

Prof. John H. Munro
Department of Economics
University of Toronto

munro5@chass.utoronto.ca
john.munro@utoronto.ca
<http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/>

Revised: 9 September 2010

ECO 303Y1:

The Economic History of Modern Europe to 1914

Topic No. 3 [6]: **Warfare and the Industrial Revolution, 1700 - 1815**

All readings are listed in the chronological order of their original publication.

READINGS: asterisks (*) indicate the more important readings

A. War and the British Economy, 1700 - 1820: General

- ** 1. A. H. John, 'War and the English Economy, 1700-1763', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 7 (1954-55), 329-44.
 - 2. A. H. John, 'Farming in Wartime: 1793-1815', in E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay, eds. Land, Labour, and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays Presented to J.D. Chambers (New York, 1967), pp. 28-47.
 - ** 3. J. M. Winter, ed., War and Economic Development: Essays in Memory of David Joslin (Cambridge, 1975).
 - (a) J. M. Winter, 'Introduction: The Economic and Social History of War', pp. 1-10.
 - (b) Peter Mathias, 'Swords and Ploughshares: The Armed Forces, Medicine, and Public Health in the Late Eighteenth Century', pp. 73-90.
 - ** (c) Phyllis Dean, 'War and Industrialisation', pp. 91-102.
 - (d) Simon Schama, 'The Exigencies of War and the Politics of Taxation in the Netherlands, 1795-1810', pp. 103-138.
- Cf. Select bibliography by J.M. Winter, pp. 257-92.
- * 4. Glenn Hueckel, 'War and the British Economy, 1793-1815: a General Equilibrium Analysis', Explorations in Economic History, 10:4 (Summer 1973) [1972-73], 365-96. An excellent and probing article, and/but one with a substantial amount of econometrics.
 - * 5. François Crouzet, 'War, Blockade, and Economic Change in Europe, 1792-1815', Journal of Economic History, 24 (December 1964), 567-90.
 - 6. François Crouzet, 'England and France in the Eighteenth Century: A Comparative Analysis of Two Economic Growths', in R. M. Hartwell, ed., The Causes of the Industrial Revolution

in England (London, 1967), 139-74.

7. François Crouzet, 'Bilan de l'économie britannique pendant les guerres de la Revolution et de l'Empire', Revue historique, 224 (1965), 71-110.
8. D. W. Jones, War and Economy in the Age of William III and Marlborough (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).
9. J. L. Anderson, 'Aspects of the Effects on the British Economy of the Wars Against France, 1793-1815', Australian Economic History Review, 12 (March 1972), 1 - 20.
- * 10. John U. Nef, War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization (1950: reissued 1968):
 - (a) Part II, ca. 1640-ca. 1740, esp. chapters 10-13.
 - (b) Part III, ca. 1740-ca. 1950, esp. chapter 15.

For the earlier period, see also the following articles by Nef:

 - a) 'War and Economic Progress, 1540-1640', Economic History Review, 1st ser. 12 (1942), 13-37.
 - b) 'War and the Early Industrial Revolution', in C. W. Wright, ed., Economic Problems of War and its Aftermath (Chicago, 1942).
- * 11. Clive Trebilcock, 'Spin-Off in British Economic History: Armaments and Industry, 1760-1914', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 22 (1969), 474-90.
12. A. Birch, 'The British Iron Industry during the Napoleonic Wars', in The Economic History of the British Iron and Steel Industry, 1784-1879 (London, 1967). See also:

H. R. Schubert, A History of the British Iron and Steel Industry (1957).
- * 13. W. W. Rostow, The Process of Economic Growth, 2nd edition (Oxford: The Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1960), chapter 7, 'War and Economic Change: the British Experience', pp. 145-67.
- * 14. T. S. Ashton, Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution (3rd edn., London, 1963), chapter VI, 'The Iron Industry in Peace and War', pp. 128-61 (see also pp. 87-103).
- * 15. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Devon, 1962; reissued 1972), chapter XV, 'War and the Shipping Industry', pp. 315-37.
16. E. F. Heckscher, The Continental System: An Economic Interpretation (Oxford, 1922).
17. Charles Wilson, Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars (London, 1957).

18. Douglas Hay, 'War, Dearth and Theft in the Eighteenth Century: The Record of the English Courts', Past and Present, no. 95 (1982), 117-
19. Gunther Rothenberg, 'The Origins, Causes, and Extension of the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 18 (Spring 1988), 771-93.
20. Joel Mokyr, ed., The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Perspective, 2nd edn. (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1999).
21. Douglas W. Allen, 'The British Navy Rules: Monitoring and Compatible Incentives in the Age of Fighting Sail', Explorations in Economic History, 39:2 (April 2002), 204-31.
22. Chris Evans, Own Jackson, and Göran Rydén, 'Baltic Iron and the British Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 55:4 (November 2002), 642-65.
23. Leandro Prados de la Escosura, ed., Exceptionalism and Industrialisation: Britain and its European Rivals, 1688 - 1815 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
24. Ben Black, 'British Versus American Interest in Land and the War of Independence', The Journal of European Economic History, 33:3 (Winter 2004), 519-54.

B. Taxation, Fiscal, Monetary and Other State Policies Related to Warfare

- ** 1. Charles Wilson, 'Taxation and the Decline of Empires: an Unfashionable Theme', in Economic History and the Historian: Collected Essays (London, 1969), pp. 114-27.
2. Simon Schama, 'The Exigencies of War and the Politics of Taxation in the Netherlands, 1795-1810', in J. M. Winter, ed., War and Economic Development (London, 1975), pp. 103-38.
- * 3. Ralph Davis, 'The Rise of Protection in England, 1689-1786', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 19 (1966), 306-17.
- * 4. Peter Mathias and Patrick O'Brien, 'Taxation in Britain and France, 1715 - 1810: A Comparison of the Social and Economic Incidence of Taxes Collected for the Central Governments', The Journal of European Economic History, 5 (Winter 1976), 601-50.
5. Peter Mathias, 'Taxation and Industrialization in Britain, 1700 - 1870', in Peter Mathias, ed., The Transformation of England (London, 1979), pp. 116 - 30.
6. Patrick K. O'Brien, 'The Political Economy of British Taxation, 1660 - 1815', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 41 (Feb. 1988), 1 - 32.
7. D. N. McCloskey, 'A Mismeasurement of the Incidence of Taxation in Britain and France, 1715 - 1810', Journal of European Economic History, 7 (1978), pp. 209-10. An attack on

Mathias-O'Brien in no. 4, above. Their reply is in the following:

8. Peter Mathias and Patrick O'Brien, 'The Incidence of Taxes and the Burden of Proof', Journal of European Economic History, 7 (1978), pp. 211-13.
- * 9. J. V. Beckett and Michael Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 43 (August 1990), 377 - 403.
10. J. V. Beckett, 'Land Tax or Excise: The Levying of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century England', English Historical Review, 100 (1985), 285 - 308.
11. J. V. Beckett and D. K. Smith, 'The Land Tax Returns as a Source for Studying the English Economy in the Eighteenth Century', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 56 (1981), 54 - 61.
12. J. L. Anderson, 'A Measure of the Effect of British Public Finance, 1793 - 1815', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 610 - 19.
13. Michael Turner and D. Mills, ed., Land and Property: the English Land Tax, 1692 - 1832 (Gloucester, 1986).
14. David R. Weir, 'Tontines, Public Finance, and Revolution in France and England, 1688 - 1789', Journal of Economic History, 49 (March 1989), 95 -124.
15. John Brewer, The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688 - 1783 (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
16. W. Kennedy, English Taxation, 1740-1799 (1913, reissued 1964).
- * 17. Sir Albert Feavearyear, The Pound Sterling: A History of English Money (2nd ed., rev. by E.V. Morgan, 1963), pp. 173-230.
18. D. M. Joslin, 'London Bankers in Wartime, 1739-1784', in L. S. Presnell, ed., Studies in the Industrial Revolution (1960).
19. L. S. Presnell, 'The Rate of Interest in the Eighteenth Century', in L.S. Presnell, ed., Studies in the Industrial Revolution (1960).
20. T. S. Ashton and R. S. Sayer, ed., Papers in English Monetary History (Oxford, 1964), nos. 2, 3, and 5, esp. no. 2; J.K. Horsefield, 'The Duties of a Banker, II. The Effects of Inconvertibility', pp. 16-36.
21. E. V. Morgan, The Theory and Practice of Central Banking, 1797 - 1913 (1943; reissued 1965), chapter 2, 'The Bank of Restriction Period, 1797-1821', pp. 23-48.
22. F. W. Fetter, Development of British Monetary Orthodoxy, 1797-1875 (Cambridge, Mass. 1965), chapter 2, 'The Restriction Period, 1797-1815', pp. 26-63.

23. Jacob Viner, Studies in the Theory of International Trade (London, 1955, reissued 1960), Chapter 3, 'The Bullionist Controversies', pp. 119-70.
24. P. G. M. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England: a Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688-1756 (London: 1967).
25. David Weir, 'Tontines, Public Finance, and Revolution in France and England, 1688 - 1789', Journal of Economic History, 49:1 (March 1989), 95-124.
- * 26. Douglass North and Barry Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century Britain', Journal of Economic History, 49: 4 (Dec1989), 803-32.
27. Eugene N. White, 'Free Banking during the French Revolution', Explorations in Economic History, 27 (July 1990), 252-76.
28. Larry Neal, The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
29. Patrick K. O'Brien and Philip Hunt, 'The Emergence and Consolidation of Excises in the English Fiscal System Before the Glorious Revolution', British Tax Review 1997 [42 (1997)], 35- 58.
- * 30. J.F. Wright, 'British Government Borrowing in Wartime, 1750 - 1815', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 52:2 (May 1999), 355-61.
31. Roy Douglas, Taxation in Britain Since 1660 (London: MacMillan, 1999).
32. Michael Kwass, Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Egalité, Fiscalité (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
33. Martin Daunton, Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799 - 1914 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- * 34. Patrick O'Brien, 'Fiscal Exceptionalism: Great Britain and its European Rivals—From Civil War to Triumph at Trafalgar and Waterloo', in Patrick O'Brien and Donald Winch, eds., The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 245-65.
35. Allen Horstman, 'Taxation in the Zenith: Taxes and Classes in the United Kingdom, 1816 - 1842', The Journal of European Economic History, 32:1 (Spring 2003), 111-37.
- ** 36. Robert M. Kozub, 'Evolution of Taxation in England, 1700 - 1850: a Period of War and Industrialization', The Journal of European Economic History, 32:2 (Fall 2003), 363-388.
37. 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).

38. John Munro, 'The Medieval Origins of the Financial Revolution: Usury, *Rentes*, and Negotiability', The International History Review, 25:3 (September 2003), 505-62.
- * 39. Peter Temin and Hans-Joachim Voth, 'Credit Rationing and Crowding Out During the Industrial Revolution: Evidence from Hoare's Bank, 1702 - 1862', Explorations in Economic History, 42:3 (July 2005), 325-348.
- * 40. Nathan Sussman and Yishay Yafeh, 'Institutional Reforms, Financial Development and Sovereign Debt: Britain, 1690 - 1790', Journal of Economic History, 66:4 (Dec. 2006), 882-905.
41. David Stasavage, 'Partisan Politics and Public Debt: The Importance of the "Whig Supremacy" for Britain's Financial Revolution', European Review of Economic History, 11:1 (April 2007), 123-53.

C. General Studies: Overviews on War and the Economy

- ** 1. Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763 (London, 1965) chapter 13: 'Trade, Policy, and War, 1700-63', pp. 263-88; chapter 15, 'An Age of Debts and Taxes', pp. 313-36.
- * 2. Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain, 1700-1914 (London, 1969), pp. 43-50, 144-5, 227-8, and Table 13 (Appendix, pp. 463).
3. E. J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire: Economic History of Britain from 1750 to the Present Day (1969), pp. 46-54.
- ** 4. T. S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959), chapter 3, 'War, Trade, and Finance', pp. 49-83.
5. T. S. Ashton, Economic History of England in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1955; reissued 1961), esp. pp. 26-9.
6. T. S. Ashton, The Industrial Revolution in England, 1760-1830 (London 1948), pp. 9-10, 94 ff.
7. James Riley, The Seven Years' War and the Old Regime in France: The Economic and Financial Toll (Princeton, 1987).
8. W. W. Rostow, The British Economy in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1948), chapter V, 'Trade Cycles, Harvests, and Politics, 1790-1850', pp. 108-26.
9. David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus (Cambridge, 1969; 2nd edn Cambridge, 2003), pp. 142-48.
10. B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), sections XIII and XIV.

11. Paul Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery (London : A. Lane, 1976)
12. John Lynn, ed., Tools of War: Instruments, Ideas, and Institutions of Warfare, 1445 - 1871 (Urbana, 1990).
13. John Lynn, ed., Feeding Mars: Logistics in Western Warfare from the Middle Ages to the Present (Boulder, 1997).
14. Philippe Contamine, ed., War and Competition Between States: The Origins of the Modern State in Europe, 14th - 18th Centuries (New York: Clarendon Press, 2000).
15. P.J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, British Imperialism, 1688 - 2000, 2nd edition (London and New York: Longman, 2001).
16. Eugene N. White, 'Making the French Pay: The Costs and Consequences of the Napoleonic Reparations', European Review of Economic History, 5:3 (December 2001), 337-66.
17. J. Glete, War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500 - 1660 (Routledge: London, 2002).
18. Lance E. Davis and Stanley L. Engerman, Naval Blockades in Peace and War: an Economic History Since 1750 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
19. H. V. Bowen and A. González Enciso, eds., Mobilising Resources for War: Britain and Spain at Work during the Early Modern Period (Barañáin: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2006).
20. Carlos Marichal, Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars Between Spain, Britain, and France, 1760 - 1810 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
21. Michael Howard, War in European History, revised edn. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Suggested Debate Topic:

‘Resolved: That warfare delayed the coming of the British Industrial Revolution’

QUESTIONS for Reading and Discussion

1. Did warfare and expenditures on military forces stimulate or retard British economic development in the following periods:
 - (a) 1700 - 1763
 - (b) 1763 - 1792
 - (c) 1792 - 1815

In each period, what sectors of the economy benefited from warfare, and which sectors suffered?

2. What role did military power and naval warfare play in the transfer of economic power from Holland to England in the 18th century? Did warfare similarly permit England to gain at France's expense, before the Napoleonic wars? At Spain's expense, also? [See also topics nos. 6 and 16].
3. What effect did British fiscal and monetary policies concerning warfare have upon the economy, in terms of the following:
 - (a) levels and structure of taxation: impact of such taxation upon consumer demand and capital investment;
 - (b) inflation, especially during the era of the ‘paper pound’ or ‘Bank Restriction’ period of 1797-1815;
 - (c) tariffs as fiscal measures to raise revenues;
 - (d) government borrowing and the rate of interest.

Note: T.S. Ashton has written extensively on high rates of interest as a negative force in British economic development during the 18th century. Consider his arguments in particular.

4. How did Britain manage to finance both industrialization and the French Revolutionary - Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815): i.e. both ‘guns and butter’? Were these wars financed at the expense of the living standards of the British populace? [See also topic no. 15].
5. In what respects did warfare and military expenditures stimulate technological innovations and economic expansion in the following industries: shipbuilding; iron, coal, and steel, and other metallurgical industries; textiles; chemicals?
6. Were 18th-century European wars essentially economic in their origins? Were they the result, in particular, of ‘mercantilist’ or protectionist economic policies pursued by various European states -- the result of competitive economic nationalism? See also topic no. 5 on ‘Mercantilism and Economic Nationalism’.

7. Who gained and who lost by the costs of the French-Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1793 - 1815): Britain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Spain? [See also topic no. 6]
8. Did Britain owe her economic supremacy in 19th-century Europe, at least in the period 1815 - 1885, chiefly to her military power (including naval power)? Did Britain 'rule the waves' -- or 'waive the rules' because of her military power? Did 'trade follow the flag'?
9. Napoleon's wartime economic policies: did they promote or retard French economic development in the 19th century? Did warfare and defeat delay the coming of industrialization to France in the 19th century? [See also topic no. 16]
10. In what respects did 18th-century warfare differ from modern warfare in its economic consequences?