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## France and the British Isles from 1640 to 1789

Stéphane Jettot

Vincent Meyzie

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### **Introduction**

Among many, one of the Atlantic history's achievements has been to reconnect the metropolis to their colonial territories. There is still much work to be done, notably in France where the scholarship has for long been divided between the ancient regime specialists and the colonial historians. John Pocock's « Atlantic Archipelago » has been instrumental in the creation of a new British history which looks out to the open seas. But in retrospect, the Atlantic turn also helps to form a new understanding of the relations between France and Britain. The anthropological term of otherness which has been famously used by Linda Colley to describe the Anglo-British enmities was first used to describe relations between the

Europeans and non-Europeans in a colonial context. Furthermore, connected and transnational histories which have been applied to the Atlantic are now put to good use to Franco-British case. Comparisons between bordering regions appear to be at least as significant as national entities. The growth of a more European outlook is also having an impact on the old Franco-British couple. Relocated in a wider continental context, their relations are no longer described as the long and straight duel dating back from the Middle Age. As the limits of a strictly national approach became more apparent, more attention has been dedicated to the « cultural transfers » and the multifaceted circulation of individuals and knowledge. While the existence of hostile sentiments was beyond doubts, there was a wide gamut of transactions which united the French, the English, the Irish and the Scottish in one way or another. As for the large time span, it starts with two major political upheavals, the first British Revolution and the Fronde and ends with the Industrial and the French Revolution, the famous “dual Revolution” vindicated by E. Hobsbawm which could be felt from both sides of the Channel, from the up to the French Revolution. Also 1640 and 1789 are no longer seen as definitive watershed, they still constitute a convenient time frame to elaborate on a very dynamic subject.

### **General Overview**

For a general and long-lasting reflection on comparative history, one can start with the pioneer work by Bloch 1928 and then much later with the collective initiative of both French and British historians around Crouzet, et al. 1979. Inspired by the later, Genet, Ruggiu, 2007 provides some recent contributions on the Franco-British exchange from the middle ages to the 1960s. The paradigm of the “Hundred years War” is amply commented and criticised by Scott 1992 and Crouzet 1996. An emblematic symbol of both the interactions and hostilities between France and Britain, the significance of the Channel has been reconsidered by Morieux 2016. It demonstrates that the strength of local and provincial identities shared from both sides of the Channel were not made redundant by the slow creation of a national and maritime border. While Coley 1992 clearly demonstrates the birth of a British national sentiment against the French, Conway 2011 inserts the relations between France and Britain into a wider European perspective. Against a gradualist or even a “glacialist” view of the Ancien Regime, Jones and Wahrman 2002 provides a culturalist approach stressing the reality of the revolutionary transformations which took place after 1750 in both countries.

Bédarida François, Crouzet François, Johnson Douglas, *De Guillaume le Conquerant. Dix siècles d'histoire franco-britannique*, Paris: A .Michel, 1979.

A collection of essays which provides a wide-ranging survey, though by now a little dated, on the Franco-British relations and on a series of comparison on the 1640 and 1789 revolutions, one the respective economic growth of the two countries and on the many military encounters.

Bloch, Marc, « Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes », p. 16-40 dans *Id., Mélanges historiques*, Paris: CNRS, 2011 (1<sup>ère</sup> éd. 1928), 1108 p.

In this influential essay on comparative history and using English, French, German examples, Marc Bloch established some methodological guidelines which are still relevant nowadays. National borders appear irrelevant in the study of structural and social evolutions in an European scale. It draws attention to the need of reflexivity about the absence of a common historical language.

Crouzet, François, "The Second Hundred Years War: Some Reflections", *French History*, volume 10, n° 4, 1996, p. 432-450.

A critical and stimulating approach to the notion of "the Second Hundred Years War" by an economic historian.

Colley, Linda, *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, New Haven, CT, and London, 1992.

On the instrumentalization of a constructed Frenchness in order to allay the British anxieties during times of the imperial war and the rise of radical movement

Conway, Stephen, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

A stimulating contribution which relocates the British and the Irish in the European context beyond the military and diplomatic connections by embracing social and cultural subject (migrations, reforms, trade, multiple British identities).

Genet Jean-Philippe, Ruggiu François-Joseph (dir.), *Les Idées passent-elles la Manche ? Savoirs, représentations, pratiques (France-Angleterre, Xe-XXe siècles)*, Paris: PUPS, 2007.

A rich publication which includes many articles on a long 18<sup>th</sup> century and the constant cultural and political transfers between the two countries, ranging from parliamentary practices, historical models, technological knowledge.

Jones, Colin and Wharman Dror, *The Age of cultural revolution : Britain and France, 1750-1820*, Berkeley: California press, 2002.

Wide ranging essays on Britain and France from a cultural point of view. An insightful introduction which retraces the demise of the model of the "dual revolutions" (French Revolution versus Industrial revolution) and more generally of the attempts to establish national comparisons.

Morieux, Renaud, *The Channel. England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2016.

The Channel as a main conduit of circulation rather than a hermetic border and also a much wider debate on the idea of transnational history. Starting with a critical analysis of the Colley's anti-French thesis, the introduction outlines some of the key historiographical debates on comparative and connected histories.

Scott, Hamish. "The Second 'Hundred Years War', 1689–1815", *The Historical Journal*, 35 (2), 1992, 443-469.

A very useful review of the major contributions around the Franco-British relations in a long 18th century notably on diplomacy, state building, privateering and trade.

### Primary Sources

There is a considerable number of printed sources which deals with the subjects. The Voltaire Foundation has been involved in a long last critical edition of an emblematic author. Kekewich, 1994 is a very useful anthology with a vast quantity of documents on political and social history. Some other anthologies deal with more specific field: history of science (Bret, et al. 2010), the Huguenots (Barrell Rex A, 1999). Travel literature has been too often used to provide plenty of quotations to support arguments on the xenophobic or cosmopolite nature of the English. Though much dated, the edition of emblematic Young's travels by Betham-Edwards 1889 is now accessible on Gallica. More closely contextualised and with much caution, travel narratives could be useful, mostly from a literary perspective. On a good presentation of travel writing, see for example Bohls, et. Al, 2005 and Fabricant 2005. Cartoons and prints have been also mobilised extensively to make similar points on francophobia or to provide illustrative material. When closely studied, they could offer more. Pascal Dupuy 2002 offers an interesting case-study on the representation of Calais.

Barrell, Rex A., *Antony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury and « Le Refuge Français » - Correspondence*, Studies in British History, vol. 15, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

A useful compilation of 53 letters published from the first time between Shaftesbury and French Huguenots such as Pierre Bayle, Pierre Des Maizeaux and Jean Le Clerc.

Betham-Edwards M., \* *Travels in France by Arthur Young during the years 1787, 1788, 1789* [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k43628j.image]\*, London: George Bell and sons, 1889

[au: Please provide an annotation for this citation.]

Bohls, Elizabeth A., Duncan Ian, *Travel Writing, 1700-1830: An Anthology*, Oxford: OUP, 2005.

A general anthology which provides many extracts from British travellers in Europe as well as in the colonies.

Bret, Patrice, Gouzévitch Irina, Hilaire-Perez Liliane (eds), *Les échanges techniques entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)*, Paris : Centre de documentation d'histoire des techniques, special issue, 2010.

Various sources from inventors and industrialists from both France and Britain.

Dupuy, Pascal, *Calais vu par Hogarth*, Catalogue, Musée des Beaux Arts et de la Dentelle de Calais, 2002.

A very thorough analysis on the representation of Calais by a specialist of the English satirical views on France.

Kekewich, M. L., *Princes and Peoples, France and the British Isles, 1620-1714*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994.

An excellent collection of primary sources which enable various comparative works on social, cultural and political history. A general introduction provides a stimulating reflexion on the articulation between sources and historiography.

*The English satirical prints 1320-1832*, London: Chadwyck-Healey, 7 vols, 1978.

An extensive collection from the British Museum of splendidly reproduced prints with a useful introduction for each volume, notably by John Brewer

An only collection of satirical print on the Library of Congress (<https://www.loc.gov/collections/british-cartoon-prints/about-this-collection>)

**[au: Please provide a full citation and annotation for this source.]**

\*Voltaire foundation [[www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk/](http://www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk/)]\*

A very useful institution which edited much scholarship on Voltaire and on the Franco-British relations, mostly from a literary perspective.

### **Franco-British Comparative Histories**

The comparison between the two political systems was already widespread in the eighteenth-century. In the twentieth century, Marc Bloch demonstrated the need for more scholarly comparisons. At first, they concerned the fields of social and economic history, in peculiar during the 1960 and 1970's decades, around the notions of "first industrialisation" or the so-called 18<sup>th</sup> century "agricultural revolution". From the 1980's and 1990's onwards, various European comparative research programs were financed in order to reconstitute the origins of the modern state and this led to the rehabilitation of a comparative political history. At first, this initiative did not meet much scrutiny from the British historians who were mostly focused on the emerging Atlantic history. Then in the 2000's, new historical Britain and France work to

better capture the negotiation processes which took place around obtaining consent and the various geographical scales through which political power is enacted or contested.

### Embracing National Legacies

Proponents of a global history may be accused of underestimating the strength of their own national background. Ideas are not conceived in the air. As Richter 2006 suggests 18<sup>th</sup> century contemporaries were already much involved in establishing Franco-British juxtaposition from their own philosophical point of view. Circulation of ideas were then already hindered by patriotic bias. A similar point can be made in the current historiographies where national identity and disciplinary legacies affect the circulation of topics and notions (Cosandey 2002, Poncet 2010, Meyzie 2017). Some major political upheavals were treated very differently in the English and the French historians, the latter developed their own singular interpretation of the 17<sup>th</sup> century British Revolutions as seen by the French (Jettot 2012) while Davis 2015 suggested a different take on the popular political contestations from what it has been argued before.

Cosandey, Fanny and Robert Descimon. *L'absolutisme en France. Histoire et historiographie*. Paris: Seuil, 2002.

A dense survey of an essential and much debated notion inspired from French, British and American historians, notably William Beik.

Davis, Michael T., eds. *Crowd Action in Britain and France from the Middle Ages to the Modern World*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Useful collection of essays, stressing the influence of Edward P. Thompson on the topic and the major importance of the notion of “the Moral Economy of Crowd”. Includes for the period two contributions on France (William Beik, Cynthia A. Bouton) and two others on England (Nicholas Rogers, John Walter). The legacy of George Rudé has been also influential, notably for the end of eighteenth-century.

Jettot, Stéphane. “Les dix-septiémistes français et les îles britanniques : enjeux nationaux et disciplinaires”. *Dix-septième siècle*, 257/4 (2012): 573-594.

On the treatment by the French historians of the 1640 and 1688's Revolutions and the enduring legacy of the French Revolution in their understanding of British politics.

Meyzie, Vincent. “Histories of the Early Modern Royal State in France : Institutions, Practices, Officers”. *French History* 31-2 (2017): 219-240.

Up-to-date review essay on the scholarly literature on the topic and pointing out the limits inherent to the diverse historiographies.

Poncet, Olivier. "L'histoire des institutions de l'époque moderne en France depuis le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle." In *Herrschaftsverdichtung, Staatsbildung, Bürokratisierung. Verfassungs-, Verwaltungs- und Behördengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*. Edited by Michael Hochedlinger and Thomas Winkelbauer, 105-132. Vienne-Munich: Böhlau-Oldenbourg, 2010.

Very fine presentation of the institutional history and the impact of three traditions of scholarship (law history; the *Ecole des Chartes* and the historians) along with their mutual influences.

Richter, Melvin. "The comparative study of regimes and societies." In *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Century Thought*. Edited by Mark Goldie and Robert Walker, 147-171. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

On the eminent place of the British (Hume) and French philosophers (Montesquieu, Voltaire, Raynal) in the comparative school of thought and the use of labels such as "civilizations" and "empires".

#### Comparisons between Political Systems: Monarchies and States

Respective historiographical legacies in Britain and France have an impact on comparative practices. Asch 2015 provides a useful starting point as its approach is strongly influenced by the "Baroque State". A notion which was very pregnant in the English historical literature, nobly since Lewis Namier. Genet 1997 offers a view on the British and French States in a European frame with the two comparative research programmes concerning the Modern State's Genesis and the Origins of the Modern State. They stressed the major and mutual interplays between war, fiscalism, bureaucracy and society in the state formation. This led to much debate on the Weberian definition of modernisation and state. After the classical work of Bloch 1924, Asch 2014 and 2017 analyses the sacral kingship in the two countries. Other social sciences (only slightly mentioned here) practiced too comparisons, generally focalised on the two monarchies' political modernity: Root 1994 studies the links between political and economic; Ertman 1997 analyses the relations between polity and characters of state infrastructures. It appears also that Franco-British comparison could not be separated from a wider European scene. Pincus 2009 suggest the existence of two competing models of modernisation in France and the United Provinces.

Asch, Ronald G., "Western European Monarchies." In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750. Volume II. Cultures and Power*. Edited by Hamish Scott, 355-384. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

For an approach of the English and French monarchies, c.1650-1750 with "Baroque Monarchy" notion. This conception is profoundly inspired by the "Baroque State" borrowed from Peter R. Campbell. It postulates the authority's structural inability to manage the conflicts within the interest groups and the attempt by the elites to control the state apparatus. This approach points out to the relative stability of governmental practices during the early modern.



Asch, Ronald G., *Sacral Kingship between Disenchantment & Re-enchantment: The French and English Monarchies 1587-1688*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2014.

Challenges the dominant narratives of the progressive secularisation and the diverging evolution of the two monarchies. The author focus on three moments providing deep challenges to the political systems (the reigns of Henri IV and James VI, the 1630s and 1640s with James II and Louis XIII, the decade 1677-1688) ; his approach also accounts for the mutual influences between the two countries.

Asch, Ronald G., "The crisis of sacral monarchy in England in the late seventeenth century in comparative perspective." In *Monarchy transformed. Princes and their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe*. Edited by Robert von Friedeburg and John Morrill, 319-345. Cambridge: CUP, 2017.

For a comparison with France, partly based on a chapter of his book of 2014.

Bloch, Marc. *Les rois thaumaturges*. Paris: Gallimard, new. ed. 1983 (1924).

A pioneering and magisterial book on the sacral kingship in the English and French monarchies. It paved the way for posterior works on political rituals and representations, especially from American historians such as E. Kantorowicz.

Ertman, Thomas. *Birth of the Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997.

A suggestive approach of comparative historical sociology with a notable neo-Weberian influence. The French and British cases are prominent in the argument which suggests new labels to define the characters of state infrastructures ("bureaucratic constitutionalism" in Britain ; "patrimonial absolutism" in France) when usually distinctions were made between the French monarchy's administrative dimension (following Ernest Lavisse) and the central British State's weakness.

Genet, Jean-Philippe. "La genèse de l'État Moderne. Les enjeux d'un programme de recherche." *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 118 (1997): 3-18.

Important overview on the intellectual basis and references (in particular Max Weber and his successors; Norbert Elias) of the two comparative research programs on an empirical model of birth of the Modern State. Reflection on both the English and French monarchies figures prominently.

Pincus, Steve, *1688 : The First Modern revolution* New Haven: Yale UP, 2009

Important reinterpretation of Jacques II's reign, notably here from a political point of view. The king would have had a profoundly admiration for the French political monarchy. While he would have rather followed a Gallican, centralized path vindicated, England as a country in 1689 went "Dutch" and opted in favour of a liberal and tolerant modernity. A thought-provoking but controversial work on the existence of two competing models of modernization.

Root, Hilton L., *La construction de l'État moderne en Europe. La France et l'Angleterre*. Paris: PUF, 1994.

Attempt to articulate political structures and economic development and strongly influenced by institutionalist framework. The author focused on the role of lobbies within the two political systems. A demonstration, with a renewed approach, on the maturity of the English policy.

### **Comparisons between Fiscal and Financial Systems**

In the research programmes conducted on a European Scale, the British and French monarchies were seen through an evolutionist perspective. Institutions and fiscal systems were tied together and gave birth to the rise of Fiscal States competing with each other's. General speaking it seems that the rise of the Fiscal- Military states has undermined the idea of an exceptional and liberal British state.

### **General Perspectives**

In the introduction, Béguin 2015 offers both a long term and a European outlook. As a leading authority on the "new fiscal history" in the 1990 and 2000's, Bonney 2004 provide a precise account on the fiscal pressures in both monarchies. Along with the major and seminal works of Mathias et al. 1976 and Hoffman and Norberg 1994, Nye 2007 offers an accurate analysis on the specifics of fiscal policy. A collection of Félix and Dubet 2018 insists on the porous limits within the financial and administrative spheres and the resultant tensions. A selected reference on numerous works concerning the Fiscal-Military State gives the opportunity to consider the latter notion from a comparative perspective: Brewer 2016 exposes his retrospective view on his work; Minard 2018 for its historiographical impact. Beyond the Anglo-British duet, Eniso 2017 adds Spain to the interpretative framework and the German perspective by Brewer and Hellmuth 1999 delivers also very stimulating outlook.

Béguin, Katia, ed. *Ressources publiques et construction étatique en Europe, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: CHEFF, 2015.

Include a useful introduction on imbrications between debt, fiscality and building state as explored in the international historiography. Also includes a contribution by Anne L. Murphy on the England's bank.

Bonney, Richard. "Towards the Comparative Fiscal History of Britain and France during the Long Eighteenth Century." In *Exceptionalism and Industrialisation. Britain and its European Rivals, 1688-1815*. Edited by Leandro Prados de la Escosura, 191-215. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

A comparison founded on the existing literature and current data available; a good summary on the vexed question on the level taxes raised by the French monarchy.

Brewer, John. "Revisiting *The Sinews of Power*." In *The British Fiscal-Military States, 1660-c. 1783*. Edited by Aaron Graham and Patrick Walsh, 27-34. Harlow: Routledge, 2016.

A suggestive contribution about the heuristic potential of the Fiscal-Military State and the importance of approaching the State as an economic actor.

Brewer John and Hellmuth Eckhart, *Rethinking Leviathan. The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany*, Oxford : OUP, 1999.

Though on a British-German perspective, the book offers a wider reflection on the 18<sup>th</sup> cent state model with many developments on France. A welcome contribution on the need to go beyond the binary opposition between an absolutist military state versus the self-regulated, constitutionalist state.

Enciso, Gonzalez. *War, Power and the Economy: Mercantilism and State Formation in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe*. London and New York: Routledge, 2017.

Comparative work from an economical point of view, linking France, Great-Britain and Spain around the notion of the "Contractor-State". A book which offers a synthesis of the author's previous works.

Félix, Joël, and Anne Dubet, eds. *The War Within: Private Interests and the Fiscal State in Early-Modern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2018.

Essays on the discourses and practices on the fiscal corruption and the interplays between the Fiscal-Military State and the Contractor-State. It includes three cases studies on France (The Talhouët Affair during the Visa; the question of the absence of *Chambres de Justice* in Eighteenth-Century) and Britain (two cases about the tensions for the enacting of the deputy-paymaster's power and the balance between morality and financial interests during the Nine Years War).

Hoffman, Philip T. and Kathryn Norberg, eds. *Fiscal Crises, Liberty, and Representative Government, 1450-1789*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

On the links between political systems and financial efficiency. Government with strong representative institutions were admittedly more able to tax or to borrow than absolute monarchies.

Mathias, Peter, and Patrick K. O'Brien. "Taxation in England and France, 1715–1810: A Comparison of the Social and Economic Incidence of Taxes Collected for the Central Governments." *Journal of European Economic History* 5 (1976): 601–650.

A demonstration according to which the French were undertaxed compare to the English and an elaborate discussion on the ideas of fiscal undertaxation or overtaxation in the two countries. The author's argument was confirmed by ulterior researches.

Minard, Philippe, "L'État militaro-fiscal anglais au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 65-4 (2018): 162-177.

On the reception of the *Sinews of Power* by historians with some comparison with France ; allegedly it took some time for Brewer's arguments to be discussed in the French academia.

Nye, John V. C., *War, Wine, and Taxes: The Political Economy of Anglo-French Trade, 1689–1900*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

A comparative study on a specific tax on the wine trade in the Atlantic; on the impact of respective taxations on fiscal income in Britain and France.

### On Credit, Financial Markets and State Debts

As far as the early modern period is concerned, there has been a lack of comparative studies on this question. Some works by economists such as Stasavage 2003 provide an institutional account and some reliable data-bases but ignore a more historical approach. Andreau, Béaur and Grenier 2006 is a useful starting point; see also the collection of Caselli 2008. There is a significant trend among French historians, to discuss the matter beyond the national boundaries: Béguin 2012, Félix 2015, Legay 2014.

Andreau, Jean, Gérard Béaur, and Jean-Yves Grenier, eds. *La dette publique dans l'histoire*. Paris: CHEFF, 2006.

Important collective syntheses accounting for the elements of divergences and convergences around the public debt (Robert Descimon on the offices venality; Anne L. Murphy on debt's managements by John Law).

Béguin, Katia. *Financer la guerre au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La dette publique et les rentiers de l'absolutisme*. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2012.

Major work on the *rentes* and their role in financing wars; offers, notably in introduction and conclusion, comparisons with the Britain's case and discusses with up-to-date international historiography on the topic.

Legay, Marie-Laure. "Financial crisis and statecraft under Louis XIV: the Jacobite Jean Glover and Europe's first popular lotteries." *French History* 28-4 (2014): 453-470.

On the fiscal innovations in the late in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with the organization of the first popular lotteries.

Caselli, Fausto Piola, ed. *Government Debts and Financial Markets in Europe*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008.

Includes useful contributions on France (François R. Velde for the period between 1683 and 1726) and eighteenth century's Britain (Christophe Chamley, Patrick O'Brien).

Félix, Joël eds. 'Before Fiscal Transparency' in *Histoire & Mesure*. XXX-2 (2015).

A special issue directed by a prominent historian of the field which relates on the need to better historicise the concept of transparency before his inception by Bentham and others. Four contributions on the English (Daniel Baugh, Anne L. Murphy) and French monarchies (Jérôme Loiseau, Mathieu Marraud).

Stasavage, David. *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great-Britain, 1688-1789*. Cambridge: CUP, 2003.

An account from secondary works which deals with the links between public debts and political institutions.

### **Political and Administrative Practices**

Similar political practices are notable from both sides of the channel: some of them derive from the early modern history (patronage, clientelism) ; others appeared in conjunction with the rise of the state (bureaucracy, State papers and archives). Similar concerns were expressed, when it comes to the confusions between public and private interests, to the royal prerogatives and to resilience of a civic culture.

### **Practices of Monarchical Powers**

Giry-Deloison and Mettam 1995 offers a useful testimony of the importance of the topics of patronage and clientele in the British and French historiographies. The influential works of Lewis Namier in Britain and Roland Mousnier in France explain partially this durable interest; it was also stimulated by discussions during the 1980 and 1990's with the contribution of American historians. Patronages and clientele were related to the question of corruption (Asch, Emich and Engels 2013). The topic of corruption comes in different forms and shapes, with works concerning political corruption (Kerkhoff, Kroeze, and Wagenaar 2013), administrative corruption (Kroeze, Vitória and Geltner 2018), fiscal corruption (Félix and Dubet already cited). The collective work by Reinhard 1996 argues that the relations between states and power elites were structured by different rationales in both countries, though some approaches, stressing the need to negotiate political authority and to obtain the elites' 'social collaboration' (to use William Beik's expression), allows some relevant comparisons. The two States evolved often at the same pace and were equally concerned with reforms (brief treatment in Minard 2009) or the organisation of the administrative archives (Genet and Ruggiu 2011).

[au: We do ask that authors please try to limit the use of parenthetical references to cited works wherever possible, by instead directly discussing the works using the Author Year format. Could you please consider revising your commentary paragraphs accordingly?]

Asch, Ronald G., Birgit Emich, and Jens Ivo Engels, eds. *Integration - Legitimation - Korruption / Integration - Legitimation - Corruption: Politische Patronage in Früher Neuzeit und Moderne / Political Patronage in Early Modern and Modern*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2011.

Collective and international book dealing with practices and discourses on corruption in diverse spheres, including the army; two contributions on seventeenth-century France (Guy Rowlands, Christian Kühner) and two others on eighteenth-century Britain (Carl Horst, Hellmuth Eckhart).

Braddick, Michael. "Réflexions sur l'État en Angleterre (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)." *Histoire, Economie et Société* 1 (2005): 29-50.

A clear presentation of the English State through the collection of taxes and the many social transactions between government and taxpayers; it includes many comparisons between the two countries.

Genet, Jean-Philippe and François-Joseph Ruggiu, eds. *Du papier à l'archive, du privé au public. France et îles britanniques, deux mémoires*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011.

A series of articles on the parallel evolution of the archival practices in and outside the governments.

Giry-Deloison, Charles and Roger Mettam, eds. *Patronage et clientélismes, 1550-1750, (France, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie)*. Lille: Université de Lille III, 1995.

A book on the importance of political clientelism and patronage (notably inspired by the American historian Sharon Kettering). Includes two contributions on France (Arlette Jouanna) and England (Stephen Taylor).

Kerkhoff, Toon, Ronald Kroeze, and Pieter Wagenaar. "Corruption and the Rise of Modern Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Comparison between France, the Netherlands, Germany and England." *Journal of Modern European History* 11 (2013):1-19.

A special issue on political corruption in a wider European context; a good synthesis on the major contributions in social sciences on the topic (Michael Johnston, Max Weber, Niklas Luhmann). Shifts in debates on and perceptions of corruption during the period is clearly mapped out.

Kroeze Ronald, Vitória, André and Geltner Guy eds. *Anticorruption in History. From Antiquity to the Modern Era*. Oxford: OUP, 2018.

Collective work concerning the administrative corruption by studying anticorruption measures, their significations and their effects. It includes an analysis on anticorruption movements in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Britain and its colonies (Mark Knights) and one case study on the provincial administration in Languedoc (Stéphane Durand).

Minard Philippe. "La « réforme » en France et en Angleterre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : sens et fortunes d'un mot d'ordre" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*. 56-4 bis (2009): 5-13.

A brief and suggestive comparison between the two countries, relying principally on Joanna Innes' works. In the first half of the century, French debates shifted from the "reform-restoration" (« *réforme-rétablissement* ») to the "improvement-reform" (« *réforme-amélioration* »).

Reinhard, Wolfgang, ed. *Power Elites and State Building*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

Very useful volume of *The Origins of The Modern State in Europe, 13th to 18th Centuries* to approach the links between states and elites. Three contributions offer important comparative views between the social-political systems in France and Britain and the relation between center and peripheries: French regions and English counties (Gerald E. Aylmer); the "two social models of state building" (Robert Descimon) represented by the judges of peace and the *officiers*; the relations between states and urban elites (Ann Katherine Isaacs, Maarten Prak). Translation in French under the title *Les élites du pouvoir et la construction de l'État en Europe*. Paris: PUF, 1996.

[au: Please revise this annotation to approx. 70 words.]

#### Urban Governments and Administrations

Prak 2018 offers a useful starting point to approach the urban citizenship in England and France within the relations state power and urban powers. A systematic comparison on the urban governments are rather unusual, while the juxtaposition of case studies is numerous. This latter point is best illustrated in some works on London and Paris (Denys, Marin, and Milliot 2009 about policing practices). Studies on middle rank towns and their civic elites are scarce apart from the extensive research carried out by Ruggiu 1997, 2002 and 2007. New fields crossing urban history and environmental history are emerging (Leroux 2016).

Denys, Catherine, Brigitte Marin, and Vincent Milliot, eds. *Réformer la police. Les mémoires policiers en Europe au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009.

Many elements on London and Paris and their policing.

Leroux, Thomas. "Governing the toxics and the pollutants. France, Great Britain, 1750-1850." *Endeavour*, 40-2 (2016), 70-81.

On the articulation between science, pollution and politics in growing sector of chemistry. He mentioned a deep evolution within the regulatory practices c. 1770.

Prak, Maarten. *Citizens without Nations. Urban Citizenship in Europe and the World, c. 1000-1789*.

Cambridge: CUP, 2018.

A synthesis by a prominent authority on of Citizenship in European towns and the sheer diversity of their nature. Much attention is paid to the importance of various civic institutions (neighbourhood associations, craft guilds, confraternities and civic militias) and their relation with the State. Includes numerous elements of Britain and France and a specific chapter on Citizenship in England in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Ruggiu, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997.

Major (and rare) comparative analyse of social, political and cultural relationships between the urban elites from middle sized towns (Canterbury, Chester, Alençon, Abbeville); very accurate description on the convergences and divergences concerning social mobility, politics and exercise of public offices in the two countries. Offers numerous developments about comparisons between English *gentry* (includes the elaboration of the notion of “gentry civique”) and French nobility. Differences between the French and the English elite were mostly a question of representation.

Ruggiu, François-Joseph. “Oligarchie et ascension sociale urbaine en France et en Angleterre du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.” In *Le pouvoir urbain dans l'Europe atlantique du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Edited by Guy Saupin, 195-214. Nantes: Ouest Editions, 2002.

Important review on urban authority and civic elites in the two countries, with abundant footnotes. Presents three research paths on civic rhetoric, individual trajectories and institutional network building.

Ruggiu, François-Joseph. “Pour une étude de l'engagement civique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.” *Histoire urbaine* 19 (2007): 145-164.

On the detention of public offices in English and French towns and the various expectations they were supposed to fulfil. A case founded on diaries or personal documents of urban authority's holders.

### **A Shared Franco-British History: Wars, Exchanges and Transfers**

Some publications have made the similar assumption that social elites on both sides of the Channel were enamoured with their neighbours' culture or manners A strident Anglomania was matched by a similar Gallomania. While simultaneously other influential works have stressed the way the two monarchies have



come to define themselves as being opposed to each other. The emergence of a patriotic identity was hinged on the rejection of the hereditary enemy. Whether it be travel accounts, diaries, there are enough evidence to make a case in both opposite directions. These contributions are not necessarily contradictory, when they are closely contextualised and linked to some individuals, groups or political event. This abundant scholarship is also challenged by other strands of research which highlight the importance of transfers and circulation in many fields.

### A Wide Gamut of Political Interactions

The debates around the contested notion of a Hundred Year War has led to a profound renewal of the diplomatic and military history. While the account of the many battles on land and seas rightly occupy a vast amount of publications, more attention is also paid by to the peace negotiations and the interplay between foreign policy, representative institutions and interest groups.

### On Foreign Policy

In the continuity of a seminal work (Thomson Hatton Bromley 1968), the diplomatic involvement of courts and monarchs has been further probed through the “society of princes” (Bely 1990), a notion which facilitates the understanding of the peace process and the involvement of spies, politicians, and lawyers and so on. From a High politics approach, there was a continuous urge in the governments to fight the “natural enemy” (Black 1986) though Dziembowski 1998 suggests among the French ministers a significant shift of opinion in the period 1750. From a bottom up perspective, it has been noted that modest actors, merchants, industrialists and even fishermen were also involved in the making of peace treaties, from Utrecht to the Peace of Amiens (1802) (Morieux and Jensenne, 2008). Increasingly collusions and complementarities between the diplomatic and the parliamentary forms of representation came to be openly discussed (Jettot 2009). Diplomatic activities were no stranger to enlightenment practices and debates up to the French revolution (Bellissa 1998). This is not to say that confessional politics disappeared from the negotiation (Claydon Mc Bride 1998) and the Pope was also a significant actor (Glickman, 2013). Relations between France and Britain are also better appreciated by considering the importance of third parties such as the United Provinces (Levillain 2010) and the Scandinavian kingdoms which at certain time not managed to impose their neutral status.

**[au: Please consider revising to limit the use of parentheses.]**

\*Bélissa Marc, *Fraternité universelle et intérêt national (1713-1795). Les cosmopolitiques du droit des gens*, Paris: Kimé, 1998.

On the European discussion, and mostly from a Franco-British perspective, around the ideas of laws of the nations, the rights of citizenship and political liberty.

Bély Lucien, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris: Fayard, 1990.

A renewed approach to diplomatic history by a clear focus on the origins and practices of the negotiators: intelligence, decision-making, commercial and religious lobbying. A very detailed and inventive description of the Anglo-British relations during the Treaty of Utrecht.

Black Jeremy, *Natural and Necessary Enemies: Anglo-French Relations in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Duckworth, 1986.

A slightly misleading title as the author deals with francophobia but also stress the important phases of diplomatic co-operation between the two country. A diplomatic history mostly from a high politics perspective.

Claydon, Tony and McBride Ian, eds. *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998

An unprecedented attempt to better understand foreign policy in term of faith and identity. While the notion of « Protestant nationhood » appears to be decisive in Britain, it did not lead to a consensual diplomacy towards France.

Dziemboswki, Edmond, *Un nouveau patriotisme français, 1750-1770: la France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept ans*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998.

The shift in the governing elite from a strong anglophilia, before the Seven years war to the making of a more hostile French patriotism, which sustained the Frenchmen during their later wars with Britain

Glickman, Gabriel, "Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660–72", *The English Historical Review*, 128, 531, 2013, p. 263–291.

About the tension between the aspiration of some English clergymen, scholars and diplomats to adopt a pluriconfessional outlook and the rise of a domestic anti-popey trigger by the rise of Louis XIV's France.

\*Jessenne, Jean-Pierre, Morieux Renaud, Dupuy Pascal, dir., *Le négoce de la paix. Les nations et les traités franco-britanniques (1713-1802)*, Paris: Société des études Robespierriistes, 2008.

A very useful and detailed account on of the peace treaties signed throughout a long 18th century from a renewed perspective.

Jettot, Stéphane, *Représenter le Roi ou la Nation ? Les parlementaires dans la diplomatie anglaise 1660-1702*, Paris: Presses Universitaires Paris-Sorbonne, 2012.

On the influence of diplomats, both English and European in the London parliamentary debates. The linguistic inability of French diplomats and their dependence on biased intermediaries led them to fail to grasp the subtleties of English politics.

Levillain, Charles-Édouard, *Vaincre Louis XIV : Angleterre, Hollande, France, histoire d'une relation triangulaire, 1665-1688*, Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2010.

The usual binary relations between the Bourbon and the Stuarts are being relocated into a wider diplomatic triangle including the United Provinces.

Thomson, Mark A., Hatton Ragnhild and Bromley J.S. (dir.), *William III and Louis XIV. Essays (1680-1720)*, Liverpool University Press, 1968

A collective work on the various aspects of the diplomatic relations (dynastic, administrative, newsletters, Parliament, gratifications) between the two competing monarchs.

### Reporting and Censoring Political News

The numerous channels of communication between France and Britain explained why knowledge and rumours on major political events such as the Fronde (Knachtel 1967) up to the 1789 (Benigno 2010, Philp, 2004), spread rapidly, were duly commented and often recycled in a domestic context. Gazettes, newsletters were the main conduits. On the circulation of periodicals French and English, see Haffemayer 2018 and Curelly 2012. The well-connected Huguenots minority was also instrumental (Grist 2005), notably when connected to the coffee house networks (Harvey and Grist 2006). Family archives are also useful to understand the reception of public news (Ruggiu 2010). The world of spies and secret police should also not to be underestimated (Burrows 2007).

[au: Please consider revising to limit the use of parentheticals.]

Benigno, Francesco, *Mirrors of Revolution. Conflict and political identity in Early Modern Europe*, Brepols, 2010.

On the circulation of knowledge and remembrances of former revolutionary episodes in a European perspective, and mostly particularly in France and Britain.

Burrows, Simon, *Blackmail, scandal and revolution. London's French libellistes 1758-92*, Manchester, Manchester UP, 2007.

A history of the French public opinion seen from the other side of the Channel. On the social diversity of the French journalist community in London, its role in the criticism of the French government and the threat of French police and secret agents.

Curelly Laurent, "The French, those Monkeys of Mankind": the Fronde as seen by the newsbook *Mercurius Politicus* », *XVII-XVIII*, 69, 2012, 29-50

The *Mercurius Politicus* is used as a rich source to study the understanding and reception of the Fronde by the English.

Harvey Simon, Grist Elizabeth, "The Rainbow Coffee House and the Exchange of Ideas in Early Eighteenth-Century England", in Anne DUNAN-PAGE (ed.), *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1789*, Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

On the role of Huguenots exiles around Des Maizeaux and Pierre Coste in the circulation of news from England to France.

Haffemayer, stephane, "«Great Conspiracy» et «Bloody Plot» : la médiatisation de la révolte irlandaise et le déclenchement de la guerre civile anglaise (1641-1642)", *Histoire et Civilisation du livre*, n.º 14, 2018, pp. 173-192

A good study on the mediatisation of the Irish revolt in France through the newsletters and gazettes.

Knachtel, P. H., *England and the Fronde*, New York, Cornell Univ Press, 1967.

A dated though still useful accounts on the simultaneous political crisis from both sides of the Channel.

Philp, Mark, ed. *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004

On the loyalist and radical press and their divergence in covering of the French revolutionary events.

Ruggiu, rançois-Joseph, "La mort de Charles Ier d'Angleterre dans les écrits du for privé", in ARNOUL, Élisabeth, BARDET, Jean-Pierre, RUGGIU, François-Joseph (éd.) (2010), *Les Écrits du for privé en Europe du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine. Enquêtes, analyses, publications*, Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, pp. 535-554.

The demonstration that Family diaries could be used as a relevant source to reconstitute the circulation of news and their reception within the private sphere. Commonplace books and family archives provide plenty of evidence on major political events.

### Migration and politics

Beyond the circulation of news, most work has been done on the individuals and communities which were affected by the Franco-British relations and were residing abroad, sometimes in dire circumstances. A fairly extensive bibliography as now been dedicated to the exiled communities of Huguenots. It would be fairly impossible to provide an exhaustive account. Among the most accessible contributions on the Jacobite court, Corp 2004 and Szechi 1995 are much helpful. The Huguenot community has been well accounted for by a series of collective essays, notably Scouloudi 1987 and the persistent confrontation led also to a significant circulation of soldiers and war prisoners. Glozier 2004 is devoted to the involvement of Scottish soldiers in the French army, while the conflicting identities raised by the

nationality and the diverse social status of the prisoners are convincingly dealt with by Anderson 1960, Morieux 2013 and Charters 2014.

Anderson, Oliver, "The establishment of British supremacy at sea and the exchange of naval prisoners of war, 1689-1783"; *HER*, 75, 1960, 77-89.

Though there was no official position, there was a continuous negotiation and implicit agreements on the exchange of prisoners throughout the century. Several typologies of exchanges, all-for-all or man-for-man are exposed in detail.

Charters, Erica, "The Administration of War and French Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756–1763", Erica Charters, Eve Rosenhaft, and Hannah Smith (dir), *Civilians and War in Europe, 1618-1815*, Liverpool University Press, 2014, 87 – 99.

On the effective State management of the prisoners, notably of their health and welfare. A work which provides renewed insights into the lives of French prisoners-of-war and which fits into a broader trend that seeks to reconsider the reputed inadequacy of the administration in times of war.

Corp, Edward T., *A court in exile: the Stuarts in France, 1689-1718*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.

A long-neglected subject about an exiled Court and its French Host. Far from being insignificant, Jacobite courtiers were invested in the major aspect of the Franco-British relations.

Glozier, Matthew, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King: Nursery for Men of Honour*, Leiden, Brill, 2004.

In the plurisecular perspective of the military relationship between France and Scotland, the reign of Louis XIV represents a decisive moment with a significant increase of privately contracted soldier in the army, along with other English troops. A thoughtful reflection on their divided loyalties when the Stuarts policy towards France became increasingly unpopular.

Morieux, Renaud "French prisoners of war, conflicts of honour, and social inversions in England, 1744–1783", *The Historical Journal*, 2013, 56 (1), 55-88.

A reflection on the paradoxical position of the French nobles held captive in English market towns. Their presence led to various forms of conflicts and the local authorities were divided between the need to uphold patriotic francophobia and the defense of social hierarchies.

Scoloudi, Irene (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 1987.

A good though uneven scholarship from the Huguenot Society to mark the tercentenary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A collective essay on the many sides to the Huguenot presence in

Britain, notably their intellectual contribution, their social and religious integration and their economic achievements.

Szechi, Daniel. *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994.

A good account of the European networks of Jacobites and their mobilisation against the Hanoverian.

### **Intellectual History and Cultural Transfers**

The political and the diplomatic circumstances could not account on their own for the circulation of individuals, ideas and knowledge on both sides of the Channel. There is a well-established scholarship related to the history of ideas and to the most prominent thinkers. Recently more attention is being paid to the material conditions through which ideas, prints and manuscripts circulate. One should consider the many slippery forms of transmissions caused by translations, personal network and correspondences.

### **Generalities**

Werner et al. 2004 have stressed the limits of any comparative history, arguing that it led to overestimate the national boundaries and provide a too static pictures of the compared objects. The project of a “crossed history” inspired many recent works. Thomson et al. 2010 surveys many case-studies related to various forms of cultural transfers. Hayes 2009 combines and history of translation theory with a study of the cross-channel circulation of publications. Stedman 2013 addresses the subject also with a strong theoretical apparatus and with a gender approach. In a more descriptive but detailed manner, Grieder 1985 and Eagles 2000 have pointed out to the strength of cosmopolitanism in the French and English elite despite a growing patriotic culture. Two publications, Ogée 2005 and Doig et al., 2007 deliver various examples of cultural exchanges in literature, art and politics which were part of a European Enlightenment. Black 1992 offers an accessible synthesis on the well-known practice of the Grand Tour.

Black, Jeremy, *The British abroad. The Grand Tour in the eighteenth century*, Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1992.

An accessible and general account of a well-known aristocratic practice, with a restrictive definition of the phenomenon as an early form of tourism.

Charles, Christophe, Vincent, Julien and Winder, Jay (eds), *Anglo-French Attitudes. Comparisons and Transfers between English and French Intellectuals since the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007.

This useful set of essays accounts for the latest directions in Franco-English intellectual histories, abandoning the too abstract Republic of Letter in favour of studying personal relations and contextualised social networks.

Doig, Kathleen Hardesty, Medlin Dorothy (ed.), *British-French Exchanges in the Eighteenth Century*, 2007.

On the personal ties and correspondences established across the channel, merely from a literary and cultural perspective (Encyclopedia, Bernardin de St Pierre).

Eagles, Robin, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.

Against the grain of the xenophobic disposition of the English elite, the author argues for the persistence of a significant admiration for French art, manners and fashion.

Grieder, Josephine, *Anglomania in France 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction and Political Discourse*, Genève: Droz, 1985.

A general reflexion on the reception of political ideas and their circulation among the French public.

Hayes, Julie Candley, *Translation, Subjectivity and Culture in France and England*, Stanford, 2009.

A research based on the study of prefaces of translated work which demonstrate the existence of cross-channel intellectual communities.

Ogée, Frédéric, dir., *Better in France? The Circulation of Ideas across the Channel in the Eighteenth century*, Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg, 2005.

A literary approach, on the circulation of poets, artists and translators and the fluctuations of mania/phobia both in England and France.

Stedman, Gesa, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.

An accessible and useful introduction on the methodological issues raised by the notion of cultural exchanges both from a literary and a political point of view. A welcome reflection on the gender side to the subject with a chapter on Queen Henrietta Maria as a cultural mediator.

Thomson, Ann, Dziembowski Edmond and Burrows Simon, *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the long Eighteenth century*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, SVEC, 2010

A collective contribution described as "intellectual history", written in French and English around various themes on espionage, translation, periodicals and consumption. A reflection on the form in which knowledge could be transmitted by lesser-known mediators (diplomats, journalists...)

Werner, Michael, and Zimmermann Bénédicte eds. *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*. Paris: Seuil, Le genre humain, 2004.

Proposition of « crossed history » like a « tools' box » (*boîte à outils*) which enable a better visualisation of the exchanges and the circulations between two areas.

### Exchanges and Controversies between Prominent Thinkers

Prominent thinkers, philosophers and historians, such as Hobbes, Locke Voltaire, Montesquieu or Hume have been the subject of substantial and important publications. It would be illusory to provide a satisfying account. Among the many studies on Voltaire in England, Rousseau 1976 is very helpful as a main authority, along with Cottret 1992 on Bolingbroke and his French audience. The history of ideas and the question of "influence", have been criticised for being too abstract and unable to provide a convincing account of the channels through which ideas are being transmitted and understood. Roche 2000 demonstrate that some famous English travellers failed to access to the Parisian life. On the circulation republican ideas, Hammersley 2010 provides a convincing account on a long 18<sup>th</sup> century. Skinner 1996 addresses the reception of Hobbes in France while Savonius 2004 on Locke and Castana 2013 on Algernon Sidney provides also some stimulating thoughts. Tillet 2001 explores the French reception of the English constitutionalists notably with Montesquieu acting a powerful intermediary. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Rothschild 2001 and De Champs 2015 have in the former suggested a useful parallel study of Smith and Condorcet and in the later an insightful study of Betham in French.

Cottret Bernard, *Bolingbroke. Exil et écriture au siècle des Lumières. Angleterre-France (vers 1715-vers 1750)*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1992, 2 volumes.

Through his diplomatic action during the Utrecht negotiations as well through his exiles, Bolingbroke is no longer seen as a marginal political figure.

De Champs, Emmanuelle, *Enlightenment and utility, Bentham in French, Bentham in France*, Cambridge UP, 2015

Presented as a « transnational intellectual history », its author presents with clarity the numerous French connections of Jeremy Bentham from the study his correspondence and friends. Hence utilitarianism should be seen as originating from a constructive dialogue between France and Britain.

Hammersley, Rachel, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France; Between the Ancients and the Moderns*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010.

A thorough study of the extensive body of English republican literature, reprinted and reread from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards in France and England. Such a vast influence could be only accounted for by a reinterpretation of classic republicanism by Enlightened reformers. From the French Huguenots to the writings of d'Argenson and of the baron d'Holbach, English republican ideas were decisively adapted to the French public.



Rousseau, André-Michel, *L'Angleterre et Voltaire*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, SVEC, CXVI, 1976.

A vast essay on the extent of Voltaire's influence on England over a thousand pages with a detailed index. This work fits into the vast scholarship developed under the auspices of the Voltaire foundation, which has also financed the complete critical edition of Voltaire's work. It has been argued that Voltaire's influence during his five years in England may have been overstated.

Quastana, François, « La réception des *Discours sur le Gouvernement* d'Algernon Sidney au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle français », *La Révolution française*, 5, 2013, p. 1-43.

A very convincing essay on the role of Sidney in the birth of a political opposition in France, mostly through the Jansenist channel and Gallican lawyers such as Pierre Dupuy. It fits well into the rehabilitation of Sidney republicanism by Jonathan Scott.

Rothschild, Emma. *Economic Sentiments. Adam Smith, Condorcet and the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, Mas.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

A stimulating comparative perspective between Smith and Condorcet on the freedom of commerce, sentiments and natural liberty. Though their shared distaste for oppressive state economic regulations, the author provides a much complex picture on their thought on political economy, far remote from the clichés about « the invisible hands ».

Roche, Daniel (dir.), *La ville promise. Mobilité et accueil à Paris, fin XVII<sup>e</sup>-début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 2000.

Reconstitutes the concrete experience of famous British travellers in France (Adam Smith, D. Hume, A. Young) and their difficulty to apprehend France and to get in touch with the French themselves.

Savonius, S.-J., "Locke in French: The *Du Gouvernement Civil* of 1691 and Its Readers", *The Historical Journal*, 47, no. 1 (2004): 47-79.

A very convincing demonstration on circulation of Locke's fundamental treaty through its first French edition. With a partisan agenda in mind, its Huguenot translators adapted its meanings for a continental audience.

Skinner, Quentin. "Thomas Hobbes and His Disciples in France and England." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1966, pp. 153-167

Hobbes has generated a considerable scholarship in France and some controversies on his interpretation. The contextualist approach by Quentin Skinner was criticised by a more metaphysical take by Charles-Yves Zarka. See *Hobbes: The Amsterdam Debate*, Georg Olms Verlag AG, Hildesheim, 2001.

Tillet, Edouard. *La Constitution anglaise, un modèle politique et institutionnel dans la France des Lumières*. Aix-en-Provence, 2001.

Some new developments on the decisive role of Montesquieu in the understanding of the notions of the rule of Law and of the King-in-Parliament after 1748, along with the influential Jean-Louis de Lolme, *Constitution d'Angleterre* (1771)

### A Social History of Scientific and Technological Knowledge

Many recent publications on the history of science have explored the transnational networks, and the making of scientific communities around the exchange of knowledge and inventions. Ruellet 2016 achieves a critical history of the notion of scientific revolution both in France and England. Hilaire-Perez 1997 is one among many other contributions by a notorious specialist of the subject. Thébaud-Sorger 2017 on the circulation of knowledge related to air and steam also fits into the same French historical school inspired by Daniel Roche. Harris 1998 explore the spying technics used in the capture of industrial knowledge. On the birth of an urban archaeology in London and Paris, Van Damme 2012 provided a large and inspiring reflection.

Harris, John R., *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer. Britain and France in the 18th Century*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998.

A crucial reflexion on the role of “English technological emigrants” in the circulation of technological knowledge, notably by John Law in 1718. The French government invested much effort in obtaining secret intelligence on the making of steel and textile.

Hilaire-Perez Liliane, « Transferts technologiques, droit et territoire : le cas franco-anglais au XVIIIe siècle », in *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 44-4, 1997, p.547-579.

An insightful reflexion on the circulation of technical knowledge between the two countries despite the enduring conflicts.

Ruellet, Aurélien, *La Maison de Salomon. Histoire du patronage scientifique et technique en France et en Angleterre au XVIIe siècle*, Renne : PUR, 2016.

An excellent study on a comparative history of science from both sides of the Channel.

Thébaud-Sorger Marie, “Capturing the Invisible: Heat, Steam and Gases at the Crossroads of Inventive Practices, Place and Social Milieu in France and Great Britain in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century”, L. Roberts, S. Werrett (dir.), *Compound Histories: Materials, Governance and Production, 1760-1840*, Brill, Leyden, 2017

An important reflexion sets in the tradition of the social history of science from a specialist on ballooning and the culture of flight in various European contexts, notably France and England.

Van Damme Stéphane, *Métropoles de papier. Naissance de l'archéologie urbaine à Paris et à Londres (XVIIe-XXe siècle)*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2012

On the growth of two major metropolis, their urbanistic transformation which give rise to the birth of an archaeological awareness in the scientific institutions, museums, libraries. Both political power and social groups got also involved in the development of a specific form of knowledge.