the ‘informal economy’, so she is able to adopt a very wide lens, purportedly including the whole continent over the course of three centuries. This broad perspective is both a strength and a weakness. On one hand, her voluminous reading of the secondary literature allows her to draw on evidence from a range of countries, including France, England, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany and Spain. She makes astute comparisons between these different contexts, noting commonalities but also contrasts. On the other hand, it is obviously impossible to produce a study that deals thoroughly with the whole of early modern Europe. Nearly all of the primary research – apart from a few English pamphlets and plays – is focused on eighteenth-century Paris. For example, the book includes brilliant details of the importance of the city’s pawnbrokers – drawn from their archival records – and it also elegantly reconstructs the credit networks that entangled the French aristocracy on the eve of the Revolution. However, Fontaine is able to tell us rather less about credit in, say, seventeenth-century Germany, and other areas such as eastern Europe and Scandinavia are not discussed at all. This means that it is difficult to know how many of the specific details described here were present in other times and places or were unique to eighteenth-century France.

Still, Fontaine should be commended for her broad canvas and often insightful comparisons. More importantly, her central conclusions about the pervasiveness of debt, the importance of non-economic ties and the contested nature of credit are persuasive. This is a book that will serve as a valuable survey of a crucial aspect of the early modern economy.

Birkbeck, University of London

BRODIE WADDELL


The history of the emotions is a stripling field in the huge canvas of historical studies. But we can celebrate its coming of age with this splendid volume, carefully edited by Susan Broomhall of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions 1100–1800. Much of the inspiration for this collaborative project came from the late Philippa Maddern (1952–2014). The book is essentially about affection and associated feelings (or ‘affect’ to use the modish term); the reference in the title to spaces, another currently modish historical term, is appropriate, for ten essays explore a great variety of emotional experiences over space and time. Broomhall’s historical spaces are Scottish towns and villages where infanticide narratives received public notice in the early eighteenth century; Athol House in Perthshire where the second duke planned an elaborate representational scheme celebrating his family; Enlightenment Edinburgh where an interesting and movingly pathetic ‘kept mistress’ wrote frequently to her lover; the Britain of this time in general as an arena for weeping; and the wynds of Edinburgh, whose people in trouble are treated from early nineteenth century police court records. These, declares Broomhall, besides other fictional spaces, ‘are understood as communities formed by a shared identity or goal, practised through a specific set of emotional expressions, acts or performances and exercised in a particular space or site which may be physical or conceptual’.

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There are five authentically historical essays here, two of them by Broomhall herself, who writes about Athol House as well as the Edinburgh delinquents. The rest of the book is a miscellany of literary and philosophical pieces, including work on two accounts of the Inquisition, on Eliza Heywood, Jane Austen, William Hazlitt and eighteenth-century social satire. This rather unwieldy mixture, it must be said, hardly bears comparison in quality with the core historical pieces, based on manuscript or printed documentation. This review will focus upon them. Broomhall's team and her achievement is largely an Australian one. But inclusion of work here by Thomas Dixon, who directs the Centre for the History of the Emotions at Queen Mary College, University of London, should be noted.

Following the statute of 1690, in place until 1809, hundreds of Scottish women, usually bearing illegitimate babies, found themselves charged with child murder. Joanne McEwan’s essay shows the power of the kirk in this respect in rural Scottish communities. Drawing on work by Lynn Abrams, she sees these women as protected by their families and protecting each other, sometimes innocent enough girls till a late stage in households where it gradually became clear there was ‘a bairn to bear’. Parents, aunts and even siblings could act as emotional refuges, providing spaces for affective negotiation. The dominant emotional regime calling for condemnation, exclusion and censure could be circumvented by women’s agency in a pregnant girl’s favour. Personal choices of places for burial of a dead infant suggest emotional attachment, expressed by the desire to keep bodies physically close to them. Girls, in this dilemma, sought to fulfil a need for their own spaces for feeling. So McEwan indicates how the bastard bearer, alone or with friends, could be fully involved in decisions on where a dead child should be buried.

Broomhall’s remarkable essay about the Edinburgh back streets, titled ‘Feeling in the wynds’, tackles the media’s representation of feelings between 1800 and 1860 in reporting cases coming before the police courts. She is writing about socialized emotions, that is, ‘expressions and practices that reflected class and gender performances and expectations’. She sees the accused as positioned ‘in relations of power within the court and within society’. In other words, middle-class reporters conveyed and interpreted didactic stories for a particular readership, distinguishing distinct groups, the vicious and themselves, the feeling observers. The lower classes, always potentially violent, Broomhall argues, ‘bred a contagion of strong passions’. This could easily run out of control as street and household life was perceived by the civic authorities. This is detailed and fascinating material, which exemplifies Broomhall’s case that ‘the police court functioned as a space for feeling that served middle-class interests and individuals’.

Equally remarkable is Katie Barclay’s exploration of marginal households and their emotions, through her case study of the ten-year relationship between a professional man with standing in Edinburgh society in his sixties, Gilbert Innes, and a 27-year-old girl, Mary Hutton, who became his ‘kept mistress’. She provided him with sex, affection and emotional support; he gave her food and periodic attention as she sought to survive in her vagrant life. ‘When I became your whore’, she told him, ‘I lost all and everything that was previous to me, an outcast from society, sad and solitary.’ Once they were exposed in 1819, she was shunned, losing her employment as a governess and her ‘character’. Laura
Gowing, Tim Hitchcock and Keith Snell are among many who have written recently about the mobile poor, who lost ‘selfhood weaving together family, community, social status and household into personal identity’. Barclay is in this tradition, but demonstrates an exceptionally keen understanding of how such a person’s life was shattered, not just by physical and moral risks but especially by ‘a reduction of her sensibility’. Mary could not even cry. Homelessness showed itself by ‘wearing at the self and emotional health’, besides producing ‘spatial distancing from respectable society’. Space and place became key elements in a story of personal collapse such as this one, so movingly told by Katie Barclay.

Thomas Dixon’s powerful analysis of ‘tears, feelings and enthusiasm’ in eighteenth-century Britain deserves more space than it can be given here. But his full monograph study Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears, published by Oxford University Press, is promised very soon. Meanwhile Broomhall’s collection of essays illustrates the huge potential there is for thorough and detailed work on the emotional lives of the British people in the early modern and late modern periods. This is exciting and truly pioneering work.

Moreton-in-Marsh

ANTHONY FLETCHER


This book challenges the long-lasting idea that the concept of toleration in the early modern era emerged as a fundamental part of a teleologically oriented process of secularization. The essays in this volume re-evaluate the religious infrastructures of tolerationist thought in the early Enlightenment, with special focus on tolerationist discourses grounded in natural jurisprudence. As Jon Parkin notes in his preface, thinkers like Pufendorf, Locke, Leibniz, Barbeyrac and Hutcheson concentrated on ‘the relationship between God and His creation and its implications for human life and the institutions through which it is lived’ (p. xi). Religion had an ambiguous status in relation to natural law and toleration. Whereas natural law could not adjudicate between different doctrinal claims, ‘it could be useful in establishing through natural reason the general forms of external conduct God found acceptable and so in placing side-constraints on the forms of worship that might or might not be appropriate’ (p. xiv). This means that natural law could support both toleration and persecution, given that religion transcended the magistrate’s earthly concerns, but it still took place within civil society.

The first two chapters explain Pufendorf’s views on toleration. In chapter 1, Simone Zurbuchen argues that Pufendorf ‘ultimately defined toleration in terms of “reason of state”’ (p. 3). Therefore, Pufendorf justified the ruler’s right to grant or withhold toleration in the name of state interest, but he defended the rights of religious communities which had been legally granted toleration. In chapter 2, Thomas Ahnert observes that Pufendorf saw toleration as justifiable in some circumstances, and in the name of the reason of state, but not as something good in itself. To Pufendorf, who was committed to the project of a national church, toleration was only a first step toward the establishment of religious uniformity.