

Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility
in Early Modern England



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Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England

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Amsterdam University Press



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Introduction

‘Where shall I find you about twelve a clocke?’ asks a speaker in John Eliot’s French–English manual, the *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593). ‘I will be below in the Change’, is the proffered reply, ‘either walking among the Italians, or trucking with the French, or prating amongst our English, or carousing with the Flemings at the Cardinal’s Hat’.¹ The conversation directs the reader’s attention to the buzz of the Royal Exchange, opened in 1571, whose novelty as England’s first major commercial centre and multi-cultural trading bourse had not yet faded. The space that it signals is elusively mobile, and almost disconcertingly multicultural and multilingual. It is exaggerated, as one might expect from a semi-satiric bilingual manual, but not entirely unfounded. The radically transformative impact of human mobility and displacement on virtually all aspects of life and society in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe – from politics and economy to everyday practices of consumption and habit – is well established. Nowhere was its transformative effect felt as substantially in the shaping of the nation as among the English, deeply conscious of their identity as an island nation, ‘penitus toto divisos orbe’ (‘quite sundered from the rest of the world’, Virgil, *Eclogue* 1, 67).

What did it mean to be a stranger in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England? How were other nations, cultures, and religions perceived? And what happened when individuals moved between languages, countries, religions, and spaces? The primary aim of the essays in this volume is to examine certain terms which repeatedly illuminated points of tension, debate, and change around issues of identity, race, and belonging throughout this period. The words chosen for this volume featured centrally in English debates about migration and empire. They span a period that stretches from the arrival of Huguenots and other religious exiles from Europe, to the rise of settler colonialism, from the first voyage of the East India Company in 1601, to the 1660 chartering of the Royal African Company and the development of institutionalised slavery in British America.

Writing at the end of the sixteenth century, Richard Hakluyt argued that it was through the ‘prosperous and speedy discovery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles’ and the ‘honest employment of many thousands of our idle people’ that trade and navigation could ensure ‘the

1 John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica, Eliots fruits for the French: enterlaced with a double new invention, which teacheth to speake truly, speedily and volubly the French-tongue* (London, 1593; STC 7574), p. 26.



infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey'.² Hakluyt's optimism grew against the backdrop of England's success against the Spanish Armada and a growing acknowledgment of England's belated entry, in comparison to its Iberian and Dutch competitors, into a global network of trade and colonisation. Towards the end of the time frame covered in this book, Josiah Child, governor of the East India Company, similarly declared that the 'thing being to be prized above Gold' was that which 'encreaseth the Navigation of any Country, especially that of this Island of England'.³ According to Child, the 'medium of mutual commerce' not only benefited 'infinite numbers of Families at home', but when 'transported to the remotest parts of the habitable known World', it also 'tends to the civilising [of] the unsociable Tempers of many barbarous People'.⁴ For Hakluyt, Child, and innumerable other exponents of English travel and trade, encounters with other cultures not only benefited English subjects in terms of wealth, but also helped the nation develop an international identity based on its global aims.

That vision, however, is only part of the story. Economic prosperity, though often couched in the language of 'improving' the lives of others, often depended on exploitation and dispossession at home and abroad, as the English began to establish their colonies in America and their factories across South and South East Asia. Early modern critical race studies have worked to illuminate the ways in which articulations of civility, faith, and identity were often infused with assumptions based fundamentally on race, ethnography, and colour. Kim F. Hall's *Things of Darkness* (1995) and Imtiaz Habib's *Black Lives in the English Archives* (2008) come to mind as foundational inquiries in the field, recovering traces of lived and imagined black presence.⁵ That work prepared the ground for a new wave of scholarship that has begun to show how normative assumptions about whiteness were often shaped by the representation of blackness and black lives in the period. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton's *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (2007) not only brought together a superb selection of primary texts, but also provided an articulation of the reasons why matters of race and racial difference needed to be acknowledged in early modern studies, despite the often-proffered counterargument that 'race' arguably

2 Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation* (London, 1599–1600; STC 12626a), p. 4.

3 Josiah Child, *A discourse about trade* (London, 1690; Wing C3853), p. 3.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

5 Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).



may not have carried the same meanings as it does now. As they noted, '[a]s is the case in the modern world, when we examine early modern notions of racial difference we must consider not only those divisions of humanity that were putatively based on distinctive combinations of physical traits and transmitted through a line of descent, but also the eclectic range of cultural differences that are used to explain, manage, or reorganize relations of power'.⁶ Those same relations of power meant that matters of race and racial identity were linked intrinsically to matters of identity and belonging.

At the same time, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English responses to the influx of 'strangers' and 'aliens' whose difference was not marked through quasi-biological, physical features also returned repeatedly to anxieties about their influence and agency. In 1530, Parliament expressed its concern that foreign merchants had been sending goods back to 'their own country to the detriment of England' and passed an 'Acte for Denyzens to paye Straungers'.⁷ This act sought to deal with these accusations by preventing foreign-born 'denizens' from employing 'strangers', and by doing so authorities also hoped it would combat social anxiety surrounding the numbers of migrants arriving in London. The Act defined the individual's own country as where the foreign merchant had 'been naturally born'.⁸ Yet it is evident that any easy binaries of differentiation between those who belonged and those who did not – whether due to race, colour, language, religion, or birth – were complicated constantly by conflicting affiliations, such as those based on shared faith or shared craft, and by practical conditions of living and working in close proximity.⁹

Beyond English shores, equally thorny questions of rights and allegiance were opened up by figures who operated across national, political, and linguistic borders, from the thousands of English-born who ventured abroad as travellers, merchants, settlers, and colonisers, to envoys and ambassadors, pirates, and religious exiles. When the Marian reformer, John Bradford, wrote shortly before his execution, 'Thynke som[e] thing how we ar[e] strangers

6 *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*, ed. by Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 2. See also Peter Erickson and Kim F. Hall, "A New Scholarly Song": Rereading Early Modern Race', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 67 (2016), 1–13; Urvashi Chakravarty, 'The Renaissance of Race and the Future of Early Modern Race Studies', *English Literary Renaissance*, 50:1 (2020), 17–24.

7 'Acte for Denyzens to paye Straungers', 1530, 22 Hen. VIII c. 8.

8 *Ibid.*

9 See, for instance, Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

from our contry from our home, from our original', he was drawing on the competing claims of national and spiritual allegiance that threatened to split the idea of the country as 'home' from the inside, estranging English subjects both from themselves and from their covenant with God.¹⁰ While some terms were forged during domestic upheavals including the Reformation or the civil wars, other terms, such as 'native', took on new or altered meanings through colonisation, as English communities in Ireland or New England refashioned ideas of 'native' rights while seeking to sever the ties between invaded peoples and their ancestral homelands.

Tracing these terms is challenging, precisely because of the shifting and ambiguous nature of the descriptors. The difference between a 'stranger' and a 'foreigner', for instance, could depend on the perspective from which such identities were being evaluated, and would be inflected both by changing civic law and economic measures. In early modern London, the term 'foreigner' would usually denote someone from another city: by that definition, playwrights such as Christopher Marlowe (born in Canterbury) and William Shakespeare (born in Stratford-upon-Avon) were both 'foreigners' in London. English law and taxation practices distinguished them from 'citizens' on the basis of place of origin at a fundamental level, just like travellers from other nations who were identified as 'strangers' and 'aliens', even as other factors such as national allegiance, language, and faith nuanced the legal, economic, and cultural expression of such difference. In Robert Wilson's late-Elizabethan comedy, *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (1590), for instance, it seems safe to predict that the 'Three Lords' have a better chance of winning the hands of the 'Three Ladies of London' than their three Spanish rivals. It takes an explanation from the judicial character within the play, Judge Nemo, however, to establish why their claim on the ladies as 'their countrimen, in *London* bred as they', is stronger than that of the competing 'Three Lords of Lincoln'.¹¹

Even among 'strangers' themselves, distinctions cut across boundaries as frequently as they created new ones. In 1550, in a proclamation from the reign of Edward VI against idle persons, the Crown ordered individuals to leave London and return to 'their native Countreyes where they were borne'.¹² On the surface this might seem similar to the multiple

10 John Bradford, *A godlye medytacyon composed by the faithfull...I.B. latlye burnte in Smytfelde* (London, 1559; STC 3483), Cir.

11 Robert Wilson, *The pleasant and stately morall, of the three lordes and three ladies of London* (London, 1590; STC 25783), sig. N4v.

12 Edward VI, *A proclamation set furth by thee Kynges Maiesty* (London, 1550; STC 7831).



proclamations aiming to control the movements and trade of ‘strangers’ that had been issued before. Yet early modern ideas of foreignness meant that the instruction to return to ‘native Countreyes’ in the 1550 proclamation not only referred to national origin, but could also mean the domestic county where a person had been born. Although not technically against merchants, the proclamation also stipulated that they should return to ‘the places within the realme where they last dwelt by the space of three yerres’: in other words, a home city, town, or parish in England.¹³ The clause meant that migrants born outside of England, such as Huguenots and other religious refugees, could identify a geographic space as a legal home in England through residency. In doing so, English authorities had established a form of early modern residency where foreign merchants and migrants could establish a legal home in England. Yet there were distinctions there too. Those who permanently settled in the city and negotiated rights to escape alien custom duties and taxes (‘denizens’) were habitually distinguished both from people who had freedom of the City in addition to, or instead of, a letter of denization (‘free denizens’), as well as from others of their own nations simply passing through – merchants, casual travellers, scholars, spies, or diplomats and their retinue. Subsequent generations further complicated the issue, as did questions of nationhood, race, and ethnicity: the definition and status of ‘stranger-born’ subjects and ‘English-born strangers’, as recent scholarship has shown, was hardly consistent even within the period in question.¹⁴

Much in terms of expectation and generalisation around issues of race and identity was nuanced significantly and constantly on the basis of such labelling. Judge Nemo’s decision in Wilson’s play, for instance, gains an added dimension when we juxtapose it with the humanist Thomas Wilson’s *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), where origin was linked to fundamental qualities such as civility. ‘The realme declares the nature of the people’, wrote Wilson, so that towns ‘helpeth somewhat, towards the encrease of honour: As it is much better, to be borne [...] in London, then in Lincolne. For that [...] the people [are] more civil’.¹⁵ That understanding of civility as progress contained profound implications for colonists who travelled to Ireland or

13 Ibid.

14 See Lien Luu, ‘Natural-Born versus Stranger-Born Subjects: Aliens and Their Status in Elizabethan London’, in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), pp. 57–75; Jacob Selwood, ‘“English-Born Reputed Strangers”: Birth and Descent in Seventeenth Century London’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 728–753.

15 Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London: 1553; STC 25799), sig. B3v.



America, seeking to valorise both their identities and their actions through the desire to ‘civilize’.¹⁶ Andrew Trollope wrote from Ireland in 1581 that the Irish living outside of walled towns were ‘not christyans, cyvell, or humane creatours, but [...] savage, and brute bestes’, while Thomas Hariot, though depicting a nuanced account of Native American life based on his first-hand observations in the 1580s, nonetheless promoted the need to transform Algonquians into English subjects: ‘Whereby may be hoped if meanes of good government bee used, that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true religioun’.¹⁷ Ridiculing the uncivil also played a social and gendered role within England by placing the unlearned or inexperienced English individual outside the refined spheres occupied by their social superiors. In his thundering invective against long hair and other sartorial fashions in 1628, the Puritan William Prynne declared that ‘for men to weare long Haire [...] in any Christian, or civill Common-wealth (as ours is)’ turned them into ‘Barbarous, Uncivill, and Lascivious Pagans’.¹⁸

The examination of such shifting fields of meaning in *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* follows the model of Raymond Williams’s *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976). In the introduction to the first edition of *Keywords*, Williams argued that the meanings of certain crucial, recurrently used words were ‘inextricably bound up with the problems [they] were being used to discuss’.¹⁹ His twofold definition of such keywords as ‘significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation’ and ‘significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought’ continues to be a useful framework to interrogate words that sometimes tend to be under-analysed in both popular and academic discussion.²⁰ They help to illuminate what Williams had described as ‘a history and complexity of meanings; conscious changes, or consciously different uses; innovation, obsolescence, specialisation, extension, overlap, transfer; or changes which are masked by a nominal continuity so that words which

16 Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Nicholas Canny, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 1*, ed. by Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1976). See also Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).

17 Andrew Trollope to Francis Walsingham, 12 September 1581, Kew, The National Archives, SP 63/85, f. 96; and Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1588; STC 12785), sig. E2v.

18 William Prynne, *The unloveliness of love lockes* (London, 1628; STC 20477), sig. B4r.

19 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1976; 1983), p. 15.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 15.



seem to have been there for centuries, with continuous general meanings, have come in fact to express radically different or radically variable, yet sometimes hardly noticed, meanings and implications of meaning'.²¹

Williams's own approach has continued to be interrogated and revised. Fundamental to *Keywords* was the attention it drew to the ways in which both words and vocabularies cohered out of multiple conversations. As Tony Bennett, Lawrence Grossberg, and Meaghan Morris have pointed out, for instance, it highlighted both 'the sharing of a word across differing domains of thought and experience', and 'the ways people group or "bond" them together, making explicit or often implicit connections that help to initiate new ways of seeing their world'.²² As editors of *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (2005), the approach adopted by Bennett, Grossberg, and Morris themselves privileged yet further forms of conversation. Their revision of Williams's endeavour is 'a collective rather than individual' effort, justified on the grounds that the 'expansion of resources, and the plurality of perspectives it introduces to the project, are necessary today if proper account is to be taken of the now much greater diversity of the fields of both public and academic debate in which a vocabulary of culture and society is implicated and across which it is no less imperfectly shared'.²³ It is a model followed also by *Keywords for Today: A 21st Century Vocabulary*, which substantially revises many of Williams's original entries in addition to supplementing them with new terms, produced through extensive and long-term collaboration among the member contributors from the Keywords Project.²⁴

The present volume shares with such initiatives their acknowledgement of the continued utility of engaging with keywords, both as a process of interrogating the historical development of concepts, as well as an examination of our own assumptions about and usage of those concepts within the academy. What did it mean to be 'Indian'? To what extent are our ideas about citizenship or piracy indebted to early modern conversations? Did citizenship mean the same thing for women as it did for men? This volume also shares an acknowledgement of the importance of bringing collaborative attention to bear on our understanding of such concepts. As an interdisciplinary group of editors and authors, we began by identifying

21 Ibid., p. 17.

22 *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, ed. by Tony Bennett, Lawrence Grossberg and Meaghan Morris (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. xviii–xix.

23 Ibid., pp. xxii; xix.

24 Also seen in other publication series, like the NYUP 'Keywords' series: <<https://keywords.nyupress.org>> [Accessed 3 January 2021].

terms that emerged repeatedly in this period and within our own fields of early modern literature, cultural history, legal history, and histories of trade and diplomacy, among others. Although we drew on extensive searches of digitised print resources, statistical frequency of use was not the only determinant. Large-scale database search ‘hits’ by themselves do not indicate the kind of tension or process of change that we looked for in a keyword, although along with corpus-based linguistics research they helped us to identify and corroborate changing trends, as well as often revealing often new and unexpected associations. Existing scholarly work and their bibliographies supplemented such findings, extending our frames of reference both in terms of primary resources and critical approaches.

Readers of this volume will find that we have largely excluded words for which definitions of a clear and specific early modern usage are readily available in dictionaries and handbooks. We have also focused principally on terms that were used to describe and categorise the human subjects themselves, rather than abstract concepts such as ‘race’ or ‘nation’, which have been the subject of extensive study already. From ‘native’ and ‘stranger’, to ‘blackamoor’ and ‘Jew’, to ‘exile’ and ‘traitor’, the descriptors of identities that we have chosen to explore as keywords surface as often in our classrooms and academic discussions as they did in the usage of the period itself. Along with that frequency of usage comes an assumption of a shared understanding of their meaning, an assumption that was – and continues to be – equally often challenged by dialogues, discourses, and debates in the field, both then and now. Our final selection is indicative rather than exhaustive. It ranges from words which were emerging or whose meanings were changing discernibly in this period (such as ‘denizen’, ‘exile’, and ‘Mahometan’), to words that were being used in multiple, often contradictory ways (such as ‘foreigner’ and ‘Indian’), as well as words that were taking on additional weight and resonance against the backdrop of travel and debates about identity (‘ambassador’, ‘courtier’, ‘host’, ‘interpreter’). As such, while some of the keyword essays discuss at length the etymological roots and contested meanings of the word, other entries focus more productively on the cultural histories of the words in the early modern period, placed within the specific context of travel, displacement, and their implications on conceptions of identity and belonging.

The constantly changing contours of this field, cutting across disciplinary boundaries and frequently connecting to an even wider field of scholarship around global movements and multilingual communities, render any attempt to map it almost immediately incomplete and out of date. Yet engagement with the disjunctions – and often the contradictions – that



characterise certain terms features in multiple ways in that thriving field of scholarship, bringing the history of ideas together with lived experience. The essays in this volume accordingly draw on an ever-widening body of work. In recent years, the work of scholars such as Andrew Hadfield, Peter Mancall, Miles Ogborn, Andrew Pettegree, Jacob Selwood, Jyotsna Singh, and Laura Hunt Youngblut has explored the impact of migration, movement, cross-cultural networks, and racial and cultural difference in England in ever greater detail.²⁵ Such investigations often focus on specific sites (e.g. London in the case of Ian Archer, Joseph Ward, Lien Luu), or specific religious communities and racial identities (e.g. Nigel Goose on the Dutch in Colchester, Bernard Cottret on the Huguenots, Imtiaz Habib on black lives).²⁶ Scholars such as Sujata Iyengar, Claire Jowitt, Nabil Matar, Matthew Dimmock, Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, James Shapiro, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam have illuminated the interface between literary and intellectual cultures and debates regarding racial, ethnic, and geopolitical differences by drawing attention to specific individuals, communities, genres, and forms.²⁷ Others have focused on

25 Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Peter Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); *The Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Age of Exploration*, ed. by Jyotsna Singh (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009); Laura Hunt Yungblut, 'Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us': Policies, Perceptions, and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England (London: Routledge, 1996).

26 Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Joseph Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Lien Luu, 'Natural-Born versus Stranger-Born Subjects: Aliens and Their Status in Elizabethan London', in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), pp. 57–75; Nigel Goose, 'The Dutch in Colchester in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Opposition and Integration', in *From Strangers to Citizens: the Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. by Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), pp. 88–98; Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550–1700*, trans. by Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives*.

27 Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); *Renaissance Go-betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*,

structures and frameworks that facilitated the translation of concepts into practice.²⁸

Through its essays, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* offers a resource for continuing to explore global travel and mobility through this interplay between broad change and localised contexts. The selection of words it examines reveal multifaceted histories of usage. In many cases, the concepts, preconceptions, and debates that they embody came to play crucial roles in articulations of identity, rights, and power in subsequent periods. As such, this volume is intended as much for advanced undergraduate and graduate students as for specialist researchers working on early modern England. We also hope that a broader interdisciplinary audience, including those working on earlier or later periods, will find it of interest in their own exploration of diachronic changes in the terms and concepts we have addressed. Our aim is not to settle on a single, definitive description. Instead, what the essays offer are explorations of the concepts in a format that is at once both more detailed than a dictionary definition and more historically focused than a conventional encyclopaedia or 'keyword' entry. They illuminate precisely the complexity, and often the multiplicity, that was inherent in the usage of these terms in early modern English. As descriptors of identities, they are also often interconnected. An author's full meaning is often nuanced by recurring clusters of keywords, or in juxtaposition with other terms of similar or conflicting implications. In some cases, this has demanded paired keyword entries ('alien/stranger', 'blackamoor/Moor'). Even in instances where such pairing has not been necessary, the list of related keywords that conclude most essays indicate possible avenues of connection that can be explored by readers.

Each essay and citation of usage offered here emphasizes the fact that the terms in question share a certain slipperiness, that they are repeatedly altered, revised, and reclaimed by multiple imperatives, and by different speakers. Like language in general, keywords occur as a part of a dense, closely interwoven fabric of changing usage, dependant on social, economic,

ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005); James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; 2016); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011).

28 Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Henry S. Turner, *The Corporate Commonwealth: Pluralism and Political Fictions in England, 1516–1651* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); *The Corporation as a Protagonist in Global History, c. 1550–1750*, ed. by William A. Pettigrew and David Veevers (Leiden: Brill, 2018).



and cultural forces that shifted and altered over time. We bring them to bear on our literary and historical reading, and our own perceptions and responses are shaped implicitly by their shifting trajectories in time. As our understanding of those forces also continue to evolve, we present this volume both as a point of entry into and a contribution within a thriving, ongoing conversation about ideas of identity, boundary-crossing, and what it means to belong. Its future, we hope, lies in the addition of more terms and more nuance to this starting list, as others join the conversation.

