

manifestations of the inherent ambiguity, weakness, and perpetual contestation characteristic of all anti-Roman Christians in the Reformation era that began even before the formal condemnations of Luther in 1521.

Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl. *Perceptions of Retailing in Early Modern England*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007. xv+214 pp. \$99.95. Review by GENE HAYWORTH, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER.

Evidence of the historical relationship between the retailer and the consumer in Great Britain has provided ample material for scholarly investigation. Recent historians have considered retail space, the production and consumption of goods, and the economic and geographical influences of the marketplace on global expansion as aspects worthy of discussion. The authors of early works, such as *Middlemen in English Business Particularly between 1660 and 1760* by Ray Bert Westerfield (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1915) were content to focus on the economic aspects of trade that led to the industrial revolution. It wasn't until the early 1970s, with titles such as *Oxford Shops and Shopping: a Pictorial Survey from Victorian & Edwardian Times* by Michael Turner and David Vaisey (Oxford Illustrated Press, 1972) and *Urban Markets and Retail Distribution, 1730-1815, with Particular Reference to Macclesfield, Stockport and Chester* by S. Ian Mitchell, that historians took a broader view of the factors that contributed to the expansion of retail trade. More recent works, like *English Shops and Shopping: an Architectural History* by Kathryn A Morrison (Yale Univ. Press, 2003) have taken a more narrow view. Because there is a dearth of substantial data prior to 1830, much of this research has focused on the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

A new study by Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Perceptions of Retailing in Early Modern England*, takes a more radical approach. Rather than focus on the evidence of sale and trade and the chronological development of early modern retail practices, the authors of this work, faculty at the University of Wolverhampton, structure their research around specific themes of perception, space, and distance.

Their goal is to provide interpretations of the perceptions of retailing disseminated through literature, art, and advertising, and to analyze the lack of pictorial images of shops and advertising in those works. The authors argue for the need to examine retailing as a cultural phenomenon. They define retailing as “the broad spectrum of activities that facilitated the exchange of material goods and supplied end or near-end consumers with them” (5). Through a synthesis of prior research, Cox and Dannehl set the context for their study, which traces the recorded impressions of retailing by contemporary onlookers. Personal accounts of travel writers such as Celia Fiennes in the 1680s and Daniel Defoe during the 1720s, excerpts from literature of the period, images of English townships, and retail handbills serve as the primary material from which they draw their conclusions. Concepts of shopping from eighteenth century dictionaries, advertising, buzzwords, key advertising strategies and promotional concepts are also used to emphasize the social and entertainment aspects of retailing to the consumer.

Using primary material from the digital archive of the Dictionary Project, a collection of digitized historical documents on early modern trade that includes industrial patents, books of rates, probate inventories of tradesmen, advertisements from provincial newspapers, trade cards and bill heads, diaries and personal papers, and other documents that focus on topics like invention and innovation, business methods, and women and household affairs, Cox and Dannehl begin by laying the foundation for their thesis, the definitions and distinctions that set retail apart from wholesale. Early chapters provide a brief discussion of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, establishing those events and movements that most affected attitudes toward retailing: changing centers of power, the fear of invasion, expansion of overseas trading, rise in disposable income, political upheaval, and the growth of empire in India, Canada, and elsewhere.

The literary and artistic world of the eighteenth century depicted a world devoid of shops. Engravings of townscapes by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck offered idealized images of towns, artistically omitting any suggestion of commerce in order to focus on the idyllic landscape. The authors provide several theories for this void: premises were more functional, so less effective for advertising than symbols and imagery

from shop signs. Most advertising pieces did not include an image of the shops. Text and pictures provided a wealth of information to an audience versed in understanding symbolism. This promotional literature was directed at an audience of the literate, and generally associated merchandise with status.

Three chapters focus on the roles and effect of promotional materials. Using current analysis of advertising such as Angela Goodard's 1998 work, *The Language of Advertising: Written Texts*, Cox and Dannehl apply contemporary observations to material from the eighteenth century. Detailed analysis of specific advertisements allow the authors to identify the key buzzwords used to describe the functionality and desirability of objects for sale. Their analysis suggests that manufacturers of the early modern period were anxious to distinguish their products from their competitors. Advertising became "a form of virtual shop floor and a direct extension of the premises of the retailer" (67), needed more by fixed shops than itinerant retailers.

Of particular interest is the discussion of the effect of geography and place names on various aspects of retailing. Retailers often associated place names with commodities to invoke specific characteristics and add cultural meaning to goods. Many products were identified by place of origin. Advertising also addressed the problem of physical distance by providing retailers with a way to increase their presence in the marketplace. Consumers did not need to see the display shelves or see and touch the physical object in order to make a selection. Perception of London as a center of fashion became especially important for the concept of distance selling—prized goods produced far away could be readily available. This eventually resulted in mail order and catalog sales.

The conclusions Cox and Dannehl offer are interpretive in scope. The formation of a social relationship between buyer and seller was necessary to make sure the concept of acquiring goods remained attractive and relevant. Ads reinforced notions about the importance of possessing goods, shaped demand, made information about the goods accessible and named and described the objects and the vocabulary to evaluate them. The authors note that little direct evidence identifying the motives of advertisers is available, and indicate their inability to measure the effectiveness of this advertising.

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>.

Nigel Goose and Lien Luu, eds. *Immigrants in Tudor and Stuart England*. Brighton and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press. 2005. x + 263 pp. \$55. Review by PETER M. McCLUSKEY, MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY.

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