REVIEWS 61

closely reads them through the lens of cultural studies and literary analysis, balancing the highly technical information with its delivery in a narrative voice. Pinpointing both the writer/narrator's position within the text and the colonial landscape helps consider how such writers participate in the debates about race, identity, and knowledge-production in the New World. Likewise, *Marvels of Medicine* contributes to these debates in both Early Colonial Spanish America studies and, in our Covid-reality, the argument for reading closely medical texts that connect to our lived experiences.

Julie Hardwick. Sex in an Old Regime City: Young Workers and Intimacy in France, 1660–1789. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. ix + 280 pp. + 4 illus. \$35.00. Review by EVELYNE M. BORNIER, AUBURN UNIVERSITY.

In her most recent book, Sex in an Old Regime City: Young Workers and Intimacy in France, 1660–1789 (Oxford, 2020), Julie Hardwick, a professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin, explores young people's intimacy and its intricacies in the early modern French city of Lyon, at a time when it was a political center and the country's most vibrant city after Paris. Lyon's rapid development, due in large part to its growing textile industry (mainly luxury silk), attracted droves of young workers. Searching through the legal archival records of the city, Hardwick unveils how society handled intimacy and the role of medicine, politics, religion, and the legal system in the realm of outof-wedlock pregnancies. This "archive of reproduction" (7) Hardwick explores deals with pregnancies, claims for paternity recognition, abortions, and infanticides. What those records reveal is that intimacy was very much part of Lyon's daily fabric: at the workplace, on the streets, in churches, at attorney's offices, in hospitals, and orphanages. Indeed, Hardwick uncovers evidence that out-of-wedlock sexual relationships, pregnancy, and childbirth were not only common, but that, at the time, were not met with the stigmatization a twenty-first-century reader would expect. In fact, young people came up with a myriad of carefully crafted schemes to escape public scrutiny and hide their troubles. While society recognized its youths' sexual desires, intimacy

was a public affair, and all levels of society (priests, nurses, midwives, lawmakers, notaries, as well as family members, friends, and neighbors) were involved in many "reproductive" dramas.

Hardwick's research reveals that, in the Old Regime, premarital sex and unplanned pregnancies were usually not censored nor punished but met with understanding and compassion. In fact, intimacy and reproduction were carefully managed by the collectivity and a clear line was drawn. Behaviors were implicitly categorized as either licit or illicit, and citizens acted as guardians of proper conduct: "Intimate partners, their families, and their communities configured a wide spectrum of intimacy as acceptable and clearly delimited behavior deemed illicit" (45). Hence, it was perfectly acceptable to walk together, have limited physical contact, and kiss in public, as long as marriage was on the horizon. Young couples were subject to public scrutiny, and streets and common areas were places where intimate deportments were either frowned upon or validated. Licit intimacy encompassed what was viewed as acceptable intimate behavior between two young people. It included flirting, holding hands, kissing in public, and even fondling (49). The premise for such "regulations" was to prevent outof-wedlock births and encourage the transition from single to married in a time when marriage was quintessential to one's economic, social, and legal well-being. As Hardwick explains, "The powerful imprint of marriage as the norm in the archive of reproduction also reflected a society where matrimony had a high political, economic, and cultural value and in which young men in particular, but also young women, gained legal and other privileges of adulthood only as spouses" (23).

While most pregnancies, when announced to a future father, were met with a promise of marriage, some were not and heated disputes between two partners could arise. Under the Old Regime, consensual intimate relationships were regulated by conventional expectations, and a man had to be prepared to wed his partner should she become pregnant by him. Pregnancy often deprived a woman of her ability to perform her work and support herself. Hence, the future father was expected and encouraged to maintain his partner's and their child's financial well-being. Pregnancy without marriage in the offing was frowned upon and could lead to ostracization by society. If needed, the local courts assisted with contentious situations and facilitated

REVIEWS 63

negotiations between intimate partners. The role of the courts was also to emphasize male responsibility in paternity disputes and hold men responsible for their actions. Paternity was policed and, if proven irresponsible, a man could face penalties and jail time. At all times, the community's best interest was always put first.

"The business of reproduction was at the heart of communal complicity in the management of out-of-wedlock pregnancy" (168). Extensive records were produced and filed by doctors, lawyers, midwives, wet nurses, family members, friends, neighbors, and witnesses of all kinds. Items such as *billets doux* (love notes), garters with personal inscriptions, written marriage promises, and other documents were carefully archived and could resurface at any time in a court of law, should a paternity dispute unfold between lovers.

In some cases, when young pregnant couples deferred their wedding or decided not to marry, they resorted to various stratagems to give their affair the appearance of a perfectly respectable relationship. Once again, the community itself actively participated in the coverup: the religious authorities and the judicial system played an active role in helping young couples handle out-of-wedlock pregnancies. For example, priests would record both parents' names on a baptismal certificate and godparents were recruited amongst co-workers or friends as an attempt to create a public acknowledgement of a couple's status and legitimize their relationship (110 & 131). "Parish priests who entered the details of the baptism into their registers were key on-the-ground arbitrators of a child's legitimacy" (131). In addition, pressure from the top in the form of regular episcopal visitations encouraged priests to minimize the rate of illegitimate births in their own parishes.

Besides legal solutions and other strategies to give an out-out-wedlock pregnancy the appearance of a legitimate one, other "remedies" were sometimes the recourse. Pseudo-medical and health/life-threatening measure to end a pregnancy were often sought to handle the reproductive consequences of extra-marital sexual relationships: "Women's accounts identified the "remedies" simply as "remedies" or as "drinks," "powder," "drugs," "purging remedies," or "bleeding remedies," or "bleeding" (usually in the foot, if specified) (116). In extreme cases, some men attempted to "erase" the fruit of their reprehensible conduct by poisoning the expectant pregnant mother and her child.

Surprisingly, references to the use of "remedies" were mostly ignored by the courts who were more concerned with issues of financial compensation and the child's upbringing (120). As Hardwick explains, "Only three possible cases of abortion were prosecuted in Lyon between 1720 and 1790" (120). She also notes that prosecutions in other cities were equally scarce. Legal remedies and out-of-court arrangements were also common at the time. Mediation through *notaires*, although sometimes costly, was often a favored way for fighting parties to reach a settlement in paternity disputes.

Secure places for mothers to have their babies and financial support were at the heart of those quarrels. The economy of reproduction was very much a part of society's fabric. While expectant mothers needed a safe place to deliver their babies, others seized the opportunity for income. A network of private accommodations, owned by landladies, rapidly developed. Much like clergymen, notaries, and midwives, landladies played an active role in the lives of young, unwed, pregnant women. They, too, were a key element in the communal human chain assisting and providing care to out-of-wedlock parents (144–146). Midwives and wet-nurses were another element of the "reproduction network" (149). While mid-wives usually dwelled in the city, wetnurses were mostly found in rural areas. The role of mid-wives was not limited to the delivery of babies, but they also served as advisors to young couples and, in certain cases, as witnesses to the courts.

Not all out-of-wedlock pregnancies ended in a live birth. The Hôtel-Dieu, a foundling hospital in Lyon, where pregnant women could deliver their babies and abandon them, also had high mortality rates due to poor sanitary conditions and the limitations of medicine at the time. In addition, miscarriages, whether induced or natural, were common. As Hardwick explains, "While the high levels of abandonment have been well established, hints of the frequency of unexplained infant deaths are embedded in many records" (171). It was not uncommon for babies' remains to be found in makeshift coffins and graves. In the last chapter of her book, Hardwick uncovers how, once again, the community's networks of "safe guarders" were also often involved in the disappearance of newborns: "Dead babies in boxes that were de facto makeshift coffins were likely tragically common, dealt with by local networks and practices that are opaque

REVIEWS 65

now but were very familiar to people at the time" (169).

An eye-opener and a veritable tour-de-force, Hardwick's book offers a fascinating window into sexual standards in *ancien régime* France and reveals a stunning and complex system of communal complicity. Her careful exploration of Lyon's archival records sheds new light on the lives and intimate stories of ordinary working-class young adults pre-1789 and offers a new historiography of sex at the time.

Agnès Cousson. *L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Classique Garnier, 2018. 404 pp. 48 €. Review by Bertrand Landry, University of Mount Union.

In the preface of Agnès Cousson's new book, L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle, Bernard Beugnot of the Royal Society of Canada reminds us, in Guez de Balzac's words, of the definition of entretien, an important yet understudied literary form: "[j]'ai en tête un ouvrage que je veux appeler Entretiens, qui seront d'un style plus concis et moins oratoire, mais qui ne sera ni moins pressant, ni moins agréable" (7). Stemming from the conference entitled "L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle" held in Brest, France on 19–20 March 2015, the book is a collection of seventeen essays from international scholars, edited in a volume divided into six parts: Les Entretiens de Vincent Voiture et Pierre Costar, Dialoguer et transmettre, Formes de l'entretien, Esthétiques de l'entretien, Entretiens et récits narratifs, and Desseins de l'entretien. All abstracts of the articles can be found at the end of the book for a quick browse.

L'Entretien au XVIIe siècle offers a broad, multifaceted, fresh view on a pregnant topic long overlooked by critics and scholars, a point Agnès Cousson emphasizes in her introduction. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the definition of the entretien evolves beyond what Guez de Balzac wrote, as the authors show. Except for a few texts, it becomes a lively, learned, sometimes erudite but not pedantic, written dialogue between trustworthy friends, which allows them to express their self—moi—in the most intimate way. The entretien occurs in a variety of settings, a practice seen in the works of Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero from which the genre emerged. It allows some difficult topoï to be conveyed under a pleasant, accessible, and didactic form