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► **To cite this version:**

stephane jettot, Vincent Meyzie. France and the British Isles from 1640 to 1789. *Atlantic History - Oxford Bibliographies*, 2019, 10.1093/obo/9780199730414-0324 . hal-03856287

HAL Id: hal-03856287

<https://hal.science/hal-03856287>

Submitted on 16 Nov 2022

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France and the British Isles from 1640 to 1789

[Stéphane Jettot](#), [Vincent Meyzie](#)

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 notion of otherness that 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 that 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 doubt, there was a wide gamut of transactions that 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 Revolutions, the famous "dual Revolution" vindicated by E. Hobsbawm, which could be felt from both sides of the English Channel up to the French Revolution. Although 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 2011](#) and then much later with the collective initiative of both French and British historians around [Bédarida, et al. 1979](#). Inspired by the latter, [Genet and Ruggiu 2007](#) provides some recent contributions on the Franco-British exchange from the middle ages to the 1960s. The paradigm of the "Second Hundred Years War" is amply commented and criticized by [Scott 1992](#) and [Crouzet 1996](#). An emblematic symbol of both the interactions and hostilities between France and Britain, the significance of the English 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 [Colley 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 Régime, [Jones and Wharman 2002](#) provides a culturalist approach stressing the reality of the revolutionary transformations that took place after 1750 in both countries.

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Bloch, Marc. “Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes.” In *Mélanges historiques*. By Marc Bloch, 16–40. Paris: CNRS, 2011

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

In this influential essay on comparative history and using English, French, and German examples, Marc Bloch establishes some methodological guidelines that are still relevant. National borders appear irrelevant in the study of structural and social evolutions on an European scale. It draws attention to the need of reflexivity about the absence of a common historical language. First published in 1928.

Find this resource:

- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

DOI: [10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199210855.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199210855.001.0001)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A stimulating contribution that 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).

Find this resource:

- Crouzet, François. “The Second Hundred Years War: Some Reflections.” *French History* 10.4 (1996): 432–450.

DOI: [10.1093/fh/10.4.432](https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/10.4.432)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Morieux, Renaud. *The Channel. England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

DOI: [10.1017/CBO9781139600385](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139600385)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Scott, Hamish. “The Second ‘Hundred Years War,’ 1689–1815.” *The Historical Journal* 35.2 (1992): 443–469.

DOI: [10.1017/S0018246X00025887](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X00025887)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

Primary Sources

There is a considerable number of printed sources that 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 such as the history of science ([Bret, et al. 2010](#)) and the Huguenots ([Barrell 1989](#)). Travel literature has been too often used to provide plenty of quotations to support arguments on the xenophobic or cosmopolite nature of the English. Although much dated, the edition of emblematic Young's travels by [Betham-Edwards 1889](#) is now accessible on Gallica. More closely contextualized 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](#). Cartoons and prints have been also mobilized extensively to make similar points on Francophobia or to provide illustrative material. When closely studied, they could offer more. [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, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Betham-Edwards M. *Travels in France by Arthur Young during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1889.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

The British agronomist has visited France at the end of the 1780s. His narration is focused on agricultural landscapes and activities description, but it reveals a critical approach of absolutism and its abuses by an enlightened man.

Find this resource:

- Bohls, Elizabeth A. and Duncan Ian. *Travel Writing, 1700–1830: An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A general anthology that provides many extracts from British travelers in Europe as well as in the colonies.

Find this resource:

- Bret, Patrice, Gouzévitch Irina, and 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, 2010.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- British Museum. *The English Satirical Prints 1320–1832*. 7 vols. London: Chadwyck-Healey, 1978.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- [Cartoon Prints, British](#). Library of Congress.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

It provides an important collection on the golden Georgian age of English caricature (1770–1820).

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Kekewich, M. L. *Princes and Peoples, France and the British Isles, 1620–1714*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- [Voltaire Foundation](#).

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

Franco-British Comparative Histories

The comparison between the two political systems was already widespread in the 18th-century. In the 20th 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 1960s and 1970s around the notions of “first industrialization” or the so-called 18th-century agricultural revolution. From the 1980s and 1990s onward, various European comparative research programs were financed 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 2000s, new historical Britain and France work appeared that better captured the negotiation processes that 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, 18th-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 and Descimon 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 17th-century British revolutions as seen by the French ([Jettot 2012](#)) while [Davis 2015](#) suggests 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.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A dense survey of an essential and much debated notion inspired from French, British, and American historians, notably William Beik. As opposed to the latter's views, the authors rehabilitate the notion of absolutism as a useful epistemological tool in order to make sense of the French monarchy's political evolutions.

Find this resource:

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

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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 the crowd.” Includes for the period two contributions on France (William Beik and Cynthia A. Bouton) and two others on England (Nicholas Rogers and John Walter). The legacy of George Rudé has been also influential, notably for the end of the 18th-century.

Find this resource:

- Jettot, Stéphane. “Les dix-septiémistes français et les îles britanniques: Enjeux nationaux et disciplinaires.” *Dix-septième siècle* 257.4 (2012): 573–594.

DOI: [10.3917/dss.124.0573](https://doi.org/10.3917/dss.124.0573) [Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

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

Find this resource:

- Meyzie, Vincent. “Histories of the Early Modern Royal State in France: Institutions, Practices, Officers.” *French History* 31.2 (2017): 219–240.

DOI: [10.1093/fh/crx014](https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/crx014) [Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

Up-to-date review essay on the scholarly literature on the topic and pointing out the limits inherent to the diverse historiographies. Its points out that the links between English language historiography and French language historiography are reducing, notably a cultural history of politics.

Find this resource:

- Poncet, Olivier. “L’histoire des institutions de l’époque moderne en France depuis le XIX^e siècle.” In *Herrschaftsverdichtung, Staatsbildung, Bürokratisierung. Verfassungs-, Verwaltungs- und Behördengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*. Edited by Michael Hochedlinger and Thomas Winkelbauer, 105–132. Vienne, France: Böhlau-Oldenbourg, 2010.

[Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

Very fine presentation of the institutional history and the impact of three French traditions of scholarship (law history, the *Ecole des Chartes*, and the historians) along with their mutual influences. It shows with numerous references the lasting influence of the national frames in a historiography's formation.

Find this resource:

- 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, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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."

Find this resource:

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 that was very influential 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 programs 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 modernization and state. After the classical work of [Bloch 1983](#), [Asch 2014](#), and [Asch 2017](#) analyzes the sacral kingship in the two countries. Other social sciences (only slightly mentioned here) also practiced comparisons, generally focused on the two monarchies' political modernity: [Root 1994](#) studies the links between political and economic, and [Ertman 1997](#) analyzes 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](#) suggests the existence of two competing models of modernization in France and the United Provinces.

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

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Challenges the dominant narratives of the progressive secularization 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; 1677–1688); his approach also accounts for the mutual influences between the two countries.

Find this resource:

- Asch, Ronald G. “Western European Monarchies.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*. Vol. 2, *Cultures and Power*. Edited by Hamish Scott, 355–384. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

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For an approach of the English and French monarchies, *ca.* 1650–1750 with a “baroque monarchy” notion. This conception is profoundly inspired by the “baroque state,” as 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 period.

Find this resource:

- 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, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

DOI: [10.1017/9781108225083.012](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108225083.012)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

For a comparison with France, partly based on a chapter in [Asch 2014](#).

Find this resource:

- Bloch, Marc. *Les rois thaumaturges*. Paris: Gallimard, 1983.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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. Originally published 1924.

Find this resource:

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

DOI: [10.1017/CBO9780511529016](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511529016)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A suggestive approach of comparative historical sociology with a notable neo-Weberian influence. The French and British cases are prominent in the argument that 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.

Find this resource:

- 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.

DOI: [10.3406/arss.1997.3219](https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1997.3219)[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

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 occupies the center ground of the article.

Find this resource:

- Pincus, Steve. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.

[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

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Attempt to articulate political structures and economic development and strongly influenced by an 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.

Find this resource:

Comparisons between Fiscal and Financial Systems

In the research programs 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 1990s and 2000s, [Bonney 2004](#) provides a

precise account on the fiscal pressures in both monarchies. Along with the major and seminal works of [Mathias and O'Brien 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 the author's retrospective view on his work; [Minard 2018](#) addresses its historiographical impact. Beyond the Anglo-British duet, [Enciso 2017](#) adds Spain to the interpretative framework and [Brewer and Hellmuth 1999](#) includes the German perspective thereby delivering a very stimulating outlook.

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

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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 Bank of England.

Find this resource:

- 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, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- 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, UK: Routledge, 2016.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A suggestive contribution about the heuristic potential of the fiscal-military state and the importance of approaching the state as an economic actor.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

Although on a British–German perspective, the book offers a wider reflection on the 18th-century 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.

Find this resource:

- Enciso, Gonzalez. *War, Power and the Economy: Mercantilism and State Formation in 18th century Europe*. London: Routledge, 2017.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

Comparative work from an economical point of view, linking France, Great Britain, and Spain around the notion of the “contractor state,” The book offers a synthesis of the author’s previous works.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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 18th 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).

Find this resource:

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

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

Find this resource:

- 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.

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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 later research.

Find this resource:

- Minard, Philippe. "L'État militaro-fiscal anglais au XVIII^e siècle." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 65.4 (2018): 162–177.

DOI: [10.3917/rhmc.654.0162](https://doi.org/10.3917/rhmc.654.0162)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

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

DOI: [10.1515/9780691190495](https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691190495)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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 David Stasavage ([Stasavage 2003](#)) provide an institutional account and some reliable databases but ignore a more historical approach. [Andreau, et al. 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: see [Béguin 2012](#), [Félix 2015](#), and [Legay 2014](#).

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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).

Find this resource:

- Béguin, Katia. *Financer la guerre au XVII^e siècle: La dette publique et les rentiers de l'absolutisme*. Seyssel, France: Champ Vallon, 2012.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

Includes useful contributions on France (François R. Velde for the period between 1683 and 1726) and 18th-century Britain (Christophe Chamley, Patrick O'Brien).

Find this resource:

- Félix, Joël, ed. *Special Issue: Before Fiscal Transparency. Histoire & Mesure* 30.2 (2015).

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- 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.

DOI: [10.1093/fh/cru051](https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/cru051)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

On the fiscal innovations in the late 17th and early 18th centuries with the organization of the first popular lotteries.

Find this resource:

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

DOI: [10.1017/CBO9780511510557](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511510557)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

Political and Administrative Practices

Similar political practices are notable from both sides of the channel: some of them derive from the early modern history such as patronage or clientelism and are pregnant during the period; others appeared in conjunction with the rise of the state such as increasing bureaucracy or development of 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 1980s and 1990s with the contribution of American historians. [Asch, et al. 2011](#) connects patronages and clientele with the question of corruption. The topic of corruption comes in different forms and shapes, with works concerning political corruption such as [Kerkhoff, et al. 2013](#); administrative corruption such as [Kroeze, et al. 2018](#); and fiscal corruption such as [Félix and Dubet 2018](#) (cited under [Comparisons between Fiscal and Financial Systems: General Perspectives](#)). The collective work by [Reinhard 1996](#) argues that the relations between states and power elites were structured by different rationales in both countries, although some approaches, stressing the need to negotiate political authority and to obtain the elites' "social collaboration" (to use William Beik's expression), allow some relevant comparisons. The two states evolved often at the same pace and were equally concerned with reforms, briefly treated by [Minard 2009](#) or the organization of the administrative archives ([Genet and Ruggiu 2011](#)).

- 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: Peter Lang, 2011.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A collective and international book dealing with practices and discourses on corruption in diverse spheres, including the army; two contributions on 17th-century France (Guy Rowlands, Christian Kühner) and two others on 18th-century Britain (Carl Horst, Hellmuth Eckhart).

Find this resource:

- Braddick, Michael. "Réflexions sur l'État en Angleterre (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)." *Histoire, Économie et Société* 1 (2005): 29–50.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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 Britain and France.

Find this resource:

- 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.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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).

Find this resource:

- Kerkhoff, Toon, Ronald Kroeze, and Pieter Wagenaar, eds. *Special Issue: 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).

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

Collective work concerning the administrative corruption by studying anticorruption measures, their significations, and their effects. It includes an analysis on anticorruption movements in 17th and 18th centuries Britain and its colonies (Mark Knights) and one case study on the provincial administration in Languedoc (Stéphane Durand).

Find this resource:

- Minard, Philippe. “La ‘réforme’ en France et en Angleterre au XVIII^e siècle: sens et fortunes d’un mot d’ordre.” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 56.4 (2009): 5–13.

DOI: [10.3917/rhmc.565.0005](https://doi.org/10.3917/rhmc.565.0005)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A brief and suggestive comparison between the two countries, relying principally on Joanna Innes’s works. In the first half of the century, French debates shifted from the “reform–restoration” (*réforme–rétablissement*) to the “improvement–reform” (*réforme–amélioration*).

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A volume of the *Origins of The Modern State in Europe, 13th to 18th Centuries* series, including three contributions that offer important comparative views between the social-political systems in France and Britain: 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).

Find this resource:

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 (see [Denys, et al. 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](#), [Ruggiu 2002](#), and [Ruggiu 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^e siècle*. Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

Discusses many elements on London and Paris and their policing.

Find this resource:

- Leroux, Thomas. “Governing the toxics and the pollutants: France, Great Britain, 1750–1850.” *Endeavour* 40.2 (2016): 70–81.

DOI: [10.1016/j.endeavour.2016.03.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.endeavour.2016.03.002)[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

On the articulation between science, pollution, and politics in growing sector of chemistry. Leroux mentions a deep evolution within the regulatory practices *ca.* 1770.

Find this resource:

- Prak, Maarten. *Citizens without Nations. Urban Citizenship in Europe and the World, c. 1000–1789*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

DOI: [10.1017/9781316219027](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316219027)[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

A synthesis by a prominent authority on citizenship in European towns and the sheer diversity of their nature. Much attention is paid to the importance of various civic institutions (neighborhood 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 16th and 17th centuries.

Find this resource:

- Ruggiu, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 1997.

[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

Major (and rare) comparative analysis of social, political, and cultural relationships between the urban elites from midsized 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 elites were mostly a question of representation.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Ruggiu, François-Joseph. “Pour une étude de l’engagement civique au XVIII^e siècle.” *Histoire urbaine* 19 (2007): 145–164.

DOI: [10.3917/rhu.019.0145](https://doi.org/10.3917/rhu.019.0145)[Save Citation »](#)[Export Citation »](#)[E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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 enamored with their neighbors’ 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 or diaries, there is enough evidence to make a case in both opposite directions. These contributions are not necessarily contradictory, when they are closely contextualized and linked to some individuals, groups, or political events. This abundant scholarship is also challenged by other strands of research that highlight the importance of transfers and circulation in many fields.

A Wide Gamut of Political Interactions

The debates around the contested notion of a Second 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 by [Thomson, et al. 1968](#), the diplomatic involvement of courts and monarchs has been further probed through the “society of princes” in [Bély 1990](#), a notion that facilitates the understanding of the peace process and the involvement of spies, politicians, lawyers, and so on. From a high politics approach, there was a continuous urge in the governments to fight the “natural enemy” for [Black 1986](#), although [Dziembowski 1998](#) suggests a significant shift of opinion among the French ministers 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), which are analyzed in [Jessenne, et al. 2008](#). Increasingly, collusions and complementarities between the diplomatic and the parliamentary forms of representation came to be openly discussed ([Jettot 2012](#)). Diplomatic activities were no stranger to enlightenment practices and debates up to the French revolution ([Bélissa 1998](#)). This is not to

say that confessional politics disappeared from the negotiations, as demonstrated in [Claydon and McBride 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, an approach adopted by [Levillain 2010](#).

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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 toward France.

Find this resource:

- Dziembowski, 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.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Glickman, Gabriel. “Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660–72.” *The English Historical Review* 128.531 (2013): 263–291.

DOI: [10.1093/ehr/cet038](https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cet038)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

The usual binary director United Provinces.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

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

Find this resource:

Reporting and Censoring Political News

The numerous channels of communication between France and Britain explained why knowledge and rumors on major political events such as the Fronde, analyzed in [Knachtel 1967](#) and [Benigno 2010](#), up to 1789 ([Philp 2004](#)), spread rapidly, were duly commented on, and were often recycled in a domestic context. Gazettes and newsletters were the main conduits. On the circulation of periodicals French and English, see [Haffemayer 2018](#) and [Curelly 2012](#). The well-connected Huguenot minority was also instrumental, notably when connected to the coffee house networks (see [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 as highlighted in [Burrows 2007](#).

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

DOI: [10.1484/M.LMEMS-EB.5.112216](https://doi.org/10.1484/M.LMEMS-EB.5.112216) [Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

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

Find this resource:

- Burrows, Simon. *Blackmail, Scandal and Revolution. London's French Libellistes 1758–92*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007.

[Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

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.

Find this resource:

- Curelly, Laurent. “The French, Those Monkeys of Mankind”: The Fronde as Seen by the Newsbook *Mercurius Politicus*.” *XVII–XVIII* 69 (2012): 29–50.

DOI: [10.4000/1718.606](https://doi.org/10.4000/1718.606)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Harvey, Simon, and Grist Elizabeth. “The Rainbow Coffee House and the Exchange of Ideas in Early Eighteenth-Century England.” In *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1789*. Edited by Anne Dunan-Page. London: Ashgate, 2006.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- 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* 14 (2018): 173–192.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Knachtel, P. H. *England and the Fronde*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1967.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A dated although still useful account of the simultaneous political crisis on both sides of the channel.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Ruggiu, François-Joseph. “La mort de Charles Ier d’Angleterre dans les écrits du for privé.” In *Les Écrits du for privé en Europe du Moyen Âge à l’époque contemporaine: Enquêtes, analyses, publications*. Edited by Élisabeth Arnoul, Jean-Pierre Bardet, François-Joseph Ruggiu, 535–554. Bordeaux, France: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010.

[Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

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.

Find this resource:

Migration and politics

Beyond the circulation of news, most work has been done on the individuals and communities that were affected by Franco-British relations and residing abroad, sometimes in dire circumstances. A fairly extensive bibliography has 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 1994](#) are the most 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.

DOI: [10.1093/ehr/LXXV.294.77](https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/LXXV.294.77) [Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

Although 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, such as all-for-all or man-for-man, are exposed in detail.

Find this resource:

- Charters, Erica. “The Administration of War and French Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756–1763.” In *Civilians and War in Europe, 1618–1815*. Edited by Erica Charters, Eve Rosenhaft, and Hannah Smith, 87–99. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2014.

[Save Citation](#) » [Export Citation](#) » [E-mail Citation](#) »

Addresses the effective state management of the prisoners, notably of their health and welfare. A work that provides renewed insights into the lives of French prisoners of

war and that fits into a broader trend that seeks to reconsider the reputed inadequacy of the administration in times of war.

Find this resource:

- Corp, Edward T. *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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 toward France became increasingly unpopular.

Find this resource:

- Morieux, Renaud. “French Prisoners of War, Conflicts of Honour, and Social Inversions in England, 1744–1783.” *The Historical Journal* 56.1 (2013): 55–88.

DOI: [10.1017/S0018246X12000544](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X12000544)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Scouloudi, Irene, ed. *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550–1800*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 1987.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A good although 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.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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 and Bénédicte 2004](#) stresses the limits of any comparative history, arguing that it led to overestimate the national boundaries and provides pictures of the compared objects that are too static. The project of a “entangled history” inspired many recent works. [Thomson, et al. 2010](#) surveys many case-studies related to various forms of cultural transfers. [Hayes 2009](#) combines a 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 with a gender approach. In a more descriptive and detailed manner, [Grieder 1985](#) and [Eagles 2000](#) point to the strength of cosmopolitanism in the French and English elite despite a growing patriotic culture. Two publications, [Ogéé 2005](#) and [Doig and Medlin 2007](#), deliver various examples of cultural exchanges in literature, art, and politics that 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, UK: Sutton, 1992.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Charle, Christophe, Julien Vincent, and Jay Winter, eds. *Anglo-French Attitudes: Comparisons and Transfers between English and French Intellectuals since the Eighteenth Century*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Doig, Kathleen Hardesty, and Dorothy Medlin, eds. *British-French Exchanges in the Eighteenth Century*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Gabord, Gelleri. *Philosophies du voyage: Visiter l'Angleterre aux 17e-18e siècles*. Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2016.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A valuable attempt to move away from a Voltairean perspective on the cultural exchange between France and England by embracing a wider gamut of sources (Swiss, Huguenots, female travelers, and the first tourists). The author rightly points to the many modulations in travel literature throughout the period.

Find this resource:

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

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

Find this resource:

- Hayes, Julie Candley. *Translation, Subjectivity and Culture in France and England*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.

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

Find this resource:

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

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

Find this resource:

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

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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.

Find this resource:

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

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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, etc.)

Find this resource:

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

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Proposition of “crossed history” like a “tools’ box” (*boite à outils*) that enable a better visualization of the exchanges and the circulations between two areas.

Find this resource:

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 criticized for being too abstract and unable to provide a convincing account of the channels through which ideas are being transmitted and understood. [Roche 2000](#) demonstrates that some famous English travelers failed to access to the Parisian life. On the circulation republican ideas, [Hammersley 2010](#) provides a convincing account on a long 18th century. [Skinner 1966](#) addresses the reception of Hobbes in France, while [Savonius 2004](#) on Algernon Sidney provides also some stimulating thoughts. [Tillet 2001](#) explores the French reception of the English constitutionalists notably with Montesquieu acting as a powerful intermediary. In the late 18th century, [Rothschild 2001](#) suggests a useful parallel study of Smith and Condorcet, and [De Champs 2015](#) is an insightful study of Betham in French.

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

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

Find this resource:

- De Champs, Emmanuelle. *Enlightenment and Utility, Bentham in French, Bentham in France*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

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

Find this resource:

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

DOI: [10.7228/manchester/9780719079320.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.7228/manchester/9780719079320.001.0001)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

A thorough study of the extensive body of English republican literature, reprinted and reread from the late 17th century onward 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.

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Quastana, François. "La réception des *Discours sur le Gouvernement* d'Algernon Sidney au XVIII^e siècle français." *La révolution française* 5 (2013): 1–43.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Roche, Daniel, ed. *La ville promise: Mobilité et accueil à Paris, fin XVII^e–début XIX^e siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 2000.

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Savonius, S.-J. “Locke in French: The *Du Gouvernement Civil* of 1691 and Its Readers.” *The Historical Journal* 47.1 (2004): 47–79.

DOI: [10.1017/S0018246X03003509](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X03003509)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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.

Find this resource:

- Skinner, Quentin. “Thomas Hobbes and His Disciples in France and England.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8.2 (1966): 153–167.

DOI: [10.1017/S0010417500003972](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500003972)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- Tillet, Edouard. *La Constitution anglaise, un modèle politique et institutionnel dans la France des Lumières*. Aix-en-Provence, France: Presses Universitaires d’Aix-Marseille, 2001.

DOI: [10.4000/books.puam.1452](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.puam.1452)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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 Jean-Louis de Lolme’s influential *Constitution d’Angleterre* (1771).

Find this resource:

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](#) explores the spying techniques used in the capture of industrial knowledge. [Van Damme 2012](#) provides a large and inspiring reflection on the birth of an urban archeology in London and Paris.

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

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A crucial reflection 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.

Find this resource:

- Hilaire-Perez, Liliane. “Transferts technologiques, droit et territoire: Le cas franco-anglais au XVIIIe siècle.” *Revue d’Histoire moderne et contemporaine* 44.4 (1997): 547–579.

DOI: [10.3406/rhmc.1997.1885](#)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

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

DOI: [10.4000/books.pur.46944](#)[Save Citation »Export Citation »E-mail Citation »](#)

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

Find this resource:

- 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.” In *Compound Histories: Materials, Governance and Production, 1760–1840*. Edited by L. Roberts and S. Werrett. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017.

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An important reflection 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.

Find this resource:

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

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

Find this resource: