

ECO 2210Y:

Topics in the Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe

Topic No. 14: War, Taxation, and 'Economic Crises' in Later-Medieval Europe, 1290 - 1453

Readings are presented in the chronological order of original publication.

A. Warfare: General Readings

- * 1. Charles W.C. Oman, The Art of War in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1885; revised and edited by John H. Beeler, Cornell University Press, 1953), chapters 4-6. The traditional classic, if now outdated in many respects.
- * 2. John U. Nef, War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization (Cambridge, Mass. 1950; revised edn. 1963), Part I (1494-1640), pp. 3-146.
- 3. Carlo Cipolla, Guns, Sails, and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400-1700 (New York: Minerva Press, 1965). A fascinating and pithy overview.
- 4. Frederic C. Lane, Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane (Baltimore, 1966): Part Three, 'The Cost of Protection,' pp. 373-430.
 - (a) No. 22: 'National Wealth and Protection Costs,' pp. 373-82. [Reprinted from Jesse Clarkson and Thomas C. Cochran, eds., War as a Social Institution: The Historian's Perspective (New York, 1941), pp. 32-43.]
 - (b) No. 23: 'The Economic Meaning of War and Protection,' pp. 383-98. [Reprinted from The Journal of Social Philosophy and Jurisprudence, 7 (1942), 254-70.]
 - (c) No. 24: 'Force and Enterprise in the Creation of Oceanic Commerce,' pp. 399-411. [Reprinted from The Tasks of Economic History, supplement to The Journal of Economic History, 10 (1950), 19-31.]
 - (d) No. 25: 'Economic Consequences of Organized Violence,' pp. 412-30. [Reprinted from The Journal of Economic History, 18 (1958), 401-17.]
- 5. Frederic C. Lane, 'Naval Actions and Fleet Organization, 1499 - 1502,' in Renaissance Venice, ed. J. R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 146-73, reprinted in Frederic C. Lane, Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History, ed. Benjamin Kohl and Reinhold Mueller, Variorum Reprints CS 247 (London: Variorum

Reprints, 1987).

6. Richard Bean, 'War and the Birth of the Nation State,' Journal of Economic History, 33 (1973), 203-31.
- * 7. J.M. Winter, ed., War and Economic Development: Essays in Memory of David Joslin (Cambridge, 1975).
8. Philippe Contamine, 'Consommation et demande militaire en France et en Angleterre, XIIIe-XVe siècles,' in Domanda e consumi: Livelli e strutture, nei secoli XIII-XVIII (Atti della Sesta settimana di studio, 27 aprile - 3 maggio 1974, Istituto internazionale de storia economica Francesco Datini Prato (Florence, 1978), pp. 409-28.
9. M. Vale, War and Chivalry (Athens, Ga., 1981).
- ** 10. Philippe Contamine, War in the Middle Ages (London, 1984). The modern classic. For an extensive bibliography, see chapter 7: 'War, Economy, and Taxation.'
11. B.P. McGuire, War and Peace in the Middle Ages (Copenhagen, 1987).
12. John A. Lynn, ed., Tools of War: Instruments, Ideas, and Institutions of Warfare, 1445 - 1871, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990.
13. Richard W. Kaeuper, War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1988).
14. James Tracy, ed., The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350 - 1750 (Cambridge University Press, 1991).
 - a) James Tracy, 'Introduction,' pp. 1 - 21.
 - b) Douglass C. North, 'Institutions, Transaction Costs, and the Rise of Merchant Empires,' pp. 22 - 40.
 - c) M. M. Pearson, 'Merchants and States,' pp. 41 - 116.
 - d) Thomas A. Brady, Jr., 'The Rise of Merchant Empires, 1400 - 1700: A European Counterpoint,' pp. 117 - 60.
 - e) Geoffrey Parker, 'Europe and the Wider World, 1500 - 1700: The Military Balance,' pp. 161 - 95.
 - f) Anne Pérotin-Dumon, 'The Pirate and the Emperor: Power and the Law on the Seas, 1450 - 1850,' pp. 196 - 227.
 - g) Russell R. Menard, 'Transport Costs and Long-Range Trade, 1300 - 1800: Was There a European 'Transport Revolution' in the Early Modern Era?' pp. 228 - 75.

- h) Jacob M. Price, 'Transaction Costs: A Note on Merchant Credit and the Organization of Private Trade,' pp. 276 - 97.
15. Gary Anderson, Robert Ekelund, Jr., Robert Hebert, and Robert Tollison, 'An Economic Interpretation of the Medieval Crusades,' Journal of European Economic History, 21:2 (Fall 1992), 339 - 363.
 16. David A. Latzko, 'The Concept of 'Military Economies of Scale',' Explorations in Economic History, 30:4 (October 1993), 470-84.
 17. David Potter, War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy, 1470 - 1560 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
 18. John H. Munro, 'Patterns of Trade, Money, and Credit,' in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 147-95.
 19. Michael E. Mallett, 'The Art of War,' in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 535-62.
 20. Jonathan Dewald, The European Nobility, 1400 - 1800 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
 21. Michael Prestwich, Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: the English Experience (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).
 22. Kelly DeVries, Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology, Warfare in History, vol. 2 (Woodbridge, Suffolk; and Rochester, N. Y.: Boydell and Brewer, 1996).
 23. Bert S. Hall, Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
 24. Jared Diamond, Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

B. Warfare, Government Economic Policies, and Taxation: General

1. Thomas Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England (Camden Society, London, 1839).
2. J. F. Willard, 'The Scotch Raids and the Fourteenth-Century Taxation of Northern England,' University of Colorado Studies, 5 (1907-08), 237-42.

3. J. F. Willard, Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290 - 1334 (Cambridge, Mass. 1934).
4. J.O. Prestwich, 'War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 4 (1954).
5. R. H. Robbins, ed., Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (New York, 1959).
6. Edward Miller, 'Economic Policies of Governments: France and England,' Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. III: Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages, ed. M. Postan, E. Rich, E. Miller (Cambridge, 1963), 290-339.
7. J. Favier, Finance et fiscalité au bas moyen âge (Paris, 1971).
8. John Bell Henneman, Royal Taxation in Fourteenth-Century France, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1971-75).
9. Michael Prestwich, War, Politics, and Finance Under Edward I (London, 1972).
10. Eleanor Searle and R. Burghart, 'The Defense of England and the Peasants' Revolt,' Viator, 3 (1972), 370-75.
11. G.L. Harriss, King, Parliament, and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369 (Oxford, 1975).
12. E.B. Fryde, 'Financial Policies of the Royal Governments and Popular Resistance to Them in France and England, 1270-1420,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 57 (1979), 824-60. Reprinted in Reprinted in E. B. Fryde, Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance (London, 1983), no. I.
- * 13. Michael Prestwich, The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377 (London, 1980).
- * 14. J. F. Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History,' The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 36:2 (May 1983), 200-17.
- * 15. W. M. Ormrod, 'The Crown and the English Economy, 1290 - 1348,' in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 149 - 83.
16. James D. Tracy, 'Taxation and State Debt,' in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 563-88.
17. Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

C. **War, Taxation, and Economic Crises in Late-Medieval Western Europe, ca. 1290 - ca. 1340: Harbingers of the 'The Great Depression'?**

1. André Sayous, 'Les transferts de risques, les associations commerciales, et la lettre de change à Marseille pendant le XIVe siècle,' Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4th ser. 14 (1935), 469-94.
- * 2. Edouard Perroy, 'A l'origine d'une économie contractée: les crises du XIVe siècle,' Annales: E.S.C., 4 (1949), 167-82. Reissued in English translation as 'At the Origin of a Contracted Economy: The Crises of the 14th Century,' in Rondo Cameron, ed. Essays in French Economic History (Homewood, Illinois, 1970), pp. 91-105.
3. J. Scammell, 'Robert I and the North of England,' The English Historical Review, 73 (1958), 385-403.
4. Jacques Heers, 'Le prix de l'assurance maritime à la fin du moyen âge,' Revue d'histoire économique et sociale, 37 (1959), 7-19.
5. Edward Miller, War in the North: the Anglo-Scottish Wars of the Middle Ages (Hull, 1960).
6. E.B. Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward I in the Netherlands, 1294-98: Main Problems and Some Comparisons with Edward III in 1337-40,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 40 (1962), 1168-87.
- ** 7. Robert Lopez and Harry Miskimin, 'The Economic Depression of the Renaissance,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 14 (1962), 408-26.
8. Frederic Lane, 'From Biremes to Triremes,' The Mariner's Mirror, 49 (1963), 48-50, reprinted in Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 189 - 92.
9. Frederic Lane, 'Merchant Galleys, 1300-34: Private and Communal Operations,' Speculum, 38 (1963), 179-205, reprinted in Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 193-226.
10. Jacques Heers, L'Occident aux XIV et XVe siècles: aspects économiques et sociaux (Paris, 1963), chapter II: 'Les troubles et les difficultés du XIVe siècle,' pp. 86-104.
- * 11. Carlo Cipolla, R.S. Lopez, and H.A. Miskimin, 'Economic Depression of the Renaissance: Rejoinder and Reply,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 16 (1964), 519-29.
12. H.J. Hewitt, The Organisation of War Under Edward III (Manchester, 1966).
13. D. Waley, 'The Army of the Florentine Republic from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century,' in N. Rubenstein, ed., Florentine Studies (London, 1968).

- ** 14. Herman Van der Wee and Theo Peeters, 'Un modèle dynamique de croissance interseculaire du commerce mondial (XIIe-XVIIIe siècles),' Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations, 25 (1970), 100-28.
- This is a long-distance trade model (in opposition to demographic and Marxian models) to explain the dynamics of the secular (long-term) A and B Phases or economic swings in European economic development. The essay focuses primarily on the late-medieval Phase B downswing; and it provides (often more implicitly than explicitly) one of the best analyses of the impact of war, war-finances (including debasements), and consequent trade dislocations upon the late-medieval economy, beginning well before the era of the Hundred Years' War. But note that this article is not focused directly on warfare.
15. Douglass North, and Robert P. Thomas, The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), pp. 46-89.
16. Richard W. Kaeuper, Bankers to the Crown: the Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I (Princeton, 1973).
17. Michael Mallet, Mercenaries and Their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy (Totawa, New Jersey, 1974).
- ** 18. J.R. Maddicott, The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341 (Past and Present Supplement no. 1, Oxford: 1975), 75 pp. Reprinted in T.H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants, and Politics in Medieval England, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 285-359.
- * 19. Edward Miller, 'War, Taxation, and the English Economy in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,' in J.M. Winter, ed., War and Economic Development: Essays in Memory of David Joslin (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 11-32.
20. Benjamin Kedar, Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression (London and New Haven, 1976).
- * 21. Joseph R. Strayer, 'The Costs and Profits of War: The Anglo-French Conflict of 1294-1303,' in H.A. Miskimin, David Herlihy, A.L. Udovitch, eds., The Medieval City (New Haven and London, 1977), pp. 269-292.
- ** 22. A.R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 393-410. An attack on Maddicott and Miller (1975). Question: do Bridbury's views in this article harmonize in all respects with those expressed in his earlier articles: 'The Black Death,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 557-92?
23. G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Aftermath of War: Scotland and England in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 28 (1978).
24. Joseph Strayer, The Reign of Philip the Fair (Princeton, 1980), chapters 3 and 5.

25. Henri Bresc, 'Course et piraterie en Sicile (1250-1450),' Anuario de estudios medievales, 10 (1980), 751.-57.
26. Richard Unger, 'Warships and Cargo Ships in Medieval Europe,' Technology and Culture, 22 (April 1981), 233-52.
27. Mavis Mate, 'The Impact of War on the Economy of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1294-1340,' Speculum, 58 (1982), 761-78.
28. Douglass North, 'Government and the Cost of Exchange in History,' Journal of Economic History, 44 (June 1984), 255-64.
29. Douglass North, 'Transaction Costs in History,' Journal of European Economic History, 14 (Winter 1985), 557-76.
30. A. Tuck, 'War and Society in the Medieval North,' Northern History, 21 (1985), 33-52.
31. John Day, 'Crisis and Trends in the Later Middle Ages,' in his The Medieval Market Economy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp. 185-224.
32. Michael Prestwich, 'War and Taxation in England in the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries,' in La genèse de l'état moderne: prélèvement et redistribution, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1987), pp. 181-92.
33. John Pryor, Commerce, Shipping and Naval Warfare in the Medieval Mediterranean (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987).
34. John Pryor, Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649 - 1571, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
35. Irene Katele, 'Piracy and the Venetian State: The Dilemma of Maritime Defense in the Fourteenth Century,' Speculum, 63 (Oct. 1988), 865 - 89.
36. Mark Bailey, 'The Concept of the Margin in the Medieval English Economy,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 42 (Feb. 1989), 1 - 17.
- * 37. John H. Munro, 'Industrial Transformations in the North-west European Textile Trades, c.1290 - c.1340: Economic Progress or Economic Crisis?', in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 110 - 48.

This essay, an application of both the Van der Wee-Peeters model (1970) and of the North-Thomas transactions cost model (1973, 1984-5), analyzes the impact of warfare, taxation, and protection costs upon the changing structure of the international textiles trades in the half-century before the Hundred Years' War and the Black Death. In the same volume, see also the following essay, as indicated in B. 11 above.

- * 38. W. M. Ormrod, 'The Crown and the English Economy, 1290 - 1348,' in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 149 - 83. A very important contribution to the debate between Maddicott-Miller and Bridbury, with significant new financial and other statistical evidence.
39. William H. TeBrake, A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323 - 1328 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
40. William Caferro, 'Mercenaries and Military Expenditure: The Costs of Undeclared Warfare in XIVth Century Siena,' Journal of European Economic History, 23:2 (Fall 1994), 219-47.
41. Clifford R. Backman, The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, Religion and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296 - 1337 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
42. William Chester Jordan, The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- * 43. Stuart Jenks, 'The Lay Subsidies and the State of the English Economy, 1275 - 1334,' Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 85:1 (1998), 1-39.
- * 44. John H. Munro, 'The 'Industrial Crisis' of the English Textile Towns, c.1290-c.1330,' in Thirteenth Century England: VII, ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1999), pp. 103-42.
45. Michael Haskell, 'Breaking the Stalemate: The Scottish Campaign of Edward I, 1303-4,' and Hugo Schwyzer, 'Northern Bishops and the Anglo-Scottish War in the Reign of Edward II,' both in Thirteenth Century England, VII, ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1999), pp. 223-41, 243-54.

D. Coinage Debasements and Warfare, 1295 - 1496: Monetary Policies as Fiscal Policies for Warfare

1. Borrelli de Serres, Les variations monétaires sous Philippe le Bel (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1902).
2. A. Girard, 'Un phénomène économique: la guerre monétaire, XIVE-XVe siècles,' Annales: E.S.C., 2 (1940).
3. Hans Van Werveke, 'Currency Manipulation in the Middle Ages: The Case of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser, 31 (1949), 115-127, reprinted in Van Werveke, Miscellanea Medievalia (Ghent, 1968), pp. 255-67.

4. F. Graus, 'La crise monétaire du XIV^e siècles,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 29 (1951), 445-54.
5. A. Grunzweig, 'Les incidences internationales des mutations monétaires de Philippe le Bel,' Le moyen âge, 59 (1953), 117-72.
6. R. Cazelles, 'Quelques reflexions à propos des mutations de la monnaie royale française (1295-1360),' Le moyen âge, 72 (1966), 83-105, and 251-78.
7. John Munro, Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340 - 1478 (Brussels and Toronto, 1973).
8. John Munro, 'Monetary Contraction and Industrial Change in Late-Medieval Low Countries, 1335-1500,' in Nicholas Mayhew, ed., Coinage in the Low Countries, 880-1500: Third Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, British Archeological Reports, International Series no. 54 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 95-161. On the impact of war-induced coinage debasements and competitive monetary-bullionist policies on the wool and cloth trades.
9. Nathan Sussman, 'Debasements, Royal Revenues, and Inflation in France during the Hundred Years' War, 1415 - 1422,' The Journal of Economic History, 53 (March 1993), 44 - 70.
10. George Selgin, 'Salvaging Gresham's Law: The Good, the Bad, and the Illegal,' Journal of Money, Credit and Banking, 28:4 (November 1996): 637-49.
11. Arthur J. Rolnick, François R. Velde, and Warren E. Weber, 'The Debasement Puzzle: An Essay on Medieval Monetary History,' Journal of Economic History, 56:4 (December 1996), 789-808. To be used with care (translation: I disagree strongly with this article).

E. The Era of the Hundred Years' War and After (1336 - 1453): Some Economic and Social Aspects

1. R.A. Newhall, 'The War Finances of Henry V and the duke of Bedford,' English Historical Review, 36 (1921), 172-98.
2. Michael Postan, 'Economic and Political Relations of England and the Hanse, 1400-1475,' in Eileen Power and Michael Postan, eds., Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1933), pp. 91-154; reprinted in Michael M. Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 232 - 304.
- * 3. Michael Postan, 'Revisions in Economic History: The Fifteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 1st ser., 9 (1939), reprinted in his: Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 41-48.

4. J.R. Strayer and C.H. Taylor, Studies in Early French Taxation (Cambridge, Mass. 1939).
5. Eileen Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History (London, 1941). On the wool trade as a source of war-financing during the Hundred Years War.
- * 6. Michael Postan, 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War,' Economic History Review, 1st ser., 12 (1942). Reprinted in Michael M. Postan, Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 49-62.
- * 7. Michael Postan, 'The Trade of Medieval Europe: the North,' in particular Part III: 'The Age of Contraction,' in Michael Postan, ed., Cambridge Economic History, Vol. II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 191-256. Reprinted in Michael M. Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 160-231; and reissued with some revisions in M.M Postan and Edward Miller, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages, 2nd rev edn. (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 240-305.
8. Robert Lopez, 'The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,' in M.M. Postan and E.E. Rich, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1952), Part II (3): 'Depression and Recovery,' pp. 338-54; reissued with revisions in Michael Postan and Edward Miller, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1987), Part III: 'The Waning of the Middle Ages,' pp. 379 - 401. Note that this section has been expanded, with a revised title.
9. E. B. Fryde, 'Edward III's Wool Monopoly: A Fourteenth-Century Royal Trading Venture,' History, new series, 37 (1952), 8-24. Reprinted in E. B. Fryde, Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance (London, 1983), no. VI.
10. Edouard Perroy, 'Wage Labour in France in the Later Middle Ages,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 7 (1955), reprinted in Sylvia Thrupp, ed., Change in Medieval Society: Europe North of the Alps, 1050-1500 (New York, 1964), pp. 237-48.
11. Edouard Perroy, The Hundred Years' War, translated by David Douglas (London, 1959). Still the best study on this war.
- * 12. K.B. McFarlane, 'War, the Economy, and Social Change: England and the Hundred Years' War,' Past and Present, no. 22 (July 1962), pp. 3-13, with discussion on pp. 13-18. Reprinted in K. B. McFarlane, England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays (London, 1981), pp.139 - 50. Paper presented to the Fourth *Past and Present* conference, on 'War and Society 1300-1600.'
- ** 13. Michael Postan, 'The Costs of the Hundred Years' War,' Past and Present, no. 27 (April 1964), pp. 34-53. Reprinted in Michael Postan, Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 63-80. Written in response to McFarlane's article (1962).

14. Philippe Contamine, 'Le coût de la Guerre de Cent Ans en Angleterre,' Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 20 (1965), 788-91. A review of the McFarlane-Postan debate.
15. John Le Patourel, 'The King and the Princes in Fourteenth-Century France,' in John Hale, Roger Highfield, Berle Smalley, eds., Europe in the Late Middle Ages (London, 1965), pp. 155-83.
16. James Campbell, 'England, Scotland, and the Hundred Years' War in the Fourteenth Century,' in John Hale, Roger Highfield, Berle Smalley, eds., Europe in the Late Middle Ages (London, 1965), pp. 184-216.
17. Edward Ames, 'The Sterling Crisis of 1337-1339,' Journal of Economic History, 25 (1965), 496-552, reprinted in Roderick Floud, ed., Essays in Quantitative Economic History (Oxford, 1974), pp. 36-58.
18. Maurice Rey, Le domaine du roi et les finances extraordinaires sous Charles VI, 1388-1413 (Paris, 1965).
19. Maurice Rey, Les finances royales sous Charles VI: Les causes du déficit, 1388-1413 (Paris, 1965).
20. Charles E. Perrin, 'Les finances royales sous Charles VI (1388-1413),' Journal des savants (1967), a review article based on the works of M. Rey (1965).
21. E.B. Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward III in the Netherlands, 1337-40,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 65 (1967), 1142-1216. Reprinted in E. B. Fryde, Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance (London, 1983), no. VII.
22. John Bell Henneman, 'Financing the Hundred Years' War: Royal Taxation in France in 1340,' Speculum, 42 (1967), 275-98.
23. Edmund B. Fryde, 'Parliament and the French War, 1336 - 40,' in T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke, eds., Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson (Toronto, 1969), pp. 250-69, reprinted in E. B. Fryde and Edward Miller, eds., Historical Studies of the English Parliament, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 242-61; and also in Edmund B. Fryde, Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance (London: The Hambleton Press, 1983), no. V.
24. John Munro, 'An Economic Aspect of the Collapse of the Anglo-Burgundian Alliance, 1428-1442,' English Historical Review, 85 (1970), 225-44. Reprinted in John H. Munro, Bullion Flows and Monetary Policies in England and the Low Countries, 1350 - 1500 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1992), no. I.
25. K. Fowler, ed., The Hundred Years' War (London, 1971). See especially Philippe Contamine, 'The French Nobility and the War.'
26. John Bell Henneman, Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France, 2 vols. (Princeton,

1971-75), especially Vol. I: Development of War Financing, 1322-1356, chapters 1, 9.

27. Philippe Contamine, Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge: études sur les armées des rois de France, 1337-1494 (Paris, 1972).
28. John Munro, Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340-1478 (Brussels and Toronto, 1973).
29. F. Menkes, 'Aspects de la guerre de Provence à la fin du XIVe siècles,' in J. Schneider, ed., Economies et sociétés au moyen âge: Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy (Paris, 1973), pp. 465-76.
- * 30. Philippe Contamine, 'La guerre de Cent Ans en France: une approche économique,' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 48 (1974), 125-49.
- * 31. A.R. Bridbury, 'The Hundred Years' War: Costs and Profits' in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John, eds., Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England (London, 1976), pp. 80 - 95.
32. Charles M. Radding, 'Royal Tax Revenues in Later Fourteenth-Century France,' Traditio, 32 (1976).
33. M. Hébert, 'Guerre, finances et administration: les Etats du Provence de novembre 1359,' Moyen age, 83 (1977), 103-30.
34. T.H. Lloyd, The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1977). On the crown's exploitation of the wool-export trade to finance warfare, especially under Edward III and Henry VI, in chapters 3-5. See also Power (1933, 1942).
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WARFARE: Questions for Discussion

1. Discuss the 'costs and benefits' of warfare for the late-medieval Western European economy: particularly the Anglo-French wars from the 1290s to the 1450s. Who gained and who lost from this warfare: particularly in terms of the various sectors of the economies (and thus regions) of western Europe; in terms of various industries and trades.
2. How was late-medieval warfare financed in western Europe; and what impact did such financing, apart from warfare itself, have upon the late-medieval economy: benefits and costs?
3. In particular, to what extent was coinage debasement a war-induced fiscal policy (rather than a monetary policy); and what was the impact of such coinage debasements upon the western European economies from the 1290s to the 1460s: the benefits and costs?
4. Discuss the Maddicott-Miller thesis concerning the late-medieval economy and the impact of war taxation; and the critical response of Bridbury.
5. Did the late-medieval European economy(ies) undergo a long-term secular decline (Simiand's 'Phase B') or contraction of 'depression' (or series of depressions). Is such a decline or contraction more than merely a reflection of or response to demographic decline? If so, what role did warfare, and war-related fiscal and monetary (coinage) policies play in that decline, including demographic decline? In particular, discuss the Van der Wee-Peeters thesis in the 1970 Annales article, in reading no. B.11. In what ways specifically did warfare and war finance disrupt long-established patterns of the later medieval European economies, particularly trade routes?
6. How was late-medieval warfare conducted: how were wars fought; how destructive of people and property was such warfare?
7. What role did warfare and war-finance play in the emergence of a more centralized, and less feudal form of 'nation-state' in later-medieval or 'Renaissance' Europe?