpretations of indigenous Americans as Canaanites include Robert Gray's sermon, *Good Speed to Virginia* (1609), which called Americans heathen savages and claimed that "warre is lawfull which is undertaken ... for peace and unities sake," according to the biblical "direction of Joshua, to destroy wilfull and convicted Idolaters, rather then to let them live" (cited in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 108-9). Also, William Symonds's sermon, *Virginia Britannia: A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel, in the Presence of Many, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia, 25.April.1609* (1609) on Gen 12:1-3 advised the Virginia Company to journey to the Promised Land and treat the inhabitants like Canaanites (cited in Elliott, *Britain and Spain in America*, 11-13).

Virginia and New England (with all their Neighbors) God make as Rachel and Leah, which two

did build the house of Israel, that they may multiply into thousands, and there inlarge the Israel

of God" (IV.x.1973).[280]

Purchas also compared God's guidance of Israel to Canaan with God's guidance of English

reason and arguments in colonizing North America, invoking "God the Father, Sonne and holy

Ghost, which goe before us in these things, if not in miraculous fire and cloudy pillars, (as when

Israel went to Canaan) yet in the light of reason, and right consequence of arguments"

(IV.ix.1826). For Purchas, English cultural exceptionalism, interpreted as biblical

exceptionalism, sanctified imperialism as fulfillment of God's providential will. He writes,

"Although I am no Secretary of Gods Counsell for the Indies, yet event hath revealed thus much

of his will, that no other Christian Nation hath yet gotten and maintained possession in those

parts [Virginia and Bermuda], but the English: to whom therefore wee may gather their decreed

serviceablenesse" (IV.ix.1824).

In this cultural context, even seemingly innocuous, traditional biblical interpretation often

incorporated exceptionalism. Sometimes, however, English exceptionalism mapped onto biblical

exceptionalism was not so innocent.[281] In Purchas's reading of the Solomonic narrative, Britain

is Israel; King James is "Israels Salomon"; and other peoples, especially non-European peoples,

are non-Israelites (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.14). In using such typology, Purchas takes what the Bible

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[280] The imperial-colonial relationship was often construed in gendered terms, as colonies were represented as feminine and dominating empires as masculine (see, for example, Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002], 30). Just as women were often valued under patriarchy primarily for childbearing, so were colonies valued primarily for what they could produce to enrich the imperial center. For another reference in Purchas to "Rachel and Leah," see also Purchas's Will, in the preface to the 1905 ed. of *Pilgrimes*: "The Lord make our gratious Queene [that of Charles I] now cominge unto his house like Rachell & like Lea, which two did build the house of Israell, that through them Greate Brittaine may bee famous and Ireland may reioice, and their posteritie may swaye these scepters till the endes of time" (*Pilgrimes* [1905], 1:xxxi).

[281] For example, Sugirtharajah points out that, during Oliver Cromwell's 1649 campaign in Ireland, England saw itself as the modern Israel with Cromwell as the biblical Joshua fighting against the Irish Canaanites (Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Criticism*, 32).

portrays as the superior religious wisdom of the Israelites, when compared with their neighbors, in worshiping the one true God, and he applies this relationship to the British as contrasted with other peoples of the world, especially non-European peoples. For example, Purchas claims that God who "brought the Northerne people being then Pagans, into the Roman Empire, to make them Lords of it and Subjects to him, can of Merchants allured with Gold, make, or at least send with them, Preachers of his Sonne. And if the Devill hath sent the Moores with damnable Mahumetisme in their merchandizing quite thorow the East, ... Shall not God be good to Israel, and gracious to the ends of the earth, so long since given in inheritance to his Sonne?" (I.i.6). This reference to "Northerne" claims the inheritance both of the Roman Empire and of Israel for the British as northern Europeans who, as English Protestants, are interpreted as uniquely religiously faithful to God's covenant with Israel. When commenting on Solomon's international commerce described in 1 Kings 9-10, Purchas also contends that "these Ophyrians wee write of ... possessed much Gold, but Salomon alone knew how to bestow it on the Temple, which sanctifieth the Gold" (I.i.10). That is to say, gold is found in many non-European lands, in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, but only the Europeans know best how to use it. In ridiculing a contrary argument, Purchas says that one might as well say "that the naked artlesse Indians in Hispaniola were better Gold-smiths then the Europeans, because they had more Gold" (I.i.27). Purchas thus suggests the superior cultural, including religious, knowledge of the British imperialists over the allegedly ignorant, primitive, indigenous people of remote regions like Ophir.

Purchas's exegesis of 1 Kings 9:20-22, which he relates to 9:27, underscores further the way that English exceptionalism, understood in terms of Britain as Israel, contributed to nascent racialization. Purchas, who connects the account of Solomon's forced labor to his international

maritime commerce in v. 27, concludes, "Salomons servants sent to Ophir were not Israelites." That such a division seemed important to emphasize for Purchas and his readers highlights contemporary internal British social divisions, displayed in English condescension toward Scots, colonization of the Irish, and eventual enslavement of Americans and Africans. Purchas paraphrases, "And for the servants of Salomon, they were the posteritie of the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not the children of Israel. ... Upon those did Salomon levie a tribute of bond service until this day. But of the children of Israel did Salomon make no bondmen." Most of the previous quotation is directly from 1 Kgs 9:20-22 (KJV), but Purchas in the next lines of his exposition uses 2 Chr 2:17-18 to argue that since Solomon used foreigners for hard work at home, these alien "bondmen" are "likely" to be equated with "the servants of Solomon" who went to Ophir (v. 27). For Purchas, "the children of Israel" were certainly not "bondmen." This distinction is not at all apparent from the KJV, and the Hebrew text uses עבד for both "bondmen" (referring to non-Israelites) and "his servants" (referring to Israelites). Purchas's text proceeds to quote 2 Chron 2:17-18 (KJV) here (but only cites 2 Chron 2:17), while noting in the margin "I Reg. 5:14," presumably meant to refer to a parallel passage in 1 Kgs 5:15-16. "If Solomon ... would not employ the Israelites in the neerer quarries and Forrests," Purchas reasons, "neither would he send them to remoter Mines, a more dangerous and difficult worke." He continues, "*Officers* to Ophir and *men of command* he might have out of Israel" but hard laborers were non-Israelites; Purchas equates these "servants of Solomon" with those mentioned in Ezra 2:55 and Neh 7:60 (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.42, italics mine). Thus, Purchas further hardens ethnic distinctions being made already by 1 Kings by reading early modern British social standards of racial and ethnic divisions of labor into his biblical typology.

The writing of Purchas did not separate biblical history from present reality, which allowed early modern British reality to explain the Bible. Similar to Purchas's statements above, this almost identical, yet direct, reference to racialized labor by one of Purchas's contemporaries and business associates in the Virginia Company is illuminating: indigenous Americans should be "compelled to servitude and drudgery, and supply the roome of men that labour, whereby even the meanest [Englishmen] of the Plantation may imploy themselves more entirely in their Arts and Occupations, which are more generous, whilest Savages performe their inferior workes of digging in mynes and the like, of whom also some may be sent for the service of the Sommer Ilands [Bermuda]."[282] This type of reasoning involves the conflation of "Israel" with English and the conflation of non-Israelites with non-English peoples. Considering that Africans and indigenous Americans were conscripted and enslaved for hard labor, as the English and other Europeans served as "officers and men of command," the Bible is thus used to rationalize and justify English exceptionalism and supremacy.

Such a concept of English exceptionalism sanctified by biblical exceptionalism of Britain as Israel is a primary assumption underlying racialization by the English, and it is a central component of the construct that comes to be named as whiteness in the next generation. God's Chosen People Israel are, for James, Purchas, Hall and their contemporaries, British, Protestant Christians, who came to be more and more defined as white. Let us turn now to consider the implications of this addition of color symbolism to English exceptionalism.

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[282] Edward Waterhouse, "A Declaration of the State of the Colony ..." [1622], in *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: 1906-35), 3:558-9; quoted in Allen, *Invention of the White Race*, 30.

The Combination of Color Symbolism with Exceptionalism
in the Construction of Whiteness

In the context of burgeoning imperialism in early modern Britain, traditional European color symbolism took on added import as it was applied to human skin color and combined with cultural exceptionalism to racialize both the English and Europeans as well as non-European others. Traditional European tropes of white as goodness and light, for example, when applied to skin color took on ethnic overtones laden with cultural value judgments. Christian, English society viewed itself increasingly racialized as white and viewed others racialized as nonwhite. As with many cultural developments, this process evolved less in linear fashion than in parallel. In this section, I establish my understanding of European cultural heritage of color symbolism, suggest how it became attached to skin color, and argue that the combination of skin color symbolism and English cultural exceptionalism constructed racial whiteness in early modern Britain.

Color symbolism of the type that was prevalent in late medieval and early modern European culture, where white was associated with good and black with evil, can be traced at least back to classical Greece.[283] David Goldenberg finds, for instance, that in Greek and Roman cultures light or white was often associated with life, goodness, and purity, while dark or black was associated with death, evil, and impurity. He cites many references in ancient literature to demons and the underworld as black. Additionally, Hellenistic and Roman military campaigns against Persian and North African empires brought relatively lighter skinned Greeks and Romans into direct conflict with African and Asiatic peoples, and so it is hardly surprising that in referencing skin color, Greeks and Romans expressed dislike for skin colors of others that were

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[283] See, for example, Gay L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

either too dark (or too pale) in relation to their own self-perceptions. While Greeks and Romans sometimes also disparaged the pale skin tones of northern Europeans as "weak," according to Goldenberg, the significance of dark skin was much greater for the Greeks and Romans, due to the "apparently universal" color symbolism of light and dark, white and black.[284] Light was often associated with life and knowledge, whereas dark was associated with blindness and death.

Besides this classical heritage, biblical heritage also shaped early modern European color symbolism and its application to people's skin. Particularly important were metaphors of light and darkness in the Hebrew Bible, which like the classical world linked darkness and blackness with evil or death and light and whiteness with purity or festivity. Moreover, Goldenberg argues that links between "dark-skinned people" and evil in biblical interpretation can be traced back to "Philo, the first-century Hellenistic-Jewish philosopher, [who] allegorizes the blackness of the Ethiopians as evil." Such connections continue in the New Testament with Paul and "in rabbinic and patristic exegesis," especially in the allegories of church fathers like Origen.[285] A decisive turn in the ideological impact of color symbolism, however, happened in the early modern period, when color symbolism was connected not only to skin color but to English and other European exceptionalism in the context of global European imperialization and colonization.

Examples of traditional European color symbolism prevalent in early modern Britain can be seen in the early writings of King James on the Bible where he equates white with purity and holiness and interprets both red and black as evil and demonic. In his 1588 "A Paraphrase upon the Revelation," James interprets John's vision as a schema of human government, the kingdoms

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[284] David Goldenberg, "Racism, Color Symbolism, and Color Prejudice," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 93.

[285] Ibid., 94-96, 99-101.

of Christ, on earth. James emphasizes the color symbolism of white representing innocence or righteousness. For example, regarding "the Sonne of man" of Rev 1:14, James writes that "His head and haire were white as white Wool, or Snow for innocencie" (*Workes*, 8). Interpreting the "white stone" of Rev 2:17, James adds that it is "a Marke of [the Victour's] election and righteousnesse through imputation" (*Workes*, 10).[286] Where the Greek text of Rev 3:4 says simply "in white," James writes that the undefiled are "being made white, to wit, being made innocent by my merit" (*Workes*, 11).[287] About Rev 15:6 where Greek and other English versions, except KJV, read "bright linen," James writes that angels are clothed in "pure and white linnen, for innocencie and puritie" (*Workes*, 48).[288] Similarly, Rev. 19:8 has "fine linen, bright and pure" in the Greek, but James reads "pure and bright linnen" adding "as fine linnen is a pure bright, white, and pretious stuffe ... glorious garment of righteousnes through imputation" (*Workes*, 60). James's use of color symbolism also associates the color white with the gospel ("The spreading of the Evangel, signified by the white horse, in the first seale" [*Workes*, 18]), Christ (James interprets the rider of the white horse in Rev 6:2 as "the comming and incarnation of our Bright and Innocent Saviour" [*Worke*s, 19] and the "great white Throne" of Rev 20:11 as Jesus Christ [*Workes*, 65]), and life. Conversely, James connects the color black with heresy, Satan, and death. James interprets the rider of the black horse in Rev. 6:6 as "Satan," saying that Satan shall "tempt and vexe [God's] Church with a cloud of divers and dangerous heresies, which may be meant by the rider on the blacke horse, for the blackenesse and darkenesse of them, shall obscure

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[286] Imputation here means attribution of the merit of Christ to believers.

[287] In Rev 3:5, James adds "of innocencie by imputation" to the text's "clothed with a white garment." See also his comments on Rev 3:18; 4:4 (*Workes*, 13-14), and contrast his interpretation of color symbolism for God from Rev 4:3 as "greene ... redde ... and the Rainebow" (*Workes*, 13).

[288] The reading of "white" for "bright" and the symbolic explanation here is James's. For further discussion of reading white for bright, and the indication that James is using the Latin Vulgate instead of the Greek to prepare his English translation, see the end of this section below.

the light of the Gospel" (*Workes*, 19). For James, the rider of the pale horse in Rev. 6:8 "is called

Death, ... the riders qualities are composed of heresies and tyrannie, so the colour of pale is

composed chiefly of blacke and red" (*Workes*, 19). Furthermore, he links the color white with

light, heavenly glory, and truth,[289] while black is linked to darkness, separateness from heaven,

and falsehood.[290]

In his 1597 treatise on witchcraft, James also uses color symbolism in referring to forms of

witchcraft, calling them "these blacke Arts" and "this blacke and unlawfull science" (*Workes*, 93,

98, 102).[291] He then correlates the color black with Satan, apes, witches, and slaves when he

decrees "the devill as Gods Ape" and witches "his slaves" (112). Further having equated the

color black with all forms of heresy, James does not neglect to vilify Roman Catholicism,

claiming that magicians conjure spirits by "long prayers, and much muttring and murmuring ...

like a Papist Priest" (103).

In addition to heresy, James uses color symbolism to underscore allegations of real danger

implied by interpretations of blackness and darkness. Invoking the ancient and medieval concept

of the four bodily humors, James states that "the humour of Melancholly in the selfe is blacke,

heavie and terrene" (*Workes*, 109). In ancient medicine, melancholy, or "ill temper, sullenness,

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[289] In Rev 6:11, James interprets the white robes of the martyrs as signifying the ones "rewarded with perpetuall and bright glory in heaven" (*Workes*, 20), whereas in Rev 8:12, some "light was darkened," "to wit, ... the meaning of the Gospel ... falsly interpreted" (*Workes*, 25).

[290] In Rev 9:2, James equates "darkenesse and ignorance" and "the bastard and darke aire of false doctrine" (*Workes*, 26-27). Likewise in 16:13, James assesses that "uncleane spirits and teachers of false and hereticall doctrines and wicked policies ... their kingdome is darkenesse" (*Workes*, 52). As a final example, where Rev 22:5 proclaims that in heaven there will be "no night," James adds "nor darkenesse" (*Workes*, 71).

[291] James wrote "Daemonologie" (1597) arranged in the form of a dialog (Jenny Wormald, "James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation," in Peck, *Mental World*, 49). When he republished "Daemonologie" upon his accession to the English throne in 1603, he added "The Preface to the Reader." In this preface, James calls alleged practitioners of witchcraft "these detestable slaves of the Divel, the Witches or enchaunters," and he insists upon the veracity of witchcraft, saying, "such assaults of Satan are most certainely practised" (*Workes*, 91).

brooding, anger," was thought to result from "an excess of black bile in the body."[292] In Greek, μέλας means "black" and leads to the English word "melanin." Invoking Revelation, James reminds readers about "Satans ... conquest of the white horse" (*Workes*, 121). The negative connotations of the color black are also attributed to tobacco, when James alludes to "the blacke stinking fume thereof" (222).

Besides James's use of color symbolism in assigning value judgements more abstractly, Joseph Hall in his interpretation of Song of Songs provides an example of how traditional European color symbolism could also be applied to skin color, though not precisely as a means to define a person's race. Hall's interpretation is very traditional, in his words, "not often dissenting from all interpreters" (*Paraphrase*, N2v-N3r), and he reads the marriage song as a spiritual allegory.

Hall's deployment of color symbolism is evident at the outset of his paraphrase. First, he reads the blackness of the Bride as discoloration and a mark of experiencing spiritual and physical trouble. Hall quotes the text of the Geneva Bible in his margin: "4. I am blacke O daughters of Ierusalem, but comely: [If I be] as the tents of Kedar, [yet I am] as the curtaines of Salomon" (Song 1:4).[293] In the body of his paraphrase, Hall writes, "Never upbraid mee (O ye forraine congregations) that I seeme in outward appearance discoloured by my infirmities, and duskish with tribulations: for, whatsoever I seeme to you, I am yet inwardly wel-favoured in the eyes of him, whom I seeke to please; and tho I bee to you blacke like the tents of the Arabian

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[292] "Melancholy," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116007.

[293] This versification of the Geneva Bible follows the Vulgate. This verse is Song 1:5 in the Masoretic Text, Septuagint, and other English translations. Bracketed words are those in Hall's biblical quotations that do not appear in the Geneva Bible text; perhaps they are Hall's additions.

shepherds: yet to him and in him, I am glorious and beautiful, like the curtains of Solomon" (*Paraphrase*, 4-5).

Second, Hall reasons that the blackness of the Bride is not her "naturall" color. Similar to Jonson's portrayal of blackness in *Masque of Blackness*, Hall reads her blackness as temporary and not original. Hall quotes, "5. Regard yee me not, because I am blacke: for the sun hath looked upon me; the sons of my mother were angry against me: they made me keeper of the vines: but I kept not mine owne vine" (Song 1:5). Hall then paraphrases, "Looke not therefore disdainefully upon me, because I am blackish, & darke of hew: for, this colour is not so much naturall to me; as caused by that continuall heate of afflictions wherewith I have bene usually scorched" (*Paraphrase*, 5). Whether the biblical text refers to a temporary or permanent darkening of the skin due to exposure to the sun ("I am dark, because the sun has gazed on me," Song 1:6, NRSV),[294] the assumption of whiteness plausibly emanates either from viewing whiteness as normative or as viewing biblical characters as aligned with English exceptionalism.

Finally, Hall interprets the translation of "white" in Song 5:10 as describing the fair skin and facial complexion of the Beloved, and his reading equates whiteness with beauty, purity, health, holiness, godliness, goodness, and grace. Quoting, "My welbeloved is white & ruddy, the standerdbearer of ten thousand," he then paraphrases, "My welbeloved (if you know not) is of perfect beautie; in whose face is an exact mixture of the colours of the purest & healthfullest complexion of holinesse: for, he hath not received the spirit by measure; and in him the god-head dwells boldily; he is infinitely fairer, then all the sonnes of men; & for goodliness of person may beare the standard of comelinesse and grace amongst tenne thousand" (*Paraphrase*, 53-54).

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[294] The ancient Greeks, among others, expressed widely held opinions that black Africans, or "Ethiopians," had dark skin due to being born or living too close to the sun.

The work of biblical translation is partly to blame for this problematic interpretation of the Beloved's (and for most early moderns, Solomon's) skin color. "White and ruddy" is the English translation found in the Geneva Bible and KJV, presumably of the Latin Vulgate, which reads *candidus et rubicundus*. *Candidus* carries meanings of "dazzling white, gleaming (opp. to *niger*, a glistening or lustrous black)," while *rubicundus* means "red or ruddy."[295] An older translation than the Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint reads λευκὸς καὶ πυρρός. The Greek word λευκὸς has a primary meaning of "bright, shining, gleaming" and a secondary meaning of "white (including, for the Greeks, many shades of that color, and always opp. of μέλας [black])," whereas πυρρός means "fiery red."[296] The Masoretic Text reads צח ואדום, where צח means "dazzling, glowing, clear," and אדום means "red."[297] Thus a Hebrew word meaning "dazzling or glowing" has come into English Bibles as "white" by way of a Greek word with a secondary meaning of "white" and a Latin word with a primary meaning of "dazzling white."

As color symbolism began to be applied to human skin color, cultural value judgments, such as those based on English cultural exceptionalism, began to be intertwined with skin color. In addition, skin color symbolism combined with English cultural exceptionalism in the early modern context of global imperialism to create a kind of cultural geography. This cultural geography combined emerging scientific discourse of geography and anthropology to begin constructing modern concepts of race.

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[295] William Smith and John Lockwood, *Chambers Murray Latin-English Dictionary* (London: John Murray, 1976), 93, 650.

[296] Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 593, 900.

[297] Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (1906; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), 850, 10. This phrase can be construed as a hendiadys.

A long-standing European proto-scientific explanation for why some people have dark skin, for example, was that they had been cooked by the sun.[298] In the second century CE, Ptolemy had written,

> The demarcation of national characteristics is established in part ... through [people's] position relative to the ecliptic and the sun. For while the region which we inhabit is in one of the northern quarters, the people who live under the more southern parallels, that is, those from the equator to the summer tropic, since they have the sun over their heads and are burned by it, have black skins and thick, wooly hair, are contracted in form and shrunken in stature, are sanguine of nature, and in habits are for the most part savage because their homes are continually oppressed by the heat; we call them by the general name Ethiopians. (Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*)[299]

Interpreting this logic using English exceptionalism, William Rankins claimed that the English were "by their climate created perfect."[300] Similarly, in *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, James connects culture, color, and geography when he appeals to common European beliefs about dark skin color. Introducing the "barbarous Indians" into his argument, he writes about "the uncleanely and adust constitution of their bodies, and ... the interperate heate of their Climate." The now-obsolete word "adust" refers to "humours of the body when considered to be abnormally concentrated and dark in colour, and associated with a pathological state of hotness and dryness of the body," especially "designating a dark brown colour, as if scorched; (of a person) dark-skinned."[301]

Purchas used similar links between skin color and such cultural geography. In one of his early works, *Pilgrimage* (1613), Purchas discussed at length various skin colors, as compared

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[298] Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), has three chapters (Bk. 6, chs. 10-12) on myths of blackness. Browne's "'Vulgar Errors,' addressed what he considered widespread misconceptions about a variety of subjects. ... Widely cited by medical men and philosophers, Dutch, German, French, and Italian editions appeared through the eighteenth century" (Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, 233).

[299] See also, Jordan, *White over Black*, 18-19, 36.

[300] William Rankins, *The English Ape* (London, 1588 [STC 20698]), 3, EEBO.

[301] "Adust," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/2874.

with "the whiter European," and various contemporary theories about the scientific causes of skin color variation, concluding that all are part of God's variation of *one* human nature with no distinction. He added cultural assumptions to geography when he wrote: "the tawney Moore, black Negro, duskie Libyan, Ash-coloured Indian, olive-coloured American, should with the whiter Europaean become one sheepe-fold."[302]

To further elucidate this combination of cultural geography and skin color, consider the interchangeable contemporary nomenclature: "*Moor*, *Ethiope*, *Negro*, and *African*."[303] In the flexible race terminology of the period, black Africans were often referred to in early modern English texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as "barbarous Moors," but in fact "Moor" in this period had several possible meanings, including North African, Muslim, or black, revealing the conflation of culturally significant differences: geographic, religious, and somatic.[304] Linking skin color to nationality and geographic origin, Purchas names "Aethiopia" and "Guinnee" as the location of "the nearest Blackes" to Europe (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.47).

Once skin color was associated with geography, it was a small step to attribute cultural deficiencies to darker others. English cultural exceptionalism used skin color in just this way, especially in reference to Black Africans and indigenous Americans. Many contemporary texts apply pejorative associations to racialized others through the union of color symbolism and cultural disparagement. A relevant example is *New Atlantis* (1627) by Francis Bacon, who depicts "the Spirit of Fornication" as "a little foule ugly Aethiope" and "the Spirit of Chastity" as a "fair beautifull Cherubine."[305] Joseph Hall, in a passage where he uses the phrase "ugly

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[302] Purchas, *Pilgrimage* (1613), 545-46.

[303] Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 192 n. 31.

[304] "Moor," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/121965.

[305] Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis: A Work Unfinished* (London, 1627 [Wing B307]), 22, EEBO.

Moore," also relates a similar tale about the Devil appearing to young Magdalen de la Croix as a "blackamoor" and asking to marry in exchange for great renown.[306] Purchas, in his 1625 *Pilgrimes*, included John Pory's influential English translation in 1600 of Leo Africanus's *History of Africa* (1526, Arabic; 1550, Italian). Smith relates that Pory's translation "darkened and blackened peoples described in Leo's Italian original as '*Affricani bianchi*' ('white Africans'). Working from Joannes Florianus's 1559 Latin version of Leo's text, Pory accelerated the darkening process begun in Florianus and 'made a significant innovation' in introducing the term 'Moor,' with all its pejorative associations, at points where such a category is absent in the original."[307]

In contrast, whiteness, associated with civilized virtues, became attributed to Europeans in general and the English in particular. A marquee example of this process of weaving color symbolism together with cultural exceptionalism to construct racial whiteness is Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, a drama which was performed at court during the first year of the reign of King James in England.[308] In the words of English literature scholars Lisa Hopkins and Matthew Steggle, the "emergence of the court masque as a cultural form" reflected the importance of royal

[306] Joseph Hall, *The Invisible World* (London, 1651 [Wing H383]), 313, 305, EEBO.

[307] Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 88; quoting Barthelemy, *Black Face Maligned Race*, 12-13.

[308] For more on the construction of race in the *Masque of Blackness*, see Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness*, 128-37; Lynda E. Boose, "'The Getting of a Lawful Race': Racial Discourse in Early Modern England and the Unrepresentable Black Woman," in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (New York: Routledge, 1994), 49-54; Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 111-31; Floyd-Wilson, "Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness*," *English Literary Renaissance* 28 (1998): 183-209; Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 81-86; Martin Butler, "*The Masque of Blackness* and Stuart Court Culture," in *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, ed. Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 152-63; Richmond Barbour, "Britain and the Great Beyond: *The Masque of Blackness* at Whitehall," in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), 129-53; Kristen McDermott, ed., *Masques of Difference: Four Court Masques by Ben Jonson* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2007); and Smith, *Race and Rhetoric*, 45-71.

representation in an age of increased focus on centralized authority in the person of the monarch.

Hopkins and Steggle recognize the long-standing courtly tradition of entertainment in disguise

but add that "in the reign of King James, the masque developed into a multimedia event

combining poetry, music, dance, and elaborate scenes and machinery. Courtiers took parts in the

masque, the plot of which, by convention, would hinge on a miraculous transformation achieved

by the presence of the king."[309]

The *Masque of Blackness* was a historic, first collaboration of the masters of the masque,

writer Ben Jonson and architect Inigo Jones.[310] According to Hopkins and Steggle, Queen Anne

"wished to have an occasion to make herself up as a black woman, as was traditional in

entertainments at the Scottish court." The plot of this masque can be summarized as follows:

> The Queen and her retinue take the roles of African daughters of Niger, who have travelled to Britain because they have heard of the astonishing sun there. To play this role, the Queen and her retinue made themselves up in blackface and wore exotic costume. The astonishing sun, of course, is revealed to be King James, who is present in the audience at the performance of the masque. James's influence, the masque says, is so wonderful that it can even blanch a black woman back to being white, thus explaining the eventual return of the Queen and her ladies to whiteness. (Hopkins and Steggle, *Renaissance Literature*, 40-41)

In the estimation of Hopkins and Steggle, the masque reveals both deference to James and "a

certain independence," "since the Queen and her retinue have dared to dress themselves as

Moors." Similar to the powerful, life-giving depiction of Solomon in 1 Kings 10, the significance

of the imagery in this drama emphasizes the power of James in his representation as the sun,

associating James not only with the enormous life-giving influence of that dominant celestial orb

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[309] Hopkins and Steggle, *Renaissance Literature and Culture*, 40.

[310] Stephen Orgel, "Introduction," in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 6.

but also symbolically with the divine. James, in the masque, can do the impossible, "return" a dark-skinned African to the civilized "norm" of whiteness.[311]

Although there is no direct reference, the plot is quite reminiscent of the biblical story of the Queen of Sheba, who, having heard of Solomon's fame, traveled with her retinue from a southern land and reveled in the glory of this fabled king. One prominent indirect textual reference is the reference in the masque to Song 1:5, discussed below. The Bride of Songs is sometimes interpreted as the Queen of Sheba, since both can be connected with Solomon and with darker skin. James's figural association with Solomon was a common contemporary trope, so this symbolic connection with Sheba is not unthinkable. Moreover, while not necessarily related, and only reported in one dubious source, there is a record of a court entertainment taking place not long after this performance, said to involve a portrayal of the Queen of Sheba bringing an edible feast to the king and his royal guests.[312] If Jonson had the Queen of Sheba in mind in his portrayal of the daughter of Niger, then he added and interpreted the racial element to the Sheba story, perhaps drawing on wider European traditions of an African Queen of Sheba.[313]

The text of Jonson's masque reveals cultural attributions of color symbolism current in early modern Britain, as well as British cultural assumptions about African people. The song that opens the masque proclaims:

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[311] As Kim Hall points out, "The whitewashed Ethiopian is a ubiquitous image in Renaissance literature, appearing often in emblem books and proverbs as a figure of the impossible" (Hall, *Things of Darkness*, 114).

[312] John Harington, "Letter to Secretary Barlow (from Theobalds, July, 1606)," in *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington: Together with The Prayse of Private Life*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), 118-121. Harington was close to Queen Elizabeth, and some of his unflattering accounts of King James's court undoubtedly result from his being out of favor with the new king.

[313] For some European representations of Sheba as African coming to European Solomon, see David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2010), vol. II, pt. 1. Therein, Jean Devisse refers to Nicolas of Verdun's 1181 enameled plaque in Klosterneuburg ambo as the first European artistic representation of the Queen of Sheba with black skin (ibid., 123). I address the Queen of Sheba further in the last section of this chapter.

Sound, sound aloud
The welcome of the orient floud
Into the West;
Fayre Niger, sonne to great Oceanus,
Now honord, thus,
With all his beauteous race:[314]
Who though *but black in face*,
Yet, are they bright,
And full of life, and light.
To prove that Beauty best,
Which not the colour, but the feature
Assures unto the creature.
(*Masque of Blackness*, B1r, italics mine)

The language of "black but beautiful" recalls a tradition of translation of Song 1:5 dating back to

Jerome's fourth-century Latin Vulgate. Both the Hebrew Masoretic Text and the Greek

Septuagint of Song 1:5 read "black I am and beautiful."[315] Jerome established the tradition

followed by most later Christian Bibles in his translation: *Nigra sum sed formosa* "black I am *but*

shapely."[316] Jonson's text verbalizes the white European cultural assumption that, while Niger's

daughters are beautiful, this beauty is *in spite of* the blackness of their faces. For, as Jonson

articulates, blackness in British culture was thought to contrast with brightness, "life and

light."[317] James, recall, used the same color contrasts in his writings on Revelation and

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[314] "Race" seems to be used in the modern sense here, which would make it one of the earliest of such instances where the oldest meaning of "family" began to broaden to "ethnic group" (*OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/157031).

[315] שחורה אני ונאוה; μέλαινά εἰμι καὶ καλή. The Hebrew conjunction may be used contrastively, but its most frequent meaning is "and" (*HALOT*, 1:258, first definition).

[316] In his Lord's Prayer meditation, James writes, "our Puritanes quarrell with all the Ceremonies of our Church, that agree not with their taste, because the Church of Rome doth use them, who (say they) have polluted them, though they were cleane before, abusing these words in the Canticle of Salomon; *nigra sum, sed formosa; whereupon the Brownists conclude, that they can no longer remaine in the bosome of that Church, nor sucke her breasts any longer, that is so polluted with Antichristian superstitions. [margin: *These words of the Canticle were alleadged in this sence in the Lincolnshire Puritans Petition, presented by themselves unto me.]" (*Workes*, 576).

[317] The same sentiment is expressed by Joseph Hall in his "Upon the Sight of a Blackamoor," as discussed below.

witchcraft. While explicit racial connections were not apparent in those works, these connections were being made in the racialization of the subsequent decades.

The importance of the above quotation from the 1604 *Masque* is that it connects the color symbolism of black with human faces of African people ("black in face") at the very beginning of James's English reign. Linking with the face, as Levinas recognized, is a very human way of relating. To describe a person as "black in face," in a context where blackness is symbolically linked to a host of negative qualities and beings, exposes a dehumanization of the "other" and, concomitantly, a rejection of responsibility owed to another human.[318] Another example of this connection can be found in the writing of the sixteenth-century English explorer George Best. In discussing the so-called Curse of Ham, another early modern explanation for dark skin colors besides climate, Best in 1578 described Noah's family as "white" but reasoned that God's curse of Ham resulted in his son Cush being born "blacke and lothsome," resulting in all the "blacke Moores" in Africa.[319] In this logic where skin color indicates degree of humanity, enslavement and genocide of darker peoples become acceptable prospects, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

At times, the language of Jonson's *Masque* professes to counter stereotypes of blackness, even as it invokes them. Addressing the subject of black beauty, water god Niger refers to his

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[318] Levinas, "Is Ontology Fundamental?" 9-11.

[319] George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, For the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya by the Northweast* (London, 1578 [STC 1972]), 30-32, EEBO. Best wrote: "Sem, Cham, or Iaphet, as the onely sonnes of Noe, who all three being *white*, and their wives also, by course of nature, should have begotten and brought forth *white* children. ... [But], as an example for contempte of Almightie God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne shuld be borne, whose name was Chus, who not only it selfe, but all his posteritie after him, should be so *blacke & lothsome*, that it might remaine a spectacle of disbedience to all the World. And of the *blacke & cursed* Chus came al these *blacke Moores* which are in Africa" (ibid., italics mine). Purchas also attributed the blackness of the "Negro" to "the Curse of Noe upon Cham in the Posterities of Chus" (as cited in Braude, "Sons of Noah," 135-7). Regarding Europeans seeing biblical characters as white, Wimbush notes John Bale's *Scriptorium illustrium Brtyannie quam nun & Scotiam vocant* (Basel, 1557) which displays "interest in making the British heirs of Noah" (Wimbush, *White Men's Magic*, 251 n. 16).

daughters as "the first form'd Dames of earth" and relates "that, in their black, the perfectst beauty growes," promulgating a contemporary British misconception that the women's "curled haire" and skin do not age (*Masque of Blackness*, B1v). Niger proceeds to accuse of envy "poore brain-sicke men, stil'd Poets, here with you," who have slandered original black beauty, making his daughters "blacke, with blacke dispaire" (B2r). Thus blackness is argued to be beautiful, countering English cultural definitions of blackness as antithetical to beauty. Yet, in the end, the cultural definition of black as symbolizing despair is reinforced.[320]

The power of English exceptionalism joined with skin color symbolism is further illustrated by the dramatic association of James with whiteness in Jonson's *Masque*. The common trope of the king as the god-like giver of life represented by the image of the sun activates imperial ideology by depicting colonized peoples as needing and longing for the allegedly benevolent power of the imperialists. For example, Jonson's text places Britain preeminently, where the sun "doth never rise, or set" and where the king is "a greater Light, / Who formes all beauty, with his sight" (*Masque of Blackness*, B2v). Corresponding to the solar power of James is the melanin of the African characters.

Skin color symbolism like that employed by Hall, James, and Jonson, when united with English exceptionalist claims like that of James in *Counterblaste* when he put the English above the Roman Catholic French and Spanish, began to form what is known in CRT as the "ladder of whiteness." The metaphor of a ladder suggests the construction of a continuum of relative

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[320] The rhetoric of Jonson's masque also indirectly portrays white English as more noble in being above racial slander, even as it subtly reinforces racial patterns of European dominance. Thus whiteness is again associated with noble virtue in its protests of (white) innocence. These associations recall James's use of the color symbolism of white for "innocencie," that traditional symbolism upon which racialization draws for support.

othering.[321] In the *Masque* for example, Niger tells Oceanus that the women have been seeking a

land "Whose termination (of the Greeke) / Sounds Tania;" and their journey so far paints a

picture of a color spectrum mapped onto nations, races, and faces: "Blacke Mauritania" (North

Africa), "Swarth Lusitania" (Iberia), and "Rich Aquitania" (France) (*Masque of Blackness*,

B2v).[322] Oceanus proclaims to Niger that he and his daughters have finally arrived in White-

Land:

> This Land, that lifts into the temperate Ayre
> His snowy cliffe, is Albion the fayre;
> . . . .
> About his Empire, proud, to see him crown'd
> Above my waves.
> (*Masque of Blackness*, B3r)

Albus is "white" in Latin, and Albion, an ancient Latin name for Britain, invokes whiteness in

reference to the land, ostensibly the white, chalky cliffs near Dover on the English Channel.

Portentiously, the English in the late sixteenth century referred to North America as "New

Albion," presumably using this old name for Britain but literally, "New White-Land"!

The British thus found the remarkable skin color contrast between white English and black

Africans expedient for their project of racialization through relative othering, and biblical

interpretation was used to support this endeavor. One of the most explicit, or at least the most

obvious, uses of skin color symbolism in a religious or biblical interpretive context was by Hall.

In his brief meditation "Upon Sight of a Blackamoor" in his 1630 *Occasional Meditations*, Hall

constructs whiteness by contrasting white English skin with black African skin while referring to

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[321] See, for example, Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *Critical White Studies: Looking behind the Mirror* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997). Relative othering, in this case, projects those farther from the English ideal as less and less desirable or acceptable.

[322] Regarding "Mauretania," Purchas writes that this land "was by the Romans called Mauritania Caesariensis: the name came of the Inhabitants called Mauri, and of the Greeks, Maurasioi: some say of their colour, because it is obscure and darke. They were supposed to come hither first with Hercules out of India. More likely it is that they descended of Phut, the sonne of Cham, Gen. 10.6" (Purchas, *Pilgrimage* [1613], 503).

Song 1:5; 4:10; and Num 12:1. As seen in Hall's interpretation of the Bride of Song from his *Paraphrase*, blackness is understood as evidence of trouble, not a normal condition; the Bride is not *really* black; and the whiteness of the Beloved indicates beauty, purity, health, godliness, goodness, and grace. Blackness is not the normal condition for Hall the Englishman, nor for the biblical characters he is able to imagine.

Hall's brief meditation on seeing a Black African in England is worth quoting here in its entirety, since it illustrates very well the way that English exceptionalism applied to skin color symbolism constructed race in the context of the British Empire and influenced biblical interpretation in early seventeenth-century England. In this passage Hall connects his personal experiences, evidently widespread (Hall was extremely popular), of racial whiteness to his interpretations of the biblical books of Song of Songs and Numbers. He also applies religious values to a focus on "colour" (also "hue" and "complexion"), "beauty," "face," and "skin" (also "hide"):

<div align="center">XXXVIII. Upon the sight of a blackamoor.[323]</div>

Lo, there is a man whose hue shows him to be far from home: his very skin bewrays his climate.[324] It is night in his face, while it is day in ours. What a difference there is in men, both in their fashion and colour, and yet all children of one Father! Neither is there less variety in their insides; their dispositions, judgments, opinions differ as much as their shapes and complexions. That which is beauty to one is deformity to another; we should be looked upon in this man's country with no less wonder and strange coyness than he is here; our whiteness would pass there for an unpleasing indigestion of form.[325] Outward beauty is more in the eye of the beholder than in the face that is seen. In every colour that is fair which pleaseth: the very spouse of Christ can say, *I am black, but comely*.

This is our colour spiritually; yet the eye of our gracious God and Saviour can see that beauty in us wherewith he is delighted. The true Moses marries a blackamoor; Christ, his Church. It is not for us to regard the skin, but the soul. If that be innocent, pure, holy, the blots of an outside cannot set us off from the love of him who hath said, *Behold, thou art*

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[323] Hall, *Occasional Meditations* (Wynter, *Works*, X:45-187), 138-139, italics original.

[324] "Bewray" [trans. v.], "to accuse, expose, make known, betray," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/18495.

[325] "Coyness," "shy reserve or unwillingness," *OED*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/43561.

fair, my sister, my spouse: if that be foul and black, it is not in the power of an angelical brightness of our hide to make us other than a loathsome eyesore to the Almighty.

O God, make my inside lovely to thee: I know that beauty will hold, while weather, casualty, age, disease, may deform the outer man, and mar both colour and feature.

Hall portrays black skin as foreign, from a hot climate, and contrasts "night" as African blackness with "day" as English whiteness, while proclaiming "yet all children of one Father!" Hall reasons that inner "opinions differ as much as their shapes and complexions," and whiteness is as strange in African lands as blackness in England: "our whiteness would pass there for an unpleasing indigestion of form" (as blackness apparently does to the English!), for beauty is "in the eye of the beholder" and whatever color pleases "is fair." He quotes Song 1:5 (KJV), the "very spouse of Christ" is "black, but comely," and proclaims that black is "our colour spiritually," "yet the eye of our gracious God and Saviour" can see beauty in us. Hall refers to Num 12:1, "the true Moses marries a blackamoor; Christ, his Church," so "it is not for us to regard the skin, but the soul." He thus calls on readers to overlook blackness, "the blots of an outside." He quotes Song 4:10, perhaps from memory or his own translation, since the words are not from KJV or Geneva, to equate "fair" with "innocent, pure, holy" in contrast with "blots of an outside" blackness. Hall reasons that a "foul and black" soul cannot be hidden by "the power of an angelical brightness of our hide" (English whiteness). He considers any departure from the healthy (assumed normative for England) whiteness of birth as outer "deformity," to "mar both colour and feature" as "a loathsome eyesore." The stark juxtaposition of the spiritually applied color symbolism with the observation of a dark skinned human being demonstrates the way that these human differences were being used to construct race in the context of biblical interpretation.

By the end of the Jacobean period, traditional European color symbolism became racialized within the British imperial context when color was applied to skin and combined with English

cultural exceptionalism. The English were now white and their colonial subjects were not. This is

clear from the funeral sermon for King James, which Bishop John Williams preached. After

discussing the biblical King Solomon in the first half of the sermon, at the beginning of the

second half, Williams names sixteen points of comparison between Solomon and James (*Great*

Britains Salomon, 37-39), the second of which claims that "Salomon was of complexion white,

and ruddie, Canticles 5. 10. verse. so was King Iames." Here in the interpretation of Williams,

Solomon is proclaimed to be "white," just like King James! Such translations and typological

interpretations will have profound effects as skin color comes to define racial characteristics in

the burgeoning development of racial constructions in the seventeenth century.

From Womb to Tomb: Racial Essentialism in the Context of Empire—White Racism and the "White Man's Burden"

Essentialism, as Angela Harris describes it, is "the notion that a unitary, 'essential' ... experience

can be isolated and described independently of ... other realities of experience."[326] An essentialist

understanding of race sees race, whether understood as a social construct or biological

phenomenon, as a foundational, defining part of human existence. In seventeenth-century

Britain, race emerged as an essential human attribute when English exceptionalism combined

with color symbolism in the framework of imperial power. Whiteness became associated in an

essentialist way with attributes such as virtue, wisdom, glory, godliness, and power. The British

monarch and the emergent British Empire became defined as white and were, via biblical

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[326] For discussions of "essentialism" in CRT, see, for example, Angela P. Harris, "Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory," *Stanford Law Review* 42, no. 3 (1990): 581-616, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1228886; and Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Keeping It Real: On Anti-'Essentialism,'" in *Crossroads, Directions, and a New Critical Race Theory*, ed. Francisco Valdes, Jerome McCristal Culp, and Angela P. Harris (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 71-83. See also my earlier, brief definition, 23 n. 30.

interpretation, associated with biblical Israel and Solomon. This sanctified not only the imperial project but the essentialized "whiteness" which was an integral part of that project.

The English imperialists, at the center of their ideological universe, constructed themselves as those to be most admired, desired, and worshiped for their power and virtue, all symbolized by their bright, white light. They further imagined colonized peoples as longing for the self-assumed perfection of the white English colonizers. One way they reinforced this construct was with this strategy of relative othering of those nearer and farther in terms reflecting imperial-colonial power dynamics: the sun of Britain is contrasted with the moon of Africa. The "lesser light" (Gen 1:16, KJV) of the African moon has nothing but wondrous praise for the imperial British sun. When the moon appears in the *Masque*, Niger proclaims it to be "our silver Starre! ... Great Aethiopia, Goddesse of our shore" (*Masque of Blackness*, B3r). Ethiopia's speech emphasizes James's recent naming of his united kingdom as Britain, announcing that "Britania, which the triple world admires, / This isle hath now recovered for her name" (B3v).[327] The moon goddess Ethiopia herself praises Britain saying:

> For were the world, with all his wealth, a Ring,
> Britania (whose new name makes all tongues sing)
> Might be a Diamant worthy to inchase it,
> Rul'd by a Sunne, that to this height doth grace it:
> Whose Beams shine day, and night, and are of force
> To blanche an Aethiope, and revive a Cor's.
> His light scientiall is, and (past mere nature)
> Can salve the rude defects of every creature.
> (B3v-B4r)

In the context of the genre of court masque, which is meant to praise the monarch, Jonson does so by focusing on the wealth of the world with Britain as its imperial diamond and on the power

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[327] Kristen McDermott suggests that triple world is "heaven, earth, and the underworld of antiquity, or the real 'worlds' of Europe, Africa, and Asia" (McDermott, *Masques of Difference*, 100).

of James, which is described in terms of bright light and whitened skin. The dark or black African skin is described as a "rude defect."

The importance of essentializing racial categories is seen by many scholars as particularly characteristic of British colonialism. According to historian Nicholas Canny, "the most distinctive feature of [what becomes] the ... British Empire within the spectrum of European overseas empires is the prominent place enjoyed by colonies of white settlement within it."[328] Furthermore, in the early-mid seventeenth century, "British" North American traders and colonies were "almost entirely English," since most Scots colonists went to the Ulster plantation.[329] Historian Anthony Pagden reasons that whereas the Spanish created racially, though not socially, integrated societies and the French attempted to assimilate indigenous populations, the English "sought only to exclude the Indians or, where expedient, to annihilate them."[330]

The ultimate consequences of racial essentialism in this imperialist context were white racism and the racialized violence of slavery and genocide.[331] It is often said that racism is prejudice plus power. Frantz Fanon described racism as "a system based on the exploitation of one race by another and the contempt for one branch of humanity by a civilization that considers itself superior."[332] Englishness, seen in the narcissistic mirror as the cultural apex of religion (as biblical Israel) and civilization, and more and more as white, was poised to transform its empire

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[328] Canny, "Introduction," 15.

[329] Ibid., 17.

[330] Pagden, "Struggle for Legitimacy," 37.

[331] Others have traced the origins of white racism and racist violence to the idea of Britain as Israel. See, for example, Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 5.

[332] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 199.

in North America into a highly racially stratified society, based on its alleged superiority and normativity. Thus, from the start of the British colonies in North America, white racism, and its more genteel cousin white paternalism, structured social patterns, including plans for genocide and slavery of indigenous Americans and Africans. All of this, as we have seen, was in large part ideologically sanctioned in complex ways by certain interpretations of the Bible.

Indeed, the genocidal and enslaving consequences of racial essentialism in the context of British imperial endeavors not unsurprisingly find a reflex in key biblical interpreters of the day. An interpreter like Purchas for example, appears well aware of the deathly consequences of it all, and attempts to justify them. Purchas, for instance expressed hope for the time when Virginia would "cover, reward, inrich us with a totall subjection at lest, if not a fatall revenge. And thus much of our right which God hath given us: whose Virginian tribute is his glory" (*Pilgrimes*, IV.ix.1813). Indeed for Purchas, "God almighty, [is] the great Founder of Colonies" and provides for English imperialists the resources of foreign land and people.

Appealing to his contemporary, literate Englishmen using a perspective that has recently been described as the white male "gaze," Purchas writes in graphically gendered, sexualized, and commodified metaphors of domination: "God goeth before us, and hath given Virginia so rich a portion, to allure and assure our loves; ... in endowing Virginia with ... the bodies of Natives servile and serviceable" (IV.ix.1826).[333] America's land and people, in the white English view, were created by God to allure, enrich, and service English*men*.

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[333] For discussion about the "white gaze," see Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 89-95, 128; bell hooks, "Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination," in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992), 340; and Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*, 90. For theorizing about the male gaze, see especially the work of Laura Mulvey, beginning with "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6-18. For discussion about the intersectionality of race and gender, among other issues, see Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins": 1241-99; and, in biblical studies, see Schüssler Fiorenza, "Exploring the Intersections," 1-23.

When the prospect of "serviceable Natives" proved ultimately untenable due to their susceptibility to European diseases and their greater knowledge of local topography used to conceal escape, the English did not hesitate to follow another Spanish example of racialized imperialism: when indigenous slavery waned, the Spanish utilized enslaved Africans. In discussing the advantages of English ports in North America, Purchas mentions, in passing and with limited scruples, that in 1564 and 1567, "Sir John Hawkins having made ... profitable Voyage[s] by sale of Negroes on the coast Townes of America," could have benefitted from a friendly English port to rest and re-provision (IV.ix.1825). In his conclusion, Purchas hopes that his argument with "the willingnesse of a heart truely English, sincerely Christian, may seeme tolerable, if not commendable" (IV.ix.1826). Purchas thus commends violent racialized imperialism as both "sincerely Christian" and "truely English."

A further consequence of racially essentialized exceptionalism in seventeenth-century Britain was the cultural, primarily religious, impulse, derived from classical Greco-Roman literature, to "civilize" the "barbarians." This urge would later be described as the "white man's burden." In early modern Britain, the argument was made that Christian, English people, increasingly represented as white, had a sacred duty to make the best use of God's gifts, resources of land, animals, and minerals, and to educate and convert allegedly inferior, more primitive peoples. A statement from a minister in a later generation sums up well British opinion of indigenous Americans that had been developing since the early seventeenth century. In his 1663 "Epistle Dedicatory" to King Charles II for his translation of the Bible into "Indian Language," John Eliot refers to indigenous Americans as "poor Barbarians," "remote from Knowledge and Civility," "without Law, without Letters, without Riches, or any Means to

procure any such thing," "deep in Darkness, and in the Shadow of Death."[334] This white

European, "colonialist" attitude is what Chinua Achebe has called "big-brother arrogance,"

which views "Europe bring[ing] the blessing of civilization."[335]

Perhaps the quintessential early modern English embodiment of the white man's burden,

drawing on the trope of the Queen of Sheba where the English are understood to be Israelites and

James is Solomon, is to be discerned in the person of Pocahontas. According to James Travers,

"James's interest in Virginia had waned after the initial charter to the Virginia Company in 1606,

as the financial possibilities of the colony appeared limited," but "by 1616 the trade in tobacco

had revived the Crown's interest," despite James's earlier resistance to tobacco as a negative

cultural influence. So, "Thomas Dale came back to London in the spring of 1616, to seek further

financial support for the Virginia Company. To ensure spectacular publicity, he brought with

him about a dozen Algonquin [Powhatan] Indians, including Pocahontas."[336] In 1614 Pocahontas

had been captured, converted, and married to tobacco planter John Rolfe. John and Thomas, their

son, traveled with her in 1616 to England, where King James honored her at court. Despite early

hope for possibilities of friendship, including marriage, between early British colonists and

indigenous Americans, the interactions ultimately did not end well. Portentously, Pocahontas

died of disease in the spring of 1617 on her voyage home.

As a symbol of the power of white male dominance and possession of colonial lands and

peoples, Pocahontas represents the epitome of European male control over indigenous America.

The role of Pocahontas quickly took on mythological proportions, very similar to the way the

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[334] John Eliot, *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old Testament and the New. Translated in the Indian Language* [*Mamusee Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God: Naneeswe Nukkone Testament Kah Wonk Wusku Testament*] (Cambridge: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663 [Wing B2748]), A3r-v, EEBO.

[335] Achebe, "Colonialist Criticism," 69-70.

[336] Travers, *James I*, 74-76.

figure of the Queen of Sheba was used in imperial European representation, a powerful, friendly, foreign female traveling to worship the wise, imperial monarch.

Conclusion

The culmination of English cultural exceptionalism united with skin color symbolism is the construction and essentializing of race. In the context of building the British Empire, the developing concept of racial whiteness employed white supremacist attitudes, based on color symbolism and exceptionalism, to harness the twin oxen of the "white man's burden" and white racism to plow the fertile fields of "Nova Albion." Biblical interpretation sanctified this scheme as it did other imperial-colonial undertakings.

As I argue in the following chapter, changing epistemology allowed the experiences of white, male, English, Protestant Christian elites to be presented as "fact," universalized, and correlated with biblical typology. Whiteness became an essential, but usually unstated, part of biblical interpretation, associated with concepts like godliness, virtue, wisdom, power, and glory. These positive traits associated with whiteness were read into the Bible as a whole and applied specifically to figures like King Solomon, as can be seen in the typological interpretation of King James as a latter-day King Solomon. James even came to be portrayed as "above Solomon," very similar to the way that Solomon himself was a type for Christ. Thus, James was depicted as a Christ-figure and associated with the power of the Sun, as well as the Son. This interpretive process utilized the growing power of the British Empire, nascent racial essentialism, and, as I will now discuss, changing modes of biblical interpretation to scripturalize whiteness.

CHAPTER 5

THE SCRIPTURALIZATION OF WHITENESS:
THE INFLUENCE OF CHANGING EPISTEMOLOGY ON BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

> White Americans have supposed "Europe" and "civilization" to be synonyms—which they are not.
>
> – James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*[337]

Introduction

In addition to the rise of the British Empire and the construction of racial whiteness, the third

factor that enabled the scripturalization of whiteness, was the transformational effect of changing

epistemology on biblical interpretation during a crucial juncture in European philosophical-

religious history in the early seventeenth century. Three forces drove these epistemological

changes: biblical literalism, proto-individualism, and empiricism. Reformation-era Protestantism

focused on biblical literalism, moving away from allegory to more frequent use of typology. In

addition, European culture granted increasing authority to the individual as believer, thinker, and

citizen. Furthermore, emergent scientific discourse, especially the recently formulated idea of

"fact," legally defined as "eye-witness" and impartial, gave rapidly-increasing, epistemological

weight to empirical evidence in establishing "truth." Biblical literalism, individualism, and

empiricism are all fundamentally related phenomena, and all influenced the movement of

biblical interpretation from typology toward historical criticism, which came to fruition during

the Enlightenment. In this chapter, I argue that Protestant biblical literalism was influenced by

emergent European individualism and empiricism to change biblical interpretation by

entrenching contemporary contextual interpretations and even, at times, reversing the direction

of influence in biblical typologies. That is, this process, happening along with racialized

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[337] Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*, 93.

imperialism, allowed white, male, English, Protestant Christian elites to scripturalize whiteness by applying their own contextual experiences, projected and universalized as "fact," to their biblical interpretations using late, pre-critical biblical typology.

Important changes in epistemology in the early modern period profoundly affected biblical interpretation. In medieval Europe, Christianity, as defined by the traditions and hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, was the only widely accepted source of truth. During the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther had successfully challenged the authority of the Church hierarchy by insisting on the primacy of biblical authority. In a wave of change that rippled out from the Protestant Reformation, early modern Europeans followed in the footsteps of Luther by beginning to question other authorities, including monarchs and, eventually, the Bible itself and religion in general.[338] These challenges proliferated as individuals felt empowered to use empirical evidence and human reasoning as individual experience and reasoning became the starting points in understanding the world, including the Bible. As manifested in proto-scientific discourse, the epistemological priority of empirical evidence based on facts, as allegedly objective and universal, began to be cited in arguments as superior to traditional biblical and classical proofs. This process can be seen, for example, in attempts to explain the discoveries of global exploration. These changes permitted the entrenchment of imperialism and racism in European biblical hermeneutics.

Early modern British exegetes authorized racialized, imperialist interpretations, such as James as Solomon, Britain as Israel, non-European lands as Ophir, and non-European peoples as Sheba. Such readings were interpreted into the historical facts and figures of the Bible and

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[338] Oludamini Ogunnaike argues that "the decline of religion in the West was a necessary condition for the rise of modern conceptions of race and racism" (Oludamini Ogunnaike, "From Heathen to Sub-Human: A Genealogy of the Influence of the Decline of Religion on the Rise of Modern Racism," *Open Theology* 2, no. 1 (2016): 785-803, DOI 10.1515/opth-2016-0059).

argued to be authoritatively true, having been made objectively impartial through scientific fact and dominant through power. These "factual" typological interpretations moved from simple correlations to appropriations of biblical and divine sanction of imperial power and its supporting racialized ideology. The increasing importance of empirical evidence and individual interpretation in the establishment of knowledge would continue to drive changes in biblical interpretation from pre-critical biblical typology toward historical criticism in the next century.[339] Racial whiteness, however, became scripturalized in the late pre-critical interpretation of the seventeenth century, when the cultural foundations of colonial British America began to concretize.

The Role of Protestant Biblical Literalism: From Allegory to Typology

To illuminate subtle as well as dramatic changes in biblical interpretation in the early modern period, I begin by distinguishing between allegory and typology; then I connect typology with biblical literalism. Literalism was an important facet of changing epistemology, as it alleged a singular meaning for scripture, and this meaning could be determined apart from exceptional revelation or Church tradition.

Both allegory and typology have a range of manifestations, from literal-historical to more abstract varieties, and appear in the full history of Jewish and Christian scriptural interpretation, including within biblical texts themselves. Basic intra-biblical typology consists of OT types recurring in NT antitypes: Christ as the new Adam, for instance. In addition, Jewish exegetes

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[339] See, for example, Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 6-15; and Arthur McCalla, *The Creationist Debate: The Encounter between the Bible and the Historical Mind* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2006), 28-39. Brueggemann discusses related issues influencing biblical interpretation in the early modern period, and McCalla highlights ways that Renaissance scholarship, European global exploration, and new textual criticism challenged biblical authority by questioning biblical history.

such as Philo of Alexandra used Greek philosophy to give the Hebrew Bible spiritual or allegorical interpretations, such as interpreting the Bible as an account of the journey of the soul. Such Christian exegetes as Origen and Augustine incorporated allegory and typology into foundational post-biblical commentaries. For Augustine and centuries of Christian interpreters after him, both literal and symbolic meanings were important. The literal sense was considered first as the lowest level, and symbolic, allegorical, or spiritual meanings were considered last as higher levels.

The concepts of typology and allegory, though, are frequently confusing and sometimes confused, due to their related and at least partially overlapping natures. I follow the definitions of Erich Auerbach: "Insofar as figural [or typological] interpretation takes one thing for another and insofar as one thing represents and signifies the other, it belongs, broadly speaking, to the allegorical forms of representation. But it is also clearly different from most other forms of allegory that we know because of the concrete historicity of both the sign and the signified."[340] In allegory "at least one of the two elements combined is a pure sign ['abstraction'], but in a figural relation [typology] both the signifying and the signified facts are real and concrete historical events."[341]

Protestant biblical interpretation after the Reformation can be understood as marked by a turn away from allegory as metaphor and toward an intensified use of typology as historical figuration. Hans Frei states that "Calvin's rejection of allegorical and anagogical readings of the biblical texts ['except where the writer's intention or the larger context indicated otherwise']

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[340] Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Time, History, and Literature: Selected Essays of Erich Auerbach*, ed. James I. Porter, trans. Jane O. Newman, 65-113 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 96. Originally published *Archivum Romanicum* 22 (1938): 436-89; first English translation by Ralph Manheim, in Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays* (1959), 11-76.

[341] Erich Auerbach, "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature," in *Time, History, and Literature*, 117. Originally published in English in *Yale French Studies* 9 (1952): 3-10.

was, if anything, even more pronounced than Luther's."[342] Typology thus became the dominant

mode of biblical interpretation from the Protestant Reformation until the rise of historical

criticism.

The work of Hans Frei is useful in understanding early modern changes in biblical

interpretation, connecting the perhaps seemingly contradictory frameworks of biblical literalism

and typology together to define "the one and only real world."[343] A new historical consciousness

arose in the wake of challenges to religious authority, yet pre-critical interpreters were not aware

of what later historical-critical scholars would call a "hermeneutical gap," that is, recognition of

the socio-historical differences between ancient biblical environments and later interpretive

environments. Thus, pre-critical exegetes conflated any historical differences between the world

of the Bible and their contemporary worlds and directly correlated their own circumstances with

events and figures of the Bible. Frei contends, therefore, that "typology was a natural extension

of literal interpretation. It was literalism at the level of the whole biblical story." Frei reasons

that, for the late pre-critical Protestant biblical literalist, "since the world truly rendered by

combining biblical narratives into one was indeed the one and only real world, it must in

principle embrace the experience of any present age and reader. ... He was to see his disposition,

his actions and passions, the shape of his own life as well as that of his era's events as figures of

that storied world."[344] For example, Calvin had an "unquestioned assumption of a natural

coherence between literal and figural reading, and of the need of each for supplementation by the

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[342] Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 25.

[343] Ibid., 3.

[344] Ibid., 1-3.

other."[345] Frei concludes, "Biblical interpretation became ... that of incorporating extra-biblical thought, experience, and reality into the one real world detailed and made accessible by the biblical story."[346] In the view of most Protestant exegetes, the literal and figural (typological) meanings "belong together."[347]

These shifts in biblical interpretation from allegory to typology and biblical literalism happened in the midst of structural cultural shifts between medieval and modern modes. Moving away from Patristic and Medieval mystical allegory, early modern thinkers preferred the literal and endeavored "to discover ... the exact terms in which an ancient writer had expressed himself, the exact meaning he sought to convey."[348] Protestant biblical literalism resulted from this combination of seeking the one original meaning of the biblical text and applying that single meaning directly to the present context.

Biblical literalism was perhaps one of the challenges to premodern epistemology that aided the rise of science in the early modern period. According to Peter Harrison, "The Bible—its contents, the controversies it generated, its varying fortunes as an authority, and most importantly, the new way in which it was read by Protestants—played a central role in the emergence of natural science in the seventeenth century."[349] Biblical literalism was important since "scripture, now read almost exclusively for its literal sense, was thought to contain

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[345] Ibid., 25.

[346] Ibid., 1-3.

[347] Ibid., 34.

[348] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 41-42. Renaissance humanism emphasized study of classical period texts in their original languages, using reason and empiricism to evaluate them.

[349] Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4-5.

historical and scientific information."[350] Harrison contends that the rise of science "was made possible ... by the collapse of the allegorical interpretation of texts. ... The demise of allegory, in turn, was due largely to the efforts of Protestant reformers, who in their search for an unambiguous religious authority, insisted that the book of scripture be interpreted only in its literal, historical sense. ... The *literalist mentality* of the reformers thus gave a *determinate meaning* to the text of scripture."[351] Luther and Calvin "shared a clear preference for the literal or natural sense of scripture, combined with a suspicion of allegory," and "John Donne wrote in his *Essayes in Divinity* (c.1615) that 'the word of God is not the word of God in any other sense than literall.'"[352] Thus, the reformers "insist[ed] that each passage of scripture had but a *single, fixed meaning*."[353] This sense of determinate meaning, expressed through both biblical literalism and typology, was an essential component of the larger changes happening in biblical interpretation.

In a study of English typologies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Paul Korshin identified several forms of typology in use during this period. He described his second category, "correlative typology," as stemming from "Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century ... [who] *modif[ied] the direction* of conventional typology significantly to embrace contemporary and future history, ... intensif[ying] the process, ... [started earlier], of drawing analogies between Old Testament types and contemporary history."[354] Correlative typology "implied parallels between such Old Testament figures as Moses, Joshua, and David, and contemporary monarchs,

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[350] Ibid., 10.

[351] Ibid., 4, italics mine.

[352] Ibid., 108-109.

[353] Ibid., 111, italics mine.

[354] Paul J. Korshin, *Typologies in England, 1650-1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 30-31, italics mine. His first category, "conventional typology," finds the OT fulfilled in the NT.

statesmen, and other worthies, ... regarding their own history as an antitype of Old Testament history or typological events." Korshin referred to correlative typology as "applied typology" when "this kind of Protestant typology ... has political or literary associations as well [as religious]."[355] An example of applied typology would be using a correlation between Solomon and James for political purposes, such as to legitimate imperialism and increase the power and authority of the British monarch. In the context of early modern British biblical interpretation, even apparently straightforward correlations between biblical and contemporary figures in this racialized, imperialist context have political implications and structural consequences.

Illustrating these correlative and applied typologies at work in early modern Britain, Purchas began the first chapter of his greatest work with a paean to Solomon, and, typologically, to Christ, whom he called "a greater than Solomon" (Mt 12:42; Lk 11:31): "Salomon was first in time, and shall be first here; the first in all things which usually are accounted first, Royaltie, Sanctitie, Wisdome, Wealth, Magnificence, Munificence, Politie, Exploits, Renowne: Salomon in all his glory, is proverbiall" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.2). His section four begins application of the typology from the Bible to the author's time: "of the happy combination of wisdome and royaltie in Salomon, as likewise in our dayes" (I.i.10). By the end of his first chapter, Purchas is explicitly equating the English monarchs with Solomon. Queen Elizabeth is included in this typological construction, but King James is pronounced to be a more fitting antitype. Purchas declares:

> It is fit … in Salomons Ophir to end with honorable mention of our Salomon, who
> without any Hirams helpe, sent her [Queen Elizabeth] servants to Ophir and Peru too, and

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[355] Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 31-32. Other categories of typology that Korshin identified as in use in seventeenth-century England include "messianic or millenarian prefiguration"; "abstracted typology," which is "secularizing of prefigurative styles of imagery," including character-types, fables, and myths (this form is the focus of Korshin's study); and "natural typology," which finds types in nature (Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 32-37). These last two would be characterized by Auerbach as allegory, due to their abstraction.

round about the universe to repaire that Temple, and to defend the Faith, which a greater then Salomon had by her in England restored from Babylonish captivitie: which the greatest powers on earth sought in vaine to hinder, she sailing further by her servants, raigning longer in her owne person, more glorious in her last daies, then Salomon, and leaving a peaceable Salomon to succeede her [King James]; yea to *exceede*, with addition of another Kingdome [Scotland]; (not a Rehoboam, to loose the greatest part of the former). Him God defend to defend his faith long amongst us, with Salomons virtue and Ophirian magnificence. Amen. (I.i.48, italics mine)

Since James was represented at times as David and Solomon, Purchas interpreted both David and Solomon as wise and powerful kings, "the one gaining greatnesse at home, the other dispersing those raies beyond their owne Orbe, to remotest Ophir" (I.i.12). Purchas celebrated Elizabeth as being "in peace, plenty, successe, magnificence, and (the pillar of all this) Navigation, another Salomon, and (with greater happinesse then his) leaving her Name without Salomons imputation of falling to Idolatry." Turning to praise James, Purchas shifted his typology of Elizabeth from Solomon to Deborah, thereby clearing the way for James as the best antitype of Solomon. Elizabeth, in her defeat of the superior military force of the Spanish Armada, was viewed as an antitype to Deborah, who defeated the greater army of Sisera. Purchas called James "the successour of this our Debora," and continued saying "the God of peace hath with the Gospell of peace given us a Salomon, truest type of the Prince of peace, whose daies are daies of peace at home, whose treaties propound wayes of peace abroad, whose sun-like raies have shined not by bare discoveries, but by rich negotiations to this our Salomons Ophir" (I.i.13). Purchas concluded that "the Almighty ... hath given us this Salomon ... that wee enjoy under his wings ... this our peace, plenty, learning, justice, religion, the land, the sea voyages to Ophir, the world, new worlds, and ... the communion of Saints, guard of Angels, salvation of Christ, and God himselfe the portion of our Cup" (I.i.14). In the exuberant interpretation of Purchas, James is Solomon, God-given like Christ and the Sun, light-giving, life-giving, enlightening, brightening, powerful, omnipresent, and the source of life on which humans are

dependent. Additionally, the biblical typology is applied to imperialist maritime commerce, which is thus equated with justice, religion, salvation, and God's will.

The Role of Proto-Individualism: "Authorizing" Individual Authority

A second facet of early modern European epistemological changes was the claim by Protestant leaders that the literal meaning of scripture could be determined by an individual believer by means of individual study, apart from Church tradition or mandate. Increasingly this study was possible using Bibles printed in vernacular languages, encouraging the spread of literacy, which further empowered individuals to practice their own authority not only as readers but also as authors. Related to both literal readings of the Bible and the rise of individual authority was the increasing importance of eyewitness evidence, which influenced the development of the idea of "fact." The importance of this type of visual proof further demonstrated the increasing authority of individual validation of historical and, as discussed in the next section, scientific truths.

Combinations of individual authority with biblical literalism and typology encouraged white, English elites to give more epistemological weight to the circumstances of their own story in determining the literal, historical facts of the biblical story. Protestant biblical literalism contributed to this process, since authority in the Reformation and its aftermath "swung away from institution to individual. ... The individual [was] granted direct access to the book of God's word. The meaning of scripture ... could be determined by the diligent reader without reference to" Church tradition.[356] That is to say, "The Bible as interpreted by the enlightened individual was promoted as the pre-eminent authority in religious matters."[357] Similarly, the people could

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[356] Harrison, *Bible, Protestantism, and Science*, 99.

[357] Ibid., 107.

approach God directly through personal prayer and confession: the "Priesthood of all believers." This removal of priestly mediation allowed individuals to self-interpret their own cultural experiences into the Bible, amplifying the contrast between premodern interpretation and interpretation occurring in the modern age. As Harrison puts it, "The first of the modern liberties was the freedom to read the Bible in the vernacular and make determinations for oneself about its meaning."[358]

Visual, or "eye-witness," verification and the use of an individual's evaluative reason was a large factor in the formulation during the early seventeenth century of the notion of "fact." According to Barbara Shapiro, the modern idea of fact originated in legal circles in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was used by historians, and then moved into popular use by means of travel narratives like those of Hakluyt and Purchas.[359] Shapiro reasons that contributing to the spread of a "culture of fact" in England in the seventeenth century were "the common law jury" and "the enormously rapid expansion and broad dissemination of ... the productions of print culture."[360] Central elements in the evolving discourses of fact are "the increasing emphasis on the investigation of concrete, particular events, the importance of eyewitness testimony, the critical role of evaluation of such witnesses and their testimony, the open or public character of inquiry, and the development of a reporting language."[361] Significantly, "sense-based information and experience, particularly what was visually acquired, was elevated in

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[358] Ibid., 100.

[359] Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000). Other scholars question such a clear line of causation but recognize the broad interdisciplinary relationships that Shapiro identifies. See Joseph Levine, review of *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720*, by Barbara J. Shapiro, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001): 102-103, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4053066.

[360] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 217-218.

[361] Ibid., 167.

epistemological status."[362] The twin emphases on "eye-witnessing" and impartiality were, in

Shapiro's schema, "important concern[s] that natural philosophy took over from the legal sphere

and the other discourses of fact."[363] I discuss impartiality and other aspects of empiricism in the

next section.

A prime example of the importance of eye-witnessing for establishing the facts of his travel

narratives and related biblical interpretations can be found in the writing of Samuel Purchas.

Shapiro argues that "the reports of travelers ... played a significant role in the creation of a

'culture of fact,' as travelers reported on a wide range of topics, physical and cultural. These

rapidly expanding 'discourses of fact,' which intermixed reports of human and natural

phenomena, thus played a significant role in the transfer of the category 'fact,' once solely

applied to the domain of human action dealt with in the law courts or described in historical

discourse, to the natural world, to natural events and things."[364] Purchas, who relied so heavily

on representing King James as Solomon in order to advocate for further English involvement in

global imperialism, emphasized the importance of "eye-witnesses" in just such a way that seems

to relate to legal discourse and point toward scientific usage. In a section of his "To the Reader"

in *Pilgrimes*, where he also referred to "Colours" and "Complexions" of people and emphasized

the importance of authorship, he wrote:

> Here therefore the various Nations, Persons, Shapes, *Colours*, Habits, Rites, Religions,
> *Complexions*, Conditions, Politike and Oeconomike Customes, Languages, Letters, Arts,
> Merchandises, Wares, and other remarkeable Varieties of Men and humane Affaires are
> by *Eye-witnesses* related more amply and *certainly* then any Collector ever hath done, or
> perhaps without these helpes could doe. And thus we have shewed the scope of the
> *Author*, and profitable use of the Worke: which could not but be voluminous, having a

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[362] Ibid., 212.

[363] Ibid., 137. These foci on the importance of visual information and the myth of impartiality were also foundational for the myth of racial whiteness.

[364] Ibid., 83-85.

World for the subject, and a World of *Witnesses* for the *Evidence*: and yet (except where the *Author* or Worke it selfe permitted not) these vast Volumes are contracted, and Epitomised, that the nicer Reader might not be cloyed [annoyed]. (*Pilgrimes*, I.¶5r, italics mine)[365]

Later in his work, in discussing the example of Solomon and the latter-day "Ophyrian regions" of King James, Purchas quoted "a more learned witnesse," Francis Bacon (I.i.12), referred to Solomon and Hiram as "witnesses" to the "Ophirian Navigation" (I.i.17), and reported that America is mostly "unhabited" according to "ey-witnesses" (I.i.30). Such interconnected use of the authority of individual eyewitnesses and the reasoned evaluation of the author (Purchas) in establishing biblical, historical, and scientific facts is evidence of the changing epistemology in the early modern epoch.

Joseph Hall's work demonstrates a parallel approach to integrating premodern biblical interpretation with modern influences of individual authority and visual evidence. According to Kinloch, "Hall was convinced that he had found an entirely new method of expounding scriptural truth, which differed at once from the allegorical explanations of the Fathers and the expositions offered by the preachers of his time"; Tourney agrees that "Hall's approach is neither allegorical [n]or analytical (the prevailing modes of his day)."[366] Perhaps seeking to buttress Protestant orthodoxy in the face of mounting modernity, Hall used the present tense and imaginative, visual details to make the Bible seem dramatically immediate and directly applicable to the daily life of his contemporaries. Tourney finds that Hall's *Contemplations* "is designed to imply his own intimate relationship to the events he reenacts, and his personal biases are everywhere apparent."[367] Caught up in the burgeoning of modernity with its attention to

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[365] Also *Pilgrimes* (1905), 1:xliii, italics mine.

[366] Kinloch, *Life and Works of Joseph Hall*, 61; Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 94.

[367] Tourney, *Joseph Hall*, 96.

individuality, Hall sought to project the literal meaning of the Bible through his own individual authority and visual experiences.

A final dimension of the rise of individual authority occurred in this context of the prominence of biblical literalism and visual evidence: the Bible and other printed material began to "fulfil all of the previous functions of images [for the iconoclastic reformers]."[368] Thus, as icons and other visual art had served to interpret ancient texts within contemporary contexts, Protestant Christians were to "image" the text as they heard or read it, and, significantly, the basis for the authority of their imaginations was their own cultural experiences. An illuminating example of eyewitness testimony being used to illustrate, or "image," religious contemplation (such as that often used with interpreting the Bible) can be found by turning again to Joseph Hall's "Upon the Sight of a Blackamoor," discussed in the previous chapter. As Fisch remarked, "The main feature of [Hall's] *Occasional Meditations* is that they are all based on the emblem-usage; i.e. they all start from some clear, visual image or situation which is then given a moral by pursuing its parallels and correspondences."[369] So a white Englishman's sighting of a Black African in England is visual evidence that Hall employs to supplement a traditional allegorical biblical interpretation of Song of Songs. Early modern Englishmen used their eyes and brains to interpret the Bible literally, informed by visual evidence and common sense, or reason, in constructing their own typologies. They thus read the Bible as *their* story, in a premodern way, but with modern tools and sensibilities. They still understood the Bible to be the one true reality, which must explain and represent their individual experiences authorized by their individual authority.

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[368] Harrison, *Bible, Protestantism, and Science*, 117.

[369] Fisch, "Bishop Hall's Meditations," 214.

The Role of Empiricism: Claiming Objectivity, Impartiality, and Universality

These literal-typological and individual interpretations of reality were validated by a third closely related influence on biblical interpretation: empiricism. Reformation-era challenges to the authority of divine revelation and cultural tradition, whether from biblical text or church hierarchy, were not limited to theology. In cycles of causation, intellectual developments in other fields profoundly affected biblical interpretation in return. Developments in the physical sciences raised the cultural importance more broadly of empirical evidence, such as observable phenomena, objectivity, and repeatable results, especially when interpreted using reason.

Intertwined with Protestant biblical literalism and the rise of fact, the scientific revolution in Europe was sparked by Nicolaus Copernicus's heliocentric model in *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* in 1543 and literally changed the way humans looked at the world. The progress of empirical inquiry in the early seventeenth century was marked by the observation of the moons of Jupiter by Galileo Galilei.[370] In England under King James, the importance of empiricism and reason was promoted by the writing of Francis Bacon. Growing interest in natural science in seventeenth-century England culminated with both the founding in the 1660s of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge and the 1687 publication of Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*. Significantly, the founders of the Royal Society named Francis Bacon as their primary intellectual progenitor.

In the wake of this intellectual revolution, science began to be used to illuminate the Bible, instead of the reverse as had been more widely accepted in premodern epochs.[371] Francis Bacon

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[370] Galileo most actively published 1610-23 and was censured by the Pope and the Inquisition in 1616.

[371] See, for example, David Jasper, *A Short Introduction to Hermeneutics* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 62-63; Anthony C. Thiselton, *Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B.

(1561-1626), personifying the combination of legal fact, historical literalism, and scientific

empiricism as a prominent lawyer, historian, and scientist, promoted both English colonization

and the "scientific method" in Jacobean Britain. Reflective of his own interests, Bacon

envisioned in his *New Atlantis* (1627) a utopia of European colonization in which overseas trade

in knowledge, not commodities, predominated. Notably, Bacon also participated in the

representation of James as Solomon when he described the center of learning in this new land as

"Solomon's House":

> Ye shall understand, (my dear friends,) that amongst the Excellent acts of that *King*, one
> above all hath the preheminence. It was the Erection, and Institution of an Order, or
> Society, which we call *Salomons House*; The Noblest Foundation, (as we think,) that ever
> was upon the Earth: And the Lanthorne of this Kingdome. It is dedicated to the Study of
> the Works and Creatures of God. Some think it beareth the Founders Name a little
> corrupted, as if it should be *Solamon's House*. But the Records write it, as it is spoken. So
> as I take it to be denominate of the *King* of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and
> no stranger to us; For we have some Parts of his Works, which with you are lost; Namely
> that Natural History, which he wrote of all plants, from the Cedar of Libanus, to the
> Mosse that groweth out of the Wall. And of all things that have Life and Motion. This
> maketh me think that *our King* finding himself to *Symbolize*, in many things, with *that
> King* of the Hebrewes (which lived many years before him) honoured him with the Title
> of this Foundation. (Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 16, italics mine)

Bacon here used Solomon to represent the connection between faith and this new learning, using

reason and empiricism, that he advocated for King James.[372] Knowledge of natural science was

thought by some in the seventeenth century to have been known by Adam and Moses and passed

down orally or written and lost. Harrison notes that "the legendary books of King Solomon were

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Eerdmans, 2009), 136; and Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*, trans. John Bowden (1980; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

[372] For other depictions of James as Solomon in the work of Bacon, see his "dedications to *Certaine Considerations Touching the Better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England* (1604) and *Instauratio Magna* (1620), as well as the text of *A Briefe Discourse, Touching the Happie Union of the Kingdomes of England, and Scotland* (1603), C4" (as noted in King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 254 n. 105).

a part of this lost tradition."[373] This idea was elsewhere advocated by Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning* and by Thomas Browne in *Religio Medici*.[374]

The Bible had long been understood as true via divine revelation, but in the modern age it needed to become true in a modern way, and empirical, scientific discourse made this possible. A prominent representative of the increasing influence of empiricism in interpreting the Bible is Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). Grotius was a Dutch lawyer at the Hague, and his *Freedom of the Seas* in 1604 on international maritime trade law influenced Samuel Purchas. As an Arminian representative in the foundational Protestant theological debates of the day, Grotius was sent to England in 1613 to inform King James about Dutch church politics. James, however, supported the Calvinists at the Synod of Dort in 1618-19, after which Grotius was imprisoned from 1619-21. While in prison, he wrote *Truth of the Christian Religion* [Dutch 1622, Latin 1627, English 1632] and began working on biblical commentaries; his *Annotations on the Old Testament* were published in 1644.[375] Both of these writing projects are early examples of recognition of the divergence in thought appearing between empirical facts and revealed religious and biblical truths. Henning Graf Reventlow sees Grotius as a transitional figure within late humanism as it moves toward the beginning of historical criticism.[376] Grotius was interested in exploring the historical context in determining the meaning of the Bible, whereas most of his contemporaries applied the Bible, with its still "one true story" as Frei might say, directly to the present.

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[373] Harrison, *Bible, Protestantism, and Science*, 137-38.

[374] Ibid., 137 n. 65.

[375] Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 3, Renaissance, Reformation, Humanism*, trans. James O. Duke (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 1-2, 209-23. See also Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 107, 169.

[376] Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 3*, 2.

Another exemplar of the rising importance of empiricism and, especially, reason within biblical interpretation is Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Oxford-educated Hobbes was tutor to the son of William Cavendish and represented the senior Cavendish "in the management of the Virginia Company."[377] After serving briefly as secretary to Francis Bacon and reading Euclid's "Elements," Hobbes became interested in the "method of proving mathematical theorems by the use of reason." According to Reventlow, "Hobbes studied [and later met] ... Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), who is important above all as the founder of the mathematical-natural, scientific method."[378]

Hobbes applied this new "rational procedure of argumentation" from scientific discourse to his political philosophy. Yet, "for all his originality, he was a Christian thinker of the seventeenth century," which necessitated "express[ing] ... thoughts theologically" and biblically. Hobbes demonstrated the contemporary consensus that "the newly revealed method of natural reason ought to prove ... that which the Word of God contains"; thus, he wrote, "there is nothing in the Bible that runs contrary to reason." So, the scientific method began to be applied directly to the Bible, but empirical facts and reason, though increasingly authoritative, had not yet fully usurped biblical authority. Biblical interpretation, however, was beginning to be expressed in modern, empirical terms.

Purchas also reveals the importance of empiricism in the union of biblical interpretation and early modern scientific discourse. In the introduction to *Pilgrimes*, he connected early modern traditions of Solomon, such as referred to in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, to his own advocacy of global exploration. Purchas wrote of Solomon as an early modern scientific explorer,

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[377] Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 4, From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century*, trans. Leo G. Perdue (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 33.

[378] Ibid., 34.

cataloguing and categorizing the natural world. Purchas seems to give special attention to

potentially exploitable resources, including people and land:

> [Salomon] addresseth himselfe by Sea and long Voyages to seek [Wisdome]: ... [he] surveyes his Navie himselfe, & is glad of Hirams helpe. [But] Nay, this was not only the subject of his wisedome, but the furtherer and Purveyor, by *new experiments* in Minerals, Gems, Beasts, Fowles, Fishes, Serpents, Wormes, Trees, Fruits, Gums, Plants, *Men*; Climates, Winds, Seasons, Seas, *Lands*, Soyles, Rivers, Fountaynes, Heavens, and Stars; and a World of the Worlds Varieties; ... labouring to be more wise, and travelling in Wisdome and Knowledge, and Equitie; and *[mn., Ecc. I. 13.16.] gave his heart to search and find out wisdome by all things that are done under the Heaven, God humbling him with this sore travell, although he excelled in wisdome, all that were before him in Jerusalem. (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.19, italics mine)

In addition to interpreting Solomon as a modern scientist, elsewhere in his "King Salomons

Navie" Purchas attempted to apply new, scientific (geographic) knowledge to interpret the Bible.

Using cartography and naval science to chart a course for Solomon's ships to Ophir (I.i.42),

Purchas made extraordinary attempts to scientifically reconstruct biblical accounts using the

latest knowledge of the world from explorers. He also made use of Genesis population records

and ancient Israelite royal history as reliable, factual data (I.i.31). Empirical evidence was

becoming an important part of "proving" the Bible true in the modern age.

Literalist, Individualist, Empiricist Biblical Typologies:
The Multiple Personalities of Late Pre-Critical Biblical Interpretation

Early modern biblical interpretation incorporated in various ways the influences of these

changing sources of knowledge: biblical literalism, individual authority, and empirical facts. One

of the products of this process, the scripturalization of whiteness, depended, in part, on the union

of typology with the idea of biblical literalism and historicity coupled with the newly dominant

idea of determining truth by establishing allegedly objective "facts" through eyewitness evidence

and reason. Changing epistemologies allowed the contextual experiences of white, male, English

Protestant elites to be read into the literal, historical facts and figures of the Bible, which informed contemporary typologies. Inherent tensions within these changing epistemologies, however, could not hold together for long. Spurred by the union of Protestant biblical literalism and the epistemological rise of individual authority and empiricism in constructing biblical "facts," biblical interpretation in the early seventeenth century was poised to move away from typology toward the first stirrings of historical-critical thought.[379] In the meantime though, literalism, individualism, and empiricism were employed in "bolstering the credibility of Old Testament accounts," by, as I argue, obfuscating the direction of typological interpretations, such that the biblical King Solomon was able to become the very real person of King James.[380]

Before the rise of historical criticism, late pre-critical biblical interpretation was characterized by frequent use of typology,[381] where the narrative history of the Bible was closely and literally correlated with the interpreter's present reality. While individual authority and empirical evidence were starting to become more important than biblical proofs in making truth claims, Jacobean exegetes could not yet imagine these new sources of knowledge as separable from or contrary to biblical evidence. The Bible was still the one true world and could be, had to be, claimed to be consonant with new sources of knowledge and authority. As Shapiro reasons, "At the beginning of the seventeenth century," the period of James, Purchas, and Hall, "what today we would call the 'scientific fact' did not exist." Yet, by the end of the century, "belief in scriptural 'facts' [had become] a matter of particular importance to the English ..., [and] Locke

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[379] According to McCalla, notable mid-seventeenth-century scholars associated with the rise of historical criticism of the Bible include Louis Cappel (1585-1658), Richard Simon (1636-1712), and Isaac La Peyrère (1596?-1676) (McCalla, *Creationist Debate*, 34-39).

[380] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 168.

[381] Frei, *Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*, 49.

[had] provided fact with a newly enhanced philosophical status."[382] As Peter Harrison has pointed out, "The recognition of the historicity of the biblical texts, combined with efforts to mine scripture for historical and scientific information, raised a number of questions about the religious functions of the Bible and the intentions of its authors. ... How could the 'scientific' information purportedly contained in the scriptures meet the needs of both the audience to whom it was originally addressed and a later scientific community?"[383] Some interpreters thus began multiplying typologies in order to more closely equate present experience with the Bible. Typology, lacking a hermeneutical gap, attempted to incorporate a growing awareness of the need for historic "realism" of the Bible, not by simply accepting the historicity of the Bible, as Frei supposed premoderns understood it, but by reading the contemporary circumstances of early modern Britain into the Bible. Indeed in England of the seventeenth century, "typology slowly began to change, to become secular in its applications and to involve genres of literature other than strictly religious."[384] In the words of Anthony Grafton, by the end of the seventeenth century "an exegetical as well as a scientific revolution had taken place."[385]

Frei thus perceived an evident change from "the Reformers' economy and restraint" to an "extraordinary and baroque proliferation of figural [or typological] reading ... [having] all the prodigality and extravagance of a late, decadent growth."[386] He names "Johannes Cocceius (1603-69), a Dutch theologian of German origin," whom he describes as finding "figure after

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[382] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 137, 218.

[383] Harrison, *Bible, Protestantism, and Science*, 129.

[384] Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 5.

[385] Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 205.

[386] Frei, *Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*, 49.

figure in the Old Testament fulfilled in the events of post-biblical history and in those of his own

day."[387] Frei concludes:

> We see here the gradual change to the sense of another temporal reality than the biblical.
> ... The true narrative ... is no longer identical with the Bible's overarching story. And so,
> in circular fashion, *the Bible's own story becomes increasingly dependent on its relation*
> *to other temporal frames of reference to render it illuminating and even real*. Its meaning
> is derived from its fitting the history ..., the biblical-historical narration, ... sacred and
> secular happenings since then, and from now to Christ's thousand-year reign.
>   The biblical story begins to be included in a larger framework as its operative world ...,
> like the world of "real" events to which Deists and historical critics had the Bible refer
> for meaning. ... In its own right and by itself *the biblical story began to fade* as the
> inclusive world whose depiction allowed the reader at the same time to locate himself and
> his era in the real world rendered by the depiction. (Frei, *Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*,
> 50, italics mine)

Late pre-critical biblical typology became increasingly extended and was able to entrench

particular contextualized interpretations by fusing biblical literalism, individualism, and

empiricism with racialized imperial ideology. As "the biblical story began to fade," the direction

of interpretive reference in typology became blurred and was open to occasional reversal. When

royalist scholars like Hobbes followed "a typology of kingship that was widespread during [this]

time," that is seeing "Old Testament patriarchs, Moses, and the 'good' kings of Judah" as

"patterns of the English rulers," the contextual specificity of the English monarchs was conflated

with and interpreted as the literal, historical context of the Bible, understood as the one true story

of reality.[388] Instead of understanding James in terms of Solomon, Solomon was able to be

interpreted in terms of James. Solomon, James, and whiteness became represented as naturally

going together.

Thus, in the early seventeenth century the Bible was taken, in a uniquely modern, proto-

scientific way, to refer to the present reality of imperial England. James, Solomon, and whiteness

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[387] Ibid., 42.

[388] Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 4*, 37-43.

are bound together in a crucial, late pre-critical phase when there is an emerging but not quite yet unequivocal hermeneutical gap and when contemporary, extra-biblical reality is becoming more important than, though not yet separated from, biblical reality. Individual authority and empirical evidence, combined with biblical literalism, produced the powerful effect, as I show in the next section, of moving the primary interpretive referent of typology, at times, from Solomon to James.

Solomon as a White Imperialist: King James as Divinely Chosen Davidic Messiah, Divinely Authorized British Imperialist, and Divinely Inspired Biblical Author

With the possibility of reversal of interpretive influence opened by changes in early modern epistemology, biblical interpretation took a uniquely modern turn: incorporating the emergence of the British Empire and the construction of race to scripturalize whiteness. Echoing Frei, Arthur McCalla writes, "At the beginning of the seventeenth century interpretation was a matter of incorporating information about world history into the framework provided by the biblical narrative; by the end of the century it had become one of fitting the biblical stories into a more comprehensive historical narrative."[389] Through biblical typology influenced by empiricism, individualism, and historical literalism, King James was presented as a divinely chosen Davidic messiah, a divinely authorized British imperialist, and a divinely inspired biblical author. Perhaps more importantly, though, at a formative moment for the racialized imperial-colonial project of Britain, the biblical King Solomon became defined, in terms of the white, imperialist King James.

The first step in scripturalizing whiteness, as argued above, was augmenting royal, imperial power with religious sanctification. Drawing on correlative typologies used by his predecessors,

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[389] McCalla, *Creationist Debate*, 39.

King James portrayed himself as a Davidic monarch ruling over Britain as Israel, part of a larger British self-representation as God's Chosen People Israel. Such cultural exceptionalism, as discussed in the chapter on race, was another cornerstone in the ideology of racialized imperialism.

An important example of the way James presenting himself as a divinely chosen Davidic king reveals possible shifts in direction of typology is his "Basilikon Doron." This gift of kingly advice, in which James makes correlations between himself and his people as Israel, serves specifically to align James with Solomon in writing down wisdom for his son, like the tradition of Solomon's Proverbs. James advises his son to fear God, "which is the beginning of Wisedome, as Salomon saith" (*Workes*, 149).[390] James also instructs his son to read the Bible: "And most properly of any other, belongeth the reading thereof unto Kings, since in that part of Scripture, where the godly Kings are first made mention of, ... there is an expresse and most notable exhortation and commandement given them, to reade and meditate in the Law of God" (ibid.).[391] More specifically, James recommends "the bookes of the Proverbes and Ecclesiastes, written by that great patterne of wisedome Salomon," and "especially *the bookes of the Kings and Chronicles*, wherewith ye ought to bee familiarly acquainted: for *there shall yee see your selfe, as in a myrrour*, in the catalogue either of the good or the evill Kings" (150-151, italics mine). So, James recommends Solomon and the books of Kings and Chronicles as the most fitting models for his son as a British monarch.

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[390] This is an implicit reference to Prov 1:7; 9:10; the phrase also appears in Ps 111:10.

[391] The margin here notes Deuteronomy 17, presumably referring to v. 19 enjoining the king to read and meditate upon God's law. Ironically vv. 14-20 is about limitations on royal authority; v. 15 excludes foreigners from kingship, which seems a strange invocation for James as a Scot hoping for, or ruling on, the English throne; and v. 20 counsels a king against setting himself above others in the community, which James has just advised his son to do on the previous page (*Workes*, 148).

Most poignantly, "Basilikon Doron" provides evidence for a likely reversal of interpretive, typological reference points. When James looks for Solomon in the Bible, James sees himself "as in a myrrour." This rhetoric of surface image and self-reflective gaze vests sacred power in the physical presence of a white, Christian, European (specifically here, British) monarch. As discussed in the previous chapter, whiteness, including the white gaze, is an integral component of British imperial power; however, it is largely ideologically obscured by equating whiteness with normative humanity, reflecting universal, timeless values.

Further illustrating the reversal of interpretive direction spurred by changing epistemology is the sermon *Great Britains Salomon*, which was presented by Bishop John Williams on May 7, 1625, at the funeral for King James in Westminster Abbey. Williams chose 1 Kgs 11:41-43 as the biblical text for the sermon, and in it he referred to James as a "second Salomon" (*Great Britains Salomon*, 9, 13, 42, 74), "our Brittish Salomon" (36, 61, 62), "our late Salomon" (55), "our blessed Salomon" (61), and "our Salomon" (62). Williams asserts that the fittest representative of James is Solomon because James "raigned over all Israel" like Saul, David, and Solomon; was wise (disqualifying Saul); and was a King of Peace (disqualifying David) (2).

In this age of the increasing importance of empirical facts, individual authority, and biblical literalism, Williams named sixteen points of comparison between Solomon and James, but many of these points are more applicable to James than Solomon (37-39). Solomon has thus come to be defined by James. The first point made by Williams was that each was "the onely sonne of his mother." Williams used Prov 4:3 as support for his claim that Solomon was an only child, neglecting 1 Chron 3:5, which lists Shim'a, Shobab, and Natan as full brothers of Solomon. Williams's third comparison between Solomon and James was that each was "an infant King." This claim is quite a stretch in Solomon's case. As support, Williams cited the Vulgate of 1

Chron 22:5, *puer parvulus* or "little child", but the Hebrew reads נער ורך "tender youth," where

tender probably means inexperienced.[392] In the Chronicles account, David is speaking to and

instructing his son, an activity which would be difficult if Solomon were but an infant.

According to 1 Kings 1-2, Solomon at his accession is old enough to deal with his brother and

rival Adonijah. In fact Williams himself, later in his sermon, cited commentators who place

Solomon's age at accession from 10-19 years old (*Great Britains Salomon*, 65).[393]

In Williams's depiction of Solomon and James as divinely authorized imperialists, the

characteristics of James define Solomon. Williams recalled that each was "twice crown'd, and

anoynted a King, 1 Chron. 29.22." Whereas James was king of Scotland before becoming king

of England and thus received two different crowns, Solomon was king of a united Israel, which

did not split into two, northern and southern, kingdoms until after his death. Williams referenced

James's active participation in international affairs and hard work in promoting Britain's position

in European and global politics, when he wrote each "was honoured with Embassadors from all

the Kings of the Earth, 1 Kings 4. last verse." Furthermore, as Solomon "was a maine Improver

of his home commodities, as you may see in his Trading with Hiram, 1 Kings 5.9.," Williams

claimed that this was also "the daily study of King Iames." Each was "a great maintainer of

shipping, and Navigation, 1 Kings 10.14"; international maritime trade boomed under King

James, with international trading networks of trade companies, trading posts, and colonies

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[392] רך is translated "inexperienced" in RSV and NRSV. See also, BDB, 940.

[393] Other connections that Williams makes between Solomon and James are more equally applicable to both. Each "began his raigne in the life of his Praedecessor." James became king of Scotland while his mother Mary Stuart, "Queen of Scots," was still alive but in exile. Each's "minority was rough through the quarrels of the former Soveraigne"; there was much fighting for power between the Scottish nobility during James's youth, with some nobles supporting the claim of his mother Queen Mary and others advocating for their own control of the boy king. Each "died in peace, when he had lived about 60. Yeares." Each "beautified very much his Capitall Citie with Buildings, and Water-workes, 1 Kings 9.15." Finally, Williams stated that "every man liv'd in peace under his vine, and his Figge-Tree in the daies" of each, 1 Kgs 4:25, and each "had secret Enemies ... and prepared for a Warre upon his going to his Grave," 1 Kgs 11:40 (*Great Britains Salomon*, 37-39).

growing (*Great Britains Salomon*, 37-39). While each of these points can be connected to

Solomon biblically, these points are more apt descriptions of the early modern imperialist James

than of Solomon, illustrating how, in the typological connection, James is the primary referent

and the features of James are used to describe Solomon.

Solomon is thus becoming whitened. Instead of the healthy "glow" of many biblical

traditions, Williams declared that as "Salomon was of complexion white, and ruddie, Canticles 5.

10. verse. so was King Iames." In the biblical interpretation of Williams, English cultural

exceptionalism combined with skin color symbolism is constructing the essentialized racial

whiteness of a prominent biblical figure. This final piece of evidence in Williams's sermon

cements the interpretation of Solomon as a white, British, imperialist James.

Augmenting his connection with Solomon as a white, divinely chosen, and divinely

authorized ruler, James represents himself as a divinely inspired biblical author. Illustrating

further potential for reversal in the direction of typological interpretive influence, James replaces

the biblical text, its authors, and its authority with his own text, his own authorship, and his own

authority. Similar to traditions of David and Solomon, James, as we will see, represented himself

as both a divinely inspired interpreter and a divinely inspired writer of scripture. A few of the

correlations that Williams made in his funeral sermon also relate James to Solomon as a divinely

inspired biblical author. Williams proclaimed that each "was learned above all the princes of the

East, 1 Kings 4.30," alluding to the reputation of James as both educated and interested in

scholarship. Stating that each "was a Writer in Prose, and Verse, 1 Kings 4.32," Williams

connected the biblical books attributed to Solomon to the fact that James published many of his

own poems and treatises. Lastly, Williams asserted that each "was the greatest Patron we ever

read of to Church and Churchmen," referring to Solomon building the Temple of Jerusalem and

equipping the priests for service (*Great Britains Salomon*, 37-39). Williams notes that James, for

his part, promoted the English Church, authorized a scholarly version of the English Bible, and

attempted reforms to mitigate abuse of clerical positions.

For James's own authority as divinely inspired author, highly prominent imagery in *The*

Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, Iames connects both Solomon with James and the

Bible with James's *Workes*. In the first instance, typology is applied to make a claim for divine

inspiration for the writing of James, similar to the biblical writing of Solomon. Immediately upon

opening the magisterial publication of James's *Workes*, the reader encounters the iconography of

the frontispiece and title page.[394] On this title page, which Margery Corbett and Ronald

Lightbown call "one of the most elaborate and ornate of English examples," connections are

made up-front between James and Solomon.[395] Centered on the title page, underneath the full

title and above the publishing information, is a quotation of God's words to Solomon from 1 Kgs

3:12, "I. Reg. 3. Vers. 12. Loe, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart." The use of

this biblical citation here applies God's gift of wisdom to Solomon directly to James, thus

implying God's inspiration for James's words in this book.

Connecting with the depiction of James as a divinely inspired author of his own *Workes*,

the title page of the KJV proclaims that King James "authorized" this Bible. Jane Rickard

discerns that "while royal authority provides … a frame through which to read the King James

Bible, divine authority provides a frame through which to read the *Workes*." She concludes that

"in these two books there is a mutually reinforcing relation between the Church and the

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[394] For photos, see https://books.google.com/books?isbn=0982225504.

[395] Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 139.

Crown."[396] The title page to James's *Workes* is decorated with figures of Religion and Peace, where Religion is holding open a book for the reader, right beside the title of James's book. Kevin Sharpe relates that "like the 1611 Bible, James's *Workes* was a large folio, with a complex engrav[ing] ... that echoes the title page of the Bible. Where in the Bible his majesty's name appears on the slab that bears the title, surrounded by the patriarchs and apostles, the title page of his *Workes*, his own words, is flanked by the figures of religion and peace, presenting James as the biblical Solomon, the embodiment of divine wisdom."[397]

These depictions of James as Solomon and Solomon as James, similar to representations of James's *Workes* as "volume two" of James's Bible, reveal the distortion at work in obscuring the distinction between typological referent and reference. Literary scholar Jane Rickard observes the "rich interweaving of royal and religious imagery" when she writes, "The boundary between religious and royal text is thus blurred, while the implication is made that religion itself dictates we read the King's book."[398] The engraving on the frontispiece shows James enthroned in front of his banner *Beati Pacifici* and with the Bible (*Verbum Dei*) and the sword of justice (*Iustitia*) on his right. He is robed, crowned, and holding orb and scepter. According to Rickard,

> James represents the Bible in two ways: in his person he is a realization of the kingly power described in the Bible and in his writing he reproduces biblical truths. The short verse at the bottom of the page that concludes 'knowledge makes the KING most like his maker' reinforces the parallels depicted in the image of King and Bible, though we might also note that 'King' is in block capitals but 'maker' is not, ensuring it is not God but *James who dominates* this opening page. The claim of likeness between God and King reverberates throughout the collection. (Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 150, capitalization original, italics mine)

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[396] Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 153. For more on this title page imagery, see Corbett and Lightbown, *Comely Frontispiece*, 136-42.

[397] Kevin Sharpe, "Foreword: Reading James Writing: The Subjects of Royal Writings in Jacobean Britain," in Fischlin and Fortier, *Royal Subjects*, 19.

[398] Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 152.

Thus, while suggesting that James is the personification of biblical, kingly power, this visual art implies that James is the primary reference to which aspects of the Bible refer.

The final example of James as divinely inspired biblical author illustrating blurred direction of typology is his "A Paraphrase upon the Revelation of the Apostle S. Iohn." In this work, James, in the genre of paraphrase, takes on the voice of the biblical author John, which in the biblical text was representing the voice of Christ. Thus, James presents his own interpretation of the Bible as the very words of the Bible and, by this method, implicitly assumes the voice of Christ. This "paraphrase," since it does much more than merely modify the biblical language, is properly in the genre of biblical commentary: James adds his own, sometimes very lengthy, comments as part of the biblical text. Biographer David Willson states that James "enlarged the text to perhaps five times its original length, explaining and interpolating as he went along and buttressing his views by references to other portions of the Scripture."[399]

James wrote his "Paraphrase" in 1588, but it was not published until appearing as the first entry in his collected *Workes* in 1616.[400] Rickard determines that the *Workes* is arranged "largely chronologically" but there are notable exceptions indicating an intentional ordering of texts.[401] She finds that "James's desire to associate the royal word with the divine suggests that the positioning of his paraphrase [of Revelation, at the beginning of his *Workes*] deliberately implies that his book is on some level a continuation of the Bible, particularly given his association with the King James Bible of only five years earlier." Bishop Montague wrote in "The Preface to the Reader" that James had "an understanding Heart" from God "beyond the measure of other men"

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[399] David Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 81-82.

[400] Wormald, "James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*," 49.

[401] Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 157.

(*Workes*, D3v). This attribution "echoes the title page's key claim of [Solomonic] divinely

inspired royal wisdom."[402] This biblical connection gives further authority to James's other

writings on political and social matters, "suggesting that God's word is the foundation for the

whole book and that all of the King's writings are on some level a revelation of divine truth."[403]

A few specific examples of the self-portrayal of James as biblical author in his

"Paraphrase" are illustrative of this reversed direction of typology. To his version of Rev 3:7,

James adds, in the voice of Christ, "for as David was both King and Prophet, and was the figure

of me, so I, as the veritie and end of that figure, am onely he, who hath the keyes of absolute

condemning, or absolving specially and eternally" (*Workes*, 11). Concerning the biblical phrase

in Rev 5:5, "the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the root of David," James explains: as for Christ,

"David was his figure and fore-beer in the flesh." James interprets David to be a "type-figure" of

Christ, and James in turn is appropriating David the godly king as his own type-figure.

Moreover, the lion was both a biblical representative of Judah (Gen 29:9; Hos 5:14), hence of

David, and a heraldic symbol of Scotland, hence of James. Consequently, James himself

becomes the one who is "worthy and onely worthy to open the Booke, and loose the Seales

thereof" (*Workes*, 16), which he is doing by writing this Paraphrase! James, therefore, arranged

his *Workes* in order to portray himself "in the beginning" as a divinely-chosen, divinely-inspired,

Davidic messiah-figure. Moreover, from the conflation of his words and the voice of Christ in

the biblical text, he envelops himself with divinity itself.

As the title pages of James's *Workes* illustrate, portraying James as Solomon graphically

could illustrate the confusing or even reversal of interpretive direction made possible in this

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[402] Ibid., 159.

[403] Ibid., 160.

period by depicting biblical narratives of Solomon and Israel with the forms and symbols of James and Britain. Visual arts, such as painting, are able to convey additional meaning through color and shade. According to Paul Korshin, "Art as royalist propaganda, from the time of Rubens's Banqueting House ceiling and Inigo Jones's designs for ... court masques, had flattered monarchical hopes and aspirations by introducing suggestive analogies from christological traditions."[404] Thus visual art was a particularly apt medium to suggest a reversal, or at least a distortion, of interpretive direction in representations of James.

Seen in the paintings by Peter Paul Rubens on the ceiling of the Banqueting House in Whitehall still today, for example, Solomon is a white, British, imperialist James. The Banqueting House itself was rebuilt after a fire during the reign of James. Even though the paintings date to 1634 during the reign of James's son Charles I, Roy Strong has traced initial discussions with Rubens for the paintings to 1621, during Jacobean rule. Strong attributes the vision for the ceiling painting plan to Inigo Jones,[405] arguing that there was an "overall scheme" for "the whole of the Banqueting House" based on "the identification of Philip II with Solomon, [whose] palace was deliberately built as a recreation of the Temple of Solomon."[406] Strong's proposal is that "the building and the ceiling are ... parts of a vast scheme for a new palace centering on the Solomonic idea ... [dating to] James's reign."[407] As evidence for this proposal,

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[404] Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 22.

[405] Roy Strong, *Britannia Triumpans: Inigo Jones, Rubens, and Whitehall Palace* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 13-15. For more on the Whitehall ceiling paintings, see Per Palme, *Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1957); Oliver Millar, *Rubens: The Whitehall Ceiling* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958); D. J. Gordon, "Rubens and the Whitehall Ceiling," in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975), 24-50; and Historic Royal Palaces, "Banqueting House: Rubens' Ceiling: Detail of Rubens' Canvases," http://www.hrp.org.uk/BanquetingHouse/The_storiesRubensceilingpaintings.

[406] Strong, *Britannia Triumpans*, 55-56. James sought to imitate the Spanish emperor's palace design, just as James imitated Spanish imperial ambitions in North America and sought to marry his son to a Spanish princess.

[407] Ibid., 62-63.

Strong points to the letter from Rubens (of 1621?) acknowledging the painting to be for a "new palace." Strong concludes that "Palace and ceiling were meant to be read ... as a celebration of the Emperors of Great Britain, those reincarnations of the Old Testament kings, whose prototype was Solomon."[408] Strong reasons that James "as the peace-making Solomon ... is the most all-pervasive of Jacobean themes," dating back to "his state entry into Edinburgh" in 1579. At that early date in the life of James, "On entering the city gate the very first pageant was one of the Judgment of Solomon." Strong insists "this, then, without doubt is the main allusive theme of the ceiling."[409]

As dramatically illustrated by these paintings, James has come to the interpretive forefront, supported by Solomon in the interpretive background. Strong entitles one portion of the Rubens ceiling, *The Reign of Solomon: The Golden Age of James I*. In his interpretation of the classical Greek imagery, Minerva (divine wisdom) and Mercury banish Rebellion to Hell, while Plenty and Peace embrace. James is crowned victor with laurels, and the Hydra represents the Antichrist and the Beast of Revelation, usually interpreted in contemporary Britain as the Papacy.[410] Strong identifies the other major painting as *The Judgment of Solomon: James I Recreates the Empire of Great Britain*.[411] In the interpretation of Strong, "the two contending women are England and

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[408] Ibid., 64.

[409] Ibid., 20.

[410] Ibid., 34.

[411] Ibid., 17 (fig. 1, with prose description on p. 18). Strong states that art historian Per Palme recognized this "composition is based on the Judgment of Solomon." Further support for this interpretation can be found in the Jacobean period. John Thornborough, Bishop of Bristol, connected the biblical Judgment of Solomon and the Union of Scotland and England in 1604: "Wherefore if [the King] desire to unite the two kingdomes, ... let none be so hardie (with the harlot in the daies of Salomon) to say to the king our common parent: Devide the child ..." (John Bristol, *A Discourse Plainely Proving the Evident Utilitie and Urgent Necessitie of the Desired Happie Union of the Two Famous Kingdomes of England and Scotland* [London: Richard Field, 1604 (STC 24035)], 15, EEBO).

Scotland, and the judgment of the new Solomon, James I, *excels* that of his Old Testament predecessor. He reconciles the contestants by commanding the Union of the crowns."[412]

Remarkably, in these Whitehall ceiling paintings, the scripturalization of whiteness is graphically illustrated. Whereas King Philip II of Spain had also been represented as Solomon, Solomon had not become Philip. Yet, with the convergence of the British Empire, the construction of whiteness, and epistemological changes in biblical interpretation, Solomon becomes represented and understood as the divinely chosen, divinely authorized, divinely inspired, imperial, white British James. The racialized, imperialist implications of this divine intervention in the context of these paintings are that the political decisions of James, even the unpopular ones like the union of Scotland and England, are depicted as God's will. The path to earthly security and wealth proceeds from the bounty of a white, European, Christian monarch.

Through his writing, his publications, and his imagery, James and other contemporary interpreters participated in traditional royal ideology of divine authorization in a new, uniquely modern way. He portrayed himself as a biblical *author*, appropriating the authority of God for himself, by way of his own biblical interpretation, demonstrating the possibilities for reversal of typological interpretations available for racialized, imperialist interpretations at the foundation of the British Empire. As the biblical story faded and typological interpretations blurred types and antitypes, Williams could plausibly declare Solomon to be white like James, and Rubens could paint Solomon as James. Purchas perhaps summed up the scripturalization of whiteness most succinctly when he wrote, "Jesus Christ ... is become almost wholly and onely Europaean" (*Pilgrimes*, I.i.93).

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[412] Strong, *Britannia Triumpans*, 19, italics mine.

Conclusion

The rise of biblical literalism, individualism, and empiricism wrought systemic changes in the culturally accepted sources of authority and truth. The increasing importance of allegedly objective, eyewitness evidence in establishing scientific and historical facts combined with Protestant biblical literalism to influence changes in late pre-critical biblical interpretation from typology toward the beginnings of historical criticism. But since the historical "facts" of the Bible were not yet able to be separated from the "facts" of present reality, correlative and applied typologies connected the history of the Bible directly with present circumstances, which brought about political and other consequences. This combination of influences permitted an inversion in the ways that biblical interpretation had been done, allowing the biblical context to occasionally change from the primary reference used to explain the world to the secondary context explained by the world. Instead of the life of James being explained in terms of the life of Solomon, Solomon was explained by reference to James. Early modern Britain became the concrete, normative, universal reality of its interpreters, allowing for the scripturalization of whiteness. Thus, James was not only *a* Solomon but he became the *true* Solomon, and Solomon was embodied as James. Moreover, James proclaimed as the true Solomon foreshadowed the way that English-ness and whiteness attached as allegedly objective, factual, inherent features of the biblical Solomon. Solomon had become white.

These representations of Solomon as James had damaging dimensions as British imperialism and racial whiteness began to develop with biblical authority. Racialized, imperial ideology cloaked itself in the holy guise of divinely inspired scripture and naturalized the Protestant Christian British as God's Chosen People. James, and others, through British exceptionalism and changes in biblical interpretation, intentionally built connections between

himself and God and between his British people and God's Chosen People Israel with devastating consequences. When these interpretations, supported by empiricism, individual authority, and biblical literalism, were combined with the sanctification of the racialized imperial project, whiteness was scripturalized: God was inscribed as a white, Protestant, British man and God's Chosen People as other white, Protestant, British men. White, British imperialism became the (sacred) story that explained the biblical narratives in a modern, scientific, determinate way.

Once historical criticism came to the fore in the eighteenth century, such conflation of the Bible and the present was no longer culturally acceptable, since the stories of the Bible were assigned to their "original" contexts in the ancient past. Deep cultural damage, however, had been done. The power of whiteness had been inscribed into the foundations of the British Empire, including British colonial America.

CONCLUSION

> Most interpretations of American religion, whether from the point of view of the revealed tradition or the civil tradition, have been involved with an ideological concealment of the reality of the inner dynamics of their own religio-cultural psychic reality and a correlative repression and concealment of the reality of others. This procedure has been undertaken to give American reality a normative mode of interpretation centered in one tradition. This mode of interpretation has a hallowed position in Western intellectual thought. It constitutes the problematic and resolution of the issue of the episteme. The notion of the episteme constitutes a problem for any form of coherence, and as understood in this context it is the issue of the normative center of interpretation of American religion.
> —Charles Long, *Significations*[413]

In this dissertation I have argued that the scripturalization of whiteness resulted from the influence on biblical interpretation from expanding British power, English exceptionalism transitioning into racialization, and epistemological changes wrought by Protestant biblical literalism, increasing individual authority, and empiricism on late pre-critical biblical typology. These complex processes concretized nascent racial ideas in early modern scriptural interpretation. Such biblical interpretation, in a mutually reinforcing cycle, glorified both imperialism and the construction of whiteness in early modern Britain.

In the context of the construction of race in British imperial ideology, emergent scientific discourse, particularly the rising epistemological importance of individual authority and eyewitness evidence, along with Protestant biblical literalism influenced changes in biblical interpretation that made the scripturalization of whiteness possible. Specifically, imperial apologists used scientific discourse to empower scripturalization of racialized imperialization by interpreting their contemporary socio-political contexts as literal, historical, *factual* enactments of biblical types. This process scripturalized whiteness by applying biblical typologies of Britain

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[413] Long, *Significations*, 167.

194

as Israel, and James as Solomon, to the context of the racialized ideology of the British Empire, giving biblical sanctification to displacement and enslavement (or other othering) of non-British.

The white European, Christian King James is ultimately seen as not just *a* possible Solomon, he *is* Solomon, and Solomon *is* a white European, Christian Emperor. Furthermore, "strangers," like the biblical Queen of Sheba, are simultaneously racialized as other and idealized as admiring the white, British, imperial self. Of no small contemporary historical import, in 1616, the same year James's *Workes* were published, Pocahontas, stranger of the first degree, visited the court of James, presumably admiring as the Queen of Sheba.

For readers today, unacknowledged contextual interpretations from early modern Britain are very troubling, especially considering that "commentaries in seventeenth-century England and New England pervasively influenced every level of intellectual, artistic, social, and political life."[414] By uncritically projecting the "historic accuracy" of the Bible into the present of early modern Britain and colonial British America, this type of interpretation participated in the scripturalization of whiteness, with all of its terrible consequences. If the historical accuracy of Israel's conquest of Canaan is assured and Britain is assumed to be Israel, then Britain's conquest of North America is divine providence. Significantly for the modern age, this providence is proved by literal, experiential empiricism, rather than appeal to divine revelation.

Remarkably, the archetype of a triumphal, white, imperial Solomon lives on in representations of the ideal British monarch,[415] and the whitening of the Bible continues to haunt US Christians, as a casual glance at any popular Children's Bible storybook in the US will

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[414] Sheppard, "Introduction," 6.

[415] Consider the continuous use since 1727 of Handel's "Zadok the Priest" coronation anthem celebrating the coronation of Solomon, with roots of this tradition dating back to the 1685 coronation of James II. To listen, see for example, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MiXgOQ9_-RI.

reveal.[416] Consequences of racialized, colonizing projects in the early modern period persisted

through Manifest Destiny in the US in the nineteenth century and the ongoing glorification of the

"chosen" white race into the twentieth century with its legacy of racial oppression of minoritized

others. Such episodes as the Trayvon Martin murder trial and recent tragedies in Ferguson and

other US communities should serve as wake-up calls for white Americans, as President Obama

and some churches have repeatedly proclaimed.[417] Now, as much as ever, it is incumbent upon

white Americans to engage in what Frederick Douglass described as "serious and honest

grappling" with racial thinking.[418] My dissertation on Solomon and the scripturalization of

whiteness responds by offering readers a window from which to reconsider our racialized pasts,

presents, and futures. Deconstruction of the ideological privilege of whiteness in biblical

interpretation will help white Americans to de-center whiteness in other areas of our cultures,

and relinquishment of such privilege is an essential step toward racial justice.

Study of the early modern period is crucial in order to understand racialized thinking and

structures that still profoundly shape life in the US and around the world today. A decisive racial

turn happened with the beginning of global European colonization, as evidenced in the

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[416] One particularly rich, imperial, racialized, sexualized example online that begins with the arrival of gold by sea from Ophir and the arrival of an Arabian Queen of Sheba to a very pale, blue-eyed Solomon: Praise Best 01, "Bible Stories For Children Old Testament The Demise of Solomon," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k7w7LXwJNaY.

[417] In March 2008, then-presidential-candidate Barack Obama called for a national conversation on race. The United Church of Christ that April urged its member churches to engage in "Sacred Conversations on Race." Obama renewed his call in July 2013 after the Trayvon Martin murder trial, and the UCC did also in the fall of 2014 when no indictments were issued for the deaths of Brown and Garner. Episcopalian, Presbyterian (USA), and other North American churches have also called on members to study and work toward racial justice in the past decade.

[418] Wimbush, "'No Modern Joshua,'" 260. For Douglass, the wilderness, as the location of the discussion and struggle for racial equality, is "both problem and salvation." Thus, a "modern Joshua" is a threat, because leading the people out of the wilderness puts a premature end to discussion about racial equality. A hasty move toward universal harmony of a post-racial society would re-entrench "the majority dominant white race into the default unspoken sociopolitical template or baseline." This "deadly silence" would be a "denial of the problem, a glossing over the roughness of the pain and deep humiliation of the enslaved and the corrosiveness of the enslaver." (265-70) There must be racial justice before there can be racial harmony.

exploitation of Native Americans and Africans in the establishment and growth of European

colonies in the "New World." In the US today, the scripturalization of whiteness persists in

Sunday school and Hollywood images of biblical characters like Solomon or Jesus as white and

in sermons and Bible study lessons where the biblical story is projected as "our" white Christian

story.[419] Such biblical interpretation continues to obscure the particularity of what has come to be

identified as racial whiteness in both more and less obvious ways. Not only do many white

Christians in North America continue to identify with the protagonists of the Bible and to

associate culturally marginalized others in their contexts with those marginalized in the Bible

but, even among those who intellectually acknowledge that the heroes of the Bible were

probably not white, few question the normative cultural power of whiteness, which was

entrenched, in part, by centuries of scripturalized white subjectivity, which in a key way began in

the early seventeenth century. Hopefully attention to these patterns of scripturalized whiteness

can help us avoid authorizing interpretations such as the Rev. Gray's in *Good Speed to Virginia*

about destroying idolators defined as ethnic or religious others, but such hermeneutics are,

unfortunately, alive and well today.

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[419] While it may be useful for some readers to appropriate the text directly, this practice is problematic when such readings perpetuate injustice.

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