

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## FREE TRADE AND ITS ENEMIES IN FRANCE, 1814–1851

In the aftermath of the French Revolution, advocates of protection against foreign competition prevailed in a fierce controversy over international trade. This ground-breaking study is the first to examine this 'protectionist turn' in full. Faced with a reaffirmation of mercantile jealousy under the Bourbon Restoration, Benjamin Constant, Jean-Baptiste Say and regional publicists advocated the adoption of the liberty of commerce in order to consolidate the new liberal order. But after the Revolution of 1830 a new generation of liberal thinkers endeavoured to reconcile the jealousy of trade with the discourse of commercial society and political liberty. New justifications for protection oscillated between an industrialist reinvention of jealousy and an aspiration to self-sufficiency as a means of attenuating the rise of urban pauperism. A strident denunciation of British power and social imbalances served to defuse the internal tensions of the protectionist discourse and facilitated its dissemination across the French political spectrum.

DAVID TODD is a Lecturer in World History in the History Department at King's College London.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

IDEAS IN CONTEXT

*Edited by* David Armitage, Richard Bourke,  
Jennifer Pitts and John Robertson

The books in this series will discuss the emergence of intellectual traditions and of related new disciplines. The procedures, aims and vocabularies that were generated will be set in the context of the alternatives available within the contemporary frameworks of ideas and institutions. Through detailed studies of the evolution of such traditions, and their modification by different audiences, it is hoped that a new picture will form of the development of ideas in their concrete contexts. By this means, artificial distinctions between the history of philosophy, of the various sciences, of society and politics, and of literature may be seen to dissolve.

The series is published with the support of the Exxon Foundation.

*A list of books in the series will be found at the end of the volume.*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

FREE TRADE AND ITS  
ENEMIES IN FRANCE,  
1814–1851

DAVID TODD

*King's College London*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851  
 David Todd  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**UNIVERSITY PRESS**

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107036932](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107036932)

© David Todd 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

Derives from a book originally published in French as *L'Identité économique de la France: libre-échange et protectionnisme (1814–1851)* by Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle, 2008 © Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle, 2008

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Todd, David, 1978–

[*Identité économique de la France*. English]

Free trade and its enemies in France, 1814–1851 / David Todd, King's College London.  
 pages cm

Translation of the author's *L'Identité économique de la France*.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-03693-2 (hbk.)

1. France—Economic conditions—19th century. 2. France—Commerce—History—19th century. 3. International trade—19th century. I. Title.

HF3556.T6313 2015

382'.71094409034—dc23

2014045609

ISBN 978-1-107-03693-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	page vi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	ix
Introduction	i
1 The reactionary political economy of the Bourbon Restoration	20
2 Economists, winegrowers and the dissemination of commercial liberalism	55
3 Completing the Revolution: political and commercial liberty after 1830	89
4 Inventing economic nationalism	123
5 The contours of the national economy	155
6 The Englishness of free trade and the consolidation of protectionist dominance	190
Conclusion	229
<i>Bibliography</i>	238
<i>Index</i>	267

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## *Acknowledgements*

*Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851* is an extensively revised version of a book published in French, *L'Identité économique de la France, 1814–1851* (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 2008). Most of the material under consideration in the French and English versions is the same. But while the French book was chiefly intended as a contribution to the social history of ideas and *mentalités*, the English version primarily engages with the more vibrant field, in the English-speaking world, of intellectual history. Both versions are equally committed to the promotion of what I believe can be a fruitful dialogue between historians of ideas and economic historians.

I am very grateful to David Armitage for encouraging me to write this English version and for his insightful comments on various aspects of the project. I also wish to thank Elizabeth Friend-Smith for her editorial work at Cambridge University Press, and Christophe Bataille and Patrick Weil, general editor and series editor at Éditions Bernard Grasset, for their support with the completion of the earlier French version.

By far the largest of my intellectual debts goes to Emma Rothschild, who supervised the PhD thesis on which this book is based. Her vision of what intellectual and economic history should seek to achieve has been a constant source of inspiration. Her suggestions and comments have helped to fashion a great many specific aspects as well as the broader thrust of the book.

Several conversations with the late François Crouzet helped to awaken my curiosity in divergent British and French attitudes towards free trade. I am grateful to the examiners of the thesis, Pierre Rosanvallon and Robert Tombs, who made many useful suggestions on the significance of protectionism for nineteenth-century French political culture. The book also owes a great deal to the comments of three anonymous referees, in particular a constructive critic of the relationship between

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgements*

vii

eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French debates about commerce by 'Reader A'.

Additional thanks are due to many members of my family, friends and colleagues, for numerous stimulating discussions and answers to specific queries. A far from exhaustive list includes Sunil Amrith, Christopher Bayly, Fabrice Bensimon, Hélène Blais, Angus Burgin, Edward Castleton, Christophe Charle, Carole Christen, Christopher Clark, Guillaume Daudin, Martin Daunton, Nicolas Delalande, Quentin Deluermoz, Richard Drayton, Michael Drolet, Olivier Dufau, Marcel Gauchet, Perry Gauci, Boyd Hilton, Jean-Pierre Hirsch, Étienne Hofmann, Istvan Hont, Julian Hoppit, Jeff Horn, Antony Howe, Lynn Hunt, Joanna Ines, Maurizio Isabella, François Jarrige, Colin Jones, Shruti Kapila, Laure Kodratoff, Fabien Knittel, Michael Kwass, Michael Ledger-Lomas, Claire Lemerrier, Georges Liébert, Dominique Margairaz, Philippe Minard, Renaud Morieux, William O'Reilly, William Nelson, Gabriel Paquette, Jennifer Pitts, Pedro Ramos Pinto, Paul Readman, Pernille Røge, François-Joseph Ruggiu, Florian Schui, Pierre Singaravélou, John Shovlin, Michael Sonenscher, Gareth Stedman Jones, Frank Trentmann, Nicolas Todd, Richard Tuck, François Vatin and Julien Vincent.

As one of the book's themes is the attention to the material context that permitted the formulation and dissemination of certain ideas, I am very glad to have an opportunity to thank the institutions that provided me with financial support at various stages of the making of this book: the British Council, Trinity College (Cambridge), Trinity Hall, the Centre for History and Economics, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, King's College London and the Philip Leverhulme Trust. I also wish to express my gratitude for the assistance, patience and kindness of the staff of numerous libraries, archives and research centres. Special thanks are due to Martine Hilaire, at the Section du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle of the Archives Nationales, and to Inga Huld Markan, the executive officer at the Centre for History and Economics in Cambridge.

I am grateful to Lord Clarendon and the Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Mulhouse for their permission to cite material from, respectively, the Clarendon Papers at the Bodleian Library (Oxford) and the archives of the Mulhouse Chamber of Commerce at the Centre Rhénan d'Archives et de Recherches Economique (Mulhouse). Parts of Chapters 3 and 4 draw from the first section of my article, 'John Bowring and the Global Dissemination of Free Trade', already published by Cambridge University Press in the *Historical Journal*, 51 (2) (2008): 373–97.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

viii

*Acknowledgements*

Translations of quotations from texts in French are my own, although I have consulted and often followed existing published translations. French words and phrases in quotations from texts in English have not been translated. Unless otherwise stated, emphases in quotations are original.

By communicating his enthusiasm about life and making sure that I could never oversleep in the morning, my two-year-old son, Joseph, has contributed in his own way to the completion of the manuscript, although not as much as his mother, Victoria, to whom this book is dedicated.



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-03693-2 - Free Trade and its Enemies in France, 1814–1851

David Todd

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Abbreviations*

AASMP	Archives de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques
ACCM	Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Mulhouse
ADBR	Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin
ADCO	Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or
ADG	Archives Départementales de la Gironde
ADM	Archives Départementales de la Moselle
ADN	Archives Départementales du Nord
ADTN	Association pour la Défense du Travail National
ALE	Association pour la Liberté des Echanges
AMB	Archives Municipales de Bordeaux
AMM	Archives Municipales de Mulhouse
AN	Archives Nationales
AP	Archives parlementaires
ASIM	Archives de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse
AUP	Auckland Papers
BJL	Brynmores Jones Library, University of Hull
BL	British Library
BMB	Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BODL	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
CERARE	Centre Rhénan d'Archives et de Recherches Economiques
CICE	Comité des Industries Cotonières de l'Est
MS Clar.	Clarendon Papers
NAF	Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises
SR	Stadtarchiv Reutlingen
TNA	The National Archives