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Economics 303Y1

The Economic History of Modern Europe to 1914

Topic No. 7 [16]: **Entrepreneurship in European Industrialization during the 19th Century: France and/or Germany, c. 1850 - 1914**

Readings on the economic development of modern Europe to 1914, in general, will be found below, in section III, after the readings on Germany.

READINGS: ** or *: Readings of primary importance.

I. FRANCE: From the French Revolution to World War I (1789 -1914)

A. FRANCE: General Studies in Modern Economic History: 18th and 19th centuries

1. John Clapham, Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914 (London, 1921; reissued Cambridge, 1963).
2. Guy Palmade, Capitalisme et capitalistes français au XIXe siècle (Paris: Armand Colin, 1961); translated by Graeme Holmes and republished as French Capitalism in the Nineteenth Century (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972).
3. Rondo Cameron, France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914 (Princeton, 1961).
4. Jean Marczewski, 'Some Aspects of the Economic Growth of France, 1660-1958', Economic Development and Cultural Change, 9 (1961).
5. Jean Marczewski, 'The Take-Off Hypothesis and French Experience', in W.W. Rostow, ed., The Economics of Take-Off into Sustained Growth (London, 1963).
6. Charles Kindleberger, Economic Growth in France and Britain, 1851-1950 (Cambridge, Mass. 1964).
7. Rondo Cameron, ed., Essays in French Economic History (New York, 1970).
- * 8. Tom Kemp, Economic Forces in French History: An Essay on the Development of the French Economy, 1760-1914 (London, 1971).

- * 9. Alan Milward and S.B. Saul, Economic Development of Continental Europe, 1780-1870 (London, 1973), chapters 2, 4, 5.
- ** 10. Roger Price, The Economic Modernization of France (London, 1975). Reissued as An Economic History of Modern France, 1730-1914 (London, 1980).
11. Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse, ed., Histoire économique et sociale de la France, Vol. II: 1660-1789; and Vol. III: 1789-1880 (Paris, 1976).
- * 12. Alan Milward and S.B. Saul, Development of the Economics of Continental Europe, 1850-1914 (London, 1977), chapter 2, pp. 71-141.
- * 13. Patrick O'Brien and Caglar Keyder, Economic Growth in Britain and France, 1780-1914: Two Paths to the Twentieth Century (London, 1978).
14. François Caron, An Economic History of Modern France (1979).
- ** 15. Clive Trebilcock, The Industrialization of the Continental Powers, 1780-1914 (London and New York, 1981), chapter Three, 'France', pp. 112-204.
16. Jean-Charles Asselain, Histoire économique de la France, 2 vols. (Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1984).
17. François Crouzet, De la supériorité de l'Angleterre sur la France: l'économique et l'imaginaire, XVIIe - XXe siècle (Paris, 1985). Reissued in revised form and in English translation as Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in British and Franco-British Economic History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- * 18. Robert Aldrich, 'Late-Comer or Early-Starter? New Views on French Economic History', Journal of European Economic History, 16 (Spring 1987), 89 - 100.
19. François Crouzet, Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in British and Franco-British Economic History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. A revised version and translation of his De la supériorité de l'Angleterre sur la France: l'économique et l'imaginaire, XVIIe - XXe siècle (Paris, 1985).
20. Rick Szostak, The Role of Transportation in the Industrial Revolution: A Comparison of England and France (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
21. Raymond A. Jonas, 'Peasants, Population, and Industry in France', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 22 (Autumn 1991), 177-200.
22. Colin Heywood, The Development of the French Economy, 1750 - 1914 (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992).
23. Bernard Lepetit, The Pre-Industrial Urban System: France, 1740 - 1840, trans. Godfrey Rogers (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

24. Jean-Marc Morineau, Les fermiers de l'Île de France: L'ascension d'un patronat agricole (XVe-XVIIIe siècles) (Paris: Fayard, 1994).
25. Gérard Béaur, L'immobilier et la Revolution: Marché de la pierre et mutations urbaines, 1770 - 1810, Cahiers des Annales no. 44 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1994).
26. Philippe Fontaine, 'The French Economists and Politics, 1750 - 1850: the Science and Art of Political Economy', Canadian Journal of Economics, 29:2 (May 1996), 379-93.
27. Philip Hoffman, Growth in a Traditional Society: The French Countryside, 1450 - 1815 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
28. François Crouzet, Britain, France, and International Commerce: Louis XIV to Victoria, Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS542 (London and Brookfield, 1996).
- * 29. Patrick K. O'Brien, 'Path Dependency: Or Why Britain Became an Industrialized and Urbanized Economy Long Before France', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 49:2 (May 1996), 213-49.
30. Jean-Pierre Dormais, L'économie française face à la concurrence britannique à la vieille de 1914 (Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1997).
- * 31. George Grantham, 'The French Cliometric Revolution: A Survey of Cliometric Contributions to French Economic History', European Review of Economic History, 1:3 (December 1997), 353-405.
32. Emma Rothschild, 'An Alarming Commercial Crisis in Eighteenth-Century Angoulême: Sentiments in Economic History', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 51:2 (May 1998), 268-93.
33. Judith Miller, Mastering the Market: The State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700 - 1860 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
34. Robert Fox and Anthony Turner, eds., Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris, Variorum Publications (London and Brookfield, 1998).
35. John Harris, Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer: Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century, Variorum Publications (London and Brookfield, 1998).
36. Michael Kwass, Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Egalité, Fiscalité (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
37. Christian Morrisson and Wayne Snyder, 'The Income Inequality of France in Historical Perspective', European Review of Economic History, 4:1 (April 2000), 59-84.
38. Daniel Roche, A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600 - 1800 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

39. Carol Blum, Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).
40. Andrea Rusnock, Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
41. Mark Potter, Corps and Clienteles: Public Finance and Political Change in France, 1688 - 1715 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
42. David Stasavage, Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great Britain, 1688 - 1789 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
43. Eugene N. White, 'From Privatized to Government-Administered Tax Collection: Tax Farming in Eighteenth-Century France', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 57:4 (November 2004), 636-63.
44. Guillaume Daudin, 'Profitability of Slave and Long-Distance Trading in Context: The Case of Eighteenth-Century France', Journal of Economic History, 64:1 (March 2004), 144-71.
45. Noel D. Johnson, 'Banking on the King: The Evolution of the Royal Revenue Farms in Old Regime France', Journal of Economic History, 66:4 (Dec. 2006), 963-991.
46. Wayne Snyder, 'Occupational Evolution in XVIIIth and XIXth-Century France', The Journal of European Economic History, 35:3 (Winter 2006), 585-614.
- * 47. Jeff Horn, The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750 - 1830 (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2006).
48. William Beik, 'The Violence of the French Crowd from Charivari to Revolution', Past & Present, no. 197 (November 2007), pp. 75-110.
49. Michael Sonenscher, Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
50. Amalia D. Kessler, A Revolution in Commerce: the Parisian Merchant Court and the Rise of Commercial Society in Eighteenth-Century France (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).
51. John Vincent Nye, War, Wine, and Taxes: the Political Economy of Anglo-French Trade, 1689 - 1900 (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
52. Gabriel Galvez-Behar, La République des inventeurs: propriété et organisation de l'innovation en France, 1791- 1922 (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008).

52. Michael P. Fitzsimmons, From Artisan to Worker: Guilds, the French State, and the Organization of Labor, 1776 - 1821 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
53. Guillaume Daudin, 'Domestic Trade and Market Size in Late-Eighteenth-Century France', Journal of Economic History, 70:3 (September 2010), 716-43.

B. General Studies in the Economic History of 19th-Century France:

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- ** 3. John H. Clapham, Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914 (1921; reissued Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 1-6, 6-10, 53-5, 232-35, in particular. A classic study.
4. Shephard B. Clough, France: A History of National Economics, 1789 - 1939 (New York, 1939).
5. Shephard Clough, 'Retarditive Factors in French Economic Development in the 19th and 20th Centuries', Journal of Economic History, Supplement, 6 (1946).
6. G. Duveau, La vie ouvrière en France sous le Second Empire (Paris, 1946).
7. Val R. Lorwin, The French Labor Movement (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).
8. A. Dunham, The Industrial Revolution in France, 1814-1848 (New York, 1955).
9. Rondo Cameron, 'Profit, croissance et stagnation en France au XIXe siècle', Economie appliquée, 10 (1957), 409-44.
- ** 10. Rondo Cameron, 'Economic Growth and Stagnation in France, 1815-1914', Journal of Modern History, 30 (March 1958), 1-13. Reprinted (with some omissions) in both:
 - (a) Barry Supple, ed., The Experience of Economic Growth (1963), pp. 328-39;
 - (b) Sima Lieberman, ed., Europe and the Industrial Revolution (1972), pp. 429-46.
11. L. Chevalier, Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuse à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle (Paris, 1958). Translated and republished as Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes (London, 1973).
12. William N. Parker, 'National States and National Development: A Comparison of Elements

- in French and German Development in the Late Nineteenth Century', in Hugh G. Aitken, ed., The State and Economic Growth (New York, 1959).
13. Guy Palmade, Capitalisme et capitalistes français au XIXe siècle (Paris: Armand Colin, 1961); translated by Graeme Holmes and republished as French Capitalism in the Nineteenth Century (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972).
 14. Rondo Cameron, France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914 (Princeton, 1961).
 - * 15. Claude Fohlen, 'La rivoluzione industriale in Francia', Studi storici, 2 (1961), 517-47. Revised and republished in translation as 'The Industrial Revolution in France', in Rondo Cameron, ed., Essays in French Economic History (Homewood, Ill., 1970), pp. 201-25.
 16. Jean Marczewski, 'Some Aspects of the Economic Growth of France, 1660-1958', Economic Development and Cultural Change, 9 (1961).
 17. Tom Kemp, 'Structural Factors in the Retardation of French Economic Growth', Kyklos, 15 (1962).
 18. Jean Marczewski, 'The Take-Off Hypothesis and French Experience', in W.W. Rostow, ed., The Economics of Take-Off into Sustained Growth (London, 1963).
 19. Norman Hampson, A Social History of the French Revolution (London, 1963).
 - * 20. Charles Kindleberger, Economic Growth in France and Britain, 1851-1950 (Cambridge, Mass. 1964). See below, for specific chapters on agriculture, entrepreneurship, industry.
 21. Georges Dupeux, La société française (1789 - 1960) (Paris: Armand Colin, 1964; new edn. 1972).
 22. Jean Marczewski, 'Le produit physique de l'économie française de 1789 à 1913', Cahiers de l'ISEA, ser. AF 4, no. 163 (July 1965).
 23. T.J. Markovitch, 'L'industrie française de 1789 à 1964: conclusions générales', Cahiers de l'ISEA, ser. AF 6, no. 174 (June 1966) and ser. AF 7, no. 179 (Nov. 1966).
 24. Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, 'La croissance économique en France au XIXe siècle: résultats préliminaires', Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 23 (1968).
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 - * 27. Tom Kemp, Industrialization in Nineteenth-Century Europe (1969), chapter 3: 'French

Economic Development - A Paradox?' pp. 52-80.

28. M. Blanchard, 'The Railway Policy of the Second Empire', in François Crouzet, W.H. Chaloner, and W.H. Stern, eds., Essays in European Economic History, 1789 - 1914 (London, 1969): translated from 'La politique de chemin des fers de la Second Empire', Annales: E.S.C. 6 (1934). [? - source uncertain]
29. François Crouzet, 'Essai de construction d'un indice annuel de la production industrielle française au XIXe siècle', Annales: E.S.C., 25 (Jan.-Feb. 1970), 56-99: reprinted in translation as 'An Annual Index of French Industrial Production in the 19th Century', in Rondo Cameron, ed., Essays in French Economic History, (1970), pp. 245-78.
30. A. Armengaud and P. Léon, et al., Industrialisation et démographie dans la France au 19e siècle (Paris, 1970).
- * 31. Rondo Cameron, ed., Essays in French Economic History (Homewood, Illinois, 1970):
 - (a) Claude Fohlen, 'The Industrial Revolution in France', pp. 201-25. [Reprinted in translation from 'La rivoluzione industriale in Francia', Studi storici, 2 (1961), 517-47, with revisions.]
 - (b) T.J. Markowitch, 'The Dominant Sectors of French Industry', pp. 226-44. [Reprinted in translation from 'Les secteurs dominants de l'industrie française', Analyse et prevision, 1 (1966), 161-75.]
 - (c) François Crouzet, 'An Annual Index of French Industrial Production in the 19th Century', pp. 245-78. [Reprinted in translation from 'Essai de construction d'un indice annuel de la production industrielle française au XIXe siècle', Annales: E.S.C., 25 (Jan.-Feb. 1970), 56-99.]
 - (d) Marcel Rist, 'A French Experiment with Free Trade: The Treaty of 1860', pp. 286-314. [Reprinted in translation from 'Une expérience française de libération des échanges au dix-neuvième siècle: le traité de 1860', Revue d'économie politique, 66 (1956), 908-61.]
 - (e) François Caron, 'French Railroad Investment, 1850-1914', pp. 315-40. [Reprinted in translation from 'Les commandes des compagnies de chemin de fer en France, 1850 - 1914', Revue d'histoire de la sidérurgie, 6 (1965), 137-76.]
 - (f) Jean Bouvier, 'The Banking Mechanism in France in the Late 19th Century', pp. 341-69. [Reprinted in translation from 'Recherches sur l'histoire des mécanismes bancaires en France dans le dernier tiers du XIXe siècle: sources et problèmes', Bulletin du centre de recherches sur l'histoire des entreprises, 4 (Dec. 1955), 1-38 (mimeo); reprinted in Jean Bouvier, Histoire économique et histoire sociale: recherches sur le capitalisme contemporain (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1968), pp. 93-133, of which Parts II and III (pp. 106-133) are given here in translation.

32. Tom Kemp, Economic Forces in French History: An Essay on the Development of the French Economy, 1760-1914 (1971), chapters 1-5.
33. Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, 'La décelération de l'économie française dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle', Revue d'histoire économique et sociale, 49 (1971), 485-507.
34. François Crouzet, 'Western Europe and Great Britain: Catching Up in the First Half of the 19th Century', in A.J. Youngson, ed., Economic Development in the Long Run (London, 1972).
35. François Crouzet, 'Encore la croissance économique française au 19e siècle', Revue du Nord, 54 (1972).
36. Shephard B. Clough, 'Retarditive Factors in French Economic growth at the End of the Ancien Régime and during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Periods', in M. Kooley, ed., Studies in Economics and Economic History: Essays in Honor of Harold F. Williamson (Durham, N.C., 1972).
37. Y. Gonjo, 'Le 'plan Freycinet', 1878-1882: un aspect de la 'grande dépression' économique de la France', Revue historique, 268 (Jan-Mars 1972).
38. Peter Coffey, The Social Economy of France (London, 1973).
- * 39. Alan Milward and S.B. Saul, Economic Development of Continental Europe, 1780-1870 (London, 1973), chapter 1, pp. 46-52; chapter 2, pp. 127-30; 137-41; chapter 4, pp. 248-67; chapter 5, pp. 351-64.
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- ** 41. François Crouzet, 'French Economic Growth in the Nineteenth Century Reconsidered', History, new ser. 59 (1974), 167-79.
42. Charles Tilly and Edward Shorter, Strikes in France, 1830 - 1968 (Cambridge, 1974).
43. T.J. Markovitch, 'La Revolution industrielle: le cas de la France', Revue d'histoire économique et sociale, 52 (1974), 115-25.
44. Michelle Perrot, Les ouvriers en grève: France, 1871 - 1900 (Paris, 1974).
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- * 52. Peter Mathias and M.M. Postan, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour, and Enterprise, Part i: Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia (Cambridge University Press, 1978):
- (a) Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, 'Capital Investment and Economic Growth in France, 1820 - 1930', pp. 231 - 295.
- (b) Yves Lequin, 'Labour in the French Economy Since the Revolution', pp. 296 - 346 (to p. 318, up to 1914).
- (c) Claude Fohlen, 'Entrepreneurship and Management in France in the Nineteenth Century', pp. 347 - 381.
- * 53. Patrick O'Brien and Caglar Keyder, Economic Growth in Britain and France, 1780-1914: Two Paths to the Twentieth Century (London, 1978). Also see below under agriculture, industry.
- * 54. D.R. Lect and J.A. Shaw, 'French Economic Stagnation, 1700-1960: Old Economic History Revisited', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 8 (1978), 531-41.
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- ** 66. N.F.R. Crafts, 'Economic Growth in France and Britain, 1830-1910: A Review of the Evidence', Journal of Economic History, 44 (March 1984), 49-68.
- * 67. David R. Weir, 'Life Under Pressure: France and England, 1670- 1870', Journal of Economic History, 44 (March 1984), 27-48.
- * 68. Roger Price, 'Recent Work on the Economic History of Nineteenth-Century France', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 37 (August 1984), 417-34.
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- * 75. Rondo Cameron, 'Was England Really Superior to France?' Journal of Economic History, 46 (Dec. 1986), 1031-39.
- ** 76. Robert Aldrich, 'Late-Comer or Early-Starter? New Views on French Economic History,' Journal of European Economic History, 16 (Spring 1987), 89 - 100.
- * 77. Roger Price, A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France, 1815 -1914 (London: Hutchison, 1987).
- * 78. Jean Marczewski, 'Economic Fluctuations in France, 1815 - 1938,' Journal of European Economic History, 17 (Fall 1988), 259-66.
79. C. Nardinelli, 'Productivity in XIXth Century France and Britain: A Note on the Comparisons,' Journal of European Economic History, 17 (Fall 1988), 427-34.
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- (a) Paul Bairoch, 'European Trade Policy, 1815 - 1914,' pp. 1 - 160.
 - (b) A. G. Ford, 'International Financial Policy and the Gold Standard, 1870 - 1914,' pp. 197 - 249.
 - (c) D. E. Schremmer, 'Taxation and Public Finance: Britain, France, and Germany,' pp. 315 - 494.
 - (d) G. V. Rimlinger, 'Labour and the State on the Continent, 1800 - 1939,' pp. 549 - 606.
 - (e) Tom Kemp, 'Economic and Social Policy in France,' pp. 691 - 751.
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90. Rick Szostak, The Role of Transportation in the Industrial Revolution: A Comparison of England and France (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
91. Michael Hanagan, Nascent Proletarians: Class Formation in Post-Revolutionary France (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1991).
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III. GENERAL READINGS: for the European Continent

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Vol. I: 1700 - 1870

Vol. II: 1870 to the Present

Note: this set of historical studies is organized not by the nation state (as is my course), but

by general topics and the chief economic sectors of the European economy (including Great Britain). Germany is thus discussed in most of these chapters. The second volume obviously continues for almost a century after World War I, the terminal date for this course; but Part I of Volume II does cover the very relevant period 1870 to 1914 (pp. 1-129.)

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

A. FRANCE:

1. Discuss David Landes' thesis that the *family*, in agriculture, trade, and especially in industry--as both an economic and social unit--acted as a significant barrier to French economic growth and industrialization in the 19th century. How effectively has his thesis been challenged by Claude Fohlen, and others?
2. Does the Landes thesis pertain only to France? How typical was the family firm as a business unit in Britain and Germany, and elsewhere in Europe in the 19th century? Was the family firm a negative, positive, or neutral feature of industrialization elsewhere in Europe (i.e. other than France)?
3. Discuss and debate some of the other current theses about the nature of French economic growth in the later 18th and 19th centuries:
 - a) Rondo Cameron's thesis about the relationships between/among the Revolutionary Land Reforms, peasant farming after the Revolution, slow population growth, and economic stagnation (rural and urban). What is the evidence for his thesis, particularly for demographic stagnation and labour scarcity?
 - b) The Roehl thesis on French industrialization: in using Gerschenkron's categories of 'backwardness' -- in reverse form --to interpret French industrialization in the 19th century.
 - c) Crouzet's 'revisionist' theses on French economic growth in the 19th century.
 - d) Craft's 'Review of the Evidence' in discussing these debates and economic issues concerning the 19th century French economy.
4. How did the rate of economic growth and industrialization in France compare with such growth rates in Britain and Germany in the 19th century? If the French rates were slower, what explanations may be offered?
5. Discuss the various impediments to French economic growth, or to growth in various regions of France, during the 18th and 19th centuries in terms of the following:
 - a) the institutional heritage of the past: feudalism and manorialism;
 - b) the structure of agriculture, in both southern and northern France;
 - c) the location of natural resources in relation to transportation facilities and major ports and markets;
 - d) demographic trends and population structures in rural and urban areas;
 - e) political institutions of the Ancien Régime, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Periods; and in the post 1815 period.
 - f) government economic policies, before and after 1789: agriculture and land reform; commercial, monetary, and fiscal policies;
 - g) educational institutions and structures;

- h) commercial and financial institutions: business organization and business attitudes; the scale of enterprise;
 - i) social structures and social attitudes: towards business, commerce and finance, industry, labour, etc.: before and after 1789.
6. Is it legitimate to consider problems of French economic growth in the 18th and 19th centuries as though France had been a fully integrated and homogenous national economic entity? Is it justifiable to make national economic comparisons between and among France, Great Britain, Germany, and Russia -- particularly in terms of 'national growth rates?' Or should we more properly make comparisons in terms of regional economies within all these countries? In the case of France, should we examine the question of industrialization in terms of the different experiences for such regions as North-West France (Lille and the Pas de Calais), Alsace-Lorraine, Normandy, etc.? If we are examining industrialization in terms of iron, coal, and steel, should we make comparisons between the British Midlands, France's Lille region, Alsace-Lorraine, southern Belgium, the Rhineland and Saar regions, and the Donbas region of Russia?
 7. Under what other circumstances may national economic comparisons be more valid?
 8. Discuss the role of the state and government economic policies in French industrialization from ca. 1830 to 1914.
 9. Did any region of France undergo an industrial 'revolution' before 1914?

B. GERMANY:

1. From the previous topic on France, apply the Landes thesis on business organization and entrepreneurship to Germany in the 19th and early 20th centuries. How typical was the family firm as a business unit in Germany, and elsewhere in Europe in the 19th century? Was the family firm a negative, positive, or neutral feature of industrialization in Germany?
2. Discuss the complementary thesis by David Landes: that, in the period 1870 - 1914, Germany's industrial development and the performance of her industrial economy outpaced the British, in many crucial areas, because of more aggressive entrepreneurship, much more technological innovation, a much closer connection between science education and industry (with far more emphasis on science in German education), and much larger scale, more highly mechanized forms of production than were to be found in Britain.
3. Did Germany in fact surpass Great Britain (and France) in all aspects of industrialization in the period 1870-1914? In particular, how did Germany acquire industrial leadership in steel, chemical, and electrical industries? In what areas of the industrial economy did Great Britain retain leadership and international economic hegemony, up to World War I?
4. In more general terms, compare the strengths and weaknesses of business organization and industrial entrepreneurship to be found in Germany, France, and Great Britain during the 19th century (1815 - 1914).
5. Analyze the chief barriers to entrepreneurship, private enterprise, and industrialization in 19th

century Germany in terms of the following:

- (a) the heritage of the medieval and recent past, in particular: the institutional barriers of feudalism-manorialism and serfdom, and also of craft guilds.
 - (b) agriculture: the economic and social organization of peasant society.
 - (c) the location of natural resources in relation to transport facilities, to major industrial towns, ports, etc.
 - (d) the nature of transportation facilities: land and water.
 - (e) population trends, demographic structures, and distributions.
 - (f) political institutions in general as legal and social barriers.
 - (g) government economic policies: tariffs, trade, fiscal, monetary.
 - (h) educational facilities: relationships between science and education and between education and industry.
 - (i) social and class structures: in terms of income and wealth distributions; social attitudes towards savings, investment, and profit seeking; attitudes towards commerce, industry, labour.
 - (j) the nature of the labour supply, its mobility, skills, attitude towards work and factory discipline; organization in guilds or unions.
 - (k) the structure of the market: political, social, economic factors.
 - (l) financial and banking institutions, company institutions; the legal and social impediments to business enterprise.
 - (m) warfare and the preparation for war.
6. Consider the Roehl thesis (from the previous topic on France) for both Germany and France: i.e. apply Gerschenkron's model of 'economic backwardness' to both France and Germany in the 19th century: compare and contrast, for the two countries, and for their major regions.
 7. Particularly in the light of such barriers, analyze the role of the state in the economic development of Germany in the 19th and early 20th centuries. To what extent did the state function as an 'entrepreneur' in the absence of willing initiative by private enterprise; to what extent was entrepreneurial activity by private enterprise conditional upon state support or state intervention in 19th-century Germany?
 8. Compare and contrast the role of railroads and steam shipping in the economic development of Germany, 1850-1914: and analyze the role of both state and private enterprise in those transportation industries.

9. Discuss and analyze the role of financial institutions, domestic and foreign, and of foreign investment in the economic development of Germany, 1870-1914; and compare that role of financial institutions and foreign investment in the economic development of France from 1860 to 1914.

Table 1. CAPITAL INVESTMENTS, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, IN THE BRITISH ECONOMY, 1870-4 TO 1910-14

**Net Domestic Capital Formation and Net Foreign Investments,
in Millions of Pounds Sterling, Current Values,
and as Percentages of Net National Product:**

Quinquennial Means, 1870 - 1914

Period	Net National Product in Millions £	Net Domestic Capital Formation in Millions £	N.D.C.F. as % of NNP	Net Foreign Invest- ment in Millions £	N.F.I. as % of NNP	Total Investment as % of NNP
1870-4	1,020.6	26.6	2.6%	78.4	7.7%	10.3%
1875-9	1,036.8	48.6	4.7%	30.4	2.9%	7.6%
1880-4	1,080.8	32.4	3.0%	54.6	5.1%	8.0%
1885-9	1,153.4	14.2	1.2%	80.4	7.0%	8.2%
1890-4	1,307.4	29.0	2.2%	69.8	5.3%	7.5%
1895-9	1,503.8	66.8	4.4%	44.4	3.0%	7.4%
1900-4	1,671.6	109.2	6.5%	34.4	2.1%	8.6%
1905-9	1,833.0	57.4	3.1%	132.6	7.2%	10.4%
1910-4	2,107.4	36.0	1.7%	190.0	9.0%	10.7%

Source: Charles H. Feinstein, *Statistical Tables of National Income, Expenditure and Output of the U.K., 1855-1965* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. T-4, 5, T-37, 38; T-106, 107.

Table 2. NET CAPITAL FORMATION (DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN) AS A PERCENTAGE OF NET NATIONAL PRODUCT IN GERMANY AND THE U.K.: 1860-1910

Decade	Germany (Mitchell 1975)	U.K. (Kuznets 1961)	U.K. (Feinstein 1976)
1860-9	11.9%	10.0%	-
1870-9	12.1%	11.8%	8.9%
1880-9	11.1%	10.9%	8.1%
1890-9	13.6%	10.1%	7.5%
1900-9	14.4%	11.7%	9.5%

Table 3.

UNITED KINGDOM

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES (% per annum)

Period	Manufacturing & Mining	Gross Domestic Product (1907 Prices)
1853-1873	2.7%	1.95%
1873-1883	2.2%	1.90%
1883-1899	2.1%	1.85%
1899-1913	2.0%	1.70%

Source:W.A. Lewis, *Growth and Fluctuations, 1870-1913* (London, 1978).

**Table 4. AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES OF REAL GROWTH
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1855 - 1913**

Period	No. Years	Total Real Industrial Output (at constant prices)	Gross Domestic Product at Constant Factor Prices (from output data)
1855-69	15	2.08%	1.63%
1870-84	15	2.04%	1.71%
1885-99	15	2.91%	2.14%
1900-13	14	1.60%	1.64%
1855-1913	59	2.29%	1.87%
1870-1913	44	2.09%	1.82%

Source: Charles Feinstein, *Statistical Tables of National Income, Expenditure, and Output of the United Kingdom, 1855-1965* (1976)

Table 5. AGGREGATE AND PER CAPITA INDICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (UNITED KINGDOM IN 1900 = 100), AND PERCENTAGE SHARES OF WORLD INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, FOR VARIOUS COUNTRIES: IN 1860 AND 1913

Country	Total Industrial Output		Per Capita Industrial Output		Percentage Shares of World Industrial Production	
	1860 Index	1913 Index	1860 Index	1913 Index	1860 %	1913 %
With 1913 Frontiers						
United Kingdom*	45	127	64	115	20%	14%
Germany	11	138	15	85	5%	15%
France	18	57	20	59	8%	6%
Russia	16	77	8	20	7%	8%
ALL EUROPE	120	528	17	45	53%	57%
United States	16	298	21	126	7%	32%
Canada	1	9	7	46	--	1%

Source: Paul Bairoch, 'International Industrialization Levels from 1760 to 1980', *Journal of European Economic History*, 11 (Fall 1982), 269-333, tables 4 - 13.

* The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: the values for its aggregate and per capita industrial outputs for 1900 are taken as the base 100 for all the indices in columns 1 to 4. Note that columns 5 and 6 are percentages of total world industrial output.

Table 6. INDICES OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT*: IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES IN QUINQUENNIAL MEANS, 1860-4 TO 1910-13

MEAN OF 1870-4 = 100

Period	United Kingdom	France	Germany	United States
1860-64	72.6			
1865-69	82.8	95.8	72.6	75.5
1870-74	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1875-79	105.5	109.5	120.8	111.4
1880-84	123.4	126.6	160.6	170.4
1885-89	129.5	130.3	194.9	214.9
1890-94	144.2	151.5	240.6	266.4
1895-99	167.4	167.8	306.4	314.2
1900-04	181.1	176.1	354.3	445.7
1905-09	201.1	206.2	437.4	570.0
1910-13	219.5	250.2	539.5	674.9

* Excluding construction, but including building materials.

Source: W. Arthur Lewis, *Growth and Fluctuations, 1870 - 1913* (London, 1978), pp. 248-50, 269, 271, 273.

Table 7. REAL GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT PER WORKER

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1856 - 1913

Average Annual Percentage Rates of Growth

Period	Income	Expenditure	Output
1856 - 73	1.32	1.38	1.12
1873 - 82	0.90	1.03	1.20
1882 - 99	1.49	1.27	0.85
1899 -1913	0.09	0.33	0.72
.....			
1856 - 1882	1.18	1.26	1.15
1882 - 1913	0.86	0.84	0.79
.....			
1856 - 1913	1.01	1.03	0.95
.....			

Source: Charles Feinstein, 'What Really Happened to Real Wages: Trends in Wages, Prices, and Productivity in the United Kingdom, 1880 - 1913', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 43 (August 1990).

Table 8. PER CAPITA PRODUCT IN SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1850 - 1910:
Measured in Constant 1970 U.S. Dollars

COUNTRY	1850	1870	1890	1910	Percentage Total Growth 1850-1910
BRITAIN	660	904	1,130	1,302	197%
FRANCE	432	567	668	883	204%
GERMANY	418	579	729	958	229%
BELGIUM	534	738	932	1,110	208%
NETHERLANDS	481	591	768	952	198%

Source: Nicholas Crafts, 'Gross National Product in Europe, 1870 - 1910: Some New Estimates', *Explorations in Economic History*, 20 (October 1983), 387-401.

**Table 9: Railway Tracks Open at Decennial Intervals, 1840 - 1914 in kilometres:
Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, and Russia***

Year	Britain	Belgium	FRANCE	Germany	Russia
1840	2,390	335	498	468	27
1850	9,791	903	2,914	5,856	500
1860	14,594	1,730	9,166	11,088	1,625
1870	21,545	2,897	16,464	18,875	10,731
1880	25,045	4,112	23,233^a	33,836 ^b	22,864
1890	27,810	4,525	33,278	42,868	30,594
1900	30,061	4,591	38,107	51,675	53,231
1910	32,163	4,678	40,483	61,205	66,579
1913	32,613	n.a.	40,768	63,375	70,153

* 1 km. = 0.6214 miles.

a. Excluding Alsace-Lorraine: ceded to Germany in 1871

b. Including Alsace-Lorraine: acquired from France in 1871

Sources:

B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 225-26; Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe*, Vol. IV:2, *The Emergence of Industrial Societies* (London, 1973), pp. 790, 794.

Table 10. OUTPUT OF COAL IN MILLIONS OF METRIC TONS: FOR SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, DECENNIAL MEANS: 1820/9 - 1910/3

Decade	Great Britain	Belgium	France	Germany	Russia
1820-9	20.00	n.a.	1.30	1.40	n.a.
1830-9	25.45	2.75	2.45	2.45	n.a.
1840-9	40.40	4.60	3.95	5.25	n.a.
1850-9	59.00	7.70	6.45	11.95	n.a.
1860-9	95.50	11.35	11.35	25.90	0.45
1870-9	129.45	14.70	16.20	45.65 ^a	1.60
1880-9	163.40	17.95	20.85	71.90 ^b	4.35
1890-9	194.15	20.70	28.45	107.05 ^c	9.05
1900-9	245.30	24.05	34.70	179.25 ^d	20.50
1910-3	275.40	24.80	39.90	247.50 ^e	30.20

Germany: proportion of total coal output accounted for by lignite:

a. in 1871	22.4%
b. in 1880	20.5%
c. in 1890	21.4%
d. in 1900	27.0%
e. in 1910	31.3%

1 metric tonne = 1000 kilograms = 2,204.6 lb.

Source: Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe* (London, 1973), Vol. IV: 2, p. 770.

Table 11. DECENNIAL AVERAGES OF THE OUTPUT OF PIG IRON AND STEEL IN FRANCE, GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN MILLIONS OF METRIC TONS, 1830-9 TO 1910-3 (IRON) AND 1870-9 TO 1910-3 (STEEL)

Average of 1880-9 = 100. 1 metric ton = 1000 kg. = 2,204.6 lb.

Decade	France	Index	Germany	Index	Russia	Index	United Kingdom	Index
IRON:								
1830-9	0.286	16	0.129	4	0.172	31	0.921	11
1840-9	0.442	25	0.172	5	0.192	35	1.625	20
1850-9	0.731	25	0.334	5	0.243	44	3.150	39
1860-9	1.164	66	0.813	25	0.304	56	4.602	57
1870-9	1.337	75	1.678	52	0.400	73	6.648	81
1880-9	1.772	100	3.217	100	0.547	100	8.040	100
1890-9	2.192	124	5.155	160	1.539	281	8.090	101
1900-9	3.028	171	9.296	289	2.786	509	9.317	116
1910-13	4.664	263	14.836	461	3.870	707	9.792	122
STEEL:								
1870-9	0.260*	52			0.080*	33	0.695	30
1880-9	0.500	100	1.320	100	0.240	100	2.340	100
1890-9	1.015	203	3.985	302	0.930	388	3.760	161
1900-9	2.175	435	9.505	720	2.490	1038	5.565	238
1910-13	4.090	818	16.240	1230	4.200	1750	6.930	296

*1875-9 only.

Table 12.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS IN STEEL PRODUCTION, 1906-13
Prices and Costs of Steel Production in Germany, U.S. & Britain

A. Steel Prices, in Shillings per Metric Ton (1906-13 mean)

Steel Product	German Domestic	German Export	American Domestic	British Domestic
Steel Rails	n.a.	110	115	121
Steel Bars	106	106	127	139
Heavy Plates	124	119	132	139
Structural Steel	114	107	133	130

B. German & American Steel Prices, as Percentages of British Prices

	German Domestic	German Export	American Domestic
Steel Rails	n.a.	90.9%	95.0%
Steel Bars	76.3%	76.3%	91.4%
Heavy Plates	89.2%	85.6%	95.0%
Structural Steel	87.7%	82.3%	102.3%

C. German & American Production Costs as Percentages of the British Cost

Input	German (1906-13)	American (1910-13)
Iron Ore	69.0%	97.0%
Fuel	88.0%	65.0%
Scrap Metal	95.0%	99.0%
Labour	<u>72.0%</u>	<u>170.0%</u>
Average Unit Costs	72.0%	90.0%
Factor Productivity	<u>115.0%</u>	<u>115.0%</u>

D. McCloskey on British-American Productivity Difference

Steel Product (1907-09)	British Advantage	American Advantage
Heavy Plates	1.57%	
Rails		8.13%
Bars, Rods		7.22%
Structural Steel		5.94%
Blank Plates, Sheets	1.85%	

E. WORLD STEEL PRODUCTION, 1865 - 1910

in Thousands of Metric Tons (2,204.6 lb.)

Year	Britain	Germany	U. S.	WORLD TOTAL
1865	225	100		
1870	286	169	68	703
1880	1,320	660	1,267	4,273
1890	3,637	2,161	4,346	12,096
1900	5,130	6,645	10,382	28,727
1910	6,374	13,698	26,512	58,656

Table 13.

FOREIGN TRADE

CURRENT VALUES AND INDICES OF THE DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, AND GERMANY: QUINQUENNIAL MEANS, 1860-4 TO 1910-13

Period	U. K.		France		Germany	
	Domestic Ex-ports in Millions	Index 1870-4 = 100	Exports in Millions of Francs	Index 1870-4 = 100	Exports in Millions of Marks	Index 1870-4 = 100
1860-4	138.4	58.9	2,402.6	71.0		
1865-9	181.1	77.1	2,992.0	88.4		
1870-4	234.8	100.0	3,385.0	100.0	2,328.4*	100.0
1875-9	201.5	85.8	3,459.2	102.2	2,696.1*	115.8
1880-4	234.3	99.8	3,457.4	102.1	3,125.0	134.2
1885-9	226.2	96.3	3,306.8	97.7	3,067.4	131.7
1890-4	234.4	99.8	3,419.6	101.0	3,102.0	133.2
1895-9	239.7	102.1	3,607.4	106.6	3,688.4	158.4
1900-4	289.2	123.2	4,215.4	124.5	4,791.6	205.8
1905-9	377.3	160.7	5,191.4	153.4	6,386.0	274.3
1910-3	474.2	202.0	6,476.0	191.3	8,658.8	371.9

* estimated

Source: B.R. Mitchell, 'Statistical Appendix', in Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe*, Vol. IV:2, *Emergence of Industrial Societies* (1973), pp. 798-800.

Table 14.

BRITISH FOREIGN TRADE COMPONENTS, 1801/10 - 1901/10

Decennial Means of British Exports, Imports, 'Invisible' Earnings, Balances on Current Account, and Accumulated Balances of Overseas Investments, in Millions of Pounds Sterling, in Current Prices

Decade	Export Index 1801-10 = 100	Exports - in £	Imports = in £	Balance + on Comm- odity Account in £	Serv- + ices in £	Divid- = ends & Interest in £	Balance on the Current Account in £	Accumulated Balance of Overseas Investments* in £ sterling
1801-10	100.0	41.05	50.95	-9.90				
1811-20	101.3	41.60	49.80	-8.20				
1821-30	89.2	36.60	47.05	-10.45	12.40	4.40	6.35	104.50
1831-40	110.0	45.15	63.70	-18.55	16.35	6.70	4.50	149.50
1841-50	140.0	57.45	79.35	-21.90	18.70	8.50	5.30	197.00
1851-60	259.6	106.55	137.20	-30.65	33.60	14.10	17.05	314.50
1861-70	404.6	166.10	223.60	-57.50	62.50	26.30	31.30	591.00
1871-80	537.0	220.45	313.85	-93.40	89.90	53.15	49.65	1127.00
1881-90	570.8	234.30	331.95	-97.65	97.80	74.50	74.65	1716.00
1891-00	584.0	239.75	385.20	-145.45	94.55	97.10	46.20	2296.00
1901-10	845.9	347.25	505.55	-158.30	123.55	132.15	97.40	3006.50

Explanation of the Table:

Subtract imports from exports to obtain the balance on the commodity account, which was always negative (i.e. the British imported a greater value of goods than they exported). To that negative balance on the commodity account, add the 'invisibles' consisting of 'services' (i.e. shipping, banking, insurance revenues, etc.) and those dividends and interest payments received on foreign (overseas) investments, in order to obtain the final balance on Current Account, which was always positive. Gold movements and other items on Capital Account are not shown here.

The Equation: Exports - Imports = Balance on the Commodity Account + Services + Dividends & Interest = Balance on the Current Account.

* The accumulated net balance of overseas investments (foreign credits) includes the retained or re-invested interest and dividends on accumulated foreign investments. Gold movements and other items on the capital account are not given.

Source: Calculated from Peter Mathias, *First Industrial Nation* (London, 1969), Table VII, p. 305.

**Table 15. FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENTS OF THE CHIEF LENDERS
expressed in millions of current American dollars**

COUNTRY	1870	1910	1914	% of 1914
U.K.	4,900	12,000	20,000	44.0%
FRANCE	2,500	5,800	9,050	19.9%
GERMANY		4,800	5,800	12.8%
U.S.	100	500	3,500	7.8%
OTHER	500	1,100	7,100	18.6%
TOTAL			45,450	100.0%

Source:

Sidney Pollard, 'Capital Exports, 1870 - 1914', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 38 (November 1985).