Nancy Cox is the author of several articles on retail and trade, as well as *The Complete Tradesman: a Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Ashgate, 2000). *Perceptions of Retailing in Early Modern England* is part of the Ashgate series, The History of Retailing and Consumption, a multidisciplinary series with a focus on the role of the consumer and the rise of consumer society. The authors provide an extensive bibliography that will be useful to scholars of early modern retail practices. Scholars will also be interested in the “Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820,” compiled by the authors. It is an online dictionary of nearly 4,000 terms found used in documents relating to trade and retail in early modern Britain, available at [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.asp?pubid=739](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.asp?pubid=739).


The essays in this volume comprise the first book-length exploration of its titular subject since William Cunningham’s *Alien Immigrants to England* (1897). Although much work has recently been done addressing specific aspects of the larger topic of immigration, any study of immigrants to early modern England must take Cunningham’s work into account; this the editors do in their respective introduction and conclusion, using Cunningham’s landmark work as a touchstone and positioning their own book as its direct successor. Between Goose’s introduction and Luu’s conclusion are ten essays arranged into three parts: “Immigrant Communities in England,” “Immigrants and Their Impact,” and “Immigrants and the International Community.” Of these ten chapters, Goose and Luu contribute two each, resulting in a collection whose editors contribute half of the content, a fact that raises questions about the absence of contributions by other scholars. However, this fact does not detract from the value of the book, which has much to commend itself.

In his introduction, Goose surveys the estimated number of immigrants to early modern England, acknowledging the difficulties in
arriving at such estimates. He correctly observes that the Huguenots, the “second refuge,” have attracted more attention than the “first refuge” of immigrants and exiles, primarily from the Low Countries, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Goose thoroughly summarizes numerous implications of the “first refuge,” delving into such topics as the legal and social status of immigrants, as well as foreign policy and religion. The introduction provides a useful overview of the topic and effectively contextualizes the following essays.

Chapter Two, by Raymond Fagel, explores the geographical origins of the immigrants, offering a valuable overview of the geo-political context of sixteenth-century immigration; he also addresses the thorny problem of national identity—i.e., the often-blurred distinctions among Netherlandic immigrants. In Chapter Three, Luu considers the legal status of first- and second-generation immigrants, offering a thoughtful consideration of denizenship. Joseph P. Ward’s chapter delves into the relationship of immigrants to trade guilds and the labor force, including the attempts of the guilds to exclude strangers and the well-documented antipathy of apprentices toward the stranger community. Ward also discusses the contributions made by immigrants to such industries as weaving.

Part Two opens with a chapter by Andrew Spicer on immigrant churches. Recognizing these churches as the hubs of the immigrant communities, Spicer discusses numerous aspects of religion and immigrants, including reasons for immigrating, native charges that strangers feigned religious persecution to enter the country for economic gain, and concerns about the influence of foreign sectaries. Spicer also discusses the churches as a locus for violence against the strangers, although he neglects one of this topic’s most interesting episodes, the anti-alien libels placed on the Dutch and French churches in 1593; since Elizabeth’s government launched a thorough investigation into the libels, the omission constitutes a curious flaw in an otherwise noteworthy essay. The next chapter, by Goose, reconsiders the widespread belief that charges of xenophobia toward the strangers have been overstated. He argues that ambivalence rather than animosity characterizes the relationship between native and stranger; here Goose would benefit from an examination of the popular literature of the period, particularly xenophobic interludes such as Wealth and Health.
and *Like Will to Like*, as well as the suppression of the Ill May Day scenes in *Sir Thomas More*. The evidence offered by such xenophobic works challenges Goose’s thesis, as does the number of anti-alien riots that occurred or were suppressed in the early 1590’s.

Goose also contributes Chapter Seven, which offers a consolidation of research into the economic contributions made by immigrants. In some regards this essay is a continuation of the previous one, arguing that the economic and technological contributions of the immigrants fostered the ambivalence he argues overshadowed xenophobic impulses. Goose comes close to embracing a long-standing dichotomy between royal and popular attitudes toward the strangers: i.e., that the Crown recognized and welcomed the contributions of the strangers while members of the guilds, especially apprentices, blamed the newcomers for the plague, shortages of jobs, housing, food, and a debasement of native blood. Collectively, however, Goose’s chapters in Part Two have much to commend themselves, with the aforementioned caveats. Raingard Esser views immigrant culture through the lens of “New Cultural History,” stating that it has “only been addressed indirectly in the case studies written on the various exile communities” (162). In some regards, Esser implicitly challenges the dichotomy underlying Goose’s work. While not comprehensive, this chapter provides a useful overview of the topic and a challenge for more scholarship from this perspective.

Part Three opens with a chapter by Charles G.D. Littleton investigating the relationship of the stranger churches to those on the continent, paying particular attention to the role of the stranger churches as would-be agents of change to English theology. He also explores international trade, providing a useful balance of primary and secondary sources. In Chapter Ten, Luu analyzes the remigration of exiles and immigrants to the Dutch Republic, offering considerable statistics to augment her thesis. The final chapter of Part Three, by David Trim, addresses the international Calvinist movement; his work complements that of Littleton, expanding its scope to consider the role of religion in the war in the Low Countries.

Luu provides the concluding essay, offering an overview of research from Cunningham’s 1897 book to the present day, noting a spike in interest during the 1990s. Luu issues a call to arms, challenging
scholars to look more closely at the “first refuge.” The book’s end apparatus includes a Consolidated Bibliography and an index, which, unfortunately, does not include entries for authors of secondary works. Overall this is a much-needed volume in a field attracting new critical attention and should be of use to historians and scholars working in other fields such as literature and art.


Among the cultural transformations effected by the Reformation, scholars of late medieval and early modern religion, history, and literature have long recognized that the ways in which Protestant ideologies changed Western understandings of textuality must be counted among the most significant. In particular the subject of literacy has attracted a great deal of attention. As the reading and interpretation of Judeo-Christian scripture came to be central to Protestant versions of soteriology, a new emphasis on basic literacy skills and on individualized engagement with scriptural texts emerged. Recently, scholars such as James Simpson have returned to this topic in order to challenge the intellectually democratizing narrative of Reformation-era literacy articulated most famously by Elizabeth Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979). In *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy in Early Modern England*, John S. Pendergast joins this discussion by beginning with a simple yet crucial question: how can we define literacy in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Drawing upon the work of E. D. Hirsch and Lawrence Levine (as well as of Walter Ong), Pendergast suggests that literacy must be understood in two different but related ways. Certainly, the term designates the ability to recognize printed characters as units of language, but literacy also describes a much broader cultural function. For Pendergast, literacy is also an institution through which a culture transmits and preserves its own hermeneutic standards. In becoming literate, then, early modern readers learned not only how to read but what to read, and how to interpret what they read. Using