

coats for adorning the Virgin. Not many London churchwardens noted such coats, calling “attention to a unique aspect of pre-Reformation local religion” (95). Gibbs combs lists of benefactions and subsidies for women’s contributions, such as for building a new aisle in Allhallows London Wall or for Hock Day festivities and collections organized by women in the same parish. The revival of Hock Day in Saint Botolph Aldgate in 1554, however, points out the difficulty in studying “religious culture” and the “social dimension of religion” (3), without writing a study of the Reformation of the parishes. As Gibbs writes, the meaning of Hock Day across decades “may be fluid and open to local variation” (46). The sales of pre-Reformation church fabric, inventories of old items, purchases of new books, and requirements for worship pepper the sources used by Gibbs, as he outlines in the discussion of Saint Michael Cornhill, a parish with extensive churchwardens’ accounts and vestry minutes. This parish built chambers in its churchyard in the mid-sixteenth century to generate income. Gibbs mentions widows, and while outside his focus in these microhistories, such ventures often supported poor, aged widows as well as poor infants and children.

Gibbs, in the conclusion, reiterates his focus on the local elite, whether the fabulously wealthy Lady Lisle, the goldsmith Shaa, or the possible Presbyterians Dorcas Eccleston Martin and her husband, Richard. These prominent individuals “exercised some latitude to appropriate and shape the universal faith.” The parishes represent “local societies,” with “unique economies and cultures,” as this microhistorical study shows (169). Inhabitants also crossed neighborhoods, and their kin and associates occupied different parishes, perhaps explaining why the widow of a goldsmith, Lady Read, donated coals across multiple parishes in 1521. Gibbs brings vibrant parishes and active, even opinionated individuals into close-up, and invites us to draw back as well to see a city in the midst of significant changes.

Claire S. Schen, *University at Buffalo, SUNY*
doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.165

Immigrant England, 1300–1550. W. Mark Ormrod, Bart Lambert, and Jonathan Mackman.

Manchester Medieval Studies. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019. xii + 307 pp. £19.99.

While much has been written about immigrants, especially religious refugees, to England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, far less has been said about the presence of immigrants in pre-Reformation England. Building on Keechang Kim’s *Aliens in Medieval Law* (2010) and W. Mark Ormrod, Nicholas McDonald, and Craig Taylor’s edited collection *Resident Aliens in Late Medieval England* (2017), *Immigrant England, 1300–1550* provides readers with a well-written, clearly organized book that

systematically establishes the presence, diversity, and distribution of immigrants in medieval England. The book might usefully be thought of as moving from demographic, to economic, and, finally, to social history: the first several chapters focus on where medieval immigrants to England came from and where they settled. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the occupations of immigrants in medieval England (with an important section on immigrant women), and the final chapters cover the dynamics of cross-cultural contact.

Mark Ormrod, Bart Lambert, and Jonathan Mackman base their study primarily on England's alien subsidies spanning from 1440 to 1487. The focus on the alien subsidies allows for both a broad macrohistorical overview of immigration into England in the late Middle Ages as well as prosopographic occasions to zoom in on particular names, at times tracing an individual's movements and social relations over time. Although the alien subsidies do not include a country of origin for each name listed, the authors nonetheless manage to deduce other places of origin so that the study includes a broad sense of who was considered alien in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: those hailing from Continental Europe, to be sure, but also migrants from the British Isles, Iceland, Africa, and the Middle East. In addition to the great diversity of England's medieval immigrants, *Immigrant England* also finds a surprising distribution of immigrants: the assumption has been that immigrants to England primarily clustered around London and a handful of other urban centers and key port towns. While this is largely confirmed, the authors also find immigrants in rural England, albeit in much lower concentrations than in more urban settings. In all, the authors estimate that England was host to some thirty thousand immigrants in the late fifteenth century.

Among the large claims of *Immigrant England* is that the category of alien really came into being in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as economic pressures led to formal regulations of immigrants throughout the realm, and that this developed in tandem with a growing sense of English national identity. That being said, while the authors enumerate small- and large-scale acts of violence against immigrants, they are reluctant to describe medieval English people as especially or uniformly xenophobic. Most of the anti-alien activity described in the archives involved specific grievances aimed narrowly at certain occupational groups of immigrants. Only very rarely was anti-alien violence indiscriminately aimed at immigrants for their foreignness alone. Thus, even during moments of international tensions with France, French immigrants to England went largely unmolested by native antipathies. Here the challenge is what constitutes xenophobia: organized violence is likely to appear in the historical record, whereas daily affronts and systematic discrimination is harder to discern a half a millennium after the fact. And as the authors make clear, a good deal depended on the immigrant's specific ethnic group or birthplace. While the English might differentiate between French migrants among them and the French as military enemy abroad, the treatment of Jews, Romani, and Black people was markedly hostile.

Immigrant England is a well-written, meticulously researched book that productively connects immigration into late medieval England to early modern and modern studies of immigration. While certainly not the dominant themes of the book, the discussions of race and gender will spark specialized interest, while the book as a whole provides a stable foundation for further studies on pre- and early modern immigration.

Scott Oldenburg, *Tulane University*
doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.166

Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain, c.1400–1688. Matthew Ward and Matthew Hefferan, eds.
London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. xv + 302 pp. €93.59.

Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain is a collection of thirteen thoughtful essays, originally presented at a conference held at Nottingham University in January 2018, with an introductory essay by the editors. They are divided chronologically into three sections: late medieval and early Tudor, later Tudor and early Stuart, and Civil War and Restoration. While each period had its unique challenges, all had the reciprocal obligation of loyalty between the Crown and its subjects. Most of the essays focus on the English experience, but two are concerned with Scotland, one with Wales, and another with the Virginia colony. With civil wars at each end, assorted rebellions, and two changes of dynasty in between, the chosen period is particularly fruitful for an exploration of what it meant to be loyal during those tumultuous times. A common theme in all the essays is that although kings and queens appealed to their subjects' loyalty at times of stress, they realized that loyalty was something that needed to be nurtured all the time.

Several essays examine ways monarchs exploited chivalric traditions to strengthen ties with their more powerful subjects. Edward IV used tournaments to bind the nobility to the Yorkist cause and frequently participated in them, while Elizabeth, who could not follow his example, stressed other chivalric themes. For those further down the social ladder, the Tudors used proclamations, sermons, and homilies to achieve similar results. Charles II's coronation showed that such appeals were not always successful. Intended to minimize past turmoil with an overwhelming public relations spectacle, the festivities had mixed results.

Of course, just as kings sought to encourage the bonds of loyalty, so subjects managed to exploit this need for their own advantage. Sir Amias Paulet and his son, Sir Hugh, who established their loyal credentials by suppressing rebellions and supporting Henry VIII's religious changes, were able to convert their loyalty into amassing lucrative local offices in Somerset. Others demonstrated that their loyalty was blatantly self-serving. The dedications of books donated to Henry VIII reveal the donors' desire to gain