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Laurent Bourguin, Philippe Hamon, Alain Hugon, and Yann Lagadec, eds., *La Politique par les armes: Conflits internationaux et politisation (XVe-XIXe siècle)*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014. 326pp. Notes. 20 € (cl). ISBN 978-2-7535-2877-2.

Review by Linda Frey, University of Montana, and Marsha Frey, Kansas State University.

This collection demonstrates that from the Middle Ages through the nineteenth century, the state “was born from war and built by war” (p.315). The term “international conflicts” applies not only to wars between states, but also to conflicts within states. A distinguished roster of historians from France and Spain presented these papers at a colloquium held at Rennes in November 2010. Although the papers fall into three themes: “la politisation du conflit, la politisation par le conflit, la politisation pour le conflit” (p. 19), they all illustrate the centrality of war in the development of the state and of the relations between governor and governed (p. 321).

In Part I, “Conflits et construction de l’État,” Gérard Poumarède analyzes the interactions of the Venetian patriciate with the Turks in the sixteenth century. This nuanced discussion analyzes the simultaneous and seemingly contradictory negotiations conducted by the Council of Ten and the Senate to defend the commercial and strategic interests of the Republic. The primary sources document the divergent approaches, dissimulation, and differing strategies of the two bodies. While the Senate advocated war, the Ten moved toward an accommodation. The parallel negotiations illustrated the pragmatism and cynicism of the Venetians who nonetheless pursued two facets of one policy, but with significant costs. International relations are also examined by Manuel Herrero Sánchez in his essay on the relations of the Spanish monarchy with two republics, Genoa and the United Provinces. The sources highlight the role of elites in Genoa, who decided to move toward neutrality and limit their dependence on Spain. The ensuing deterioration of relations with Spain threatened internal stability (p. 51), but it was the threat of France that tightened a community of interests that bound not just Genoa but also the United Provinces to Spain (p. 59).

Rachel Renault examines another aspect of war, the impact of fiscal exactions in Schönburg, a small territory in the Holy Roman Empire, and sets the question within the larger historiographical context. The subjects who mobilized to contest the taxes levied because of the wars turned to Saxon and imperial tribunals for redress. Those complaints and the reaction of the local lords enable her to examine the juridical relationships within the empire and the nature of sovereignty. War also influenced the representation of hereditary enemies. Martin Wrede analyzes the image of the Ottomans and the French in German lands from the 1648 to 1748. The mission to repulse the Turks illustrated the shift from an eschatological to a political (and simultaneously secularized) focus (p. 79). The image of Louis XIV as second Turk, the Turk in the West, also shifted as “the representation of the hereditary enemy was secularized, nationalized then politicized (p. 90).” Ultimately, this struggle against both the Ottomans and France contributed to the formation of the identity of the Holy Roman Empire.

In Part II, “Mobilisations et résistances,” Olivier Chaline presents a sophisticated analysis of the political and religious aspects of the Bohemian revolt of 1618-1621. Hervé Drévilion sets the debate about total vs. limited war in a larger historiographical context with particular reference to the work of David Bell.[1] He points out among other salient facts that the *levée en masse* mobilized about 2.4

percent of the population, but that Louis XIV had mobilized 2.1 percent (p. 110). He rejects the idea that Guibert's *Essai général de tactique* prefigured total war (p. 121). His analysis is enlivened by a discussion of other theorists such as Jomini and Clausewitz. That theme is closely linked to one developed by Jean-Yves Guiomar, who continues some of the questions raised in his 2004 work, *L'Invention de la guerre totale*.^[2] He wittily dissects some of the legends of the Revolution and asks if "a people of war had displaced a king of war?" (p.136). Gérard Le Bouëdec and Christophe Cérino shift the focus to French maritime power through the lens of the littorals in the West, emphasizing the construction of defensive arsenals in Brest, Lorient, and Saint-Malo as projections of royal power. They underscore the "militarization of the populations and the mobilisation of men" (p. 142) along with the resistance of the *seigneuries* and the defense of fishing and customary rights as well as the importance of jurisdictional and fiscal questions from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

All the essays in Part III, "Occupations et politisation," concentrate on popular uprisings and public order. One of these, on the Hundred Years' War by Valérie Toureille, examines the question of pillage, specifically *écorcheurs* from 1435 to 1445. Jean-Marc Lafon looks at the resistance in Spain to the French invasion of 1808-1814. The struggle against the French harnessed a traditional francophobia and a deeply rooted religious tradition. Nicolas Cadet turns to the popular uprisings from 1799 to 1806 in Naples, sets them within the larger historiographic debate, and examines the roles of lay and ecclesiastical elites.

In Part IV, "De nouveaux espaces publics," Jean-Marie Le Gall discusses the historiographical debate surrounding the 1525 battle of Pavia, particularly its aftermath with the capture of the French king. In this crisis born of defeat, the authorities maintained royal authority. He interprets the publication of the news of the king's captivity just as Edmond Dziembowski examines propaganda during the Seven Years' War and the War for American Independence. The author builds on his earlier work on Nicolas Moreau and on Edme-Jacques Genet, who played crucial roles in the ministry's attempts to defend the policy of Versailles.^[3] Both of these individuals grappled with the issue of raising the issue of natural liberty, a potentially subversive question. Sylvane Llinares analyzes this same period by studying the *Journal de Marine* from 1776 to 1783.

The focus shifts with David González-Cruz, who discusses the Spanish policy toward enemy residents when a war breaks out. He notes that, despite the provision in the *pacte de famille* that Spanish and French subjects were exempt from the legal restrictions imposed on foreigners, restrictions on subjects of enemy powers lingered. An imaginative use of sources enables him to tell an intriguing tale. In response to concerns about espionage, local authorities moved foreigners including women and children away from urban coastal areas to the interior. After the execution of Louis XVI, the Spanish authorities tried to limit the "revolutionary contagion" (p. 294). Renaud Morieux addresses another aspect of international law, that of prisoners of war in Great Britain and in France during the French Revolution and the empire with a particular emphasis on the invocation of enlightenment ideals. Interestingly, Great Britain detained five times more prisoners than France (p. 304) during the French revolutionary wars, approximately 70,000. Complaints about the English treatment of French prisoners surfaced in *Le Moniteur* and in letters of the captives read aloud in the assembly. Accusations of mistreatment of French prisoners in Liverpool in 1798 triggered a debate in the English press and an inquiry initiated by Parliament. Like the other chapters, this piece serves as an appetizer and entices the reader to consult both past and future works by these historians.

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NOTES

[1] David A. Bell, *The First Total War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007).

[2] Jean-Yves Guioamar, *L'Invention de la guerre totale, XVIIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Félin, 2004).

[3] Edmond Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme français, 1750-1770 : la France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998).

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