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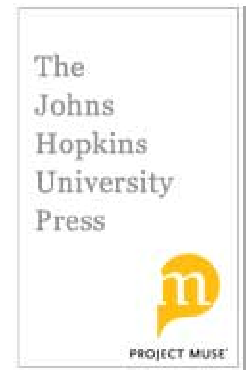

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"COUNTERFEIT EGYPTIANS" AND IMAGINED BORDERS: JONSON'S *THE GYPSIES METAMORPHOSED*

BY MARK NETZLOFF

Upon his initial entrance in Jonson's masque, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621), the figure of the Patrico (or "hedge-priest") calls the audience's attention to himself, "that am bringer / Of bound to the border."[1] The concern for control of borders was an appropriate one in Jacobean England. At the local level, vagrant groups, including gypsies, defied antivagrant legislation that attempted to limit their geographic mobility and keep them within their home parish.[2] But the neighboring counties of England and Scotland known as the Borders were particularly notorious in the Jacobean period as a haven for gypsies and vagrants, groups who could evade prosecution within an area already populated by cattle raiders (or "reivers") noted for a similar disregard of the Anglo-Scottish border.[3] The border counties presented a threat to civil order and ideas of cultural unity because of the ease with which the cultures of gypsies, vagrants, and reivers could interact and mix together, even forming the possibility of an alternative community. The border region was therefore defined by the fluid character of its boundaries, the lack of distinct barriers between regions and constituent cultures. And while the Patrico characterizes the Borders as an area specifically beyond social control, he defines his role, like that of James VI and I during his joint rule of Scotland and England, as being able both to define and control that border.

Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* replicates the evasive character of gypsy cultural difference through its own remarkable lack of aesthetic boundaries. The masque frequently blurs traditional distinctions between masque and antimasque, most exceptionally by giving many of its main speaking roles to courtiers rather than professional actors, who instead direct the performance in their gypsy roles as the Patrico and the Jackman (or "educated beggar"). In addition to casting the king's favorite, George Villiers, the Marquis of Buckingham, as Captain of the Gypsies, members of Buckingham's

family and circle impersonate the remaining gypsies, including William, Baron Feilding (Buckingham's brother-in-law); John, Viscount Purbeck (Buckingham's eldest brother); the courtier Endymion Porter; and Sir Gervase Clifton, a baronet from a nearby Nottinghamshire family.[4] *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* was Jonson's most popular masque, a work performed on an unprecedented three occasions: at Buckingham's new estate at Burley-on-the-Hill on 3 August 1621; at Belvoir, the estate of Buckingham's father-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, two nights later; and finally, a month later at court in Windsor.[5]

The most substantial analysis of the masque, Dale B. J. Randall's book-length study *Jonson's Gypsies Unmasked*, argues that the lack of differentiation between masque, antimasque, and court audience produced by the gypsy disguise enabled Jonson to express more safely the potentially subversive comparison of the king's favorite and his followers to a band of gypsies.[6] Several episodes in the performance demonstrate how the masque's use of the gypsy image undermines traditional aesthetic boundaries of the genre. Buckingham, as Captain of the Gypsies, is given a role that is likened to gypsy leaders (or "Kings") from antivagrant literature—such as the figure of Cock Lorel, whose feast for the Devil is described in the masque—comparisons that would seem to place Buckingham as a figure similarly outside civil society and inimical to the court. The masque is also notable for the degree to which it breaks the diegetic frame of the masque, further implicating its coterie audience in the gypsies' actions as the gypsies read the fortunes of members of Buckingham's family (in the Burley and Belvoir versions) or court officials (in the Windsor production). The division between masque and antimasque is further blurred as the courtier gypsies mingle with the four clowns (Cockerel, Clod, Townshend, Puppy) and even rob them during a country dance.

Randall's analysis, which emphasizes the subversiveness of the masque's portrayal of Buckingham, nonetheless does not fully explain either its popularity or the generous compensation subsequently rewarded to Jonson. Martin Butler qualifies Randall's discussion, arguing instead that the masque makes public the compromised ethical position of Buckingham and his circle so that they may be tested and ultimately "royally vindicated."[7] Yet Butler's impressive analysis of the masque within the context of court politics does not concern itself with the status of gypsies, or with possible reasons for Jonson's choice of this group for the masque; nor does Butler, in his

appraisal of the importance of Buckingham's patronage of Jonson, fully account for the masque's incomplete closure. As I will argue, the ultimate lack of metamorphosis in the masque's conclusion results more immediately from the nature of the central gypsy metaphor itself, and the protean, "counterfeit" performativity of gypsy identity, than from the tenuous, unresolved relationships of members of the court. Rather than center the gypsies in the court, like Butler, or relegate them to the margins as does Randall, my own discussion places gypsies at a liminal position analogous to the contested status of the Borders in Jacobean culture. This essay therefore emphasizes the importance of Scottish contexts for both the gypsies and James VI and I: gypsies were often linked with Scotland, a pejorative association that James himself often faced as England's Scottish king. In addition, James's ambivalent policies toward the gypsies during his tenure in Scotland help to explain their subsequent, unique status in Jacobean England.

Past discussions of Jonson's masque have overlooked how the presence of gypsies may relate to James VI and I's concerted persecution of nomadic cultures and colonial practices toward peripheral regions. The figure of the "Counterfeit Egyptian" often served to represent a general lack of social control and national unity. William Harrison's *Description of England* (1577) even estimated these vagrant groups as numbering 10,000, depicting gypsies as an alternative community that threatened to add to its ranks with the displaced poor.[8] The image of vagrant groups was similarly evoked during debate on James's attempted Union of the Realms of England and Scotland; Union opponents in fact frequently attributed a Scottish origin to account for both vagrancy and support for the Union. By using the figure of gypsies, Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* questions a key component of Union rhetoric: the emphasis on James's power as a British monarch to reconcile cultural differences among his subjects. As Jonathan Goldberg has observed, we see in this masque Jonson's "art of turning the king's self-perception against himself."[9] Jonson's masque reinscribes the imagined redrawing of borders attempted by James I's proposed Union of the Realms of England and Scotland as an analogous performance to the "counterfeited" identities and lack of geographic location of vagrants and gypsies. By foregrounding the performativity of both gypsy and British identities, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* exposes how the rhetoric of national unity ironically mimics the protean character of these vagrant groups. But the ultimate lack of metamorphosis with

which the masque concludes points to the similar inability of the Jacobean Union to effect a transformative reconstitution of national borders and identities.[10]

Recent studies of the history and theories of nationalism emphasize the performative character of national affiliation.[11] In *Imagined Communities*, his seminal work on the historical origins of nationalism, Benedict Anderson argues that a sense of national identification is established "on an essentially imagined basis."[12] Anderson contrasts how modern nations define their borders as "finite, if elastic," with the "older imagining" of the premodern dynastic realm, in which "states were defined by centers, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded imperceptibly into each other."[13] Yet James VI and I's joint rule of Scotland and England from 1603–1625 is a case that evades such rigid categorization: the sovereignties in Jacobean Britain were configured in the same person, complicating a definition of center when the two thrones were jointly occupied by one monarch. Critics of the Union of the Realms responded to this conceptual impasse by arguing that James could be king either of England or Scotland, but not of both.[14] The recognizably nationalist sentiments that the Union project provoked from its English and Scottish opponents demonstrate the nascent development of a modern imagining of borders, the association of national sovereignty with the integrity of "finite, if elastic" borders.[15] Yet the failure of James's Union of the Realms may be more accurately attributed to a lack of consensus on an imagined British community, perhaps resulting from the way that James's Britain constituted neither a dynastic realm nor a modern nation.[16] Ultimately, debate on the Jacobean Union was unable to resolve how specific cultural institutions could be reconstituted, emphasizing instead the differences between English and Scottish parliaments, legal institutions, and procedures of naturalization.[17]

The status of the Borders and its gypsy inhabitants produced a fundamental crisis of social control due to the symbolic importance of its geographically central location. James's initial proposal of the Union of the Realms, his "Proclamation for the Uniting of England and Scotland" (1603), was in fact concerned exclusively with control of the Borders. Realizing that his constitution of empire necessarily entailed a redefinition of cultural borders, James renamed the adjoining counties on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border "the Middle Shires." But the praise James lavished on the Borders, calling them "the very heart of the country" and "the best parts of the whole

Ile," was tempered by his admission that his efforts to make the Borders "no more the extremeties, but the middle" were ultimately based on a desire to wield more effective control over the area, with "the Inhabitants thereof reduced to perfect obedience."[18] Appropriately, James's proclamation followed an order from two days earlier that demanded the voluntary surrender of groups who continued to practice raids on either side of the Anglo-Scottish border.[19]

Perceiving a lack of general support for his proposed Union of the Realms following his initial declaration, James, like the Patrico in Jonson's masque, fashioned himself as the force to set "bound" to the boundaries within his empire. In a speech delivered to the English Parliament on 1 March 1604, James had emphasized his power to erase and redraw borders, his ability to make boundaries "so indivisible, as almost those that were Borderers themselves on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know, or discerne their owne limits." James, like other supporters of the Union project, emphasized the lack of natural and geographic boundaries between England and Scotland; as James asked of the English Parliament, "who can set downe the limits of the borders, but as a mathematicall line or idea?"[20] One of James's chief proponents of the Union, Francis Bacon, had similarly asserted that England and Scotland "have no true but an imaginary separation," a lack of boundaries he describes as "badges and memorials of borders." Union supporters disregarded representations of difference between England and Scotland as memories of former conflicts that belie both geographic and political realities: "in our mind and apprehension," Bacon declared, "they are all one and the same nation." Yet the persistence of such "memorials of borders" is attested to by the fact that Bacon notes in one of his Union texts the need to create "some further device for the utter and perpetual confounding of those imaginary bounds (as your Majesty termeth them)," including a united legal code to rule over the entire region.[21] Significantly, Bacon's efforts to offset anti-Union prejudice and its reliance on "imaginary" borders requires "some further device," the construction of an equally imaginary Union.

But to imaginatively construct Great Britain as a distinct community calls into question the relation of monarchical power to areas characterized by a lack of centralized authority, as it becomes unclear how the rhetoric of empire is able either to ensure social control in these regions or cancel out residual forms of cultural difference. The inhabitants of the Borders are now British subjects; but rather than being pacified, critics of the Union project complained that the

Borderers themselves consequently failed to recognize "their owne limits," to rephrase James's earlier declaration. In a speech to Parliament, James depicted the Borders, once "confining places," as transformed through the imperial reconstitution of boundaries into "the navell or umbilicke of both kingdomes," both the center and lifeline of the body politic.[22] In order to cancel out forms of cultural difference, James and Union supporters had to establish the foundation of the United Kingdom on the principle of difference itself. But this reconstitution of boundaries also subverts any integral foundation of national identity among its component parts; according to Bacon, post-Union England and Scotland will merely be considered parts of Britain, "and consequently neither of these are to be considered as things entire of themselves, but in the proportion that they bear to the whole."[23]

Gypsies, with their protean ability to change appearance and allegiance, thus serve as an appropriate metonym for the desired reimagining of social identities in the Jacobean Union project. The figure of the gypsy had been similarly employed in a masque that Thomas Campion composed to be performed for James I during his only return visit to Scotland in 1617.[24] When Anglo-Scottish tensions increased following James's Northern Progress, tensions further exacerbated by James's promotion of the unpopular Buckingham to the Privy Council of Scotland during the trip, Campion's masque incorporated in its antimasque figures of gypsies and rustics, emblems of the region's disorder, to celebrate the pacifying influence of the royal presence.[25] Jonson's masque, often seen as influenced by Campion's earlier entertainment, functioned similarly to help assuage Anglo-Scottish tensions.[26]

James's 1617 Progress had revitalized the English interest in Scotland, evidenced by Jonson's own extended visit from summer 1618 to January 1619. Jonson even proposed writing a pastoral drama set in the Loch Lomond district that he visited, as well as a travel narrative of his Scottish journey, "including some account of Scottish institutions, legends and antiquities." Jonson's travel narrative is believed to have been destroyed in the 1629 fire in his lodgings.[27] Nonetheless, Jonson's Scottish visit did produce one major extant text, his *Conversations* with his Scottish host, the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden. In addition to writing a poem commemorating James's 1617 Progress, "Forth Feasting," Drummond supplied Jonson with antiquarian information on Scotland following the visit, including a map of Loch Lomond sent in a letter of 1 July

1619, a demonstration of Jonson's continuing interest in Scottish history and geography.[28] Thus, Jonson's extensive interests in Scotland could help explain his inclusion of Anglo-Scottish issues within *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, despite the fact that serious debate on the Union question had ended by 1621.[29]

But despite the efforts of the Jacobean Union of the Realms to subsume cultural difference within the representational framework of British identity, James's policies more often attempted to legislate and enforce conformity. In lieu of a successfully imagined national British community, James VI and I's construction of his British empire may more appropriately be placed within the context of what Michael Hechter describes as a process of "internal colonialism" within the British isles.[30] Certainly, many Union opponents found the colonial metaphor relevant: as the Scottish pamphleteer John Russell demanded, "Sall ane frie kingdome, possessing sua ancient liberteis, become ane slave?"[31] This present study is most concerned with the status and definition of borders in this process. Far from being "porous and indistinct," as in Benedict Anderson's formulation, cultural borders were contentious sites of struggle in Jacobean England. As Richard Marienstras has argued, questions of the king's authority over "wild spaces" is closely linked to debate concerning "the power of the king over conquered lands and kingdoms."[32] Some areas within the borders of James's "Great Britain" equally constituted both "wild spaces" and "conquered lands."[33] During his tenure in Scotland, for example, James VI had begun to institute political commissions and missionary programs that attempted to establish more effective control over peripheral regions such as the Hebrides, continuing these efforts even after his accession to the English throne.[34]

In contrast with the Highlands and Hebrides, James's attempts to extend centralized authority took on a particular urgency in the Borders region because of its strategic location and symbolic place within the rhetoric of Union. In *Basilikon Doron*, James had predicted that an eventual Union of the Realms would put an end to problems of social control associated with the Borders.[35] Yet, by 1605 James was forced to take more direct action and appointed a Border Commission, composed of five officials from each nation and headed by his leading Scottish counselor, James Home, the Earl of Dunbar, to look into and resolve disputes in the border counties. Rather than facilitating a peaceful unification of cultures, the Commission was noted for its severity, producing an exceptionally large number of

convictions and summary executions. Despite its own distinct Anglo-Scottish composition, the Commission ultimately failed to offset fears of cultural mixing and infiltration on either side of the Border. Although the commission successfully revoked March Treasons, which prohibited unlicensed marriages, tribute, or economic exchanges between individuals of either nation, James ultimately rejected Bacon's proposal for a mixed Anglo-Scottish law code to govern the area.[36] While these policies were initially successful in pacifying the region, the Borders remained autonomous and noted for disorder after Dunbar's death in 1611.[37] The status of the Borders, to quote Brian Levack, "stood as a reminder not only that the King's Peace was not being maintained in all his shires, but that English and Scots were still at war with each other."[38]

James's efforts to efface differences between English and Scottish subjects and cultures in the creation of a Great Britain produce an uneasy status for the vagrants and gypsies who populate the border counties of Scotland and the North Country. The anxieties evoked by vagrant groups are particularly acute because of their situation within the geographic heart of the empire; attempts to control the Borders and its gypsy inhabitants during the Jacobean period consequently exposed the inherent contradictions in the status of subjects within the (largely imaginary) British empire. Robert Pont's Union treatise listed the inhabitants of the Anglo-Scottish border among the main opponents of the Union of the Realms, as a unified law code and civil jurisdiction over the area would suppress an economy based on raids and pillaging, effectively tying the Borderers to the land.[39] The effective lack of control over the North Country is further indicated by John Speed's designation of several areas in northern counties as "The Brigantes," a term associated with exceptional lawlessness and barbarism in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and other texts.[40] Another Union text hoped that "extinguishing the memorie and name of borderers" would additionally cancel the threat of cultural difference and "deface and burie all memorie of our former divisions."[41] The same goal was hoped for in the suppression of the gypsies: yet a group of Scottish gypsies convicted in 1624 of being "Egyptians" technically complied with James's sentence of banishment simply by crossing the border into England.[42]

Along with their ability to disregard borders, gypsies subvert categorization as either domestic or alien since they exist simultaneously both within and outside English culture. In sixteenth-century Scotland and England, gypsies were recognized and protected as a

distinct culture. In 1540, James V had recognized John Faw as "lord and erle of Litill Egipt," conferring to him all authority and legal jurisdiction over gypsy groups.[43] In addition to this acceptance of gypsy local autonomy, James even subordinated Scottish authority to gypsy command, granting Faw the power to command Scottish officers to assist him in carrying out "the laws of Egypt" among his subjects.[44] Whereas Scottish policy acknowledged the distinctiveness of gypsy communities, English law attempted to assimilate the gypsies; yet each strategy resulted in a similar inability to regulate gypsy culture by legal means. In England, although their culture was subsumed and encompassed by a larger, hegemonic English culture, gypsies were also technically English citizens.[45] The 1562 Act "for further Punishment of Vagabonds, calling themselves Egyptians" confirmed the status of native-born gypsies as English subjects and therefore assured their immunity from subsequent antigypsy legislation that forcibly attempted to deport them. The statute instead singled out for punishment "counterfeit Egyptians," masterless men who disguised themselves as gypsies, stipulating penalties ranging from loss of goods to death.[46]

Within their uneasy status as naturalized aliens, the gypsies possessed their own separate traditions, including their own monarchs. Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* foregrounds the monarchical social structure of the gypsies, a representational strategy that lends a sense of legitimacy to gypsy culture. Gypsies often represented themselves in these terms, emphasizing their status as displaced nobility, as a way to evade antivagrant legislation.[47] Similarly, the Jackman informs his audience, "though we seem a tattered nation," the gypsy band nonetheless possesses a hierarchy and geographic home, as they "yearly keep our musters" at "the famous Peak of Derby / And the Devil's Arse there hard by" (107–9). The Jackman's opening explanation of the gypsies' origin borrows from Samuel Rid's antivagrant text *Martin Markall* (1610), which notes how Giles Hatcher organized vagrants in the area around the Peak Cavern in Castleton, Derbyshire, where he "ruled almost two-and-twenty years."[48] Despite Rid's depiction of the gypsies as a domestic group, other texts emphasized their foreign origin. At the end of Fletcher's and Massinger's *Beggars Bush* (1622), for example, the comic chorus of vagrants, who had earlier elected Higgen as "King of Beggars," declare their intention to transplant their "tatterd Colony" to England, thus linking them to the recently arrived gypsies.[49] Even though Higgen's gypsy band is depicted as diasporic and geographi-

cally displaced, their departure for England is ironically represented as a colonizing venture, inverting the power relations between gypsies and authorities.

The association of the gypsies with the king is appropriate considering the itinerant identity of the court on Progress. The Porter's prologue extends the analogy between the court and its vagrant subjects, noting James's "good grace" in allowing the gypsies to follow the court during its own peregrinations (38). The Porter might be alluding to the large groups of vagrants who had followed James on his 1617 Progress through the North Country and Scotland.[50] Vagrants were more generally noted for their concerted efforts to associate themselves with the court, a fact which prompted proclamations expelling vagrants from the court in 1618 and 1619.[51] By foregrounding the court's "vagrant" status while on Progress, the analogy reinscribes monarchical power as a mobile, labile force, one that allows the court to encompass and better control its margins, although only by replicating the suspect nomadic qualities of vagrant groups.[52] The status of outlawed vagrant groups further resembles that of the monarch, as Marienstras has pointed out, insofar as both groups exempt themselves from legal jurisdiction.[53] In Jonson's masque, the gypsies compare their status to that of wild game preserved in royal parks, "the king's game" (90): both remain paradoxically under the king's protection from outside threat (and civic jurisdiction) while also becoming "fair game" for the king to personally hunt down.

The status of gypsies, culturally different yet legally naturalized, further complicates definitions of subject and stranger. Although gypsies were often categorized as an alien group, a classification that allotted them protected status, their continued presence created doubt as to their foreign origin, especially as the boundaries between foreign gypsies and domestic vagrant groups became increasingly more indeterminate. Upon the gypsies' initial entrance in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, the Jackman presents the gypsy children in his entourage as "the five princes of Egypt," whom he describes as "begotten upon several Cleopatras in their several counties" (53–56). Though connecting these figures with their "Egyptian" origin as "the offspring of Ptolemy" and calling attention to their intrinsic exoticism, the character of the Jackman also domesticates these groups, who are identified with the English *county* where they reside. Thomas Dekker, in his antivagrant text *Lantern and Candlelight* (1608), likewise emphasizes the gypsies' domestic origin and status:

> If they be Egyptians, sure I am they never descended from the tribes of any of those people that came out of the land of Egypt. Ptolemy king of the Egyptians, I warrant, never called them his subjects; no, nor Pharaoh before him.[54]

As in many pieces of antigypsy legislation, such as James I's 1609 "Act Anent the Egyptians," Dekker conflates "gypsy" and "Egyptian," a correlation used to give a false genealogy to gypsy culture. Jacobean legal documents extend this connection, referring to gypsies as "Egyptians" on the basis of their supposed geographic origin.[55] Increasingly, though, "Egyptian" exclusively came to refer to counterfeit gypsies, displaced laborers who disguised themselves as gypsies in order to evade antivagrant statutes.[56] Despite their frequent domestic origin, the association of gypsies with foreignness is appropriate, since the status of gypsies in Jacobean England partially paralleled that of strangers (foreigners), whom Bacon viewed as potential enemies and therefore only "temporarily" subject to and protected by the Common Law.[57] The contingency of gypsies' protected status is important to note: whereas their distinctive cultural traits and monarchical structure legitimize their protected status, their lack of cultural origin and geographic location necessitates a reclassification that will place them under the jurisdiction of the law. But this juridical categorization is defined by a flexibility of classification; in other words, the law mimics the protean nature of gypsy identity, adapting itself to changing circumstances. In this context, gypsies may be punished as subjects, because of their domestic origin, or denied privileges as strangers, because of their alien status.

The Jackman's discussion of the origin of one of the gypsy children in his entourage points to the ease with which gypsies subvert distinctions of nation and subject, revealing an anxiety over the lack of geographic placement of the gypsy nation, as well as the threat that they may add to their ranks. The gypsy child is born in Flintshire, Wales, to the daughter of Justice Jug, the local official who, as Justice of the Peace, would have been in charge of controlling vagrants within his district. After his daughter runs off with the gypsy band of her child's father, the Justice unsuccessfully pursues them through the March of Wales, the semi-autonomous counties along Wales's border with England. When the Justice finally confronts his daughter at Chester, their reconciliation is commemorated and "ever since preserved in picture upon the stone jugs of the kingdom" (64–65).

The gypsies' progress continues along the "dark corners" on the nation's margins, from the March of Wales to the North Country. In the early modern period, both Wales and Chester remained under nominal local control, as represented by the Council of the Marches and the County Palatine and Earldom of Chester.[58] This reunion of family and cultures also mimics the proliferation of Union insignia in the punning reference to (re)union Jugs. But during Union negotiations, even plans for an Anglo-Scottish flag were left unfinished, as no one could achieve an acceptable balance between the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.[59] The success of the Jacobean Union, like the reconciliation of the Jug family, is thus called into question. In the latter case, gypsy cultural difference remains unchallenged; after all, Justice Jug's grandchild still remains among the gypsies.

The Porter evokes the court's Scottish ties earlier in the masque as well, welcoming James and the court with the sign of St. Andrew: "As many blessings as there be bones, / In Ptolemy's fingers, and all at once / Held up in an Andrew's cross for the nonce" (29–31). The Scots are linked with the gypsies not only in the alien origin of their customs, as St. Andrew is likened to Ptolemy, but also in their inherent disorder, as the blessing consists of a confused jumble of fingers held up "all at once." The problems of social control raised by vagrants and gypsies became associated with Scotland in the early modern period: one early Jacobean statute in Scotland, "Act Against Transporting Beggarly Scots in to England" (1607), was prompted by a desire to counter "the grite reproche and sclander of this nation" as the source of vagrants issuing into England.[60] In a letter to the Scottish Privy Council, James I similarly noted how the association of Scots with vagrancy, although justified due to "the multitude of idle people" traveling into England, nonetheless "hath bene no small disgrace to our said kingdome in other nations."[61] As further evidence of the connections made between vagrants (including gypsies) and Scotland, the character of Springlove takes on a North Scotland dialect upon resuming his role as an itinerant beggar in Richard Brome's *A Jovial Crew* (1641).[62] A number of early modern ballads, such as "The Cunning Northern Beggar" and "The Begger Boy of the North," associate gypsies and vagrants with a general northern origin, testifying to what might have been a typical southward migratory pattern for vagrants in the period: as the "beggar boy" of the latter ballad explains, "in the North Countrey I first had my birth; / From whence I came naked unto London city."[63]

Anti-Scottish pamphlets written both during and following the debate on the Union of the Realms often equated Scots with vagrant groups, depicting the influx of courtiers into England from James's Scottish court as an incursion of beggars. Francis Osborne's satire of the Jacobean court had described the "beggarly rabble, attending his majesty," who had first entered England with James's accession and continued to stream across the border throughout his reign. "Such a beggarly addition," Osborne commented, "must needs be destructive," since Scots offer little aside from what they may steal, or what "may be found under our hedges"; the Scots, who "turne pedlers," ultimately "ruine all about them."[64] The anxiety that Scots will transform the English into beggars prompted one pro-Union text to borrow a false etymology of Briton as "pirate" in order to joke that Union opponents must somehow believe that by becoming British they will become thieves.[65] Significantly, contemporaries equated the subversion of cultural borders brought on by the proposed Union of the Realms with the continued ability of vagrant groups to evade the law.[66] Sir Edward Coke, responding to James's earlier plans to naturalize the Scots, had cast these efforts to reconstitute borders and national identities as a political infiltration, fearing that "strangers might fortify themselves in the heart of the realm."[67] Although James intended to establish the integrity of cultural and geographic borders concomitantly with his imagined constitution of empire, the Union project and attempts to control vagrant groups were not able to achieve these aims.

The early modern English had cause to associate gypsies with Scotland. The earliest extant records of a gypsy presence in the British isles document their arrival in Scotland in the early sixteenth century, a migration most likely caused by their 1504 expulsion from France.[68] Scotland was noteworthy for its fairly lenient treatment of gypsies: only three statutes were proposed against vagrants in the sixty years between the gypsies' arrival and James's accession. By contrast, James VI and I was noted for his active persecution of vagrant groups, writing 23 pieces of legislation that targeted them between 1567 and 1621.[69] Many of James's early statutes followed precedents in England, where antivagrant bills had emerged following the increasing influx of gypsies in the late 1520s. Gypsies fleeing Scotland's antivagrant act of 1540 only exacerbated England's own vagrancy problems, which reached a crisis point in the 1540s when unprecedented crop failures and inflation further increased England's "masterless" population.[70] The harshest Tudor legislation soon fol-

lowed, such as the statute ordering that vagrants be branded with a "V" and that a two-year sentence of slave labor be given to these "unprofitable membres or rather ennemyes of the Comen wealthe" (1547, 1 Edward VI, c. 3).[71] Although this law was rarely enforced and in fact repealed in 1549, "Egyptians" were later classified together with other categories of "idle and strong beggars and vagabonds" in England (1562) and Scotland (1574). The fact that the Scottish law was revised several times between 1597 and 1617 testifies both to the permanence of anxieties concerning vagrants and to the ineffectiveness of legislative attempts to control them.[72]

Yet despite his aggressive legislation against these groups, James VI also continued the sixteenth-century Scottish court's tradition of patronage and protection of the gypsies. The earliest records attesting to the presence of gypsies in the British Isles result from theatrical performances at the Scottish court. In 1505, the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland noted the payment of £7 to a gypsy band on the command of James IV. James V later paid gypsies to dance at Holyrood House in 1529.[73] Scottish officials and rural gentry were also noted for their patronage of gypsy performers. Sir William Sinclair, Lord-Justice General under Queen Mary, kept under his protection a group of gypsy players who were "accustomed to gather in the stanks [marshes] of Roslin every year, where they acted severall plays dureing the moneth of May and June."[74] In Jonson's masque, the Third Gypsy alludes to the long association of the court with gypsy performers:

> And ever at your solemn feasts and calls
> We have been ready with th' Egyptian brawls,
> To set Kit Callet forth in prose or rhyme,
> Or who was Cleopatra for the time
> (245–48)

The carnivalesque tradition of annual plays at Roslin castle endured from 1559 to 1628. The plays seem to have centered on versions of the Robin Hood story, a popular theme for May-tide entertainments.[75] The Robin Hood subject matter of the gypsy plays further tied these performances with the illicit, as plays dealing with this topic were prohibited by a 1555 Act of the Scottish Parliament. However, this statute, like many of those aimed against the gypsies, was rarely enforced.[76] The rustic clowns in Jonson's masque further evoke the connection between gypsies and Robin Hood legends, as they note their surprise upon their initial encounter with the gypsies

to find that "there is no Maid Marian nor friar amongst them" (697). Jonson's masque links together the rustics with the gypsies because of their mutual association with rural pastimes and festive traditions: the clowns even comment that the gypsies "should be morris dancers by their jingle" (693).[77] But the gypsies ultimately disrupt the idyllic pastoral setting of the clowns, stealing the clowns' purses during their "country dance" (738) and purloining the "jet ring" that the country maid Prudence owned "to draw Jack Straw hither a holidays" (854).

The eventual conflict between the gypsies and their rural host culture is appropriate considering the changing status of gypsy groups in Jacobean England. Demonstrating James's increasingly draconian legislation in both Scotland and England against gypsies and other "masterless men," the final suppression of the gypsies of Roslin closely followed the performances of Jonson's masque. The Privy Council of Scotland finally induced Sinclair's son William, in his capacity as Sheriff of Roslin, to enforce the realm's antivagrant laws against the gypsies beginning in 1623.[78] Although James ultimately pardoned the gypsies apprehended by Sinclair, he intervened only after eight of their leaders had been executed.[79]

The status of gypsies is unique in early modern England: a group at the center of both exceptional care and persecution. And because of their status as vagrants paradoxically under royal or aristocratic protection, the position of gypsies also parallels that of early modern players.[80] It is therefore appropriate that Cockerel, one of the rustics in Jonson's masque, implies that the gypsies (like players) are the king's servants: "The king has his noise of gypsies as well as of bear wards and other minstrels" (937–39). The history of antigypsy legislation intersects with early modern attempts to regulate both vagrant groups and theatrical performers. For example, Edward VI associated these groups with other politically subversive elements in a 1549 journal entry that remarked how "there was a privy search made through Sussex for all vagabonds, gipsies, conspirators, prophesiers, all players, and such like."[81] Yet James, even when actively prosecuting gypsies and vagrants while on the Scottish throne, was noted for his patronage of actors. Leah Marcus describes an early instance of "the politics of mirth," James's defense of festive and theatrical customs, in his protection of traveling English players. When their public performances in Edinburgh provoked the opposition of the Scottish Kirk in 1599, James had personally intervened on their behalf. And of course, James's licensing of the Lord Chamberlain's Men as his own players following his accession provides further

evidence of his patronage, or in Marcus's words, of how James "enclosed theatrical license within the structure of royal power."[82]

The inconsistencies in James VI and I's policies toward gypsies result in part from the changing status of gypsies in the period, who were increasingly becoming differentiated from the two groups with whom they were often associated: vagrants and actors. An idea of the subtle distinctions drawn between gypsies, vagrants, and actors can be inferred from Elizabeth I's "An Acte for Punyshment of Rogues, Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars" (1597, 39 Elizabeth, c. 4).[83] This statute potentially affected each of these three groups, targeting "all idle persons going about in the Cuntry eyther begging or using any subtile Crafte or unlawfull Games and Playes." The 1572 and 1597 antivagrant acts are most often noted due to their classification of actors as a vagrant category that is nonetheless excluded from the statute's jurisdiction based on playing companies' networks of patronage; the 1597 act therefore exempts "Players of Enterlude belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or any other honorable personage of greater Degree." Despite its concerted omission of actors, the statute otherwise associates vagrant groups with forms of theatricality, as it singles out for prosecution "all such persons not being Fellons wandering and pretending themselves to be Egipcyans, or wandering in the Habbite Forme or Attyre of counterfayte Egipcians."[84]

The association of gypsies with theatricality goes beyond the simple link between gypsies and actors. In the authorities' minds, gypsies constitute a performative social category, as vagrants counterfeit cultural difference in order to evade antivagrant legislation. Because gypsies were legally accepted as a distinct culture, they could not be prosecuted as vagrants. A vagrant could become a gypsy and thereby be placed beyond the law's reach. In addition, gypsies themselves were classified as "counterfeit Egyptians" because they lacked origin and occupation: even gypsies were therefore not "real" Egyptians. But if there were no real gypsies, how could authorities differentiate English vagrants pretending to be gypsies from gypsies pretending to be "Egyptians"? As with the categories of "counterfeit cranks" (vagrants who feign physical illness to justify begging) or "sturdy beggars" (vagrants who feign an inability to work), gypsies are characterized by their lack of an integral identity. But unlike counterfeit cranks and sturdy beggars, gypsies are no longer associated with "dissimulation," with assuming a false identity. Rather, as differences are elided between categories of gypsy, vagrant, stranger, and player, the indeterminacy of the identity of "counterfeit Egyptians" calls into

question the basis of any distinction between categories of identity and difference. To paraphrase Jean Baudrillard's differentiation of dissimulation and simulation, while dissimulation implies a real presence beneath the disguise, simulation undermines the boundaries between a true and false (or real and imaginary) identity.[85] Baudrillard categorizes the dominant early modern law of value as the scheme of the "counterfeit": the image of the counterfeit testifies to an irrevocable disruption of signs of class privilege; yet for these signs to retain a coherence, they reinscribe the threat of their unintelligibility onto the groups inhabiting the cultural margins (gypsies, vagrants, players, laborers), equating the threats of class mobility with forms of theatricality.[86]

The reinvention of vagrant groups as possessing simulated, counterfeit identities was a recent development in early modern England: prior to Elizabeth's statute against "Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars" (1572, 14 Elizabeth, c.5), whose language is repeated in the 1597 statute, antivagrant legislation did not differentiate among the poor based on the authenticity of their need.[87] One reason for this change can be attributed to the influx of gypsies from Scotland to England during the sixteenth century. But the legislation against counterfeit Egyptians was further necessitated by the perceived threat that gypsies added to their ranks with "masterless men." The blurring of distinctions between the masquer gypsies and the antimasquer clowns in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* points to the unstable and interchangeable social positions of each group. Despite Puppy's declared initial hatred of "rogue gypsies" (710) and concerted differentiation from a group he places among his social inferiors, the country bumpkin changes his view in response to the Patrico's promise that the gypsies will fulfill his wishes, declaring that "this is better than canting by t'one half" (761–62). Puppy's comments reveal how his own poverty already scarcely distinguishes his social position from that of the gypsies; the promise of freedom from economic deprivation thus provokes "a terrible grudging now upon me to be one of your company" (1054–55). Recognizing the immunity of most gypsies from antivagrant prosecution—"a wise gypsy . . . is as politic a piece of flesh as most justices in the county where he stalks" (767–79)—Puppy inquires, "will your captain take a prentice, sir?" (1055). In his satire of the apprenticeship regulations mandated by the Statute of Artificers, Puppy also foregrounds the incentives for domestic vagrants to shield themselves among the seemingly exotic and more autonomous gypsies: "we'll be all his followers," Cockerel

declares (1068). The Patrico intimates that some of his followers, such as the gypsy child born to one of the gypsy Captain's kinsmen and Justice Jug's daughter, are domestic vagrants who have become naturalized in gypsy culture. When the Patrico later commands his gypsy followers to flee in different directions so as to evade the "beck-harman" (constable), he justifies his order on the basis of their differing cultural backgrounds: "We are not all brothers" (823).[88]

Jacobean antigypsy laws, such as James's "Act Anent the Egiptians" (1609), reinforced categories of identity in an attempt to offset the ability of gypsy and vagrant groups to blend together for their mutual protection from legal prosecution. James's statute levied penalties on vagrants who associated with gypsies for a period of one month. Through the imposition of a time limit, this act replaced questions of conversion, which would force officials to determine whether or not a vagrant has become a gypsy, with absolute guilt by association. Similarly, the law also stipulated penalties for gypsies, including banishment, forfeiture of goods, and execution, based not on any proven crime, but simply because of their identification *as* gypsies: "that they are called, known, repute and holden Egyptians."[89] As the wording of the act intimates, gypsies could be convicted even on circumstantial proof.

Whereas gypsies had been categorized and protected as a separate culture abiding by its own laws and customs in sixteenth-century Scotland, the threat of potential alliances with other vagrant groups, and with laborers and the rural poor in general, necessitated harsher legislation in order to set the interests of these groups against one another. A 1619 statute in Scotland had targeted "the preposterous pitie of the countrey people" toward gypsies, stipulating fines and penalties for the granting of alms to unlicensed beggars. The Scottish Privy Council's decision to execute a group of gypsies in 1624, so as "to gif a terror to the whole companyis," was justified based on the supposed harm the gypsies had inflicted to "poore labouraris." [90] Nonetheless, the continued popular support for gypsies is evidenced by the fact that in that same year an Edinburgh mob freed one gypsy prisoner en route to his execution and nearly gained the release of the entire group of prisoners.[91] Laborers and the rural poor could perhaps recognize how they were often equated with gypsies and vagrants in the eyes of the law. Elizabeth I's "An Acte for Punyshment of Rogues, Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars" (1597), discussed earlier, listed "common Labourers" alongside gypsies, vagrants, actors, and other groups subject to punishment. The historian J. A. Sharpe

therefore concludes from his analysis of county legal records that the position of the poor in general was hardly distinguishable from that of vagrants in the early modern period, an equivalence based on each group's similar lack of legal protection and susceptibility to economic displacement.[92]

In *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, distinctions between gypsies and domestic vagrants are further blurred within the Jackman's song describing Cock Lorel's feast for the Devil, a section of Jonson's masque that borrows heavily from antivagrant texts, particularly Rid's *Martin Markall*. In a section of his text entitled "The Runagates' Race, or the Original of the Regiment of Rogues," Rid traces a genealogy of vagrant groups in England. Rid's narrative revises a standard chronology that locates the origins of vagrancy in developing practices of enclosure and an agrarian "primitive accumulation" of capital, tracing the vagrancy problem instead to an earlier displacement caused by fifteenth-century wars in France and the Wars of the Roses.[93] Rid constructs a lineage of social unrest that blends together historical rebels such as Jack Cade and Perkin Warbeck with fictional personages ("Jenkin Cowdiddle" and "Puffing Dick"), a succession that concludes with the figure of Cock Lorel. Rid only later introduces gypsies into his chronology, describing the subsequent appearance "in the northern parts of another sort of vagabonds" who organize at the Devil's Arse in Derbyshire under the leadership of Giles Hatcher and Kit Callot, taking on "the name of Egyptians." It is at this point that the previously separate groups of vagrants and gypsies merge, as Cock Lorel joins forces with the King and Queen of Gypsies.[94]

The gypsies of Jonson's masque frequently allude to Rid's description, from the Jackman's relation of how the gypsies retain the annual "musters" at Devil's Arse begun by Giles Hatcher (107–10) to the Third Gypsy's promise to "set Kit Callet forth in prose or rhyme" (247). Jonson also subversively inserts Buckingham into the gypsy genealogy, as it is his command as Captain of the Gypsies that has ensured that they have "kept our station, / As we preserved ourselves a royal nation" (235–36). Yet, previous to Jonson's depiction of his feast for the devil, Cock Lorel is described in antivagrant literature not as a gypsy by birth, but as a vagrant who has assimilated into gypsy culture.[95] The Patrico seems to allude to the type of genealogy outlined by Rid when, in response to the clowns' desire to join the gypsies, he explains, "Ye aim at a mystery / Worthy a history" (1081–82). But he also cautions them that "There's much to be done" (1083)

before they can join the community: "'Tis not so soon / Acquired as desired" (1086–87). Thus, even though Rid's text traces the origins of a vagrant "race" in England, this culture is not ethnically defined but founded instead on its status as a *class*, an alternative community separated from dominant English culture. To a certain extent, the ability of gypsy culture to assimilate and naturalize new members would seem to constitute it as a model of the type of integrated imagined community desired by proponents of the Union of the Realms. Instead, though, the Patrico's comments ironically demonstrate how exclusiveness and bigotry permeate even gypsy culture, a parallel closer to the anti-Scottish stereotypes provoked by efforts to naturalize the Scots.

The persecution of gypsies partly occurred because their distinctiveness as a community belied efforts to impose a greater uniformity of cultural identification throughout England and Scotland. Yet the persistence of gypsy cultural autonomy posed a greater challenge to aspirations of national unity because of the nature of its difference. Although gypsy culture evinced similar practices of voluntary naturalization to those intended by proponents of the Union of the Realms, gypsies ultimately threatened ideas of national identity. Yet this challenge was based less on an explicit opposition to civil authority than an alternative cultural affiliation that seemed to disregard the imagined national community and its values. As David MacRitchie comments, early modern antigypsy legislation targeted this community not "*as a race*," but because of its voluntarily vagrant status.[96] Gypsy identity, in this sense, is viewed suspiciously not because of its innate, racial character, but because it is constituted by a set of customs and conventions that are consciously adopted, produced, and performed.

Gypsies' recalcitrant cultural difference is therefore associated with a particular form of performance and counterfeiting of identity, the use of blackface to create the illusion of physical difference. Dekker notes in *Lantern and Candlelight* that although one would think "that they were tawny Moors' bastards" as a result of their "filthy complexion," gypsies are not "born so"; rather, they have voluntarily painted their faces and become "counterfeit Egyptians."[97] For Dekker, gypsies merely assume signs of difference, willfully appropriating signifiers of blackness. Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) therefore terms gypsies "Artificial Negroes" and "counterfeit Moors," "unsettled nations" of vagrants who have inexplicably "outlasted others of fixed habitations." Browne's comments

reveal how gypsies served as an interpretive framework in the encounter with foreign cultures both at home and abroad. Because gypsies blur distinctions of domestic and foreign, early modern texts associate them with other forms of hybridity and boundary subversion. George Abbot highlights gypsies' polyglot identities and seeming lack of allegiance to any nation, calling them "runnagates" and "the refuse or rascalitie of many nations."[98] Ultimately, the association of both domestic gypsies and foreign cultures with ideas of festive performance and counterfeiting, including the intentional blackening of one's face, serves to counter the threat of cultural difference. A festive culture is one that lacks its own forms of order; because these groups are out of control, one can therefore justify the imposition of authority. To define a culture through performance implies that its characteristics are nothing more than a role that can be assumed or abandoned. A performance-based culture is therefore not an authentic culture; in this sense, gypsy culture ("counterfeit Egyptians," "counterfeit cranks," and "sturdy beggars") not only lacks identity, but insistently performs the illusion that it has one.

The anticlimactic conclusion to Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* suggests a similar undercutting of the autonomy of both gypsy and court cultures. In an epilogue spoken by the now metamorphosed Buckingham in the Windsor performance, Jonson explains why the intended climax of the masque, the promised transformation of the gypsies into courtiers, surprisingly occurred not as a spectacle depicted onstage, but as an unrepresented event whose process is implied but not seen. "Good Ben slept there, or else forgot to show it" (1384), the epilogue concedes. In lieu of a metamorphosis, Buckingham instead breaks the remaining vestiges of theatrical illusion by foregrounding the role played by "Master Wolf" (Johann Wolfgang Rumler), the king's apothecary, who concocted the blackface that created the courtiers' gypsy disguise, a mixture "without spells" that "was fetched off with water and a ball [of soap]" (1389, 1391): "to our transformation this is all" (1392).[99]

> For to a gypsy's metamorphosis
> Who doth disguise his habit and his face,
> And takes on a false person by his place,
> The power of poetry can never fail her,
> Assisted by a barber and a tailor
> (1395–99)

But despite Jonson's insistence on his complicity, that the power of his poetry will never fail to refashion and redeem even the most discredited of courtiers, the lack of a performed transformation subverts the metamorphosis that the masque promises. As for the transformation of the courtiers, "this is all"—it is nothing more than the blatant stage devices that attempt to enact illusion and thereby counterfeit identity. But the gypsies' identity is counterfeited in another more fundamental sense, as it is based on the assumption of "a false person" (1397), an inherent simulation of one's "place" that is only "assisted" by blackface and spectacle. Distinctions are thus blurred between Buckingham's counterfeiting of gypsy identity and the performativity of that identity itself: each is, in this sense, a "false person."

The masque's central metaphor of metamorphosed gypsies takes on special meaning within the context of transcultural relations within Jacobean Britain. David Lindley notes how Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court* (1613) similarly undermines its concluding transformation, as the Irish masquers are simply revealed to have been Anglicized gentlemen all along.[100] The masque dodges the issue of cultural difference by refusing to acknowledge its residual presence among James's subjects. As with Jonson's earlier depiction of the Irish, the emphasis on the counterfeited cultural identity of gypsies ultimately reflects back on the incapacity to constitute a Jacobean imperial identity founded on an Anglo-Scottish imagined community. As Homi Bhabha comments, the imagined unity of the nation "fills the void left in the uprooting of communities and kin, and turns that loss into the language of metaphor."[101] In this process, the sites of loss, the figures and forces that resist incorporation and unity, are what serve as the loci of the imagined community: in the Union project, the Borders become the Middle Shires; in Jonson's masque, courtiers are transformed to gypsies, then metamorphosed back into courtiers; in antivagrant texts, the counterfeited disguises of vagrants and gypsies are interpreted and revealed; in the increasingly draconian antigypsy legislation of the Jacobean era, social categorization becomes absolute and punitive. However, each of these examples attempts but ultimately fails to translate and subsume residual forms of cultural difference within a rhetoric of imperial unity. Cultural difference thus signals the limits of enforced national uniformity: as Bhabha comments, "cultural difference is no longer a problem of 'other' people. It becomes a question of otherness of the people-as-one."[102] This sense of otherness infiltrates the signification of nation,

which takes on the protean, performative traits associated with gypsy and vagrant groups. The recalcitrant cultural difference of gypsy and vagrant groups constitutes a liminal space, like that of the Borders region, that testifies not only to the heterogeneous cultures upon which the nation attempts to establish itself, but also to how their unassimilated presence reconstitutes the performativity of national identity as a site of contestation.

In the anthropologist Victor Turner's definition of liminality, the liminal represents a position "betwixt and between all fixed points of classification."[103] Turner emphasizes that liminality is defined as an identity in process, a distinction which helps to illuminate the underlying conceptual links between the comparably counterfeited identities of gypsies and the Anglo-Scottish Union in the Jacobean period. Both cases testify to identities in process: the example of the Union of the Realms witnesses the uncertainties that accompany an attempt to redefine national cultures and boundaries; by extension, early modern gypsies embody the dangerous reconstitution of subject positions and affiliations envisaged by the Union of the Realms, an ability manifested by their connections and alliances to other threats, ranging from vagrants, reivers, laborers, gentry, royal favorites, and actors. The representation of the counterfeit subject, like that of the imagined border, attempts to reinscribe the disruptions and discontinuities that mark the transitional reconstitution of cultural identitites as forms of absence and illusion. As Mary Douglas notes, "Danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state or the next, it is undefinable."[104] Gypsies, like definitions of cultural boundaries, are dangerous because they resist taxonomic hierarchies; they exemplify a subject position that lies on the border between communities as well as between interpretive systems. The position of gypsies thus serves to "pollute" the efforts to preserve social order and cultural purity exemplified by Jacobean antivagrant legislation. And through their model of a performative communal identity, gypsies reflect on the analogously counterfeited foundation of the Jacobean Union of the Realms.

The efforts to create an imperial identity during debate on the Union of the Realms similarly demonstrate an imperative need to "fill the void" inherent in an act of imperial naming—the creation of Great Britain—that merely rang hollow. In a draft of a text that announced and defended James's new choice of title as British emperor, Francis Bacon felt compelled to defend James's creation from charges that it was little more than a rhetorical fiction; he

therefore emphasizes that "the name of Britany was no coined or new-devised and affected name at our pleasure," citing precedents in histories, maps, and "ordinary speech and writing."[105] In his insistent rejection of the imputation that the newly imagined British identity is only "coined," "new-devised," or "affected"—in other words, *counterfeit* —Bacon seems aware that his audience is either unwilling or unable to accept the premise that national identity is nothing more than a performed act of affiliation. Bacon's own reluctance to acknowledge this intangible foundation of the empire is reflected in his urgent search for any sort of precedent of British identity. Bacon's overcompensatory efforts constitute a rather vagrant search for meaning, one that subsequently ranges from obscure antiquarian myths of origin to the tempting illusion of practical, ordinary language. Ultimately, the performed speech act declaring an empire with redrawn, and erased, cultural borders, takes on a very gypsy-like form: lacking geographic placement, the empire becomes a counterfeited performance "affected . . . at our pleasure." An anonymous pamphlet illegally printed the year following Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, "Tom Tell-Troath" (1622), had similarly used the language of gypsy performativity to describe the failed Union of the Realms, rejecting the Union's proposals of a mixed aristocracy, naturalization, and Anglo-Scottish political marriages as "counterfeit ingredients" of an imagined community.[106] Therefore, despite James's best efforts to expel, eliminate, or assimilate gypsies and other vagrants in early modern England and Scotland, their cultural difference did more than simply persist and subvert any attempted incorporation. More importantly, gypsy identity, in both its performativity and its practices of naturalization, provided a model of the reconstitution of borders and political affiliations necessary for an imagined Anglo-Scottish national community. Ultimately, the representation of "counterfeit Egyptians" therefore served to mirror the failure to imaginatively construct a British form of nationhood in the Jacobean period.

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NOTES

[1] Ben Jonson, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1969), 134–35. Hereafter cited parenthetically by line number.

[2] On early modern vagrancy and poverty in England and Scotland, see especially A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: the Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640* (New

York: Methuen, 1985); and the work of Paul Slack: *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1988), *The English Poor Law, 1531–1782* (London: Macmillan, 1990), and "Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England," in *The Reign of Elizabeth*, ed. Christopher Haigh (London: Macmillan, 1984), 221–41.

[3] On further details of Jacobean regulation of the Borders, see *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* 14 vols. (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877–1898), vols. 7–13; Maurice Lee, Jr., *Government by Pen: Scotland Under James VI and I* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1980), 45–47, 72–74, 207–9; Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603–1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 190–93; Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), 65–68, 84–86, 142–43; Penry Williams, "The Northern Borderlands Under the Stuarts," in *Historical Essays 1600–1750*, ed. H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963), 1–17; Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr., "Border Society in Transition," in *Early Stuart Studies* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1970), 231–50; Dennis Hay, "England, Scotland and Europe: The Problem of the Frontier," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 25 (1975): 77–91; Gordon Donaldson, "Foundations of Anglo-Scottish Union," in *Elizabethan Government and Society*, ed. S. T. Bindoff and others (London: Athelone, 1961), 282–314; George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: the Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1971); D. H. Wilson, "King James I and Anglo-Scottish Unity," in *Conflict in Stuart England*, ed. W. H. Aiken and B. D. Henning (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1960), 43–55.

[4] Orgel gives the following casting: Captain (Buckingham); Second Gypsy (Feilding); Third Gypsy (Porter); Fourth Gypsy (Purbeck); Fifth Gypsy (Clifton) (*Complete Masques*, 495–96n).

[5] For a discussion of how the Windsor production evinces an awareness of hostility to Buckingham at court, see Martin Butler, "'We Are One Mans All': Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*," *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991): 264–67. W. W. Greg provides parallel texts of the three performances with bibliographical analysis in *Jonson's Masque of Gipsies* (London: The British Academy, 1952).

[6] Dale B. J. Randall, *Jonson's Gypsies Unmasked* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1975).

[7] Butler, "One Man's All," 258. Jonson was paid an extraordinary £100 by Buckingham in advance of the performances and hoped to use Buckingham's patronage to earn a knighthood (see Butler, "One Man's All," 255).

[8] William Harrison, in *Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1968), 183–84. Beier estimates that the number of vagrants rose from 15,000 in 1560 to 25,000 in 1640 (16).

[9] Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature*, rev. ed. (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1989), 130.

[10] On the Jacobean Union of the Realms, see especially Levack, and Galloway. See also a number of works by Jenny Wormald: "The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies?" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 2 (1992): 175–94; "The Union of 1603," in *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 17–40; "James VI, James I and the Identity of Britain," in *The British Problem, c. 1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, ed. Brendan

Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 148–71; and "The High Road from Scotland: One King, Two Kingdoms," in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 1995), 123–32. See also Neil Cuddy, "Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603–1625," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 39 (1989): 107–24; Keith M. Brown, *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603–1715* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), and "The Vanishing Emperor: British Kingship and its Decline, 1603–1707," in *Scots and Britons*, 58–87. Discussions of literary representations of the Union include Butler, "The Invention of Britain in the Early Stuart Masque," in *The Stuart Court and Europe*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 65–85; and Donna B. Hamilton, "*The Winter's Tale* and the Language of Union, 1604–1610," *Shakespeare Studies* 21 (1993): 228–50.

[11] Among considerations of early modern nationalism, see Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997); Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590–1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992).

[12] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 15.

[13] Anderson, 19. McEachern similarly assesses the applicability of Anderson's thesis to the Union of the Realms (158).

[14] For example, see the counter-objections made by Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, concerning the naturalization of the Scots (1609), as well as James's own remarks before Parliament (1607), in *Cobbett's Collection of State Trials*, vol. 2, ed. T. B. Howell (London, 1816), 690, 120.

[15] On Scottish nationalism, see Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), and "Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain," in *New Perspectives on the Politics of Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer and others (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), 34–58; and C. V. Wedgwood, "Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1603–40," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1950): 31–48.

[16] J. H. Elliot argues that this arrangement, of a composite monarchy reigning over disparate territories, was common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe: see "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48–71.

[17] Anderson, 19. These questions were brought up particularly in *Calvin's Case*, which questioned whether the *post-nati*, Scots born after James's accession to the English throne, could inherit property in England. For a discussion, see Richard Marienstras, *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985), 99–125; and McEachern, 148–55.

[18] "A Proclamation for the Uniting of England and Scotland" (19 May 1603), in *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–1625*, ed. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 18.

[19] "A Proclamation Charging all Actors or Partners in the Incursion on the Borders, to Resort to the Kings Commissioners at a Day Limited" (17 May 1603), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 16–18.

[20] *Somers Tracts. A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects, but Chiefly Such as Relate to the History and*

Constitution of These Kingdoms, ed. Walter Scott, 13 vols. (London, 1809), 2:62, 131.

[21] Francis Bacon, "A Draught of a Proclamation Touching his Majesty's Stile, Prepared Not Used" (1604), in *Works*, ed. James Spedding and others, 14 vols. (London, 1857–74), 10:236 ("have no"), 237 ("in our mind"); and "Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland" (1604), in *Works*, 10:223 ("badges and memorials"), 221 ("some further device").

[22] *His Majesties Speech to Both the Houses of Parliament, in his Highnesse Great Chamber at Whitehall . . . the Last Day of March, 1607*, in *Somers Tracts*, 2:126.

[23] Bacon, "Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland" (1604), in *Works*, 10:228.

[24] On James's 1617 Progress to the North Country and Scotland, see R. T. Spence, "A Royal Progress in the North: James I at Carlisle Castle and the Feast of Brougham, August 1617," *Northern History* 27 (1991): 41–89.

[25] The masque was financed by Francis, the 4th Earl of Cumberland, and staged for James on his return from Scotland at Cumberland's residence at Brougham Castle in Westmoreland. Campion's masque, *The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment* (1617), is reprinted in *The Works of Thomas Campion*, ed. Walter R. Davis (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), 464–71.

[26] Spence, 84–85.

[27] For a discussion of Jonson in Scotland, see *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1616–1619), 11:clxii-clxv; and *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 1:73–74, 143, 150. Jonson refers to his lost travel narrative, titled "Discovery," in *The Underwood* 43 (cited in *Ben Jonson*, 8:207, 11:78).

[28] *Ben Jonson*, 1:74n. The passage from *Conversations* (lines 644–45) can be found in *Ben Jonson*, 1:150.

[29] Jonson had also written a poem, "On the Vnion," included among his *Epigrammes* (see *Jonson*, 8:28). Jennifer Brady argues that Jonson's early Jacobean writings show an influence of James's speeches on the Union, while his writings following the 1617 Progress witness a hardening of his attitude toward the monarch. Brady, "Jonson's 'To King James': Plain speaking in the *Epigrammes* and the *Conversations*," *Studies in Philology* 82 (1985): 380–99.

[30] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1975).

[31] Quoted in Galloway, 40. Another important statement of Scottish nationalism was written by one of James's Scottish advisors, Thomas Craig, who defended Scottish sovereignty from both English encroachment and the Stuart monarchy in *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted*, a treatise that remained unpublished until 1695.

[32] Marienstras, 24.

[33] For references to peripheral regions of Britain as colonized cultures, see Christopher Hill, "Puritans and 'the Dark Corners of the Land,'" in his *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 3–47.

[34] David MacRitchie, *Ancient and Modern Britons*, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1884), 1:133. For a further discussion of James's policies toward regions of Scotland, see Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "'Civilizinge of those Rude Partes': Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s–1640s," in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas

Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century, vol. 1 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), 124–47.

[35] *The Political Works of James I*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain (1918; reprint, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965), 22.

[36] Galloway, 65–68.

[37] Williams, 11–14.

[38] Levack, 190.

[39] *Of the Union of Britayne* (1604), in *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604*, ed. Galloway and Levack (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1985), 21–22.

[40] John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1627), sig. Tt1v, Vv1, Zz1, Aaa1v, and Bbb2. For Spenser's description of the "Nation of Brigants," see *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 6.10.43.

[41] *A Treatise about the Union of England and Scotland* (1604), in *Jacobean Union*, 61.

[42] See Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 140; and MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies Under the Stewarts* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1894), 100. This group had earlier been apprehended by William Sinclair and pardoned only after their male leaders had been executed; see notes 78 and 79 below.

[43] Fraser, 118; MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 39. James may have given Faw this authority, of course, only to ensure that some authority was maintained over the gypsies, disburdening the Scottish court from having to exercise control over these groups. The compromise was short-lived, though, as James revoked all privileges the following year (Fraser, 119).

[44] MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 51.

[45] See A. V. Judges's introduction to *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. Judges (New York: Dutton, 1930), xxv.

[46] Fraser, 133.

[47] Randall, 48.

[48] Samuel Rid, *Martin Markall* (1610), in *Elizabethan Underworld*, 421.

[49] John Fletcher and Phillip Massinger, *Beggars Bush*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 3, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), 2.1.7, 5.2.219–21. For analysis of this play, see Rosemary Gaby, "Of Vagabonds and Commonwealths: *Beggars' Bush*, *A Jovial Crew*, and *The Sisters*," *SEL* 34 (1994): 401–24.

[50] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1616–1619), 11:34.

[51] See *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 1:408, 434–35.

[52] Julie Robin Solomon similarly argues that James rejected the association of absolutist monarchy with immobility in order to offset bourgeois values of mobility among his subjects: see "Going Places: Absolutism and Movement in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*," *Renaissance Drama* 22 (1991): 3–45.

[53] Marienstras, 24–25.

[54] Thomas Dekker, *Lantern and Candlelight* (1608), in *Elizabethan Underworld*, 344.

[55] Fraser, 137.

[56] See, for example, John Cowell's *The Interpreter: or Booke Containing the Signification of Words* (1607), sig. Bb1.

[57] Bacon, "A Speech Used by Sir Francis Bacon, in the Lower House of Parliament, Concerning the Article of Naturalization" (1607), in *Works*, 10:317. For a discussion, see Marienstras, 116.

[58] On regulation of the Marches, see Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

[59] See McEachern, 140–41; and Galloway, 82–84.

[60] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1604–1607), 7:381. This prohibition was repeated in 1620 (see Wedgwood, 34).

[61] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1604–1607), 7:544

[62] Richard Brome, *A Jovial Crew* (1641), ed. Ann Haaker (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1968), 3.1.143.

[63] *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. William Chappell, 3:1.327.

[64] Francis Osborne, *Traditional Memoyres on the Raigne of King James the First* (1658), 1:143, 254, 252, 254. Similar comments are made in another commonwealth-era anti-Jacobean text, Sir Anthony Welldon's "A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland" (1659), which is reprinted along with Osborne in *Secret History of the Court of James I*, ed. Walter Scott, vol. 1 (Edinburgh and London: James Ballantyne, 1811). On James's Scottish courtiers in England, see Keith M. Brown, "The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603–38," *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 543–76.

[65] Titus Tatius [pseudonym for Sir J. Skinner], *Rapta Tatio. the Mirrour of his Maiesties Present Gouernment, Tending to the Vnion of his Whole Iland of Brittonie* (1604), sig. D4.

[66] Among other Jacobean-era examples, a ballad of "Poor Sisley" described a woman's Scottish suitor, "a poor Scot that can do nought but beg," while another ballad commented "Our Scottishmen are beggars yet": see C. H. Firth, "The Ballad History of the Reign of James I," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 5 (1911): 24. Firth cites other ballads, including those repeated by Osborne, in "Ballads Illustrating the Relations of England and Scotland During the Seventeenth Century," *Scottish Historical Review* 6 (1908–1909): 113–28. For other examples, see Hamilton, 243–44.

[67] *Cobbett's Collection of State Trials*, 2:640.

[68] Randall, 48.

[69] For a full list of statutes, see appendix 3 in J. Thomas Kelly's *Thorns on the Tudor Rose: Monks, Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars* (Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1977), 148–60; and C. J. Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy* (1887; reprint, Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1972), 677–80, 687–88.

[70] See Fraser, 114–15; and Beier, throughout.

[71] Ribton-Turner, 90. On the 1547 Act, see C. S. L. Davies, "Slavery and Protector Somerset: the Vagrancy Act of 1547," *Economic History Review* 19 (1966): 533–49.

[72] See MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 63–85; and Ribton-Turner, 344, 687.

[73] Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald, *The Gypsies of Britain* (London: Country Book Club, 1951), 21; Fraser, 112–13, 118.

[74] Father Richard Augustine Hay, *Genealogie of the Saintclares of Rosslyn*, quoted in MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 56.

[75] MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 57.

[76] Donaldson, "Foundations of Anglo-Scottish Union," 301.

[77] For early examples and records associating gypsies with the Morris dance, see MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 25–26.

[78] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1624), 13:295, 813. The fact that performances continued for four years after Sinclair's commission demonstrates the

ineffectiveness of attempts to control gypsy bands as well as Sinclair's own possible lack of enthusiasm for his task.

[79] James pardoned the gypsies in a royal letter of 13 March 1624; in 1616, he had withdrawn the death sentence against four gypsies on condition of perpetual banishment: see MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 94, 99; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1624), 13:410, and *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1616), 10:655.

[80] Peter Roberts explores the relation between antivagrant legislation and the emerging professionalization of English players in "Elizabethan Players and Minstrels in the Legislation of 1572 Against Retainers and Vagabonds," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 29–55.

[81] Quoted in Fraser, 117.

[82] Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), 25.

[83] The 1597 Act largely repeats an earlier proclamation, "An Acte for the Punishment of Vacabondes, and for Releif of the Poore and Impotent" (1572, 14 Elizabeth, c. 5). Whereas the earlier act had set an important precedent by recasting the need of the poor as "counterfeit," I have quoted from the 1597 Act because it more specifically targets gypsies as a counterfeited identity. See *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols., ed. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (New York: Longmans, 1924), 2:355.

[84] *Tudor Economic Documents*, 2:355. In *The Art of Jugling or Legerdemaine* (1612), Rid also refers to vagrants "calling themselues Egiptians, or counterfeiting, transforming, or disguising themselues by their apparrel, speach, or other behauiours like unto Egiptians" (sig. B2). Gypsies could similarly evade punishment by entering the service of a nobleman; see MacRitchie's discussion of the Scottish gentry's protection of the gypsy Moses Faw (*Scottish Gypsies*, 81–83).

[85] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), 5. On "simulation" and "dissimulation" in relation to the status of sturdy beggars, see William Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1996).

[86] Baudrillard, *Simulations*, 83–92.

[87] *Tudor Economic Documents*, 2:328; for analysis, see Barbara A. Mowat, "Rogues, Shepherds, and the Counterfeit Distressed: Texts and Intracontexts of *The Winter's Tale* 4.3," *Shakespeare Studies* 22 (1994): 65. This legislation supports what Beier and Mark Koch have described as the "desanctification" of the poor: see Beier, 4–7; and Koch, "The Desanctification of the Beggar in Rogue Pamphlets of the English Renaissance," in *The Work of Dissimilitude*, ed. David G. Allen and Robert A. White (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1992), 91–104.

[88] The anthropologist Judith Okely similarly notes the widespread self-differentiation among late-twentieth century gypsies between those born as travelers, those with a gorgio (nongypsy) parent, and those who voluntarily joined gypsy society: see Okely "Gypsies Travelling in Southern England," in *Gypsies, Tinkers and other Travellers*, ed. Farnham Rehfisch (London: Academic Press, 1975), 60–66, as well as Okely's book, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983).

[89] Quoted in Fraser, 139. The Act of June 1609 ratified a 1603 Privy Council decision: for the Act in full. See MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 80; for analysis, see Randall, 55–56.

[90] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1619–1622), 12:3–4, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1624), 13:415.

[91] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1624), 13:410.

[92] J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England 1550–1750*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1999), 146.

[93] On Marx's chronology of a primitive accumulation of capital, see *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin, 1976), 873–913; for analysis, see Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991).

[94] Rid, *Martin Markall*, in *Elizabethan Underworld*, 421.

[95] The first reference to Cock Lorel (or Cock-lorrel) occurs in Wynkyn de Worde's *Cocke Lorelles Bote* (ca. 1510), in which he is not described as a vagrant or gypsy. Giles Hatcher first appears as a vagrant—not a gypsy—in Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vagabonds* (1575), while the name Kit Callot might have an even earlier origin, perhaps deriving from a conflation of the names of Piers's wife and daughter in *Piers Plowman* (Randall, 58–60; *Elizabethan Underworld*, 516–17, n. 34).

[96] MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, 73 (italics in original).

[97] Dekker, *Lantern and Candlelight*, in *Elizabethan Underworld*, 344. For similar remarks, see Thomas Coryat, *Crudities*, vol. 1 (1611; reprint, Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905), 200; and John Eldred, "The Voyage of M. John Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by Sea, and from Thence by Land and River to Babylon and Balsara. 1583," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 8 vols. (1598–1600; reprint, New York: Dent, 1927), 3:324.

[98] Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), in *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, vol. 2, ed. Geoffrey Canes (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1964), 481–82; George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (1642), 162–63. Compare Fynes Moryson's account of how he disguised himself as a gypsy to evade Spanish troops on the continent in *Itinerary* (1617), 4 vols. (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907), 1:79, 422–23.

[99] On the connection between ideas of race and networks of patronage, see Orgel's analysis of *The Masque of Blackness* in "Marginal Jonson," in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 144–75.

[100] David Lindley, "Embarrassing Ben: The Masques for Frances Howard," *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986): 357.

[101] Homi K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation," *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 139.

[102] Bhabha, 150.

[103] Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1974), 232.

[104] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Praeger, 1966), 96.

[105] Bacon, "A Draught of a Proclamation," in *Works*, 10:238.

[106] "Tom Tell-Troath: or, a Free Discourse Touching the Manners of the Time" (1622), in *Harleian Miscellany* 3 (1809): 451.