

This book has much to say about many important writers and thinkers, including Anthony Ascham, John Donne, Sir Robert Filmer, James Harrington, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, John Milton, William Prynne, John Selden, and James Tyrrell. It is a careful and nuanced treatment of its subject, and avoids making overly broad generalizations, or reaching unjustifiably bold conclusions. Sometimes this has the consequence that the reader may be somewhat unclear about what precisely is being claimed, and why it is important. On occasion, too, the writing is a little cumbersome. For example, we are told that “the conceptual inadequacy of either Dutch or English republicanism eventually reflects on current analyses of the Anglo-Dutch intellectual context. Without denying the close affinities and interconnections between Britain and the United Provinces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is difficult to identify a set of inherently republican ideas and works which were transposed from one country to another, without taking into account the processes of readaptation between two distinct political, social, and religious national contexts” (74). It is perhaps unclear exactly what follows from this insight. The book notes the ambiguity of Grotius on some questions, observing (for instance) his “Janus-faced reputation” as both a supporter and opponent of absolutism (25), and the author concludes that “the study of the English receptions of Grotius in the ‘century of revolution’ primarily tells us a story of influence and success, but also one of contingency and oblivion” (187). The striking claim is advanced that “virtually everybody in England, regardless of their beliefs, considered Grotius the ‘greatest scholar of the century’” (187), but this is not fully sustained. The book discusses at length the possibility that Hobbes was influenced by Grotius on various points, but ultimately concludes rather anticlimactically that “the relationship between Grotius and Hobbes is not substantially supported by any textual or contextual evidence” (193–94). Nevertheless, despite some problems, this book will be required reading for anyone interested in the influence of Grotius on English political thought in the seventeenth century and the opening decades of the eighteenth.

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Writing Conscience and the Nation in Revolutionary England.

Giuseppina Iacono Lobo.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. x + 254 pp. \$75.

Many recent studies of literary history in the English revolutionary (or Civil War) period maintain a double focus on the traditional literary canon, especially Milton, and on the developing print culture with its less canonical but revelatory, quirky writers. Giuseppina Iacono Lobo in *Writing Conscience and the Nation in Revolutionary England* follows this model, ending with Milton, after chapters on Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, Margaret Fell, Thomas Hobbes, and Lucy Hutchinson. Through this historical narrative,

Lobo shows that the discourse of the conscience in the mid-seventeenth century opened up new ways for people to experience the nation of England with one another, a communal emphasis she derives from the Latin verb *conscire*, to know with.

The variety of authors and subjects in the five pre-Milton chapters mimics for Lobo the intricate structures of power in the period. She initially moves by contrast from Charles I to Cromwell, who takes the reins of government from the executed king. Against Cromwell, chapters 3 and 4 highlight two dissenters to the protectorate, Fell and Hobbes, who represent the perspectives of Quakers and contemporary royalist political theorists more generally. Chapters 5 and 6 then examine two contrasting rejoinders to the English regicide, both oblique but clearly responsive to the whirling politics of the 1640s through the 1660s. If the putative memoirs of John Hutchinson prove (cunningly) unclear in their position regarding the regicide in part because they were constructed by his wife Lucy, Milton's *Paradise Lost* provides a similarly attenuated response to the revolution, hedging its politics within poetic analogy. Yet Lobo argues that Milton in this late poem addresses politics, and she puts it on a continuum with his earlier, politically embattled defenses of the regicide, *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Eikonoklastes*.

This last chapter on Milton proves the most wide-ranging, though perhaps less innovative than the chapters on the women authors, Fell and Hutchinson. Whereas in the earlier chapters Lobo examines the narrow slices of time around the main texts of her analysis, whether the archival letters of Fell or Hobbes's *Leviathan*, in the Milton chapter she connects texts from different stages of his career, starting with his first prose treatise *Of Reformation* (1641) and focusing on *Paradise Lost*, published twenty-six years later. Many monographs cover Milton's prose and poetry in separate chapters, and, indeed, Lobo in this chapter reworks material from two earlier (unacknowledged) publications. Yet in this chapter, the longest, Lobo shows most persuasively the centrality of the conscience in conceiving of the English nation: having failed in prose to persuade England to embrace the freedom of conscience, Milton switches genres but not topics, continuing to investigate conscience as it relates to the nation.

Even more than the final chapter, the introduction engages the expansive history of the conscience, anchoring the study in the Reformation example of Martin Luther, featured on the dust jacket in a contemporary nude, heroic pose, guiding the woman Conscience to Christ. Lobo briefly reaches back still further to the etymological roots of *conscientia* in the Greek New Testament (*syneidesis*), before springing ahead to the important English example of Henry VIII, who like Luther broke with the church of Rome because of his conscience.

By treating a varied slate of writers, Lobo connects her larger argument—regarding the centrality of the conscience to the communal experience of the nation in revolutionary England—to several other discussions such as those regarding the regicide, Quakers, and particular authors from Hutchinson to Milton. Of these writers, only Milton is traditionally included in significant selections in literary anthologies. Hobbes

and Hutchinson appear more often and in more substantial selections, but Charles I, Cromwell, and Fell remain more often the subjects of historians. It is to Lobo's credit that she reads all these authors carefully and integrates them persuasively into her larger (but ever concise) argument. I defer to professional historians to judge the merits of the book in that broader field, but within the narrower field of literary history, as in literary criticism, this book succeeds at the challenging task of merging historical and literary evidence.

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Indentured Migration and the Servant Trade from London to America, 1618–1718: “There is Great Want of Servants.” John Wareing.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. xvi + 298 pp. \$100.

The role of indentured servitude as a form of unfree labor in England's American colonies has been explored by many scholars. Most, such as Edmund Morgan and Hilary McD. Beckles, have argued that indentured service laid the legal and cultural foundations for the widespread acceptance of slavery because it allowed people to see others as things to be bought and sold. What is far less well known is how the servant trade worked in England. Although there have been studies that trace where English indentured servants came from, their demographic makeup, and the servant trade's relationship to broader domestic migration patterns, there have been few successful attempts to uncover how and why such people became indentured servants in the first place. For this reason alone, John Wareing's new book is a welcome contribution to the fields of colonial labor studies, early modern migration studies, and legal history. Wareing offers a careful analysis of the categories of indentured servitude as it existed in the seventeenth century: consigned, exchanged, redemptioner, or customary. The most common category was the exchanged servant, recruited in England and sold to another merchant or planter in the colonies. As in his earlier work, Wareing places such servants in the context of domestic migration and investigates their geographic origins and demographic characteristics. He also explores where servants went, their terms of service, and the kinds of work they did. But the major contribution of Wareing's work is that he uncovers how the trade operated, focusing on London.

One of the main reasons why the organization of the indentured servant trade has been so difficult to uncover is the lack of any systematic records. For the most part it was not that records did not survive; it is that they were likely never created in the first place. Different institutions and entities as well as individual merchants were involved in this trade throughout the 1600s, and only occasionally were local or national authorities involved in any attempt to regulate the trade through servants' registries or other means. But what little has survived, particularly for London, Wareing has utilized.