**Prof. John H. Munro** [munro5@chass.utoronto.ca](mailto:munro5@chass.utoronto.ca)

**Department of Economics** [john.munro@utoronto.ca](mailto:john.munro@utoronto.ca)

**University of Toronto** <http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/>

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**Economics 303Y1**

**The Economic History of Modern Europe to 1914**

**Topic No. 8: [16]** **The Role of the National State and Financial Institutions in European Economic Development: Germany and/or Russia, 1815 - 1914**

You may focus on just Germany, or on just Russia, or you may compare developments involving the role of the state (national government) in both countries.

For readings concerning the economic history and development of modern Europe in general, see section III below (after Russia).

Within each section, readings are listed in chronological order of original publication (except for some collections of readings).

**READINGS:**

\*\* and \* indicate readings of primary importance.

**I. GERMANY, 1815 - 1914**

**A. General:**

1. Thorstein Veblen, Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution (1915; reissued New York, 1954), Chapter 3, ‘The Dynastic State’, pp. 52-87; Chapter 5, ‘Imperial Germany’, pp. 150-73.

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3. W. O. Henderson, ‘The Rise of German Industry’, Economic History Review, 1st ser. 6 (1935).

4. W. O. Henderson, The Zollverein (Cambridge, 1939).

5. A. H. Price, The Evolution of the Zollverein: A Study of the Ideas and Institutions Leading to the German Economic Unification between 1815 and 1833 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1949).

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8. Hans Mottek, Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands: Ein Grundriss, 2 vols. (East Berlin, 1957-64).

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14. Walther G. Hoffmann, et al, Das Wachstum der deutschen Wirtschaft seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1965).

15. Friedrich Lütge, Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 3rd edn. (Berlin and New York, 1966).

16. K. E. Born, ed., Moderne deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte (Cologne and Berlin, 1966).

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18. Ashok V. Desai, Real Wages in Germany, 1871 - 1913 (London, 1968).

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22. Karl Hardach, ‘Some Remarks on German Economic Historiography and its Understanding of the Industrial Revolution in Germany’, Journal of European Economic History, 1 (1972).

23. F. W. Hennig, Die Industrialisierung in Deutschland, 1800 - 1914 (Paderborn, 1973).

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\* 25. Alan Milward and S.B. Saul, The Economic Development of Continental Europe, 1780-1870 (London, 1973), Chapter 6, pp. 365-95.

26. John E. Knodel, The Decine of Fertility in Germany, 1871 - 1939 (Princeton, 1974).

27. W. O. Henderson, The Rise of German Industrial Power, 1834 - 1914 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975).

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c) Jürgen Kocka, ‘Entrepreneurs and Managers in German Industrialization’, pp. 492 - 589.

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33. W. E. Mosse, Jews in the German Economy: The German-Jewish Economic Elite, 1820 - 1935 (Oxford, 1987).

34. John E. Knodel, Demographic Behaviour in the Past: A Study of Fourteen German Village Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (Cambridge University Press, 1988).

35. Rolf Dumke, ‘Income Inequality and Industrialization in Germany’, in Paul Uselding, ed., Research in Economic History, 11 (1988).

36. Hubert Kiesewetter, Industrielle Revolution in Deutschland, 1815 - 1914 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989).

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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) Volker Hentschel, ‘German Economic and Social Policy, 1815 - 1939', pp. 752 - 813.

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39. John Komlos, ‘Height and Social Status in Eighteenth-Century Germany’, Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 20 (Spring 1990), 607 - 22.

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43. Niek Koning, The Failure of Agrarian Capitalism: Agrarian Politics in the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands and the USA, 1846 - 1919 (London: Routledge, 1994).

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a) Jörn Sieglerschmidt, ‘Social and Economic Landscapes’, pp. 1-38.

b) Ernest Benz, ‘Population Change and the Economy’, pp. 39-62.

c) Heide Wunder, ‘Agriculture and Agricultural Society’, pp. 63-99.

d) Peter Kriedte, ‘Trade’, pp. 100-33.

e) Olaf Mörke, ‘Social Structure’, pp. 134-63.

f) Robert von Friedeburg and Wolfgang Mager, ‘Learned Men and Merchants: The Growth of the *Bürgertum*’, pp. 164-95.

g) Paul Münch, ‘The Growth of the Modern State’, pp. 196-232.

h) Bernhard Stier and Wolfgang von Hippel, ‘War, Economy, and Society’, pp. 233-62.

i) Sheilagh Ogilvie, ‘The Beginnings of Industrialization’, pp. 263-308.

j) Kasper von Greyerz, ‘Confession as a Social and Economic Factor’, pp. 309-49.

k) Ernst Schubert, ‘Daily Life, Consumption, and Material Culture’, pp. 350-76.

l) Robert Jütte, ‘Poverty and Poor Relief’, pp. 377-404.

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50. S. N. Broadberry, ‘Anglo-German Productivity Differences, 1870 - 1990: A Sectoral Analysis’, European Review of Economic History, 1:2 (August 1997), 247-67.

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65. John C. Brown and Gerhard Neumeir, ‘Job Tenure and Labour Market Dynamics during High Industrialization: The Case of Germany Before World War I’, European Review of Economic History, 5:2 (August 2001), 189-218. [Special Issue on German Cliometrics, edited by John Komlos, Scott Eddie, and Stephen Broadberry.]

66. Adam Klug, ‘Why Chamberlain Failed and Bismarck Succeeded: The Political Economy of Trade Tariffs in British and German Elections’, European Review of Economic History, 5:2 (August 2001), 219-50. [Special Issue on German Cliometrics, edited by John Komlos, Scott Eddie, and Stephen Broadberry.]

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\* 73. Toni Pierenkemper and Richard H. Tilly, The German Economy during the Nineteenth Century (New York: Berghahn, 2004).

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75. Stephen Broadberry, ‘Explaining Anglo-German Productivity Differences in Services Since 1870’, European Review of Economic History, 8:3 (December 2004), 229-62.

76. Carsten Burhop and Guntram B. Wolff, ‘A Compromise Estimate of German Net National Product, 1851 - 1913, and its Implications for Growth and Business Cycles’, Journal of Economic History, 65:3 (September 2005), 613-57.

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\* 82. Lars Magnusson, Nation, State, and the Industrial Revolution: the Visible Hand (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

83. Nuno Valerio, ‘Europe in the Mirror of Germany: To What Extent Does German Unification (1815-1888) Prefigure the Unification of Europe (1947...)? The Journal of European Economic History, 41:2 (Summer 2012), 117-46.

**B**. **The State and Economic Policies in Germany**:

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2. Herbert Feis, Europe, The World's Banker, 1870-1914 (1930: reissued 1965), Chapter VI: ‘Finance and Government in Germany’, pp. 160-90.

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9. Ivo N. Lambi, Free Trade and Protection in Germany, 1868 - 1879 (Wiesbaden, 1963).

\*\* 10. Wolfram Fischer, ‘Government Activity and Industrialization in Germany, 1815-1870', in W. W. Rostow, ed., The Economics of Take-Off into Sustained Growth (London, 1963), pp. 83-94 and 344-54 (discussion); reprinted without discussion, in Sima Lieberman, ed., Europe and the Industrial Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 447-58.

\* 11. Richard Tilly, ‘Public Finance and the Industrialization of Prussia, 1815-1866', Journal of Economic History, 26 (1966). See also:

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14. Hans Joachim Braun, ‘Economic Theory and Policy in Germany, 1750-1850', Journal of European Economic History, 4 (1975), 301-22.

\* 15. Wolfram Fischer, ‘The Strategy of Public Investment in XIXth Century Germany’, Journal of European Economic History, 6 (1977), 431-42.

16. Rainer Fremdling, ‘Freight Rates and State Budgets: The Role of the National Prussian Railways, 1880-93', Journal of European Economic History, 9 (1980), 21-39.

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30. Ralph Roth and Günther Dihobi, eds., Across the Borders: Financing the World’s Railways in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

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**C. German Agriculture: and State Agrarian Policies**

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**D. German Banking, Trade, and Financial Organization**:

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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**

1. Compare and contrast the role of the state in the economic development of Germany and Russia in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

2. What were the chief barriers to German and Russian industrialization in the mid 19th century, particularly in the view of their respective state governments: in terms of agriculture, transportation, money and banking, education, foreign trade and investment, industry? How did the German (Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, etc.) and Russian governments respond to these barriers and how did they seek to overcome them?

3. Apply Gerschenkron's model of ‘economic backwardness’ to both Russia and Germany, to their principal economic and cultural regions, in the 19th century. In terms of Gerschenkron's model what role would the state or their respective governments be called upon to eliminate or overcome such problems of ‘backwardness’?’ Was such state intervention a necessary consequence of backwardness, given the political and international circumstances of the late 19th century? Which governments were the more successful in applying favourable economic policies?

4. Why was Germany so much more successful than Russia in overcoming the obstacles to economic development and in achieving modern industrialization before World War I? Can the Prussian or German governments take any particular credit for this relative economic success? In each country, did economic development occur because of or despite government economic policies?

5. How successful was the Russian government in establishing an infrastructure and base for industrialization by World War I? Did state economic policies play a major role -- apart from military defeat in World War I -- in ‘causing’ the 1917 Revolutions?

6. In analyzing the economic development of Russia and Germany, from 1850 to 1914, compare and contrast the role of railroads and steam shipping, and the roles played by their governments in providing, financing, or supporting such transportation facilties.

7. Compare and contrast the role of financial institutions, domestic and foreign, and of foreign investment in the economic development of Germany and Russia, 1870-1914. What roles did the state (the governments) play in promoting the development of such financial institutions and foreign investment: positive or negative?

8. Compare the organization, functions, and roles of the central banks in the economic development of Imperial Germany and the Russian Empire from ca. 1875 to 1914: the Reichsbank and Gosbank. Discuss the monetary and fiscal policies pursued by the Imperial German and Russian governments to World War I: how did they differ? What were their consequences?

9. What roles did the German (Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, etc.) and Russian governments play in liberating the serfs and in promoting land reform and agararian modernization? Why did they abolish serfdom and promote land reform, in the first place? In each country, how did emancipation of the serfs proceed: under what conditions for both the serfs and the landowners? What happened to the serfs after emancipation: in the various German states, in the Russian Empire, and in Poland (both Russian and German zones)?

10. Discuss both the economic and social consequences of the aboliton of serfdom in Germany, Poland, and Russia, during the 19th century and up to World War I.

11. For Russia and the Russian Empire, explain the Stolypin Land Reforms? Why were they necessary, and how successful were they, as government policy?

12. How did the Russian government utilize grain exports to finance industrialization?

13. Discuss the significance of Russian monetary policy, especially of the Gold Ruble of 1897 - 1914: were its consequences positive or negative for Russian economic development, especially in terms of foreign investment?

14. How did the Russian government seek to promote foreign investment in Russia: and what role did such foreign investments play in Russian industrialization up to 1917? Positive or negative? Was such foreign investment at all significant in German economic development?

15. Discuss the role of industrial cartels (or other monopolistic organizations) in the economic development of Germany and Russia, from ca. 1875 to 1914. Discuss the following:

a) What role did their respective governments play in promoting and protecting these cartels. How did their government policies differ in this respect from those of other European and North American governments?

b) To what extent did the success of German and Russian cartels depend upon protective tariffs? Explain the economic relationships.

c) Apart from legal protection for cartel agreements and tariff protection, what other conditions were necessary for the successful functioning of a cartel.

d) Did the German and Russian governments favour cartel arrangements particularly in heavy industry -- and did they thus seek to promote the relative growth of heavy industry (of capital goods over consumer goods); and if so, why?

16. For Prussia and Imperial Germany, discuss the social and economic policies of Bismarck: success or failure?

17. For Russia, discuss the social and economic policies of Count Sergei Witte: success or failure?

18. What role did the various following factors play in determining the nature of state intervention and state economic policies in Germany and Russia during the 19th and early 20th centuries:

(a) military factors and foreign affairs;

(b) political and economic factors, in particular, the goals of industrialization and economic growth, to promote national ‘well-being’ and prestige.

(c) political and social factors: the fear of social unrest, as the cost of ‘backwardness’, when other countries were developing their economies?

**Table 1 GERMAN AGRICULTURE IN THE 19th CENTURY**

**Distribution of Farm Lands**

**GERMANY: 1907 (In terms of post 1919-frontiers)**

**Category Percentages of the Total Arable Area per Category of Farms by Area**

**East Rest of All**

**Elbia\* Germany Germany**

**Under 5 hectares** 8.7% 21.0% 16.2%

**5 - 20 hectares** 21.3% 41.0% 33.4%

**20 - 100 hectares** 29.5% 29.9% 29.8%

**Over 100 hectares** 40.5% 8.1% 20.6%

(250 acres)

**Over 20 hectares** 70.0% 38.0% 50.4%

\* East Elbia: Posen and West Prussia, East Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg-Berlin, Silesia, Mecklenburg.

**Table 2. Output of Principal Grain Crops of Selected European Countries, in millions of quintals, in decennial averages, 1871-90 to 1905-14**

**Great**

**Decade Britain France Germany Russia**

**1781-90** 35.0 85.3

**1800-13** 43.0 94.5 268.6

**1815-24** 49.5 104.0 n.a.

**1825-34** n.a. 116.3 n.a.

**1835-44** n.a. 131.4 310.1

**1845-54** 64.0 146.6 122.6 363.3

**1855-64** 68.0 158.5 153.7 381.2

**1865-74** 70.0 160.1 204.8 410.1

**1875-84** n.a. 161.8 248.4 451.0

**1885-94** 56.9 160.1 304.6 515.4

**1895-1904** 52.5 172.1 391.0 479.3

**1905-14** 51.7 171.9 457.9 543.1

1 quintal = 100 kilograms = 0.10 metric ton = 220.46 lb.

**Source:** Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe* (London, 1973), Vol. IV:2, pp. 752-53.

**Table 3. CROP YIELDS IN FRANCE, BRITAIN, AND GERMANY, 1906-10**

**Kilograms of Output per Hectare of Land: Five-Yer Means**

**(1 hectare = 2.47 acres)**

**Crop France Britain Germany**

Wheat 135 221 201

Rye 106 182 170

Barley 130 196 196

Oats 126 189 197

Potatoes 86 138 136

**Source:**  J.A. Perkins, ‘The Agricultural Revolution in Germany, 1850-1914', *Journal of European Economic History*, 10 (Spring 1981), p. 115.

**Table 4. Wheat-tons per Labour-unit in Agriculture in Selected Countries: France, Great Britain, Germany, and the U.S. in 1880 and 1930**

**Country 1880 1930**

France 7.4 13.2

Great Britain 16.2 20.1

Germany 7.9 16.0

United States 13.0 22.5

**Table 5. Indices of European and American Agricultural Productivity**

**From 1810 to 1910**

**Annual net output per agricultural worker (male)**

**measured in million of calories**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **COUNTRY** | **1810** | **1840** | **1860** | **1880** | **1900** | **1910** |
| **Britain** | 14.0 | 17.5 | 20.0 | 23.5 | 22.5 | 23.5 |
| **France** | 7.0 | 11.5 | 14.5 | 14.0 | 15.5 | 17.0 |
| **Germany** |  | 7.5 | 10.5 | 14.5 | 22.0 | 25.0 |
| **Russia** |  | 7.0 | 7.5 | 7.0 | 9.0 | 11.0 |
| **U.S.A** |  | 21.5 | 22.5 | 29.0 | 31.0 | 42.0 |

**Source:** Paul Bairoch, ‘Niveaux de développement économique de 1810 à 1910', *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 20 (1965), 1096, Table 1.

**Table 6. THE POPULATIONS OF SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN MILLIONS, IN DECENNIAL INTERVALS, 1800-1910**

**Great**

**Year Britain Belgium France Germany Russia**

**1800** 10.7 3.1 27.3 n.a. 35.5

**1810** 12.0 n.a. n.a. n.a. n.a.

**1820** 14.1 n.a. 30.5 25.0 48.6

**1830** 16.3 4.1 32.6 28.2 56.1

**1840** 18.5 4.1 34.2 31.4 62.4

**1850** 20.8 4.3 35.8 34.0 68.5

**1860** 23.2 4.5 37.4 36.2 74.1

**1870** 26.0 4.8 36.1a 40.8b 84.5

**1880** 29.7 5.3 37.7 45.2 97.7

**1890** 33.0 6.1 38.3 49.4 117.8

**1900** 37.0 6.6 39.0 56.4 132.9

**1910** 40.9 7.4 39.6 64.9 160.7

a Excluding Alsace-Lorraine.

b Including Alsace-Lorraine.

**Sources:**

B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 8-10.

Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe*, (London, 1973),Vol. IV:2, pp. 747-48.

**Table 7. Decennial Averages of the Output of Pig Iron and of 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.**

**United**

**Decade France Index Germany Index Russia Index 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**.**664263 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 8:** **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 23,233a 33,836b 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 9. 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 Per Capita Percentage Shares of**

**Industrial Industrial World Industrial**

**Output Output Production**

**With 1913 1860 1913 1860 1913 1860 1913**

**Frontiers Index Index Index Index % %**

**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 10. 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 France Germany United**

**Kingdom 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.