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**THE GREAT NATION: FRANCE FROM LOUIS XV TO
NAPOLEON
(1715-99)**

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A. PRIMARY SOURCES

The range of primary sources available is immense, particularly on the period after 1750. I can only indicate here those sources on which I have drawn most heavily in constructing the political narrative.

Saint-Simon's memoirs, available in numerous editions, is a brilliant source for bridging the end of the reign of Louis XIV with the Regency. For the latter, see the wonderful correspondence of the Princesse Palatine, the Regent's mother, sampled in Lettres de Madame, duchesse d'Orléans, née princesse Palatine, ed. O. Amiel (Paris, 1981). Useful too are Mémoires de la régence de SAR Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans durant la minorité de Louis XV, roi de France (3 vols., La Haye, 1742-3); Mehmed efendi, Le Paradis des infidèles. Un ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence (Paris, 1981); and Madame de Staal-Delaunay, Mémoires, ed. G. Descot (Paris, 1970). Unpublished primary sources of particular value for this and the subsequent period are the memoirs of the duke d'Antin (Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français. Nouvelles acquisitions français 23729-37) and those of Richer d'Aubé, 'Réflexions sur le Gouvernement de France' (ibid., Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 9511-16).

On the period from the death of Louis XIV to the Seven Years War, see esp. R.L. de Voyer de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson, Journal et mémoires, ed. E.J.B. Rathery (9 vols., Paris 1859-67); J. Buvat, Journal de la Régence, 1715-23, ed. E. Campardon (2 vols., Paris, 1865); C.P. d'Albert, duc de Luynes, Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XV (1735-58), ed. L. Dussieux & E. Soulié (17 vols., Paris, 1860-5); E.J.F. Barbier, Histoire chronologique et anecdotique du règne de Louis XV, ed. A. de La Villegille (4 vols., Paris, 1847-56); Mathieu Marais, Journal et mémoires de Mathieu Marais sur la régence et le règne de Louis XV, ed. M. de Lescure (4 vols., Paris, 1863-8); P. Narbonne, Journal des règnes de Louis XIV et XV de l'année 1701 à l'année 1744 (Paris, 1866); and F.J. de

Pierre, cardinal de Bernis, Mémoires et lettres, 1715-58, ed. F. Masson (2 vols., Paris, 1858).

For later in the eighteenth century, down to 1789, see also Mémoires du duc de Choiseul, ed. J.P. Guicciardi (Paris, 1982); marquis de Bombelles, Journal, ed. J. Grassion & F. Durif (2 vols., Geneva, 1978-82); duc de Croy, Journal inédit du duc de Croy, 1718-84, ed. vicomte de Grouchy & P. Cottin (4 vols., Paris, 1906-07); F.V. Toussaint, Anecdotes curieuses de la cour de France sous le règne de Louis XV (Paris, 1908); Félix, comte de France d'Hézèques, Souvenirs d'un page de la cour de Louis XVI (Paris, 1904). More street-level views are aired in S.P. Hardy, Mes loisirs: journal d'événements tels qu'ils parviennent à ma connaissance, M. Tourneux & M. Vitrac (eds) (Paris, 1912); J.L. Ménétra, Journal of My Life, ed. D. Roche (New York, 1986); and F.Y. Besnard, Souvenirs d'un nonagénaire (2 vols., Paris, 1880). A superb, panoramic source too is L.S. Mercier, Tableau de Paris (12 vols., Amsterdam, 1782-9), extracts of which are available as Panorama of Paris, ed. J.D. Popkin (Philadelphia, 1999).

After 1789, the embarras de richesses becomes even more overwhelming. B.J. Buchez & P.C. Roux (eds), Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française, ou Journal des assemblées nationales depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815 (40 vols., Paris, 1834-8) is an improbable salmagundy of Revolutionary goodies, less consistent however than the utterly overwhelming Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 (96 volumes to date, Paris, 1867-1990). One of my favourite texts is Nicolas Ruault, Gazette d'un parisien sous la Révolution: lettres à son frère, 1783-96 (Paris, 1976). Others include A. Young, Travels in France in the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789, ed. C. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1929) (superb on rural France and the atmosphere of Revolution); marquis de Ferrières, Correspondance inédite , 1789, 1790, 1791, H. Carré, ed. (Paris, 1932 (excellent on the Constituent Assembly); Gouverneur Morris, A Diary of the French Revolution (2 vols., Westport, Ct, 1972) (the US envoy, down to 1792); M.A. Baudot, Notes historiques sur la Convention nationale, le Directoire. l'Empire et l'exil des votants (Paris, 1893) (extraordinary lapidary statements and anecdotes); P. de Vaissière, Lettres d'aristocrates. La Révolution racontée par des correspondances privées, 1789-94 (Paris, 1907) (stunningly graphic and moving accounts, from prison or emigration); L.S. Mercier, Le Nouveau Paris (1797); and Chateaubriand's posthumous Mémoires d'outre-tombe (a fantasist, but a brilliant one).

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

I have chosen to highlight works in English wherever possible.

Abbreviations:

<u>AESC</u>	<u>Annales. Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations</u>
<u>AHR</u>	<u>American Historical Review</u>
<u>AHRF</u>	<u>Annales historiques de la Révolution française</u>
<u>AMWS</u>	<u>Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History.</u>
	<u>Proceedings</u>
<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of John Rylands Library</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>FH</u>	<u>French History</u>
<u>FHS</u>	<u>French Historical Studies</u>
<u>HJ</u>	<u>Historical Journal</u>
<u>JECH</u>	<u>Journal of Economic History</u>
<u>JMH</u>	<u>Journal of Modern History</u>
<u>P&P</u>	<u>Past and Present</u>
<u>RH</u>	<u>Revue historique</u>
<u>RHMC</u>	<u>Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine</u>
<u>TAPS</u>	<u>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</u>
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>

0. GENERAL

0.1 Overviews A. Cobban, A History of Modern France, vol. 1: Old Régime and Revolution, 1715-99 (Harmondsworth, 1957) is the only work to have the chronology of the present volume. For the Revolution, see below, but general treatments of the Bourbon polity over the eighteenth century include W. Doyle (ed.), Old Régime France, 1648-1788 (Oxford, 2001); E. Le Roy Ladurie, The Ancien Régime. A History of France, 1610-1774 (Oxford, 1996); D. Roche, France in the Enlightenment (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); C.B.A. Behrens, The Ancien Régime (London, 1967); and J.B. Collins, The State in Early Modern France (Cambridge, 1995). J. de Viguier, Histoire et dictionnaire du temps des Lumières,

1715-89 (Paris, 1995) is a superb general work of reference. See also D. Richet, La France moderne. L'Esprit des institutions (Paris, 1973); R. Descimon and A. Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes', in A. Burguière and J. Revel (eds), Histoire de la France. L'État et les pouvoirs (Paris, 1989); M. Fogel, L'État dans la France moderne (de la fin du XVe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle) (Paris, 1992); J. Meyer, Le Poids de l'État (Paris, 1983); and J. Cornette, Absolutisme et lumières, 1652-1783 (Paris, 1993). The pathbreaking collection, P. Nora (ed.), Les Lieux de mémoire (3 vols., new edn, Paris, 1997), provides fresh angles of vision on numerous features of the Bourbon polity. See esp. from Vol. 1, 'Les sanctuaires royaux' (C. Beaune), 'Reims, ville du sacre' (J. Le Goff), 'Des limites d'État aux frontières nationales' (D. Nordman), 'Versailles, fonctions et légendes' (H. Himmelfarb); from Vol. 2, 'La chaire, la tribune, le barreau' (J. Starobinski), 'Francs et Gaulois' (K. Pomian), 'Port-Royal' (C. Maire); and from Vol. 3, 'Le roi' (A. Boureau), and 'L'État' (A. Guéry).

0.2. Politics and the State A superb conspectus over government from the royal point of view is provided in M. Antoine, Louis XV (Paris, 1989: infuriatingly it has no footnotes. Readers will forgive Antoine's vehement anti-parliamentary bias). See too his Le dur métier du roi: études sur la civilisation politique de la France d'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1986). Helpful too are J. Barbey, Être Roi. Le roi et son gouvernement en France de Clovis à Louis XVI (Paris, 1992), B. Basse, La Constitution de l'ancienne France (Paris, 1986) and, from an older tradition, F. Olivier-Martin, L'Organisation corporative de la France d'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1938). R. Bonney, L'Absolutisme (Paris, 1989) is a useful introduction. The works of Roland Mousnier exaggerate the absolutism of absolute monarchy, but still are eminently consultable: The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1589-1789 (2 vols., Chicago, 1979, 1984). M. Antoine, Le Gouvernement et l'administration sous Louis XV. Dictionnaire biographique (Paris, 1978) is a fine work of reference. For government functions, see also M. Antoine, Le Conseil du Roi sous le règne de Louis XV (Geneva, 1970); F. Mosser, Les Intendants de finance au XVIIIe siècle: Les Lefèvre d'Ormesson et le 'département des impositions' (1715-77) (Geneva, 1978); Y. Durand, Les Fermiers généraux au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1971); and G.T. Mathews, The Royal General Farms in Eighteenth-Century France (New York, 1958). On a crucial aspect of state and society, W. Doyle, Venality: The Sale of Offices in Eighteenth-Century France (Oxford, 1996). See too id., Officers, Nobles and Revolutionaries: Essays on Eighteenth-Century

France (London, 1995). H. Root, The Fountain of Privilege: Political Foundations of Markets in Old Regime France and England (Berkeley, Ca, 1994) is an excellent revisionist work. [For finance, see also **2.3, 2.5, 6.3, 7.3, 8.3**]

For the outreach of government, see V.R Gruder, The Royal Provincial Intendants: A Governing Elite in Eighteenth-Century France (Ithaca, NY, 1968) and, among case studies, F.X. Emmanuelli, Un Mythe de l'absolutisme bourbonien: l'intendance du milieu du XVIIe siècle à la fin du XVIIIe siècle (Aix-en-Provence, 1981); H. Monin, Essai sur l'histoire administrative du Languedoc pendant l'intendance de Basville (Paris, 1884); and H. Fréville, L'Intendance de Bretagne, 1689-1790: essai sur l'histoire d'une intendance de pays d'état au XVIIIe siècle (3 vols., Rennes, 1953). On representative estates, see J.R. Major, Representative Government in Early Modern France (New Haven, Ct, 1980). An excellent case study is provided by G. Bossenga, The Politics of Privilege: Old Régime and Revolution in Lille (Cambridge, 1991). See too M. Bordes, L'Administration provinciale et municipale en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1972). Essential on the Parlement of Paris is J. de Flammermont, Les Remontrances du parlement de Paris au XVIIIe siècle (3 vols., Paris, 1888-98). See too J. Shennan, The Parlement of Paris (London, 1968); F. Bluche, Les Magistrats du parlement de Paris au XVIIIe siècle (2nd edn, Paris, 1986); and D. Bell, Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Régime France (Oxford, 1994).

0.3 Kingship and ceremony Crucial here in recent years has been the work of the 'neo-ceremonialists', who, following the pioneering work of E. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, NJ, 1957) have stressed the political and constitutional role of public ceremony. Among Anglo-Americans, important in this respect are R. Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva, 1960) S. Hanley, The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology, Legend, Ritual and Discourse (Princeton, NJ, 1983), and R.A. Jackson, Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X (Chapel Hill, NC, 1984), and these may be supplemented by A. Boureau, Le Simple Corps du roi. L'impossible sacralité des souverains français (XVe-XVIIIe siècles) (Paris, 1988). Indispensable too is M. Bloch, The Royal Touch. Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France, (London, 1973). See too H.H. Rowen, The King's State: Proprietary Dynasticism in Early

Modern France (New Brunswick, 1980); A. Boureau & C.S. Ingerflom (eds), La Royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien (Paris, 1989); M. Valensise, 'Le sacre du roi: stratégie symbolique et doctrine politique de la monarchie française', AESC, 41 (1986); and Le Sacre des rois (Actes du colloque international d'histoire sur les sacres et couronnements royaux, Reims, 1975). On the political culture of the king's body more generally, see too the excellent essays in S.E. Melzer & K. Norberg (eds), From the Royal to the Republican Body. Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France (Berkeley, 1998). Also influenced by this approach is M. Fogel, Les Cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1989).

0.4 Religion J. Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire (London, 1977) is a pioneering study of religious mentalités. R. Taveneaux, Le Catholicisme dans la France classique, 1610-1715 (2 vols., Paris, 1980), F. Lebrun, Être chrétien en France sous l'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1996) and P. Loupès, La Vie religieuse en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1993) are handy overviews, all influenced by Delumeau's approach. More oriented on the clergy is B. Plongeron, La Vie quotidienne du clergé français au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1974). See too the superb overview of J. McManners, Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France (2 vols., Oxford, 1998). On Jansenism, though focussed on 1789, D. Van Kley, The Religious Origins of the French Revolution from Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791 (New Haven, 1996) reels back into the sixteenth century. [For other works on Jansenism, see 2.3, 6.1]. R. Briggs, Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France (Oxford, 1989) is a highly useful collection of essays on different aspects of religious history, while G. Bouchard, Le Village immobile. Senneley-en-Sologne au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1972) is an exemplary local study. On post-Tridentine 'baroque piety', see esp. M. Vovelle, Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1973), which also highlights the growth of religious unbelief. On political aspects of the latter phenomenon, J. Merrick, The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century (Baton Rouge, La, 1990). On Protestantism, the venerable E.G. Léonard, Histoire générale du protestantisme (3 vols., Paris, 1961-4) is still usable, though see too D. Ligou, Le Protestantisme en France de 1598 à 1715 (Paris, 1968).

0.5 Social and Economic Although becoming dated, excellent syntheses on French social and economic history are provided by F. Braudel & E. Labrousse (eds), Histoire sociale et

économique de la France. ii. 1660-1789 (Paris, 1970); P. Goubert, The Ancien Régime (New York, 1970); and P. Goubert and D. Roche, Les Français et l'Ancien Régime (2 vols., Paris, 1984). These update (but largely stay within the paradigm mapped out in) the classic E. Labrousse, Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1933) and id., La Crise de l'économie française à la fin de l'Ancien Régime et au début de la Révolution (Paris, 1944). For demographic issues, these works may be supplemented by J. Dupâquier (ed.), Histoire de la population française. ii. De la Renaissance à la Révolution (Paris, 1988) and iii. De 1789 à 1914 (Paris, 1988). More recent short overviews are P. Butel, L'Économie française au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1993) and F. Bayard & P. Guignet, L'Économie française au XVIe-XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1991). [See also **4.4.**, **8.1**, **11.2**]

0.6 International Affairs and the Armed Forces There is solid coverage from J. Black, From Louis XIV to Napoleon: The Fate of a Great Power (London, 1999); id., Natural and Necessary Enemies: Anglo-French Relations in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1986); L. Bély, Les Relations internationales en Europe (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles) (Paris, 1992); and J. Black (ed.), The Origin of Wars in Early Modern Europe (Edinburgh, 1987). See too J. Bérenger & J. Meyer, La France dans le monde au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1993) and F. Cardini, La Culture de la guerre (Xe-XVIIIe siècles) (Paris, 1992). P. Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000 (New York, 1987) is an interesting speculative study. Essential for the army is A. Corvisier, L'Armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul. le soldat (2 vols.; Paris, 1964), and see too E.G. Léonard, L'Armée et ses problèmes au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1958) and M.S. Anderson, War and Society in the Old Régime, 1618-1789 (Stroud, 1998). On the navy, P. Bamford, Forests and French Sea-Power, 1660-1789 (Toronto, 1956). [See also **1.4**, **6.2**, **7.3**, **10.3**]

CHAPTER ONE: FRANCE IN 1715

1.1 Louis XIV D.J. Sturdy, Louis XIV (Basingstoke, 1998) is a useful up-to-date survey. The thematic approaches of P. Sonnino (ed.) The Reign of Louis XIV (London, 1990), J. Rule (ed.), Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship (Ohio, 1969) and R. Hatton (ed.), Louis XIV and Absolutism (London 1976) make them particularly useful. Full-dress biographies

include J.F. Bluche, Louis XIV (Oxford, 1990); P. Goubert, Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen (London, 1970); J.C. Petitfils, Louis XIV (Paris, 1995); and J.B. Wolf, Louis XIV (London, 1970). The drama of the king's death may be followed in countless memoirs: besides Saint-Simon see esp. Baron de Breteuil, Mémoires, ed. E. Lever (Paris, 1992) and La Mort de Louis XIV. Journal des Anthoine, ed. E. Drumont (Paris, 1880), and for the context of the king's health, M. Caroly, Le Corps du Roi Soleil. Grandeur et misères de Sa Majesté Louis XIV (Paris, 1990). See also the king's own thoughts on kingship, available in P. Sonino (ed.), Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin by Louis XIV (New York, 1970).

1.2 Versailles and Court Culture under Louis XIV P. Burke, The Fabrication of Louis XIV (London, 1992) is a stimulating introduction, which draws on the pioneering but still useful N. Elias, The Court Society (Oxford, 1983) plus a good deal of excellent recent scholarship. This includes J.M. Apostolides, Le Roi-machine. Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV (Paris, 1981); L. Marin, Portrait of the King (Minneapolis, 1988); J.P. Neraudau, L'Olympe du Roi-Soleil: mythologie et idéologie royale au Grand Siècle (Paris, 1986); and D.L. Rubin (ed.), Sun King: The Ascendancy of French Culture during the Reign of Louis XIV (London, 1992). Also worthy of note is N. Ferrier-Caverivière, L'Image de Louis XIV dans la littérature française de 1660 à 1715 (Paris, 1981) and id., Le Grand roi à l'aube des Lumières, 1715-51 (Paris, 1985).

1.3. The Making of Absolute Monarchy and the Nobility An astringently critical approach is provided by D. Parker, The Making of French Absolutism (London, 1983), and id., Class and State in Ancien Régime France: The Road to Modernity? (London, 1996). Traditions of aristocratic opposition may be followed in the excellent A. Jouanna, Le Devoir de la révolte. La noblesse française et la gestation de l'état moderne, 1559-1661 (Paris, 1989), which may be complemented by O. Ranum's The Fronde: A French Revolution, 1648-52 (New York, 1993). R.C. Mettam, Power and Faction in Louis XIV's France (Oxford, 1988) highlights the interpenetration of court and administration under Louis XIV, while S. Kettering, Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France (Oxford, 1986) is useful on the provinces. Vital too in this respect is W.J. Beik, Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc (Cambridge, 1985: a path-breaking study). On the Intendants, see esp. R.

Bonney, Political Change in France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624-1661 (Oxford, 1978). For the Parlement, see A. Hamscher, 'The Conseil privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism', TAPS, 77 (1987).

1.4 War, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy before 1715 Besides general works [at **0.6**], see J. Cornette, Le Roi de guerre. Essai sur la souveraineté dans la France du Grand Siècle (Paris 1993); and R. Hatton (ed.), Louis XIV and Europe (London, 1976). Useful too are L. Bély, Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV (Paris, 1980); and for the navy, G. Symcox, The Crisis of French Sea Power, 1688-97: From the Guerre d'Escadre to the Guerre de Course (The Hague, 1974).

1.5 Opposition to Louis XIV Important overviews are provided by L. Rothkrug, Opposition to Louis XIV. The Political and Social Origins of the French Enlightenment (Princeton, NJ, 1965); J. Klaitis, Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion (Princeton, NJ, 1977); and I.O. Wade, The Intellectual Origins of the French Enlightenment (Princeton, NJ, 1971). On the circle of the duke of Burgundy, see generally G. Tréca, Les Doctrines et les réformes de droit public en réaction contre l'absolutisme de Louis XIV dans l'entourage du duc de Bourgogne (Paris, 1909). See too La Découverte de la France au XVIIe siècle (IXe Colloque de Marseille: Marseille 1980). Other important studies include H.A. Ellis, Boulinvilliers and the French Monarchy. Aristocratic Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century France (Ithaca, NY, 1988); D. Venturino, 'L'ideologia nobiliare nella Francia del antico regime', Studi storici, 29 (1988); and T.E. Kaiser, 'The abbé de Saint-Pierre, public opinion and the reconstitution of the French monarchy', JMH, 55 (1983). On Fénelon, besides Francois de Fénelon, Telemachus, Son of Ulysses, ed. P. Riley (Cambridge, 1994), see V. Kapp, 'Télémaque' de Fénelon. La signification d'une oeuvre littéraire à la fin du siècle classique (Paris, 1982) and A. Chérel, Fénelon au XVIIIe siècle en France (Paris, 1917).

1.6 Protestantism before 1715 D. Parker, 'The Huguenots in seventeenth-century France', in A.C. Hepburn (ed.), Minorities in History (London, 1978) and M. Prestwich (ed.), International Calvinism, 1534-1715, (Oxford, 1985). See too J. Garriçon, L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation (Paris, 1985); E. Labrousse, La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes (Paris, 1985); and M. Yardeni, Le Refuge protestant (Paris, 1985). [See too **0.4**]

CHAPTER TWO: THE REGENCY AND THE ADVENT OF FLEURY (1715-26)

2.1 The Regent and high politics There are three good biographical treatments of Orleans: J.C. Petitfils, Le Régent (Paris, 1986); J. Shennan, Philippe, Duke of Orléans. Regent of France, 1715-23 (London, 1979); and J. Meyer, Le Régent, 1674-1723 (Paris, 1985), to which may be added J. Meyer, La Vie quotidienne en France au temps de la Régence (Paris, 1979) and the collection of essays, La Régence (Paris, 1970). Of older works, H. Leclercq, Histoire de la Régence pendant la minorité de Louis XV (3 vols.; Paris, 1921-2) retains much of its utility.

2.2. Nobility and the Parlements F.L. Ford, Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) needs some revision, but is still a useful introduction. In the absence of a decent full-length treatment of the Maine conspiracy, see R.E.A. Waller, 'Men of letters and the Affaire des princes under the Regency of the duc d'Orléans', European Studies Review, 8 (1978). For the Parlement of Paris, see J. H. Shennan, 'The Political Role of the Parlement of Paris, 1715-23', HJ, 8 (1965) and J.D. Hardy, Judicial Politics in the Old Régime. the Parlement of Paris during the Regency (Baton Rouge, La. 1967).

2.3 Jansenism to c. 1750 Superb recent works on eighteenth-century Jansenism include Van Kley [see 0.4], and C. Maire, De la Cause de Dieu à la cause de la Nation. Le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1998). Overviews are supplied by F. Hildesheimer, Le Jansénisme en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1991) and W. Doyle, Jansenism (Basingstoke, 2000). See too V. Durand, Le Jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle et Joachim Colbert, Évêque de Montpellier (1696-1738) (Toulouse, 1907); E. Appolis, Le Jansénisme dans le diocèse de Lodève au XVIIIe siècle (Albi, 1952); and also J. Carreyre, Le Jansénisme durant la Régence. I. La politique janséniste du Régent, 1715-17 (Louvain, 1929). For the 1730-2 crisis, see J. Merrick, "'Disputes over words" and constitutional conflict in France, 1730-2', FHS, 14 (1986). On Pâris and the convulsionary movement, see esp. B.R. Kreiser, Miracles, Convulsions and Ecclesiastical Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris (Princeton, NJ, 1978); D. Vidal, Miracles et convulsions jansénistes au XVIIIe siècle: le mal et sa connaissance (Paris, 1987); and C.L. Maire, Les

Convulsionnaires de Saint-Médard. Miracles, convulsions et prophéties à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1985).

2.4. Population, Economy and Finance on the Eve of the Regency M. Lachiver, Les Années de misère: la famine au temps de Louis XIV, 1680-1720 (Paris, 1991) makes for grim reading. G.W. Monahan, Year of Sorrows. The Great Famine of 1709 in Lyon (Columbus, Ohio, 1993) offers a local perspective. These should be contextualised by the general works cited above and, for the economic consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, W.C. Scoville, The Persecution of the Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680-1720 (Berkeley & LA, 1960). Also on the economy, see J. Meuvret, Études d'histoire économique (Paris, 1971); C.F. Lévy, Capitalistes et pouvoir au siècle des lumières. Les fondateurs des origines à 1715 (Paris, 1969); and T.J. Schaeper, The Economy of France in the Second Half of the Reign of Louis XIV (Montreal, 1980). C.W. Cole, Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism (2 vols.; New York, 1939) and id., French Mercantilism, 1683-1700 (New York, 1943) remain classics on mercantilism, though the work of D. Dessert casts a rather sinister shadow over Colbert: see his Argent, pouvoir et société au Grand Siècle (Paris, 1984), and id. & J.L. Journet, 'Le Lobby Colbert: un royaume ou une affaire de famille?', AESC, 30 (1974), to which may be added F. Bayard, Le Monde des financiers au XVIIe siècle (Paris, 1988).

For financial policy, see M. & R. Bonney, Jean-Roland Malet, premier historien des finances de la monarchie française (Paris, 1993); F. Bluche, J.F. Solnon, La Véritable Hiérarchie sociale de l'ancienne France. Le tarif de la première capitation (1695) (Geneva, 1983); P. Harsin, Les Doctrines monétaires et financières du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1928); and id., Crédit public et banque d'état en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1933). On financial milieux see the classic H. Lüthy, La Banque protestante en France de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à la Révolution (2 vols., Paris, 1961), and G. Chaussinand-Nogaret, Les Financiers de Languedoc au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1970).

2.5 John Law and the System T.E. Kaiser, 'Money, despotism and public opinion in early eighteenth-century France: John Law and the debate on royal credit', JMH, 63 (1991) is a stimulating account, especially on political issues, while A. Murphy, John Law, Economic Theorist and Policy Maker (Oxford, 1997) is strong on the economics. E. Faure, La Banqueroute de Law (17 juillet 1720) (Paris, 1977) tries to be comprehensive but is

uneven. The work of Pierre Harsin is particularly useful on Law and his context: to the works cited above [2.4], add his 'La Finance et l'état jusqu'au Système de Law', in Braudel & Labrousse, Histoire économique et sociale. Harsin has also edited John Law, Oeuvres complètes (3 vols., Paris, 1934). On the American side of Law's operations, see esp. M. Giraud, Histoire de la Louisiane française (3 vols., Paris, 1955-74).

2.6 Louis XV and the Advent of Fleury Antoine's Louis XV outclasses other works on this theme. J. Dureng, Le Duc de Bourbon et l'Angleterre (1723-6) (Paris, 1912) is a limited but useful account. Best are the opening chapters of P.M. Campbell, Power and Politics in Old Régime France, 1720-45 (London, 1996); and G. Hardy, Le Cardinal Fleury et le mouvement janséniste (Paris, 1925).

CHAPTER 3: FLEURY'S FRANCE

3.1. Fleury and his ministry No serviceable biography of Fleury exists. V. Verlaque, Histoire du Cardinal de Fleury et de son administration (Paris, 1878) is weak. The history of his ministry (in everything except foreign policy) has been completely overhauled by Campbell, Power and Politics in Old Régime France [see 2.6] which has an excellent bibliography. On religious policy, see also G. Hardy, Le Cardinal Fleury et le mouvement janséniste (Paris, 1925). On foreign policy, there is A.M. Wilson, French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-43. A Study in Diplomacy and Commercial Development (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), and the reevaluation by J. Black, 'French foreign policy in the age of Fleury reassessed', EHR, 103 (1988). For the Parlement, see J.H. Shennan, 'The political role of the Parlement of Paris under Cardinal de Fleury', EHR, 81 (1966), while on faction and its intersection with public opinion, see J.M.J. Rogister, 'A minister's fall and its implications: the case of Chauvelin (1737-46)', in D.J. Mossop et al. (eds), Studies in the French Eighteenth Century Presented to John Lough (Durham 1978). On police, E.G. Cruickshanks, 'Public opinion in the 1740s: the reports of the chevalier de Mouchy', Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, 27 (1954). [On religion, see 0.4, 2.3]

3.2 Administration On academies, see R. Hahn, The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803 (Berkeley, Calif., 1971); D. Sturdy, Science and Social Status: The Members of the Académie des Sciences, 1666-1750 (Woodbridge,

1995)] and the masterly D. Roche, Le Siècle des Lumières en province: Académies et académiciens provinciaux, 1680-1789 (2 vols., Paris, 1978). On measurement & cartography, see N. Broc, La Géographie des philosophes: géographes et voyageurs français au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1984); F. de Dainville, La Cartographie reflet de l'histoire (Geneva, 1975); J.W. Konwitz, Cartography in France, 1660-1848, Science, Engineering and Statecraft (London, 1987); and Espace français. Vision et aménagement, XVIe-XIXe siècles (Paris, 1987). On new notions of state power, see M. Raeff, 'The Role of the well-ordered police state in the development of modernity in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe', AHR, 80 (1975).

CHAPTER 4: UNSUSPECTED GOLDEN YEARS (1743-56)

4.1 Louis XV and Government before the Seven Years War Besides Antoine's biography [0.2], see C. Jones, Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress (2002); N. Mitford, Madame de Pompadour (London, 1954); D. Gallet, Madame de Pompadour et le pouvoir féminin (Paris, 1985); and E. Lever, Madame de Pompadour (Paris, 2000). For the Metz incident, see T. Kaiser, 'Louis le Bien-Aimé and the rhetoric of the royal body', in Melzer & Norberg, From the Royal to the Republican Body. Kaiser's work is particularly helpful: see also, for this period, his 'Madame de Pompadour and the theatres of power', FHS, 19 (1996); and 'The Drama of Charles Edward Stuart, Jacobite propaganda and French political protest, 1745-50', Eighteenth-Century Studies, (30), 1997. The child abduction scare is analyzed in A. Farge & J. Revel, The Vanishing Children of Paris: Rumor and Politics before the French Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). For the broader Parisian context see A. Farge, Fragile Lives. Violence. Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris (Cambridge, 1993) and D. Garrioch, Neighbourhood and Community in Eighteenth-Century Paris, 1740-90 (Cambridge, 1986). See too J. de Viguierie, 'Le Roi et le public: l'exemple de Louis XV', RH, 278 (1987). For relations with the Parlement, see J. M.J. Rogister, Louis XV and the Parlement of Paris, 1737-55 (Cambridge, 1995); and id., 'The crisis of 1753-4 in France and the debate on the nature of the monarchy and the fundamental laws', in Herrschaftsverträge, Wahlkapitulationen und Fundamentalgesetze, ed. R. Vierhaus (Göttingen, 1977) See too S. Pillorget, Claude-Henri Feydeau de Marville, Lieutenant général de Police de Paris, 1740-7 (Paris, 1978).

4.2. War and Diplomacy J. Black, 'Mid Eighteenth-century conflict with particular reference to the Wars of the Polish and Austrian Successions', in id. (ed.), The Origin of War in Early Modern Europe (Edinburgh, 1987); and M.S. Anderson, The War of Austrian Succession, 1740-8 (London, 1995) are useful. On Maurepas, M. Fillion, Maurepas, ministre de Louis XV, 1715-49 (Montreal, 1967); id., La pensée et l'action coloniale de Maurepas vis-à-vis du Canada (Montreal, 1972); and J. Pritchard, Louis XV's Navy, 1748-62: A Study of Organization and Administration (Kingston, Ont., 1987). For the armed forces, see **0.6, 1.4**; and for state finance, **6.3**

4.3 Rural France in Perspective [See also **0.5, 8.1**] G. Duby & A. Wallon (eds), Histoire de la France rurale. ii. L'Âge classique des paysans, 1348-1789 (Paris, 1975) may be up-dated by P.T. Hoffman, Growth in a Traditional Society: The French Countryside, 1450-1815 (Princeton, NJ, 1996). Excellent local studies which revise our understanding of the rural economy are L. Vardi, The Land and the Loom: Peasants and Profits in Northern France, 1680-1800 (Durham, NC, 1993), and H.L. Root, Peasants and King in Burgundy. Agrarian Foundations of French Absolutism (Berkeley, Ca, 1987). The latter should be read alongside P. de Saint-Jacob, Les Paysans de la Bourgogne du Nord au dernier siècle de l'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1960). Other valuable local studies include A. Poitrineau, La Vie rurale en Basse-Auvergne au XVIIIe siècle (2 vols., Paris, 1965); G. Frêche, Toulouse et la région Midi-Pyrénées au siècle des Lumières, vers 1670-1789 (Paris, 1974); J.M. Moriceau, Les Fermiers de l'Ile-de-France. L'ascension d'un patronat agricole (XVe-XVIIIe siècle) (Paris, 1994); id. & G. Postel-Vinay, Ferme, entreprise, famille: grande exploitation et changements agricoles. Les Chartier, XVIIe-XIXe siècles (Paris, 1992); and G. Postel-Vinay, La Terre et l'argent: l'agriculture et le crédit en France du XVIIIe siècle au début du XXe siècle (Paris, 1998). Still worth consulting are the contrasting views of M. Morineau, Les Faux-semblants d'un démarrage économique: agriculture et démographie en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1970) on one hand and, on the other, J. Goy & E. Le Roy Ladurie, Les Fluctuations du produit de la dîme. Conjoncture décimale et domaniale de la fin du moyen âge au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1972) and id., Prestations paysannes, dîmes, rente foncière et mouvement de la production agricole à l'époque préindustrielle (2 vols, Paris, 1982). For the poor, see the superb O. Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-89 (Oxford, 1974), complemented by C. Jones,

The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Régime and Revolutionary France (London, 1989); R.M. Schwartz, Policing the Poor in Eighteenth-Century France (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988); and T. Adams, Bureaucrats and Beggars: French Social Policy in the Age of Enlightenment (New York, 1990).

4.5 Trade, Industry and the Towns G. Duby (ed.), Histoire de la France urbaine. iii. La ville classique de la Renaissance aux Révolution (Paris, 1981) provides an excellent starting point, alongside B. Lepetit, The Pre-Industrial Urban System: France, 1740-1840 (Cambridge, 1994); and P. Benedict (ed.), Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France (London, 1989). See too id., 'More than market and manufactory: the cities of early modern France', *FHS*, 20 (1997). Valuable local studies include R. Schneider, Public Life in Toulouse, 1463-1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City (Ithaca, NY, 1989); id., The Ceremonial City. Toulouse Observed, 1738-80 (Princeton, NJ, 1995); J.P. Bardet, Rouen aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1983); J.C. Perrot, Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle (2 vols., Paris, 1975). See too T.D. Hemming et al., The Secular City. Studies in the Enlightenment (Exeter, 1994), while for disease and the environment, see J. Riley, The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease (London, 1987) and L. Brockliss & C. Jones, The Medical World of Early Modern France (Oxford, 1997)

F. Crouzet, Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in Franco-British Economic History (Cambridge, 1990) collects together Crouzet's seminal essays, with updated footnotes. For industry, T. Markovitch, Histoire des industries françaises. t. 1. Les industries lainières de Colbert à la Révolution (Geneva, 1976) is pretty rough and ready. More subtle are P. Minard, La Fortune du Colbertisme: état et industrie dans la France des Lumières (1998); S. Chassagne, Oberkampf, un entrepreneur capitaliste au siècle des Lumières (Paris, 1980); and J.P. Hirsch, Les deux rêves du commerce, entreprise et institutions dans la région lilloise, 1780-1860 (Paris, 1991). For proto-industrialization, see esp. G.L. Gullickson, Spinners and Weavers of Auffay: Rural Industry and the Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village (Cambridge, 1986).

For the trades, Michael Sonenscher's work is fundamental: The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France (Berkeley, Ca, 1987) and Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades (Cambridge, 1989). See too R. Darnton,

The Great Cat Massacre and Other Essays in French Cultural History (London, 1984); S. Kaplan, 'The character and implications of strife among masters inside the guilds of eighteenth-century Paris', Journal of Social History, 19 (1986) and id., 'Réflexions sur la police du monde de travail, 1700-1815', RH, 261 (1979). See also the testimony of a master-glazier: Jean-Louis Ménétra, Journal of My Life, ed. D. Roche (New York, 1986). For the longer perspective, W.H. Sewell, Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Régime to 1848 (Cambridge, 1980) is excellent.

For overseas trade, L. Hilaire-Pérez, L'Expérience de la mer: Les Européens et les espaces maritimes au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1997) is a valuable synthesis. See too P. Pluchon (ed.), Histoire des Antilles et de la Guyane (Toulouse, 1982); J. Bosher, The Canada Merchants, 1713-63 (Oxford, 1987); P. Butel, Les Négociants bordelais, l'Europe et les Iles au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1974); and J.M. Price, France and the Chesapeake. A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly (1674-1791) and of its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trade (Ann Arbor, MI, 1973).

For communications, see esp. G. Arbellot, 'La grande mutation des routes de France au XVIIIe siècle', AESC, 28 (1973) and D. Margairaz, Foires et marchés dans la France préindustrielle (Paris, 1988). J.F. Bosher, The Single Duty Project. A Study of the Movement for a French Customs Union in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1964) is a useful related study. For domestic trade in non-subsistence commodities, see too T. Brennan, Burgundy to Champagne. The Wine Trade in Early Modern France (Baltimore, Md, 1997) and L.M. Cullen, The Brandy Trade under the Ancien Régime: Regional Specialization in the Charente (Cambridge, 1998).

5. CHAPTER 5: AN ENLIGHTENING AGE [See too 1.6, 8.2]

5.1 The Enlightenment: General The French Enlightenment is set in its European context in D. Outram, The Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1995); T. Munck, The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History, 1721-94 (London, 2000); R. Porter & M. Teich (eds), The Enlightenment in National Context (Cambridge, 1981); and the highly evocative R. Pomeau, L'Europe des Lumières. Cosmopolitisme et unité européenne au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1966). R. Porter, The Enlightenment (2nd edn, Basingstoke, 2001) is an excellent guide to wider reading, and should be set against the same author's Enlightenment: Britain and the

Creation of the Modern World (London, 2000). For the ‘mind of the Enlightenment’, E. Cassirer, The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (Princeton, NJ, 1951) is a classic. Good overviews on France are provided by N. Hampson, The Enlightenment (Harmondsworth, 1968) and P. Gay, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation (2 vols., New York, 1967, 1969). D. Goodman, The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment (Ithaca, NY, 1994) focuses on the salons. S. Eliot & B. Stern (eds), The Age of Enlightenment (2 vols., London 1979) is a good primer of primary sources.

5.2 Diderot and The Encyclopédie Intellectual biographies of Diderot are provided by A. Wilson, Diderot, the Testing Years, 1713-59 (Oxford, 1969) and P.N. Furbank, Diderot, A Critical Biography (London, 1992). See too A. Strugnell, Diderot’s Politics. A Study of Diderot’s Political Thought after the Encyclopédie (The Hague, 1973). Specifically on relations with the Encyclopédie, see J. Proust, Diderot and the Encyclopédie (Paris, 1962); and, more recently, D. Brewer, The Discourse of Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century France: Diderot and the Art of Philosophizing (Cambridge, 1993). General treatments include J. Lough, The Encyclopédie (London, 1971); and id., L’Encyclopédie (Paris, 1965). R. Darnton, ‘Philosophers trim the tree of knowledge: The epistemological strategy of the Encyclopédie’, in id., The Great Cat Massacre is an excellent snapshot of the intellectual strategies of the Encyclopédistes, while for its commercial strategies, see the same author’s The Business of Enlightenment. A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

5.3 The Bourgeois Public Sphere The classic text is J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). For expositions of the impact of Habermas’s approach, see esp. D. Goodman, ‘Public sphere and private life: Toward a synthesis of current historiographical approaches to the Old Regime’, History and Theory, 31 (1992); A de La Vopa, ‘Conceiving a Public: ideas and society in eighteenth-century Europe, JMH, 64, 1992; B. Nathans, ‘Habermas’s “Public Sphere” in the era of the French Revolution’, FHS, 16 (1990). See too D. Castiglione & L. Sharpe (eds), Shifting the Boundaries. Transformations of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century (Exeter, 1995). On sociability more broadly construed, see E. François & R. Reichardt, ‘Les

Formes de sociabilité en France du milieu du XVIIIe au milieu du XIXe siècle', RHMC, 34 (1987).

On education, R. Chartier et al., L'Éducation in France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1976) provides a useful overview. For literacy, see F. Furet & M. Ozouf, Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry (Cambridge, 1982). On letter-writing, R. Chartier, Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1997). For higher education and research, L. Brockliss, French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Cultural History (Oxford, 1987) and R. Taton (ed.), Enseignement et diffusion des sciences en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1964).

On the book trade, see H.J. Martin et al. (eds), Histoire de l'édition française. ii. Le livre triomphant, 1660-1830 (Paris, 1984); H.J. Martin & R. Chartier, Le Livre français sous l'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1984); D. Pottinger, The French Book-Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1789 (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); F. Furet et al., Livre et société dans la France du XVIIIe siècle (2 vols., Paris, 1968, 1970); and R. Darnton, The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France (London, 1996). R. Chartier, The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France (Princeton, NJ, 1987) is a thoughtful collection of essays. For the lower end of the market, see G. Bollème, Les Almanachs populaires aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1969) and L. Andries, La Bibliothèque bleue au XVIIIe siècle. Une tradition éditoriale (Oxford, 1989).

As regards newspapers, J. Censer, The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment (London, 1994) is a useful synthesis of recent scholarship, and may be read alongside G. Feyel, L'Annonce et la nouvelle: la presse d'information en France sous l'Ancien Régime (1661-1788) (Oxford, 2000). J. Sgard (ed.), Dictionnaire des journaux, 1600-1789 (2 vols., Oxford, 1991) and id., Dictionnaire des journalistes, 1600-1789 (2 vols., Oxford, 1999) are superb works of reference. Two exemplary studies on individual newspapers are N.R. Gelbart, Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Régime France: *Le Journal des Dames* (Berkeley, Ca, 1987) and J. Popkin, News and Politics in the Age of Revolution. Jean Luzac's *Gazette de Leyde* (Ithaca, NY, 1989).

For freemasonry, see M.C. Jacob, Living the Enlightenment. Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe (Oxford, 1991) as well as R. Halévi, Les Loges

maçonniques dans la France d'Ancien Régime. Aux origines de la sociabilité démocratique (Paris, 1984) and M. Agulhon, Pénitents et francs-maçons dans l'ancienne Provence (Paris, 1968).

For other venues of sociability and intellectual exchange, see T. Crow, Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris (New Haven, Ct, 1985); T.E. Brennan, Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris (Princeton, NJ, 1988); R.M. Isherwood, Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris (Oxford, 1986); M. Root-Bernstein, Boulevard Theater and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Paris (Ann Arbor, MI, 1984); J. Lough, Paris Theatre Audiences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1957); and J.S. Ravel, The Contested Parterre: Public Theater and French Political Culture, 1680-1791 (Ithaca, NY, 1999).

5.4 Religion, Nature and Science For religion, see [0.4, 1.7, 2.3], and for unbelief, R.R. Palmer, Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France (Princeton, NJ, 1939); and A.C. Kors, Atheism in France, 2 vols., I. 1650-1729 (Princeton NJ 1990). For the broader context, see M. Vovelle, 'Le Tournant des mentalités en France: une sensibilité pré-révolutionnaire', Social History, 2 (1977). On science, G. Rousseau & R. Porter (eds), The Ferment of Knowledge. Studies in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science (Cambridge, 1980) is a brilliant, though now slightly outdated bibliographically-oriented overview. See too T.L. Hankins, Science and the Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1985); W. Clark et al., The Sciences in Enlightened Europe (Chicago, 1999). On Enlightenment views of nature, A.O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) is still a decent starting point. Two older works, D. Mornet, Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J.J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (Paris, 1907) and J. Ehrard, L'Idée de nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1970) are updated in D.G. Charlton, New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History, 1750-1800 (Cambridge, 1984). For science and nature, J. Roger's Les sciences de la vie dans la pensée française au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1963) should be complemented by his outstanding intellectual biography, Buffon (Ithaca, NY, 1997). See too C. Glacken, Traces of the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Berkeley, Ca, 1967); N. Jardine et al. (eds), Cultures of

Natural History (Cambridge, 1995); and E.C. Spary, Utopia's Garden. French Natural History from the Old Regime to Revolution (Chicago, 2000).

For science and the wider public, see G.V. Sutton, Science for a Polite Society. Gender, Culture and the Demonstration of Enlightenment (Boulder, Colorado, 1995) and R. Darnton, Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). Also stimulating in this field are B.M. Stafford, Body Criticism. Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine (Cambridge, Mass, 1991); and id., Artful Science: Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education (Cambridge, Mass, 1994)

Enlightenment reflection on Europe in the global scale can be explored through the works on science and natural history noted above, in addition to M. Duchet, Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières (Paris, 1971) and E.A. Williams, The Physical and the Moral. Anthropology, Physiology and Philosophical Medicine in France, 1750-1800 (Cambridge, 1994); G.S. Rousseau & R. Porter (eds), Exoticism in the Enlightenment (Manchester, 1990); and A. Pagden, Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c.1500-c.1800 (New Haven, Ct, 1995). Racism is brought in line with anti-semitism in P. Pluchon, Nègres et juifs au XVIIIe siècle: le racisme au siècle des Lumières (Paris, 1984) and R.H. Popkin, 'Medicine, racism, anti-semitism: a dimension of Enlightenment culture', in G.S. Rousseau (ed.), The Languages of Psyche. Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought (Berkeley, Ca, 1990). See too A. Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews (New York, 1968).

For science and gender, T. Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (London, 1990) has been criticized, but still is a valuable starting point. See too L. Schiebinger, The Mind has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science (Cambridge, Mass, 1989); id., Nature's Body. Sexual Politics and the Making of Modern Science (London, 1993); and B. Duden, The Woman beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). L. Steinbrugge, The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment (Oxford, 1995) may be read alongside S. Tomaselli, 'The Enlightenment debate on women', History Workshop, 20 (1985). For sex, see too G. Rousseau & R. Porter (eds), Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment (Manchester, 1987).

5.5 Enlightenment Politics N. Keohane, Philosophy and the State in France from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (Princeton, NJ, 1980) provides the larger picture. M. Cranston, Philosophers and Pamphleteers: Political Theorists of the Enlightenment (Oxford, 1986) is an excellent introduction to the main debates. See too M. Linton, The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France (2001). Studies highlighting the politics in the career and thinking of individual figures include:

- Voltaire: H.T. Mason, Voltaire, a Biography (Baltimore, Md, 1981); and P. Gay, Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist (2nd edn, New York, 1959). [See too 6.4, for the Calas Affair]
- Montesquieu: R. Shackleton, Montesquieu, a Critical Biography (Oxford, 1961); J. Shklar, Montesquieu (Oxford, 1987); E. Carcassonne, Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1927); and R. Kingston, Montesquieu and the Parlement of Bordeaux (Geneva, 1996)
- Rousseau: M. Cranston, Jean-Jacques: The Early Life and Work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (London, 1983); R. Grimsley, The Philosophy of Rousseau (Oxford, 1973); J. Starobinski, Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction (Chicago, 1988); and M. Hulliung, The Autocritique of Enlightenment. Rousseau and the Philosophes (Cambridge, Mass., 1994)
- La Mettrie: K. Wellman, La Mettrie: Medicine, Philosophy and Enlightenment (Durham, NC, 1992)
- D'Holbach: A.C. Kors, D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris (Princeton, NJ, 1977)

On Physiocracy, the classic works are G. Weulersse, Le Mouvement physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770 (2 vols., Paris, 1910); id., La Physiocratie sous les ministères de Turgot et de Necker, 1774-81 (Paris, 1950); id., Les Physiocrates à l'aube de la Révolution (Paris, 1984). See too E. Fox-Genovese, The Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in 18th-Century France (Ithaca, NY, 1976); R. L. Meek (ed.), Turgot on Progress, Sociology and Economics (Cambridge, 1973); id., The Economics of Physiocracy (London, 1962); and G. Vaggi, The Economics of François Quesnay (Basingstoke, 1987). There is also much to be gleaned from C. Larrère, L'Invention de l'économie au XVIIIe siècle: du droit naturel à la physiocratie

(Paris, 1992); and I. Hont & M. Ignatieff (eds), Wealth and Virtue. The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1983)

The most influential historian working on the relationship between Enlightenment and Revolution in recent years has been Keith Michael Baker: see his Inventing the French Revolution. Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, 1990). Thematic approaches to the Enlightenment with a strong political (and often proto-Revolutionary) dimension include D. Gordon, Citizens without Sovereignty. Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789 (Princeton, NJ, 1994); R. Mauzi, L'Idée de bonheur dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1960); A. Delaporte, L'Idée de l'égalité en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1987). M. Linton, 'Virtue rewarded? Women and the politics of virtue in eighteenth-century France', History of European Ideas, 26 (2000). This is taken into the Revolutionary era in C. Blum, Rousseau and the Language of Politics in the French Revolution (Ithaca, NY, 1986) and N. Hampson, Will and Circumstance: Montesquieu, Rousseau and the French Revolution (London, 1983). Other political treatments include M.C. Jacobs, The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans (London, 1981); F. Venturi, Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1971); and K.M. Baker, 'Transformations of classical republicanism in eighteenth-century France', JMH, 73 (2001).

On public opinion, K. Baker, 'Public opinion as political invention', in id., Inventing the French Revolution and J.A.W. Gunn, Queen of the World: Opinion in the Public Life of France from the Renaissance to the Revolution (Oxford, 1995). That 'public' opinion was rarely intended to extend to the common people is highlighted in H.C. Payne, The Philosophes and the People (New Haven, Ct, 1976). See too in this regard A. Farge, Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France (Cambridge, 1994).

CHAPTER 6: FORESTALLING DELUGE (1756-70)

6.1 Politics from the 1750s to the Triumvirate There are two fine treatments of the Damiens affair and its political fall-out: D. Van Kley, The Damiens Affair and the Unravelling of the Ancien Régime, 1750-70 (Princeton, NJ, 1984); and P. Rétat, L'Attentat de Damiens: discours sur l'événement au XVIIIe siècle (Lyon, 1979). See M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (Harmondsworth, 1979) for how it all ended.

The best guide to high politics over this period is J. Swann, Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754-74 (Cambridge, 1995). See too J. Egret, Louis XV et l'opposition parlementaire (Paris, 1970) and S.L. Kaplan, Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV (2 vols., The Hague, 1976)

On the parlements and Jansenism, see D.C. Hudson, 'The parliamentary crisis of 1763 and its consequences', Canadian Journal of History, 7 (1972); D.C. Joynes, 'Parlementaires, peers, and the parti janséniste: the refusal of the sacraments and the revival of the ancien constitution in eighteenth-century France', AMWS, 8 (1980); and J.M.J. Rogister, 'Louis-Adrien Le Paige and the attack on De l'Esprit and the Encyclopédie in 1759', EHR, 92 (1977).

6.2 The Seven Years War For the diplomatic and military dimensions of the war, we still have to rely on R. Waddington, Louis XV et le renversement des alliances. Préliminaires de la guerre de Sept Ans, 1754-6 (Paris, 1896) and id., La Guerre de Sept Ans (5 vols., Paris, 1899-1914). Aspects of the war are covered in J. Riley, The Seven Years War and the Old Regime in France: The Economic and Financial Toll (Princeton, NJ, 1986) and L. Kennett, The French Army in the Seven Years War (Durham, NC, 1967). [See too **0.6**]

Political dimensions of the war are the focus of J. Swann, 'Parlement, politics and the parti janséniste: the Grand Conseil affair, 1755-6', FH, 6 (1992); id., 'Parlements and the political crisis in France under Louis XV: the Besançon affair, 1757-61', HJ, 37 (1994); id., 'Power and provincial politics in eighteenth-century France: The Varenne affair', FHS, 21 (1998); D. Van Kley, 'The prince de Conty versus Mme de Pompadour and the political crisis of 1756-7 in France: an eighteenth-century Fronde manqué?', AMWS, 8 (1980); and J.D. Woodbridge, Revolt in Pre-Revolutionary France. The Prince de Conti's Conspiracy against Louis XV, 1755-7 (Baltimore, Md, 1995).

6.3 State Finance from c. 1750 An overview is provided by R.J. Bonney, 'The Eighteenth Century: the struggle for great power status and the end of the old fiscal regime', in id. (ed.), Economic Systems and State Finance (Oxford, 1995) and some of the problems are highlighted in his stimulating 'What's new about the new French fiscal history?', JMH, 70 (1998). The state budget is best approached through M. Morineau, 'Budgets de l'État et gestion des finances royales en France au XVIIIe siècle', RH, 264 (1980); and A. Guéry, 'Les finances de la monarchie française sous l'Ancien Régime',

AESC, 33 (1978). M. Marion, Histoire financière de la France depuis 1715 (5 vols., 1923) is still usable, as is id., Machault d'Arnouville. Étude sur l'histoire du contrôle générale des finances de 1749 à 1754 (Paris, 1892), while M. Kwass, Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France (Cambridge, 2000) is extremely helpful. For some 'new fiscal history', see D.R. Weir, 'Tontines, public finance and Revolution in France and England, 1688-1789', JEcH, 49 (1989); id., 'The financial market and government debt policy in France, 1746-93', JEcH, 52 (1992); J.C. Riley, 'French finances, 1727-68', JMH, 59 (1987); and E.N. White, 'Was there a solution to the Ancien Régime's financial dilemma?', JEcH, 49 (1989). For financial administration, see J. Bosher, French Finances, 1770-95: From Business to Bureaucracy (Cambridge, 1970). A comparative picture is provided by P. Mathias & P. O'Brien, 'Taxation in Britain and France, 1715-1820', Journal of European Economic History (1976). For a brilliant conspectus over state finances throughout the century from the perspective of the problem of the royal debt, see M. Sonenscher, 'The nation's debt and the birth of the modern republic: The French fiscal deficit and the politics of the Revolution of 1789', History of Political Thought, 18 (1997). [See also 2.4, 2.5, 7.3, 8.3]

6.4 Choiseul and Post-War Recovery There is no scholarly biography of Choiseul, one of the most important ministers of the reign of Louis XV. The early life is covered in the quirky R. Butler, Choiseul, Father and Son, 1719-54 (Oxford, 1980). See too (but note the publication date) G. Maugras, Le Duc et Duchesse de Choiseul, leur vie intime, leurs amis et leur temps (Paris, 1902). For the new patriotism produced by the war, see esp. D. Bell, The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism in France, 1680-1800 (2002); and E. Dziembowski, Un Nouveau patriotisme français, 1750-70: La France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans (Oxford, 1998). Still useful is W. Krause, "'Patriote", "patriotique", "patriotisme" à la fin de l'Ancien Régime', in W.H. Barber et al., The Age of Enlightenment. Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman (Edinburgh, 1967). Both dimensions of France's engagement with English culture are covered by J. Grieder, Anglomania in France, 1740-89. Fact, Fiction and Political Discourse (Geneva, 1985) and F. Acomb, Anglophobia in France, 1763-89 (Durham, NC, 1950). The Siege of Calais affair is discussed in Journal et Mémoires de Christophe Collé, ed. H. Bonhomme (3 vols., Paris, 1868); and A. Boes, 'La Lanterne magique de l'histoire: essai sur le théâtre historique

de 1750 à 1789', Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 231 (1982). Other aspects of foreign relations may be followed in T. Hall, France and the Eighteenth-Century Corsican Question (New York, 1971) and H.M. Scott, 'The importance of Bourbon naval reconstruction to the strategy of Choiseul after the Seven Years War', International History Review, 1 (1979).

For municipal reform, see M. Bordes, La Réforme municipale du contrôleur-général Laverdy et son application, 1764-71 (Toulouse, 1968) against the background revealed in N. Temple, 'The control and exploitation of French towns during the Ancien Régime', History, 51 (1966). For reform through the Intendants, see M. Bordes, 'Les Intendants de Louis XV', RH(1960) and id., 'Les Intendants éclairés de la fin de l'Ancien Régime', Revue d'histoire économique et sociale (1961). For the wide role of the Lieutenant-Général de Police in Paris, see A. Williams, The Police of Paris, 1718-89 (Baton Rouge, La, 1979). For the growing state interest in scientific matters, see the brilliant C.C. Gillispie, Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Régime (Princeton, NJ, 1980).

For the expulsion of the Jesuits, the classic text is D. Van Kley, The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757-65 (New Haven, Ct, 1975), while for the Calas Affair, see D. Bien, The Calas Affair: Persecution, Toleration and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Toulouse (Princeton, NJ, 1960). For a similar case, see E. Walter, 'L'Affaire La Barre et le concept d'opinion publique', in Le Journalisme d'Ancien Régime (Lyon, 1982).

The troubles in Brittany may be followed in J. Rothney, The Brittany Affair and the Crisis of the Ancien Régime (New York, 1969). Two older but still useful works are M. Marion, La Bretagne et le duc d'Aiguillon, 1753-70 (Paris, 1898) and B. Pocquet, Le Pouvoir absolu et l'esprit provincial: le duc d'Aiguillon et La Chalotais (3 vols., Paris, 1900-01).

CHAPTER 7: THE TRIUMVIRATE AND ITS AFTERMATH (1771-83)

7.1. The Maupeou Revolution D. Echeverria, The Maupeou Revolution: A Study in the History of Libertarianism, France, 1770-4 (Baton Rouge, La, 1985) provides a useful guide. See too L. Laugier, Un Ministère réformateur sous Louis XV: le Triumvirat (Paris, 1975) and id., Le Duc d'Aiguillon (Paris, 1984). Articles by W. Doyle collected in his

Officers, Nobles and Revolutionaries are also of value here. See too K.M. Baker (ed.), 'The Maupeou Revolution: the transformation of French politics at the end of the Old Régime', Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques special issue, 18 (1992); and D. Bell, 'Lawyers into demagogues: Chancellor Maupeou and the transformation of legal practice in France, 1771-89', P&P, 130 (1991). On the Paris Parlement, see J. Félix, Les Magistrats du parlement de Paris, 1771-90 (Paris, 1990) and R. Villers, L'Organisation du parlement de Paris et des conseils supérieurs d'après la réforme de Maupeou (Paris, 1937). See too J.F. Bosher, 'The French Crisis of 1770', History, 57 (1972); D.C. Hudson, 'In defence of reform: French government propaganda during the Maupeou crisis', FHS, 8 (1973); and S.M. Singham, 'Vox populi, vox Dei: les jansénistes pendant la révolution Maupeou', in C. Maire (ed.), Jansénisme et Révolution (Paris, 1990)

7.2. Turgot, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette J. Hardman's French Politics, 1774-89: From the Accession of Louis XVI to the Fall of the Bastille (London, 1995) is a decent overview. The same author's Louis XVI (London 1993) is a valuable biography to which his potboiler with the same title (Basingstoke, 2000) adds little. See too P. Girault de Coursac, L'Éducation d'un roi: Louis XVI (Paris, 1972) and E. Lever, Louis XVI (Paris, 1985). For the queen, both E. Lever, Marie-Antoinette. the Last Queen of France (London, 2001) and A. Fraser, Marie-Antoinette (London, 2001) are serviceable biographies. More interested in the queen's reputation and representations are C. Thomas, The Wicked Queen. The Origins of the Myth of Marie-Antoinette (New York, 1999); H. Fleischman, Les pamphlets libertins contre Marie-Antoinette (Paris, 1908); and T. Kaiser, 'Who's afraid of Marie-Antoinette? Diplomacy, Austrophobia and the queen', FH, 14 (2000). See too M. Price, The Fall of the French Monarchy (2002)

Turgot lacks a recent biography. In one's absence, D. Dakin, Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France (London, 1939) and E. Faure, La Disgrâce de Turgot (Paris, 1961) are still serviceable. For Turgot's impact on the world of work, see S.L. Kaplan, 'Social classification and representation in the corporate world of eighteenth-century Paris: Turgot's carnival', in id. & C.J. Koepp (eds), Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, Practices (Ithaca, NY, 1986). For the increasingly fraught issue of grain prices, see other work by Kaplan, notably Provisioning Paris. Merchants and Millers in the Grain and Flour Trade during the Eighteenth Century (Ithaca, NY, 1984); The Bakers of

Paris and the Bread Question, 1700-75 (Durham, NC, 1996); and ‘The famine plot persuasion in eighteenth-century France’, *TAPS*, 72 (1982). See also C.A. Bouton, The Flour War: Gender, Class and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society (Philadelphia, 1993) and J. Miller, Mastering the Market: The State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700-1860 (Cambridge, 1999).

On Necker, see J. Egret, Necker, ministre de Louis XVI (Paris, 1975); R.D. Harris, Necker, Reform Statesman of the Old Régime (Berkeley, Ca, 1979); and H. Grange, Les Idées de Necker (Paris, 1974). Parliamentary politics are covered in B. Stone, The Parlement of Paris, 1774-89 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981); id., The French Parlements and the Crisis of the Old Régime (Chapel Hill, NC, 1986); and W. Doyle, The Parlement of Bordeaux and the End of the Old Régime, 1771-90 (London, 1974). For the primacy of Vergennes, see J.F. Labourdette, Vergennes, ministre principal de Louis XVI (Paris, 1990); M. Price, Preserving the Monarchy: The Comte de Vergennes, 1774-87 (Cambridge, 1995); and id. & J. Hardman (eds), Louis XVI and the Comte de Vergennes: Correspondence, 1774-87 (Oxford, 1998).

7.3 The American War and State Finances The best works are J.R. Dull, The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-87 (Princeton, NJ, 1975); L. Kennett, The French Forces in America, 1780-83 (London, 1977); O.T. Murphy, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes: French Diplomacy in the Age of Revolution, 1719-87 (Albany, NY, 1982); and id., The Diplomatic Retreat of France and Public Opinion on the Eve of the French Revolution, 1783-89 (Washington, DC, 1997). See too R.R. Crout, ‘In search of a “just and lasting peace”: the Treaty of 1783, Louis XVI, Vergennes and the regeneration of the realm’, *International History Review*, 5 (1983). On state finances (besides works cited **6.3, 8.3**], see R.D. Harris, ‘French Finances and the American War, 1777-83’, *JMH*, 48 (1976); and id., ‘Necker’s Compte Rendu of 1781: a reconsideration’, *ibid.*, 42 (1970).

7.4 The Nobility A good starting-point is C. Petitfrère, Le Scandale du ‘Mariage de Figaro’. Prélude à la Révolution française? (Brussels, 1989). G. Chaussinand-Nogaret provides an overview which over-stresses the dynamism of the nobility: The French Nobility in the Eighteenth Century. From Feudalism to Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1985). This should now be compared with J. Smith, The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service and

the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600-1789 (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), and, on economic activity, with G. Richard, Noblesse d'affaires au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1974). M. Reinhard, 'Elite et noblesse dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle', RHMC, 3 (1956) is still worth consulting, as is the classic text by C. Lucas, 'Nobles, bourgeois and the origins of the French Revolution', originally P&P, 60 (1973), and much reprinted elsewhere since then. In the same vein, see too G.V. Taylor, 'Types of capitalism in eighteenth-century France', EHR, 79 (1964) and id., 'Noncapitalist wealth and the origins of the French Revolution', AHR, 72 (1967).

On elite mobility, the work of David Bien and his pupils is invaluable. See esp. D. Bien, 'La réaction aristocratique avant 1789: l'exemple de l'armée', AESC, 29 (1974); id., 'The Army in the French Enlightenment: reform, reaction and Revolution', P & P, 85 (1979); id., 'The secrétaires du Roi: absolutism, corps and privilege under the Ancien Régime', in A. Cremer & E. Hinrichs (eds), Vom Ancien Regime zur französischen Revolution (Gottingen, 1978); id., 'Manufacturing nobles: The Chancelleries in France to 1789', JMH, 61 (1989); and G. Bossenga, 'From Corps to Citizenship: the Bureaux des Finances before the French Revolution', JMH, 58 (1986).

For examples of provincial nobilities, see R. Forster, The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore, Md, 1960); id., The House of Saulx-Tavannes (Baltimore, Md. 1971); and J. Meyer, La Noblesse bretonne au XVIIIe siècle (2 vols., Paris, 1966). For the noble as seigneur, O. Hufton, 'The seigneur and the rural community in eighteenth-century France: the seignurial reaction. A reappraisal', TRHS, 5th series, 29 (1979); J. Dewald, Pont-Saint-Pierre, 1389-1789: Lordship, Community and Capitalism in Early Modern France (Berkeley, Ca., 1987); and H. Root, 'Challenging the seigneurie: community and contention on the eve of the French Revolution', JMH, 57 (1985). See too J.Q.C. Mackrell, The Attack on Feudalism in Eighteenth-Century France (London, 1973).

CHAPTER 8: BOURBON MONARCHY ON THE RACK (1783-8)

8.1. The Economy Ernest Labrousse's magisterial and still highly influential work (Esquisse du mouvement, Crise de l'économie: see **0.5**) has been subject to a great deal of criticism: see esp. D. Weir, 'Les Crises économiques et les origines de la Révolution française', AESC, 46 (1991) and two articles by Louis Cullen, 'History, economic crises, and

revolutions: understanding eighteenth-century France', Economic History Review, 46 (1993); and id., 'La crise économique de la fin de l'Ancien Régime' in J.P. Poussou, L'Économie française du XVIIIe au XX siècle: perspectives nationales et internationales. Mélanges offerts à François Crouzet (Paris, 2000). D. Landes 'The statistical study of French crises, Journal of Economic History, 10 (1950) is still worth consulting. See too C. Jones & R. Spang, 'Sans-culottes, sans café, sans tabac: shifting realms of necessity and luxury in eighteenth-century France', in M. Berg & H. Clifford (eds), Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850 (Manchester, 1999). On a different tack, but also undermining the Labrousse approach is P. Hoffman, G. Postel-Vinay & J.L. Rosenthal, 'Information and economic history: How the credit market in Old Regime Paris forces us to rethink the transition to capitalism', AHR, 104 (1999).

The study of eighteenth-century consumerism was pioneered by D. Roche, in The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century (Leamington Spa, 1987). See now the same author's The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime (Cambridge, 1994); and id., A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800 (Cambridge, 2000). Also of value are A. Pardailhé-Galabrun, The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris (London, 1991) and two articles by C. Fairchild: 'The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds), Consumption and the World of Goods (London, 1993), and 'Marketing the Counter-Reformation: religious objects and consumerism in early modern France', in C. Adams et al., Visions and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France (Philadelphia, 1997). See too M. Martin, 'Consuming Beauty: The Commerce of Cosmetics in France' (PhD dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 2000). Useful overviews of the evidence are provided by J. Cornette, 'La Révolution des objets: le Paris des inventaires après décès (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)', RHMC, 36 (1989) and B. Garnot, La Culture matérielle en France aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1995). See too C. Sargentson, Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris (London, 1996).

On the production side, see, for the 'industrious revolution', J. de Vries, 'Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern Europe', in Brewer and Porter (eds), Consumption and the World of Goods. For

the world of work (besides 4.5], see M. Sonenscher, 'French journeymen, the courts and the French trades, 1781-91', *P&P*, 114 (1987); and R. Fox & A. Turner (eds), *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris* (Aldershot, 1998).

8.2. The Social and Cultural Origins of the Revolution For the revolution in the smile, see C. Jones, 'Pulling teeth in eighteenth-century Paris', *P&P*, 166 (2000). My earlier efforts to try to reconceptualize the problem of the origins of the Revolution of 1789 in terms of growing commercialism and consumerism are: C. Jones, 'Bourgeois Revolution revived: 1789 and social change', in C. Lucas (ed.), *Rewriting the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991); and 'The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere and the Origins of the French Revolution', *AHR*, 101 (1996).

The classic text on the Revolution's origins, D. Mornet's *Les Origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1933) has been revised and updated in R. Chartier's fine *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham NC, 1991). Culture is less to the fore in two other foundational texts, G. Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1947) and W. Doyle, *The Origins of the French Revolution* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1999). The political culture approach is laid out in K. Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* [cited 5.5]. To works cited above under the Enlightenment [esp. 5.3, 5.5] may be added others with a stronger pre-1789 flavour, notably J.R. Censer & J.D. Popkin (eds), *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, Ca, 1987); the important S. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Pre-Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley, Ca, 1993); and W. Weber, 'La Musique ancienne in the waning of the Ancien Régime', *JMH*, 56 (1984). Revising Darnton's approach to 'Grub Street' are L. Wilson, *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment: The Debate over *Maladies des Femmes** (Baltimore, Md, 1993) (on mesmerism), and, more generally, D. McMahon, 'The Counter-Enlightenment and the low life of literature in Pre-Revolutionary France', *P&P*, 159 (1998). See also K. Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago, 1975); M. Fitzsimmons, 'Privilege and polity in France, 1786-91' *AHR*, 92 (1987); and T. Lockett, 'Hunting for spies and whores: a Parisian riot on the eve of the French Revolution', *P&P*, 156 (1997).

On the bourgeoisie in general, see above, under 'nobility' [7.4] - a revealing comment about recent historiography. E.G. Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in Eighteenth-Century*

France (Princeton, NJ, 1955) is badly showing its age, B. Groethuysen, Origines de l'esprit bourgeois en France (Paris, 1927) perhaps less so. D. Garrioch, The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690-1830 (Cambridge, Mass., 1996) shows a revival of interest, though his assumption that 'there was no Parisian bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century' (p. 1) seems a little arch. See too C. Adams, A Taste for Comfort and Stature: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France (Philadelphia, 2000); R. Forster, Merchants, Landlords, Magistrates: The Depont Family in Eighteenth-Century France (Baltimore, Md, 1980); P.W. Bamford, Privilege and Profit. A Business Family in Eighteenth-Century France (Philadelphia, 1988).

On the professional groupings, see the overview in Jones, 'Bourgeois Revolution revived', and G. Geison (ed.), Professions and the French State, 1700-1900 (Philadelphia, 1984). For the medical professions, see C. Jones, 'The Médecins du Roi at the end of the Ancien Régime and in the French Revolution', in V. Nutton (ed.), Medicine at the Courts of Europe, 1500-1837 (London 1990); id., 'The Medicalization of Eighteenth-Century France', in R. Porter & A. Wear (eds), Problems and Methods in the History of Medicine (London, 1987); and id. & Brockliss, The Medical World of Early Modern France, esp. Part II, as well as T. Gelfand, Professionalizing Modern Medicine: Paris Surgeons and Medical Science and Institutions in the Eighteenth Century (Westport, Ct, 1980); M. Ramsey, Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770-1830: The Social World of Medical Practice (Cambridge, 1988); and J.P. Goubert (ed.), La Médicalisation de la société française, 1770-1830 (Waterloo, Ont., 1982). For law, besides Bell, Lawyers and Citizens, see L. Berlanstein, The Barristers of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century (1740-93) (Baltimore, Md, 1975); M. Gresset, Gens de justice à Besançon: de la conquête par Louis XIV à la Révolution, 1674-1789 (Paris, 1978); M. Fitzsimmons, The Parisian Order of Barristers and the French Revolution (Cambridge, Mass, 1987); and F. Delbeke, L'Action politique et sociale des avocats au XVIIIe siècle (Louvain, 1927). For the bureaucracy, V. Azimi, Un modèle administratif de l'Ancien Régime: les commis de la ferme générale et de la régie générale des aides (Paris, 1987) plus Durand on Les Fermiers généraux, and Matthews, The Royal General Farms. For the church, T. Tackett's study Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France: A Social and Political Study of the Curé in a Diocese in Dauphiné, 1750-91 (Princeton, NJ, 1977) and his 'The Citizen-priest: politics

and ideology among the parish clergy of eighteenth-century Dauphiné', Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, 7 (1978) may be complemented by J. McManners, French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime: A Study of Angers in the Eighteenth Century (Manchester, 1960). For the army, besides D. Bien and E.G. Léonard, see S.F. Scott, 'The French Revolution and the professionalization of the French officer corps', in M. Janowitz & J. van Doorn (eds), On Military Ideology (Rotterdam, 1971). See too the excellent K. Alder, Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763-1815 (Princeton, NJ, 1997). For the refraction of these currents in the world of journalism, see esp. D.G. Levy, The Ideas and Careers of Samuel-Nicolas-Henri Linguet (Urbana, Ill., 1980); R. Darnton, The Literary Underground of the Old Régime (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); and E. Eisenstein, Grub Street Abroad. Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press from the Age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution (Oxford, 1992). And for related moves regarding professional acting, see A. Goodden, 'Actio' and Persuasion: Dramatic Performance in Eighteenth-Century France (Oxford, 1986).

8.3. Calonne and the Pre-Revolution The historiography on the Diamond Necklace Affair has been thoroughly revised as a result of S. Maza, 'The Diamond Necklace Affair, 1785-6', in id., Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Pre-Revolutionary France (Berkeley, Ca, 1993). See also R. Brown, 'The Diamond Necklace Affair revisited', Renaissance and Modern Studies, 33 (1989). Still worth consulting is F. Funck-Brentano, L'Affaire du Collier (Paris, 1901) - the only full-dress study. R. Lacour-Gayet, Calonne (Paris, 1963) is a solid biography, while J. Egret, The French Pre-Revolution, 1787-8 (Chicago, 1977) is an unmatched classic on the last years of the absolute monarchy. The political context for this is set up well in P.M. Jones, Reform and Revolution in France: The Politics of Transition, 1774-91 (Cambridge, 1995) and D.K. Jarrett, The Begetters of Revolution. England's Involvement with France, 1759-89 (London, 1973). The British perspective may also be followed in O. Browning (ed.), Despatches from Paris, 1784-90 (2 vols., London, 1909-10), and A. Young, Travels in France in the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789, ed. C. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1929).

The Assembly of Notables can be followed though P. Chevallier (ed.), Journal de l'Assemblée des Notables de 1787 (Paris, 1960), and V. Gruder, 'Paths to political consciousness: the Assembly of Notables of 1787 and the Pre-Revolution in France', FHS,

13 (1984). See too A. Goodwin, 'Calonne, the Assembly of Notables of 1787 and the origins of the Révolte nobiliaire', *EHR*, 61 (1946); E. Eisenstein, 'Who intervened in 1788?', *AHR*, 71 (1965)' and K. Margerison, Pamphlets and Public Opinion: the Campaign for a Union of Orders in the Early French Revolution (West Lafayette, Ind., 1998). The provincial dimension of the Pre-Revolution has been tracked by J. Egret in a number of publications (see e.g. *RHMC*, 2 [1954]; *AHRF*, 26 [1954]; and *RH*, 221 [1955]). See too M. Cubells, Les Horizons de la liberté. Naissance de la Révolution en Provence, 1787-9 (Aix-en-Provence, 1987).

The religious dimension of the pre-Revolutionary crisis is highlighted in D. Van Kley, 'The Estates General as ecumenical council: The constitutionalism of corporate consensus and the Parlement's ruling of 25 September 1788', *JMH*, 61 (1989); while the ecclesiastical input can be followed in N. Aston, The End of an Elite. The French Bishops and the Coming of the French Revolution, 1786-90 (Oxford, 1992) and M.G. Hutt, 'The curés and the Third Estate: the ideas of reform in the pamphlets of the French lower clergy in the period, 1787-9', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 8 (1957).

The financial atmosphere of the 1780s is summoned up in J.C. Riley, 'Dutch investment in France, 1781-7', *JEcH*, 33 (1973) and G.V. Taylor, 'The Paris Bourse on the Eve of the Revolution, 1781-9', *AHR*, 67 (1962). See too the work of T. Luckett, esp. 'Crises financières dans la France du XVIIIe siècle', *RHMC*, 43 (1996); and id., "'There is no money here": money famine and tax revolt in early modern France', in J.L. du Gaetani, Money: Lure, Lore and Literature (Westport, Ct, 1994). K. Norberg, 'The French fiscal crisis of 1788 and the financial origins of the Revolution of 1789', in id. & P. Hoffman (eds), Fiscal Crises, Liberty and Representative Government, 1450-1789 (Stanford, Ca., 1994) is a helpful updating.

CHAPTER 9: A REVOLUTION IN POLITICAL CULTURE (1789-91)

9.1 The French Revolution: General The best, most up-to-date general work is W. Doyle, The Oxford History of the French Revolution (Oxford, 1989). The four volumes of the series The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture (Oxford, 1987-94) provide a superb overview of knotty problems: vol 1: The Political Culture of the Old Regime, ed. K.M. Baker (1987); vol. 2: The Political Culture of the French Revolution,

ed. C. Lucas (1988), vol. 3: The Transformation of Political Culture, 1789-1848, eds. F. Furet & M. Ozouf (1989); and vol. 4: The Terror, ed. K.M. Baker (1994).

Useful works of reference include C. Jones, The Longman Companion to the French Revolution (London, 1989); S.E. Scott & B. Rothaus (eds), Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution (2 vols., Westport, Ct, 1984); and F. Furet & M. Ozouf (eds), A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution (London, 1989). Highly useful too are J. Godechot, Les Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire (Paris, 1968) and the still-progressing Atlas de Révolution française, general editors S. Bonin & C. Langlois (Paris, 1987-), 11 volumes of which have appeared thus far. A good website on the Revolution is to be found at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/Revolution>. This is linked to J.R. Censer & L. Hunt, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution (2001).

The following general works all have many virtues: G. Lefebvre, The French Revolution (2 vols., New York, 1962); A. Soboul, The French Revolution, 1787-99 (London, 1974); N. Hampson, A Social History of the French Revolution (London, 1963); M.J. Sydenham, The French Revolution (London, 1965); F. Furet & D. Richet, The French Revolution (London, 1970); D. Sutherland, France, 1789-1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution (London, 1985: esp. good on social dimensions and counter-revolution); F. Furet, The French Revolution, 1770-1814 (Oxford, 1996); and S. Schama, Citizens. A Chronicle of the French Revolution (London, 1989: if flawed as a result of the author's obsession with violence, still a brilliantly evocative read). Short thematic approaches include A. Forrest, The French Revolution (Oxford, 1995) and D. Andress, French Society in Revolution (Manchester, 1999).

Of major interpretative works, essential reading are L. Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution (Berkeley, Ca, 1984); id., The Family Romance of the French Revolution (London, 1992); D. Outram, The Body and the French Revolution. Sex, Class and Political Culture (London, 1989); A. de Baecque, The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800 (Stanford, 1997); and T. Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China (Cambridge, 1979: see also the critique of the work in W.H. Sewell, 'Ideologies and social revolutions: reflections on the French case', JMH, 57 [1985]). Thematic histories of the Revolution include P. Gueniffey, Le Nombre et la raison: la Révolution française et les élections (Paris,

1993); M. Crook, Elections in the French Revolution: An Apprenticeship in Democracy, 1789-99 (Cambridge, 1996); T. Margadant, Urban Rivalries in the French Revolution (Princeton, NJ, 1992); I. Woloch, The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s (New York, 1994); and F. Aftalion, The French Revolution: An Economic Interpretation (Cambridge, 1990) (in fact a rather narrow monetarist approach, and not fully replacing the ancient M. Marion, Histoire financière de la France and S.E. Harris, The Assignats [Cambridge, Mass., 1930]). The works of Richard Cobb provide inimitable perspectives on the French Revolution both from the 'bottom up' and the 'outside in': they may be sampled in two recent readers of his work The French and their Revolution (London, 1997) and id., Paris and the Revolution (London, 1998).

Of works of historiography and reassessment of the Revolution's significance, the best starting points are A. de Tocqueville, The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution (New York, 1954) and the works of writings of Marx, outlined in F. Furet, Marx and the French Revolution (Chicago, 1988). Two particularly influential works are A. Cobban, The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1999) and F. Furet, Interpreting the French Revolution (Cambridge, 1981). Recent historiographical updates are provided by T.C.W. Blanning, The French Revolution: Class War or Culture Clash? (Basingstoke, 1998) and G. Lewis, The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate (London, 1993). These may be supplemented with any of the readers which supply collections of recent articles of major significance: see esp. P.M. Jones (ed.), The French Revolution in Social and Political Perspective (London, 1996); G. Kates (ed.), The French Revolution: Recent Debates and New Controversies (London, 1998); and R. Schechter, The French Revolution (Oxford, 2001).

9.2 The French Revolution: Collections of Primary Sources Good document collections are French Revolution Documents, vol. 1. ed. J.M. Roberts (covering 1787 to 1792) (Oxford, 1966); and vol. 2, ed. J. Hardman (covering 1792 to 1795) (Oxford, 1973); and J. Hardman, The French Revolution Sourcebook (London, 1999). See also C. Jones (ed.), The French Revolution: Voices from a Momentous Epoch, 1789-94 (London, 1988).

9.3 The French Revolution: Local Studies From the late 1960s local studies provided the channel through which much of the most pathbreaking work on the social and political

history of the Revolution was done. For these, see below, plus the following works: G. Bossenga, The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and Revolution in Lille (Cambridge, 1991); M. Crook, Toulon in War and Revolution. From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration, 1780-1820 (Manchester, 1991); W. Edmonds, Jacobinism and the Revolt of Lyons, 1789-93 (Oxford, 1990); A. Forrest, Society and Politics in Revolutionary Bordeaux (Oxford, 1975); id., The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-99 (Oxford, 1996); P.R. Hanson, Provincial Politics in the French Revolution: Caen and Limoges, 1789-94 (Baton Rouge, La, 1989); O. Hufton, Bayeux in the Late Eighteenth Century. A Social Study (Oxford, 1967); T. Le Goff, Vannes and its Region: A Study of Town and Country in Eighteenth-Century France (Oxford, 1981); C. Lucas, The Structure of the Terror: The Example of Javogues and the Loire (Oxford, 1973); M. Lyons, Revolution in Toulouse: An Essay on Provincial Terrorism (Bern, 1978); and W. Scott, Terror and Repression in Revolutionary Marseille (London, 1973). See also H.C. Johnson, The Midi in Revolution. A Study of Regional Political Diversity, 1789-93 (Princeton, NJ, 1986); and P. Dawson, Provincial Magistrates and Revolutionary Politics in France, 1789-95 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

9.4 The Political Crisis of 1789 Lefebvre's Coming of the French Revolution and Doyle's Origins [see above, 8.2] provide useful overviews. On the cahiers, see now G. Shapiro & J. Markoff, Revolutionary Demands. A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789 (Stanford, 1998). Also helpful are R. Robin, La société française en 1789: Semur-en-Auxois (Paris, 1970); G.V. Taylor, 'Revolutionary and non-revolutionary content in the cahiers of 1789', French Historical Studies, 7 (1972); and R. Chartier, 'Culture, lumières, doléances: les cahiers de 1789', RHMC, 28 (1981).

Necker's role in events is followed in R. Harris, Necker and the Revolution of 1789 (Lanham, Md, 1986). Growing patriot organisation is analysed in D Wick, A Conspiracy of Well-Intentioned Men. The Society of Thirty and the French Revolution (New York, 1987). See too W.J. Sewell, A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution. The Abbé Siéyès and 'What is the Third Estate?' (Durham, NC, 1994). The role of the first two Orders is picked out in M.G. Hutt, 'The role of the curés in the Estates General', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 6 (1955) and J. Murphy & P. Higonnet, 'Les Députés de la noblesse aux Etats-généraux de 1789', RHMC, 20 (1973).

J. Godechot, The Taking of the Bastille, July 14 1789 (London, 1970) is a classic, while M. Price, 'The "Ministry of the Hundred Hours": a reappraisal', *French History*, 4 (1990) provides some interesting speculations. A good local perspective is offered in R.B. Rose, 'How to make a revolution: The Paris districts in 1789', *BJRL* 59 (1977). For the Bastille legend, see M. Cottret, La Bastille à prendre. Histoire et mythes de la forteresse royale (Paris, 1986) and H. Lüsebrink & R. Reichardt, The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom (Durham, NC, 1997). For the Gardes-Françaises, see J. Chagniot, Paris et l'armée au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1985).

T. Tackett, Becoming a Revolutionary. The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture, 1789-91 (Princeton, NJ, 1996) has already become a classic for the politics of the 1789 crisis at the centre, and it may be supplemented with P. Kessel, La Nuit du 4 août 1789 (Paris, 1969); J. Egret, La Révolution des notables: Mounier et les monarchiens (Paris, 1950); and R.H. Griffiths, Le Centre perdu: Malouet et les Monarchiens dans la Révolution française (Grenoble, 1988). The Rights of Man are put into context by D. Van Kley (ed), The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789 (Stanford, Ca, 1994).

9.5 Peasants and Towns in Revolt J. Markoff, The Abolition of Feudalism. Peasants, Lords and Legislators in the French Revolution (Philadelphia, 1996) provides a superb fresco, drawing on peasant cahiers as well as rebellions. G. Lefebvre's great work, The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France (London, 1973) may now be supplemented by C. Ramsay, The Ideology of the Great Fear. The Soissonnais in 1789 (Baltimore, 1992). See too A. Davies, 'The origins of the French peasant revolution of 1789', *History*, 49 (1964). On the peasantry in 1789 and beyond, P.M. Jones, The Peasantry in the French Revolution (Cambridge, 1988) provides even-handed treatment. See too J. Boutier, 'Jacqueries en pays croquant: les révoltes paysannes en Aquitaine', *AESC* 34 (1979). For the municipal revolution, L. Hunt, 'Committees and communes: local politics and national revolution in 1789', Comparative Studies in Society and History, 18 (1976) and id, Revolution and Urban Politics in Provincial France. Troyes and Reims, 1786-90 (Stanford, Ca, 1978). For the immediate aftermath to 1789 - less peaceful than usually accounted - see S.F. Scott, 'Problems of law and order during 1790, the "peaceful"

year of the French Revolution', AHR, 80 (1975), and B.M. Shapiro, Revolutionary Justice in Paris, 1789-90 (New York, 1993).

9.6 The Work of the Constituent Assembly Besides Tackett's major study, political assessments are supplied by N. Hampson, Prelude to Terror: The Constituent Assembly and the Failure of Consensus, 1789-91 (New York, 1988); H.B. Applewhite, Political Alignment in the French National Assembly, 1789-91 (Baton Rouge, La, 1993); M.P. Fitzsimmons, The Remaking of France: The National Assembly and the Constitution of 1791 (Cambridge, 1991); and E.H. Lemay & A. Patrick, Revolutionaries at Work: The Constituent Assembly, 1789-91 (Oxford, 1996). See also G. Michon, Essai sur l'histoire du parti Feuillant. Adrien Duport (Paris, 1924). M. Vovelle, The Fall of the French Monarchy, 1787-92 (Cambridge, 1984) is a good background narrative, while M. Price, The Fall of the French Monarchy (2002) highlights the major players..

For the growth of popular radicalism, see below [10.3, 10.4]. For the Champ de Mars massacre, D. Andress, Massacre at the Champ de Mars. Popular Dissent and Political Culture in the French Revolution (Woodbridge, 2000), which can be read with profit alongside A. Mathiez, Le Club des Cordeliers pendant la crise de Varennes et le massacre du Champ de Mars (Paris, 1910); and G.A. Kelly, 'Bailly and the Champ de Mars Massacre', JMH, 52 (1980).

9.7 (1) Counter-Revolution: General J. Godechot, The Counter-Revolution: Doctrine and Action, 1789-1804 (New York, 1971) provides a solid start. A welcome resurgence of interest in the émigrés is marked by K. Carpenter: see her Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789-1802 (Basingstoke, 1999); id. & P. Mansel (eds), The French Émigrés and the Struggle against the Revolution, 1789-1815 (Basingstoke, 1999). S. Burrows, French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792-1814 (Woodbridge, 2000) is also a welcome addition to a thin literature. See also P. Mansel, The Court of France, 1789-1830 (Cambridge, 1988) and id., Louis XVIII (London, 1981). On covert operations, see E. Sparrow, Secret Service. British Agents in France, 1792-1815 (Woodbridge, 1999); H. Mitchell, The Underground War against Revolutionary France: The Missions of William Wickam, 1794-1800 (Oxford, 1965); C. Duckworth, The d'Antraigues Phenomenon (Newcastle, 1986); and M. Elliott, Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France (New Haven 1982). For the scale of the emigration, see D.

Greer, The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

9.7(II) Counter-Revolution: The Religious Issue The core issue of the Civil Constitution is adeptly handled by T. Tackett, Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France. The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791 (Princeton, NJ, 1986). This may be now contextualised in the very wide-ranging N. Aston, Religion and Revolution in France, 1789-1804 (Basingstoke, 2000) - though still of use are J. McManners, The French Revolution and the Church (London, 1969) and R. Gibson, A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914 (London, 1989). The interface with Catholic-Protestant dissension is covered in G. Lewis [see **9.7(III)**] and J.N. Hood, 'Protestant-Catholic relations and the roots of the first popular counter-revolutionary movement in France', JMH, 43 (1971); and id., 'Revival and mutation of old rivalries in Revolutionary France', P&P, 82 (1979).

9.7(III) Counter-Revolution: The Vendée and Peasant Royalism T.J.A. Le Goff & D. Sutherland, 'Religion and rural revolt in the French Revolution: an overview', in J.M. Bak & G. Benecke (eds), Religion and Rural Revolt (Manchester, 1984) provides a good contextual introduction to the issue, which has focused on the west of France. See too the same authors's 'The Revolution and the rural community in eighteenth-century Brittany', P&P, 62 (1974) and 'The social origins of Counter-Revolution in western France', P&P, 99 (1983). Essential reading too are C. Tilly, The Vendée (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); H. Mitchell, 'The Vendée and Counter-Revolution', FHS, 5 (1968); D. Sutherland, The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany, 1770-96 (Oxford, 1982); A. Goodwin, 'Counter-revolution in Brittany: the royalist conspiracy of the marquis de la Rouerie, 1791-3', BJRL, 39 (1957); M. Hutt, Chouannerie and Counter-Revolution, Puisaye, the Princes and the British Government in the 1790s (Cambridge, 1983); and J.C. Martin, La Vendée et la France (Paris, 1987). For outside western France, see esp. C. Lucas, 'The Problem of the Midi in the French Revolution', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 28 (1978) and G. Lewis, The Second Vendée: The Continuity of Counter-Revolution in the Department of the Gard, 1789-1815 (Oxford, 1978).

CHAPTER 10: WAR AND TERROR (1791-5)

10.1 The Legislative Assembly C.J. Mitchell, *The French Legislative Assembly of 1791* (New York, 1988) is a slightly arid account. Much may still be gleaned from M.J.

Sydenham, *The Girondins*, (London, 1961). G. Kates, *The Cercle Social, the Girondins and the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1985) shows the link between Girondin high politics and the growth of popular radicalism from 1789-90. See also on the latter theme, R.B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes: Democratic Ideas and Institutions in Paris, 1789-92* (Manchester, 1983) and J. Censer, *Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press, 1789-91* (Baltimore, Md, 1976).

10.2 The Overthrow of the Monarchy and the Emergence of Terror M. Bouloiseau, *The Jacobin Republic, 1792-4* (Cambridge, 1983) and M. Reinhard, *La Chute de la monarchie: 10 Août 1792* (Paris, 1969) are useful overviews. See too F. Braesch, *La Commune du 10 août* (Paris, 1911). P. Caron, *Les Massacres de Septembre* (Paris, 1936) has been (possibly over-) heavily criticized by F. Bluche, *Septembre 1792: Logiques d'un massacre* (Paris, 1986).

On the king's trial, D.P. Jordan, *The King's Trial* (Berkeley, Ca, 1979); M. Walzer, *Regicide and Revolution: Speeches at the Trial of Louis XVI* (Cambridge, 1974); and A. Soboul, *Le Procès du Louis XVI* (Paris, 1966); while S. Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI: Regicide and the French Political Imagination* (Princeton, NJ, 1994) provides a broader perspective. On the Girondin/Montagnard dispute [besides works cited **10.1**], see esp. A. Patrick, 'Political divisions in the French National Convention, 1792-3', *JMH*, 41 (1969); and id., *The Men of the First French Republic* (Baltimore, Md., 1972), plus P. Higonnet's 'The social and cultural antecedents of Revolutionary discontinuity: Montagnards and Girondins', *EHR*, 100 (1985). Also on the Jacobins, see Higonnet's *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998) and M. Kennedy's two-volumed *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*. i. *The First Years* and ii. *The Middle Years* (Princeton. NJ, 1982, 1988).

10.3 War and Diplomacy T.C.W Blanning's work has completely renewed and refreshed the debates: *The Origin of the French Revolutionary Wars* (London, 1986); and *The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787-1802* (London, 1996). See too J. Black, *British Foreign Policy in an Age of Revolution, 1783-93* (New York, 1994); and P. Schroeder, *The*

Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848 (Oxford, 1994). There is still much to be gleaned too from R.R. Palmer, The Age of the Democratic Revolution (2 vols., Princeton, NJ, 1959-64). For the army, S.F. Scott, The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution (Oxford, 1978); J.A. Lynn, The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-4 (Urbana, Ill., 1984); J.P. Bertaud, The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power (Princeton, NJ, 1988); A. Forrest, The Soldiers of the French Revolution (Durham, NC, 1990); and id., Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society during the Revolution and Empire (Oxford, 1989). Two excellent recent works in this area which illuminate far more than the army are H.G. Brown, War, Revolution and the Bureaucratic State: Politics and Army Administration in France, 1791-99 (Oxford, 1995) and K. Alder, Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763-1815 (Princeton, NJ, 1997). On the navy, see W.S. Cormack, Revolution and Political Conflict in the French Navy, 1789-94 (New York, 1995) and N. Hampson, La Marine de l'an II: Mobilisation de la flotte de l'Océan, 1793-4 (Paris, 1959).

10.4 The Great Terror and the Fall of Robespierre R.R. Palmer, Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution (Princeton, NJ, 1941) is still a wonderful read. Biographical treatment of some of the principals is provided by L. Gershoy, Bertrand Barère: A Reluctant Terrorist (Princeton, NJ, 1962); D.P. Jordan, The Revolutionary Career of Maximilien Robespierre (New York, 1985); and N. Hampson, who has authored The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre (London, 1974); Danton (London, 1978); and Saint-Just (Oxford, 1991). See too the collection of essays, C. Haydon & W. Doyle (eds), Robespierre (Cambridge, 1999), and M. Reinhard, Le Grand Carnot (2 vols., Paris, 1952).

For the Terror as theory and practice, see the excellent P. Gueniffey, La Politique de la terreur: Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789-94 (Paris, 2000), plus short treatments by H. Gough, The Terror in the French Revolution (Basingstoke, 1998) and N. Hampson, The Terror in the French Revolution (London, 1981), along with F. Feher, The Frozen Revolution: an Essay on Jacobinism (Cambridge, 1987). For the statistical approach, D. Greer, The Incidence of the Terror in the French Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1935) is unsurpassed. On dechristianisation, M. Vovelle, Religion et Révolution: la

déchristianisation de l'an II (Paris, 1976) provides an overview. For the logic of the Revolutionary Tribunal, see C. Hesse, 'La preuve par la lettre: pratiques juridiques au Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris, 1793-4', Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales 51 (1996).

For the Federalist revolt, see M.H. Crook, 'Federalism and the French Revolution: The Revolt of Toulon in 1793', History, 65 (1980); B. Edmonds, "'Federalism" and urban revolution in France in 1793', JMH, 55 (1983); A. Goodwin, 'The Federalist movement in Caen during the French Revolution', BJRL, 42 (1960); and many of the works noted above [10.3]. Also on the provinces, Lucas, The Structure of the Terror is an exemplary study. Terror sunny side up is served by J.P. Gross, Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice (Cambridge, 1997), which may be supplemented by id., 'Progressive taxation and social justice in eighteenth-century France', P&P, 140 (1993); and by C. Jones, Charity and Bienfaisance. The Treatment of the Poor in the Montpellier Region, 1740-1815 (Cambridge, 1982).

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CHAPTER 11: THE UNSTEADY REPUBLIC (1795-9)

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CONCLUSION: THE BRUMAIRE LEVIATHAN AND LA GRANDE NATION

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