—statistics, detailed comparison, and classification; case studies, clinical observation, and interviewing; tests and laboratory experiments; ethnographic description and photography—and responded to social realities, even though their explanations were mediated by particular scientific theories, social preoccupations, and ideological assumptions. The empiricist perspective implied a differentiated evaluation of deviance: dangerous, shocking, diehard, and incorrigible misfits were contrasted to pitiful, benign, occasional, and improvable ones.

The diversity of the proposed or implemented practical measures reflected such distinctions. Next to repressive responses such as confinement and surveillance (in asylums, prisons, workhouses, reformatories, and penal colonies), a hardening of penal law, proposals for sterilization, and the curtailing of civil liberties, more humanitarian and meliorist perspectives sought to promote medical care, treatment, and advice, education, and social reform targeting deprivation. More or less subtle approaches of misfits were advanced by the growing awareness that the disruptive conditions of modern life put everyone at risk, not only those in the lower classes but also the respectable upper and middle classes.

Moreover, clear distinctions between the normal and abnormal were increasingly put into perspective. Sometimes deviants, including geniuses, were seen in a more positive light, as the bearers of variation capable of surpassing mediocrity and stagnation and initiating innovation. They brought to light that human nature was generally more complex, chaotic, and vulnerable than the rather optimistic enlightened view of man had suggested: deep-rooted reflexes and instincts incessantly tended to overwhelm the more fragile intellect and will. All of this affected the basic liberal belief in individual self-development on the basis of reason, autonomy, rights, and freedom.

The ambition of physicians and other experts to enlarge their professional domain and sociopolitical authority, and the urge of governments to control the population in mass society did play a role, but in France and Italy, Ashley suggests, other sociopolitical factors were even more relevant. Lawyers and doctors, the foremost experts on misfits, often played a role as public intellectuals, and they were overrepresented in the French and Italian parliaments. After Italy’s national unification in the 1860s and the foundation of the French Third Republic in the early 1870s, both countries struggled with tensions between the optimistic worldview of the leading liberal bourgeoisie seeking to establish the legitimacy of its political authority, on the one hand, and the emergence of mass democracy and the felt need to integrate those in society’s lower strata into the nation, on the other.

The preoccupation with and alarm about misfits among scientists and the liberal elites revealed worries about social disorder, political turmoil, remnants of backwardness, and possible national decline. The avalanche of abnormality challenged the liberal belief in progress and the bourgeois ethos of reasonable self-control, self-reliance, balance, willpower, social adjustment, and productivity, all of which were deemed essential for responsible citizenship. Lacking such qualities, misfits seemed to be unable or unwilling to realize individual autonomy in a well-ordered way. As such, they were impossible citizens who had to be either excluded from society or elevated to normality in order to guarantee the stability of democratized mass society. Scientific knowledge about abnormality was used as a nonpolitical and positivist means to set liberal-bourgeois standards for democratic citizenship. The demand to manage the multilayered and divided individual body and mind matched the need for a balanced and effective government of the expanding body politic.

Unfortunately, Ashley mentions such sociopolitical factors only in passing, without any further analysis of the significance of democracy and citizenship, including the interrelated worries among the upper echelons of French and Italian society about the consequences of the inevitable advent of universal suffrage and emancipation of unprivileged groups. Nor does she compare the French and Italian attitudes toward misfits with those in other countries. Instead, she provides a comparison of the nineteenth-century terminology for abnormality and present-day sociological vocabulary, as if there would be some sort of objective social reality of normality and abnormality beyond the historical and cultural formation of such categories. Although Ashley’s study offers a detailed and nuanced account of diverse understandings of deviance, its explanatory scope is limited. As such, the book adds almost no new information or fresh interpretations to what we have learned from numerous historical works about the role of medicine, psychiatry, psychology, criminology, and sexology in the modernization of Western societies. Moreover, the book’s eight chapters, including the introduction and conclusion, display quite a bit of overlap, and the resulting repetition taxes the reader’s patience.

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In *The Courtesan and the Gigolo*, Aaron Freundschuh explores the brutal murders of Marie Regnault (forty years old), Annette Gremeret (early forties), and Marie Gremeret (twelve years old), as well as the execution of the man convicted of killing them, Enrico Pranzini, who may have been innocent. Freundschuh convincingly argues that the entire affair serves as an entrée into the broader forces that shaped the history of the early Third Republic, including late-nineteenth-century migration patterns, powerful gender norms, colonial expansion, the rise of the mass press, and shifts in policing and medical practices. The murders and ensuing trial made huge news in 1887, and the compelling story that Freundschuh tells at once humanizes the people involved and reconstructs the world in which they lived.

The first scholarly work about the murders, this fascinating account is divided into eight chapters that are the-
matically organized and include biographical reconstructions of the major players. Murders of women of the Pari-
sian demimonde had stretched back at least eight years be-
fore Regnault and her servants were found in Regnault’s
opulent apartment in a bourgeois area of Paris on the rue
Montaigne. As Freundschuh points out, the Jack the Rip-
per murders began in London a year later. The number of
reports on the London killings eclipsed the press coverage
of the Parisian murders, leading the latter to be forgotten
by historians and the general public alike. Freundschuh’s
research is extensive and includes published sources such
as newspapers and archival sources that include letters, ju-
ridical records, and diplomatic and military correspon-
dence. The Courtesan and the Gigolo thus joins other ex-
cellent microhistories of sensational murders that are well
suited to be assigned to students, such as Sarah Maz’a’s
Violette Nozière: A Story of Murder in 1930s Paris (2011)
and Gayle K. Brunelle and Annette Finley-Croswhite’s
Murder in the Métro: Laetitia Toureaux and the Cagoule
in 1930s Paris France (2010).

As a courtesan, Regnault lived luxuriously, taking ad-
vantage of market forces that were associated with the
world of sex work. Intelligent, charming, and an avid
reader, Regnault was born in Burgundy in 1848 to a fami-
ly that struggled financially. Her father left when she was
a teenager, and her mother died when she was sixteen.
Such circumstances forced Regnault into sex work, which
she navigated effectively until she was murdered. After
the 1871 Commune, she moved to Paris and became an
entrepreneur in a sex industry that was deeply engrained
in male sociability. Freundschuh argues convincingly that
Regnault typified the world of high-class prostitution,
showing the centrality of women in the world of powerful
male elites.

While Freundschuh explores the gendered aspects of
the murders, he prioritizes the colonial aspects of the crime
and trial—particularly the police investigation that honed
in on Pranzini, who was born in Alexandria, Egypt, to Ita-
lian parents who had migrated there from Tuscany. “The
Pranzini phenomenon symbolized the erosion of the
boundaries between the metropole and its colonies,”
Freundschuh writes, and “stoked fears of the social back-
wash of overseas empire, a turnabout known to specialists
of contemporary British literature as reverse colonization”
(13). People who knew Pranzini described him as a trou-
bled yet gentle person who engaged in petty thievery and
scams but was not capable of using a knife to slash Marie
Bledel yet gentle person who engaged in petty thievery and
scams but was not capable of using a knife to slash Marie

Other chapters pull together key aspects of the rue Montaig-
ne murders. The press, for example, played a critical
role in turning the crime into a public sensation, thanks in
large part to the work of a crime reporter/muckraker by
the name of Georges Grison. Writing for the center-right
Le Figaro, Grison perpetuated negative views of the
working classes and, Freundschuh argues, helped to usher
in a new era of investigative crime reporting after press
censorship was abolished in 1881. Another chapter exam-
ines one of the investigating police officers, Deputy Chief
François Goron, who had fought in the colonies and
brought colonial violence and beliefs about racializing
Others home to Paris. Indeed, Freundschuh shows that
Goron was representative of the ways in which colonial
war veterans entered the metropolitan police force and
contributed to its professionalization.

At the trial, the prosecution painted Pranzini as a gigolo
who was simultaneously dangerous, untrustworthy, laugh-
able, and effeminate. Cultural stereotypes that were wide-
spread and promoted by the likes of Grison and Goron en-
sured that such tactics would resonate with jurors, as colo-
nial and criminal imaginaries merged. The jury found
Pranzini guilty, although he insisted upon his innocence up
to the moment that he was guillotined. For Freundschuh,
the entire affair reveals what he calls “imperial insecurity,”
which is a conceptual framework that historians could use
to analyze “shocks felt in the metropole as a result of this
intersection of the crime issue with that of colonialism” (199).

The book is clearly written and argued, although at
times the author’s digressions into historical context and
etymology detract from the pace of the story; and the argu-
ment in the last chapter—that Pranzini’s trial contributed
to a political crisis in the form of the Boulangist challenge
to the Third Republic—could be better developed. Over-
all, however, the book is a model microhistory that dem-
onstrates how historians could use the concept of imperial
insecurity for future historical lines of inquiry.

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LUDIVINE BROCH. Ordinary Workers, Vichy and the Ho-
(Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern
Warfare, no. 44.) New York: Cambridge University

Ludivine Broch’s Ordinary Workers, Vichy and the Holo-
caust is framed by the author’s attack on two dichotomous
World War II myths: the myth of French railway workers’
all-out resistance to the German occupation, on the one
hand, and the myth that French railways were responsible
for the deportation of 76,000 Jews from France and were
complicit in the Holocaust, on the other.

The first myth was almost single-handedly created by
the brilliant 1945 René Clément film La bataille du rail,
which portrayed railway workers sabotaging trains and

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