

FISCAL-MILITARY SYSTEM PROJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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SECTION A: CONCEPTS

A1. Fiscal-Military State

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'A useful comparative study of two states that appeared to earlier historians to offer different state-building models, with Prussia epitomizing the strong, absolutist, bureaucratic state, contrasted with Britain's weaker, consensual, and self-governing one. The essays challenge some of these assumptions.'

Conca Messina, Silvia A. *A History of States and Economic Policies in Early Modern Europe*. Perspectives in economic and social history 57. New York: Routledge, 2019.

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'Important collection of essays engaging with Brewer 1989. The variety of approaches utilized by this collection's contributors shows the range and scope of the questions raised by Brewer.'

Storrs, C., (ed.), *The fiscal-military state in eighteenth-century Europe* (Farnham, 2009).

'As well as an introductory overview, and the context of international rivalry (by Hamish Scott), also included are essays on Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and Savoy/Sardinia.'

Torres Sánchez, Rafael, *Constructing a Fiscal-Military State in eighteenth-century Spain* (Farnham, 2015).

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'Focusing on the period of 1639–1674, shows how military pressures forced the British state to professionalize its army and (especially) navy, and to construct a fiscal-administrative apparatus to pay for it. The creation of the standing army and navy both built the state and made Britain one of the great European powers.'

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Rejects the supposed inevitability of state-controlled armies and rather shows the effectiveness of new private-public partnerships and the continuously essential role of private enterprise in warfare also after 1650. Focus on military commanders.

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A5 War and the State

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SECTION B: AGENTS AND ACTORS

B1 Contractors, Enterprisers, and Entrepreneurs

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SECTION D: ECONOMIC ASPECTS

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F4. Geneva and the Swiss Confederation

F4.1 Archival Sources

Switzerland

Archives d'Etat de Genève (AEG)

3e Section: Politique Extérieure

- Cote France, includes correspondence of ambassadors 1687-8, 1726-98
- Cote Affaires étrangères (AE), includes extracts from the Conseils register 1535-1772, treaties 1186-1725 (AE9-19 NB not in chronological order)

5e Section: Administration Publique

- Registres du conseil – minutes digitised and available online
- Banques: covers individual banks 1798-1982 – mostly later period
- Habitation: foreigners living in Geneva
- Fond Charles Senebier: A Genevan in French military service 1702-63

NB other private papers

France

Archives des Affaires étrangères, La Courneuve, Paris (AAE)

- *Correspondance politique*: Genève, Suisse, Grisons, Savoie-Sardaigne
- *Mémoires et documents*: Suisse, Fonds France

Archives nationales, Paris (AN)

- *Series G7*: correspondence of the contrôleurs-général des finances.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (BnF)

- Extensive range of documents in the *Archives et manuscrits* department, mostly concerning French negotiations in the Confederation and Geneva in the years between the 1590s and the 1630s.

Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, Paris (SHD)

- *Series A1*: various files contain the correspondence of French recruiters in Switzerland in the Louisquatorzian era (particularly Stoppa).
- *Sous-séries X^G*: Suisses au service de la France, XVIIe-XIXe siècles

Italy

Archivio di Stato di Torino

- Primarily in the *Lettere ministri* and *Negoziazioni con i Svizzeri* series.

United Kingdom

National Archives

- *State Papers Foreign, Switzerland*: letters from British envoys in Bern and Geneva.

British Library

- Much material in Blenheim Papers concerning Geneva, Switzerland, Savoie, in WoSS.

F4.2 Printed primary sources

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Histoire de la miraculeuse delivrance envoyée de Dieu à la Ville de Geneve (Geneva, 1603)

A perticuler and true narration of that great and gracious deliuerance, that it pleased God of late to vouchsafe vnto the cittie of Geneva: namely vpon the. xij. of December last in the yeere 1602 (London, 1603).

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F4.3 Secondary Sources

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Coleby, A. M., *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History*. (Cambridge, 1987).

Examines the impact of the growing British fiscal-military state at a local level, as one of the few regional studies of its impact. Argues that local elites supported the revenue or militia where it aligned with their own interests, but otherwise frequently failed to cooperate.

Conway, S., *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (Oxford, 2000).

Examines the impact of the American Revolutionary War (1775-83) on British politics, society and economy, and the efforts of the British state to mobilise these resources for use in North America.

Conway, S., *War, State, and Society in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Oxford ; New York, 2006).

A study of British state formation during the Seven Years War (1756-63), showing how British military and naval successes reflected the strength of its economy and political system, which enabled the state to tap into its resources.

Cookson, J. E., *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1997).

Examines the militia and other volunteer forces in Britain (including Scotland and Ireland) during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, arguing that the British state was successful in mobilising up to a quarter of British adult men for its defence.

Cope, S. R., *Walter Boyd, a Merchant Banker in the Age of Napoleon* (Gloucester, 1983).

A study of the financial mechanisms behind the British national debt in the 1790s, in particular the banking syndicates with whom the Treasury contracted to raise debts, and the challenges as well as the rewards which they offered.

Corrigan, P. and Sayer, D., *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford, 1986).

A Marxist reading of state formation in Britain from mediaeval to modern times, arguing that it reflected a growing need among elites to control society, which justified the creation of institutions for this purpose.

Crouzet, F. 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution', in P. L. R. Higonnet, D. S. Landes and H. Rosovsky (eds.), *Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth, and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution*, (London, 1991), pp. 221-266.

Examines the role of the Huguenots in the English financial revolution, arguing that they played a minor but important role as investors or channels for investment.

Danaher, K. (ed.), *The Danish Force in Ireland, 1690-1691* (Dublin, 1962).

A study of the Danish troops in Ireland, the first example of foreign troops being hired by the British state for service in Britain itself, and their contribution to the defeat of Jacobite forces.

Dawson, F. G., *The First Latin American Debt Crisis: The City of London and the 1822-25 Loan Bubble* (New Haven, 1990).

Examines the emergence of the City of London as a financial centre for floating South American debt in the 1820s, the development of financial structures to facilitate this, and the financial crisis that resulted when these structures failed to regulate speculation.

Desan, C., *Making Money: Coin, Currency, and the Coming of Capitalism*, First edition. edn, 2014).

Examines the intellectual, ideological and practical development of the British financial revolution, emphasising in particular the continued political interventions by the British state in the construction of London's financial institutions.

Davey, James, *The Transformation of British Naval Strategy: Seapower and Supply in northern Europe, 1808-1812* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2012)

Arises out of the 'contractor-state' project of Knight and Wilcox (see below), but offers a detailed case study of its successful operation during the Baltic campaign in the later stages of the Napoleonic war, examining not only the Victualling Board but also its interaction with the Transport Board, and the role of the Admiralty in coordinating their efforts for greater efficiency.

Davies, J. D., *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford, 1991).

Examines the tensions within the English navy after 1660, when professional officers or 'tarpaulins' clashed with royalist appointees, raising wider issues about the balance of political reliability and professional skill in military forces.

Dickson, P. G. M., *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688-1756* (London, 1967).

The definitive study of England's 'financial revolution' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, offering detailed examinations of the growth of national debt instruments and the markets for trading them, as well as the networks and brokers that emerged around them. Refined in points of detail by later work, but still the primary reference for all studies of English finance before 1756.

Dietz, V. E. 'The Politics of Whiskey: Scottish Distillers, the Excise and the Pittite State', *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 1 (1997), 35-69.

A study of the difficulties of revenue administration even in the late eighteenth century at the height of British fiscal-military power, pointing out how Scottish distillers used their remoteness from British authority to circumvent strict excise taxation.

Donagan, B, *War in England, 1642-9* (Oxford, 2008)

Detailed study of military culture and thought during the English Civil War, including the role of honour and discipline, and the continued importance of civilian standards of conduct and loyalty in moderating military practices based on European experiences.

Dziennik, Matthew, *The fatal land: war, empire and the Highland soldier in british America* (Yale University Press: New Haven, CT, 2015)

Examines the recruitment of Highland soldiers for the British army in the mid-eighteenth century, arguing that the army continued to rely on clan chiefs as intermediaries, resulting in the incorporation of clan social structures and cultures into army regiments.

Eagly, R.V. and V.K. Smith, 'Domestic and international integration of the London money market, 1731-1789', *The Journal of Economic History*, 36 (1976), 198-216.

Ehrman, J., *The Navy in the War of William III, 1689-1697: Its State and Direction* (Cambridge, 1953).

Comprehensive study of naval warfare and administration in the 1690s, arguing that both were stretched by the unprecedented demands of warfare during this period, and that this process led to changes that supported eighteenth century naval power.

Ferguson, N., *The house of Rothschild: money's prophets, 1789-1849* (London, 1998)

Definitive study of the Rothschilds; this volume covers their origins in Germany, the spread of their financial networks across Europe, and their rise to prominence as contractors to the British state during the Napoleonic War and as financial intermediaries for European nations on the British financial markets after 1815.

Ferguson, N., *The cash nexus: money and power in the modern world, 1700-2000* (London, 2002)

Sweeping study of finance across the world, but based ultimately on a study of bond prices in London (and later in New York) as both a reflection and cause of money's impact on the wider world, by driving processes such as military intervention.

Francis, A. D., *The First Peninsular War, 1702-1713* (London, 1975).

A detailed study of the Spanish and Portuguese theatres of the War of the Spanish Succession, highlighting in particular the nature of coalition warfare.

Games, Alison, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: OUP, 2008)

A key text in the historiography of the early British Empire, focussing on the importance of individuals in the construction of imperial power and the networks that facilitated this.

Garnham, N., *The Militia in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: In Defence of the Protestant Interest* (Woodbridge, 2012).

Studies the development of the militia in Ireland during the eighteenth century, showing how it initially served to defend the Protestant Ascendancy against the Catholic Irish, but gradually turned into a political force that pressed for Irish autonomy in the 1780s.

Gauci, Perry, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660-1800* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)

Studies the economic, social and institutional context in which British merchants operated during the era of mercantilism and the rise of empire, including the operation of key London commercial institutions such as the Royal Exchange and other mercantile markets.

Gauci, Perry, *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society* (Oxford, 2001)

A study of the activities of English merchants as interest groups and lobbyists during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the challenges and opportunities that this offered for the development of colonial trade and the imperial mercantilist system.

Gilbert, A. N. 'Law and Honour among Eighteenth-Century British Army Officers', *Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 75-87.

A study of military culture among army officers in the eighteenth century, arguing that it was fundamental to their professional and personal identity.

Glover, R. G., *Peninsular Preparation: The Reform of the British Army, 1795-1809* (Cambridge, 1963).

Examines the changes carried out within the British army before Wellington's campaigns, and how these supported its effectiveness. Argues in particular for the positive impact of the Duke of York as Commander in Chief.

Graham, Aaron, *Corruption, Party and Government in Britain, 1702-13* (OUP, 2015)

Examines military finance during the War of the Spanish Succession and the political and financial networks which underlay it, arguing that bureaucratic state formation was supplemented by informal networks of political and personal allegiance that coordinated their actions, but which looked from the outside like corruption.

Graham, A. 'Auditing Leviathan: Corruption and State Formation in Early Eighteenth Century Britain', *English Historical Review* 128, no. 533 (2013), 806-38.

A study of corruption, auditing, accounting and military finance during the War of the Spanish Succession, showing how officials were able to circumvent rules to act in ways which looked corrupt, but were sometimes vital for the effectiveness of the army.

Graham, A. 'Public Service and Private Profit: British Fiscal-Military Entrepreneurship Overseas, 1707-12', in J. Fynn-Paul ed., *War, Entrepreneurs and the State in Europe and the Mediterranean, 1300-1800*, (Leiden, 2014), pp. 87-110.

Examines a chain of military finance connecting a garrison in Spain with British officials in Portugal and London, arguing that entrepreneurship among agents led them to introduce their own funds into the system in return for a rake-off from payments.

Graham, A. 'Military Contractors and the Money Markets, 1700-15', in A. Graham and P. Walsh eds., *The British Fiscal-Military States, 1660-C. 1783*, (London, 2016), pp. 83-112.

Uses legal records to reconstruct the commercial and financial networks in London during the early eighteenth century which enabled contractors to raise funds on British government financial instruments such as clothing warrants, and the limits of this system.

Graham, Aaron, 'The War of the Spanish Succession, the Financial Revolution, and the Imperial Loans of 1706 and 1710', in M. Pohlig and M. Schaich eds., *The War of the Spanish Succession: New Perspectives*, (Oxford, 2018).

Studies how loans were raised in London for Habsburg forces in 1706 and 1710, through a network of British financiers and diplomats, and the various political and commercial negotiations which took place to uphold the financial reputation of the Imperial regime.

Graham, A. and Walsh, P., eds., *The British Fiscal-Military States, 1660-C.1783* (London, 2016).

An edited volume of essays on aspects of fiscal-military state formation in the British Isles during the eighteenth century, pointing out local variations and the limits of bureaucratic reform. With a retrospective by John Brewer on *The Sinews of Power*.

Gruber von Arni, E., *Hospital Care and the British Standing Army, 1660-1714, History of Medicine in Context* (Aldershot, 2006).

Detailed study of the administration and practice of military medicine and hospital care during the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with a focus not only on domestic medicine but also the challenges of overseas medical care.

Gunn, S., Grummitt, D. and Cools, H., *War, State, and Society in England and the Netherlands 1477-1559* (Oxford, 2007).

Comprehensive and ambitious survey and comparison of warfare and state formation in England and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century.

Guy, A. J. 'Regimental Agency in the British Standing Army, 1715-1763; a Study in Georgian Military Administration (Part I)', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52 (1979-80), pp. 423-453.

Guy, A. J. 'Regimental Agency in the British Standing Army, 1715-1763; a Study in Georgian Military Administration (Part II)', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53 (1980-1), pp. 31-57.

Detailed studies of regimental agency during the eighteenth century, highlighting the administrative and financial roles of major agents such as John Calcraft, and how their efforts enabled the British state to operate with only minimal formal bureaucracy.

Guy, A. J., *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army 1714-63* (Manchester, 1985).

A comprehensive and deeply-informed study of military administration during the mid-eighteenth century and its impact on the military effectiveness of the British army and its officer corps, stressing in particular how the complex nature of the system required officers and officials to adopt work-arounds to meet its demands.

Hall, F. G., *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946* (Dublin, 1949).

Still the standard reference on the Bank of Ireland, founded in 1783, including a study of its role in the management of Ireland's national debt in the 1780s and 1790s.

Harling, P., *The Waning Of "Old Corruption": The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779-1846* (Oxford, 1996).

A wide-ranging study of corruption and the campaigns for reform of the British fiscal-military state during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and its dismantling after 1815 in the light of new political ideas and administrative programmes.

Hart, S., and J. McCusker, 'The rate of exchange on Amsterdam on London, 1590-1660', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 8, no.3 (1979), 689-705.

Hattendorf, J. B., *England in the War of the Spanish Succession: A Study of the English View and Conduct of Grand Strategy, 1702-1712* (New York, 1987).

Detailed study of English diplomatic and military strategy during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Helleiner, K. F., *The Imperial Loans: A Study in Financial and Diplomatic History* (Oxford, 1965).

A complex but erudite study of the various loans and subsidies advanced by Britain to the Habsburg regime in the 1790s, highlighting the interplay of financial and diplomatic forces in their negotiation.

Hoon, E. E., *The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786* (Newton Abbot, 1968).

Detailed administrative history of the English customs system before the reforms of the 1780s, highlighting how parallel administrative arrangements developed in the eighteenth century to circumvent mediaeval structures and meet the demands of war.

Hope-Jones, A., *Income Tax in the Napoleonic Wars, Cambridge Studies in Economic History* (Cambridge, 1939).

Examines the politics and administration of the income tax, introduced by Pitt in the 1790s to support the war effort, and highlighting in particular the continuities with the earlier land tax through the use of unpaid local commissioners to administer assessment, thereby making it more politically acceptable.

Hoppit, Julian, 'Financial Crises in Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review* 39, no. 1 (1986), 39-58.

Survey of financial crisis in England in the eighteenth century, arguing that until the late eighteenth century their economic impact has been overstated, since early financial institutions were only monetising a small proportion of the overall national economy.

Hoppit, Julian, 'Attitudes to credit in Britain, 1680-1790', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 305-22

Horsefield, J. K., *British Monetary Experiments, 1650-1710* (Cambridge, MA, 1960).

Comprehensive survey of the development of financial and monetary structures during the late seventeenth century, emphasising the overwhelming importance of warfare and financial pressure in the creation of schemes such as the Bank of England.

Houlding, J. A., *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford, 1981).

Detailed examination of the training and day-to-day duties of the British army during the eighteenth century, emphasising how its various other commitments, such as revenue policing or riot control, meant that it was invariably broken up into small units. As a result, officers and men lacked experienced in large-scale military manouvers.

Hughes, E., *Studies in Administration and Finance, 1558-1825: With Special Reference to the History of Salt Taxation in England* (Philadelphia, 1980).

A dense but comprehensive examination of the excise system in eighteenth century Britain, through a study of the overlapping salt taxation scheme. Emphasis in particular the political limits on state capacity, when lobbying by interest groups forced the Treasury to overrule the excise system and allow concession.

Hunt, M. R. 'Women and the Fiscal-Imperial State in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century London', in K. Wilson ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 29-47.

Examines the interaction of sailors' wives with the British fiscal-military system in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, as petitioners for relief and holders of wage tickets from their husbands.

Israel, Jonathan, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange and the English Revolution of 1688', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 103 (1990), 412-18

Jacobsen, G. A., *William Blathwayt: A Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator*, *Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany* (Oxford, 1932).

Detailed biography of a quintessential bureaucrat in the Restoration and Williamite regime, with responsibility for military and colonial affairs. Emphasises the role of patronage and private networks in his effectiveness, and thus the limits of bureaucracy.

Jones, D. W., *War and Economy in the Age of William III and Marlborough* (Oxford, 1988).

Detailed study of the economic bases of British warfare in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, arguing that British armies in Europe relied on the ebb and flow of Britain's balance of payments with Europe, which were negative in the 1690s but positive in the 1700s, affecting the extent of supply.

Joslin, David, 'London bankers in wartime 1739-64', in L.S. Pressnell (ed.), *Studies in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Athlone, 1960), pp.156-76.

Kaplan, H. H., *Nathan Mayer Rothschild and the Creation of a Dynasty: The Critical Years 1806-1816* (Stanford, 2006).

Examines Rothschild as a contractor for remitting money to Wellington's armies in the Iberian Peninsula during his campaigns, arguing that Rothschild (in collaboration with Sir Charles Herries and the Treasury) was able to use private networks to find the cash to support British military finance.

Kelly, C., *War and the Militarization of British Army Medicine, 1793-1830* (London, 2011).

Examines the development of the military medical profession during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and argues that the experience of warfare led to the creation of a professional identity that helped break down divisions in the wider medical profession.

Kiernan, T. J., *History of the Financial Administration of Ireland to 1817* (London, 1930).

Dense but comprehensive study of financial administration in Ireland, focussing largely on the eighteenth century and detailing the adaptations necessary as spending on Irish regiments increased.

King, W. T. C., *History of the London Discount Market* (London, 2nd edn, 1972).

Complex but important study of the operation of the London financial market from the late eighteenth century, including the role of discounting houses in providing liquidity for private and public borrowing, and the Bank of England as a lender of last resort.

Kleer, R. "'Fictitious Cash': English Public Finances and Paper Money, 1689-97", in C. McGrath and C. Fauske eds., *Money, Power and Print: Interdisciplinary Studies on the Financial Revolution in the British Isles*, (Newark, DE, 2008), pp. 70-103.

Examines the creation of paper money by the Bank of England in the early stages of the financial revolution, as a response to the financial pressures generated by warfare during the Nine Years War.

Kleer, R. 'A New Species of Money': British Exchequer Bills, 1707-1711', *Financial History Review* 22, no. 2 (2015), 179-203.

A study of the revival of Exchequer Bills in 1707 to meet the financial needs of warfare, and the system of contracting by the Bank of England which encouraged their circulation, with the aim of both funding the war and increasing the money supply.

Kleer, R., *Money, Politics and Power: Banking and Public Finance in Wartime England, 1694-1696* (London, 2017).

A detailed study of public finance during the crucial phases of the early English financial revolution between the formation of the Bank of England in 1694 and the development of the Exchequer Bill system in 1696, due to the failure of the project for a land bank.

Knight, R. J. B., *Britain against Napoleon: The Organisation of Victory, 1793-1815*, (2013).

Synthetic overview of the British war effort during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, emphasising the unprecedented mobilisation of British resources to meet the demand for finance and military power, thanks to the strength of the British state.

Knight, R. J. B. and Wilcox, M., *Sustaining the Fleet, 1793-1815: War, the British Navy and the Contractor State* (Woodbridge, 2010).

Comprehensive study of naval victualling during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, arguing that the Victualling Board relied heavily on British and overseas contractors for resources such as flour, beef and pork, and in colonial and provincial ports employed contractors to meet all of the needs of naval victualling.

Knight, M. 'Samuel Pepys and Corruption', *Parliamentary History* 33, no. 1 (2014), pp. 19-35.

A study of Samuel Pepys and naval corruption in the Restoration, arguing that Pepys felt that he was not corrupted by accepting gifts from contractors because he did not feel that this affected the decisions he made about which tenders should be accepted.

Kofas, J., *Financial relations of Greece and the Great Powers, 1832-1862* (London, 1981)

Emphasises the importance of British and French loans during the Greek War of Independence, and the political and diplomatic issues which surrounded them, involving negotiations through supporters of Greek independence in London and Paris.

Kynaston, David, *The City of London: vol. 1, A world of its own, 1815-90* (London, 1994)

Comprehensive survey of the post-1815 development of the City of London as the leading European financial centre, though drawing heavily on secondary literature and focussed more on the end than the beginning of the period.

Kynaston, David, *Till time's last sand: a history of the Bank of England, 1694-2013* (London, 2017)

Extensive study of the development of the Bank of England, though largely focussed on the late nineteenth century onwards, and lacking scholarly apparatus.

Langeluddecke, H. "the Chiefest Strength and Glory of This Kingdom": Arming and Training The "Perfect Militia" In the 1630s', *English Historical Review* 118, no. 479 (2003), 1264-1303.

Examination of efforts by Charles I to overhaul the militia system during the 1630s in response to changing military tactics and practices, especially the experience of war overseas, and to create a force more reliably under Crown control.

Levandis, John A., *Greek foreign debt and the Great Powers, 1821-1898* (New York, 1944)

Uses foreign debt and sovereign borrowing to draw out a wider study of politics and diplomacy in nineteenth century Europe, arguing that for the Great Powers such lending often served as an extension of diplomatic policy.

Lincoln, Margarette, *Trading in War: London's Maritime World in the Age of Cook and Nelson* (New Haven: Yale, 2018)

Little, H. M. 'The Treasury, the Commissariat and the Supply of the Combined Army in Germany During the Seven Years War (1756-1763)', University of London, 1981).

Comprehensive study of military logistics and contracting in Europe during the Seven Years War, focussing on the administrative and financial problems of supplying provisions to allied armies using local contractors.

Macdonald, J., *The British Navy's Victualling Board, 1793-1815: Management Competence and Incompetence* (Woodbridge, 2010).

Study of the administrative and bureaucratic management of the Victualling Board during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, arguing that in general the Board was able to cope with crises but had less success solving 'systemic' problems of inefficiency.

Malcolmson, A. P. W., *Nathaniel Clements: Government and the Governing Elite in Ireland, 1725-75* (Dublin, 2005).

Uses a biographical study of Nathaniel Clements, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in the mid-eighteenth century, to assess the operation of the Irish fiscal-military state during this period, including the operation of military finance and the British state.

Manning, R. B., *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003).

A study of military culture within British armies in the early seventeenth century and the British Civil Wars, stressing the importance of honour, duty, loyalty and discipline in the formation of professional and personal identities.

Manning, R. B., *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford, 2006).

General survey of the development of the British army during the seventeenth century, based mainly on secondary sources but emphasising the importance of the Civil Wars of the mid-century as a spur for the professionalization of the army and its administration.

Mathias, P. and P.K. O'Brien, 'Taxation in Britain and France, 1715-1810: A Comparison of the Social and Economic Incidence of Taxes Collected for the Central Governments', *Journal of European Economic History*, 5 (1976), 601-50.

Important study comparing the incidence of taxation in Britain and France as a percentage of national income. Argues that the British state could extract showed greater volatility, ranging from 5 pct in peacetime to 20 pct in wartime, whereas the French state was less flexible and collected more in peacetime but less in wartime.

McCormack, M. 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Masculinity in the Affair of the Hanoverian Soldier, 1756', *Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (2006), 971-93

Examination of military and political culture in the mid-eighteenth century, stressing how the development of a professional standing army forced British society to reassess its views of professional soldiers versus citizen militias.

McGrath, C. I., *Ireland and Empire, 1692-1770* (London, 2012).

Sweeping survey of the Irish fiscal-military state between the Williamite War and 1770, highlighting the growing amounts spent on the garrison, thanks to increased taxation and a system of public debt, and the investment in military infrastructure such as barracks, in some cases several decades before comparable investments in Britain.

Melton, F. T., *Sir Robert Clayton and the Origins of English Deposit Banking, 1658-1685* (Cambridge, 1986).

Study of the scrivener-banker Sir Robert Clayton during the early stages of the English financial revolution, indicating the networks of credit which supported the flotations of public debt.

Michie, R. C., *The London Stock Exchange: A History* (Oxford, 1999).

Comprehensive history of the London Stock Exchange, from the informal trading of stocks and shares from the late seventeenth century in the Royal Exchange and Exchange Alley to the formation of a formal market in the 1770s, and its later growth.

Morriss, R., *Naval Power and British Culture, 1760-1850: Public Trust and Government Ideology* (Aldershot, 2004).

Study of the perceptions of British naval administration within British politics and the wider public, arguing that reforms were driven by growing perceptions of waste, corruption and inefficiency from the 1780s, and drew on new Benthamite ideology.

Morriss, R., *The Foundations of British Maritime Ascendancy: Resources, Logistics and the State, 1755-1815* (Cambridge, 2010).

Argues that the basis of British naval power from the mid-eighteenth century onwards was the quality of its bureaucratic administration, which enabled the efficient and direct mobilisation of resources rather than a reliance on inefficient contractors.

Muldrew, C., *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

Important study of credit networks in early modern England, using a series of court records regarding suits for debts. Argues that credit was generated by trust, itself a product of personal factors such as reputation that had no economic basis.

Murphy, A. L. 'Lotteries in the 1690s: Investment or Gamble?', *Financial History Review* 12, no. 2 (2005), p. 227-46.

Examines the development of lotteries during the early stages of the financial revolution in the 1690s, arguing that they required a period of experimentation as projectors and investors worked out the best way to manage them.

Murphy, A. L. 'Demanding 'Credible Commitment': Public Reactions to the Failures of the Early Financial Revolution', *Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (2013), 178-197.

An assessment of the theory of 'credible commitment' by North and Weingast in the 1690s, arguing that investors represented their demands for a credible commitment by the English state to financial prudence through the public sphere.

Murphy, Anne, *The Origins of English Financial Markets: Investment and Speculation before the South Sea Bubble* (Cambridge, 2012)

A study in unprecedented depth of the development of British financial markets during the early stages of the 'financial revolution' in the 1690s and 1700s, showing how these initial financial measures were floated, and the mechanisms which underpinned British financial power.

Murray, J. J., *George I, the Baltic and the Whig Split of 1717: A Study in Diplomacy and Propaganda* (London, 1969).

Detailed study of politics, diplomacy and warfare at home and abroad during the Baltic Crisis of 1716 and 1718, showing how these interacted with each other to direct the projection of power by the English state.

Murtagh, H., 'Schomberg, Ruvigny and the Huguenots in Ireland: William III's Irish War, 1689-91', in M. Glozier and D. Onnekink eds., *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*, (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 95-110.

Study of Huguenots as military officers and soldiers during the Williamite War in Ireland, arguing that they played an important role in stiffening British forces there.

Neal, L., 'The integration and efficiency of the London and Amsterdam stock markets in the eighteenth century', *The Journal of Economic History*, 47 (1987), 97-115.

Examines the degree of integration between the London and Amsterdam financial markets, using the convergence of key financial metrics such as share prices and exchange rates to argue that they were increasingly integrated in this period, facilitating the flow of money through these major financial hubs.

Neal, L., *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, 1990).

Comprehensive study of London, Amsterdam and (to some extent) Paris as financial hubs and their interaction during the eighteenth century, using metrics such as share prices and exchange rates to emphasise the growing degree of integration.

Neal, Larry and Quinn, S. 'Networks of Information, Markets and Institutions in the Rise of London as a Financial Centre, 1660-1720', *Financial History Review* 8, no. 1 (2001), pp. 7-26.

Examines how London's rise as a financial centre around 1700 both relied upon and reflected its status as a key node in networks of commercial and political information, which merchants and bankers relied on in their operations.

North, D. C. and B.R. Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th Century England', *Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989), pp. 803-832.

Important and much-cited article arguing that the Glorious Revolution replaced royal control over public finance with parliamentary control, creating a 'credible commitment' which reassured investors and encouraged them to invest in British public debt.

Nye, J. V. C., *War, Wine, and Taxes: The Political Economy of Anglo-French Trade, 1689-1900* (Princeton, NJ, 2007).

Study of the intersection of commerce, politics and political economy, arguing that British trade policy with France (including customs duties and tariffs) reflected wider political and diplomatic concerns rather than merely commercial or financial aims.

O'Brien, P. 'The Political Economy of British Taxation, 1660-1815', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 41 (1988), pp. 1-32.

An enormously important article, arguing that the share of taxation as a percentage of British economic output rose from 5 pct in the 1690s to 10 pct for much of the eighteenth century, and 20 pct before 1815. The ability of the British state to develop effective means to mobilise such a large share of its economy was crucial to victory.

Onnekink, D., *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649-1709)* (Aldershot, 2007).

Biographical study of Bentinck, favourite of William III and an important ally in the management of the war effort in Britain and Europe after 1689, where he acted as an intermediary between the king and British interest groups.

Ormrod, D., *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge, 2003).

Important study of the economic underpinnings of Dutch and then British economic supremacy, analysing their mutual interaction.

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Rodger, N. A. M., *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* ([London], 1986).

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Rodger, N. A. M., *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (London, 2005).

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Roseveare, H., *The Financial Revolution, 1660-1760* (London, 1991).

A short survey of the financial revolution in Britain, based mainly on Dickson, 1956.

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Satow, E. M., *The Silesian Loan and Frederick the Great* (Oxford, 1915).

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Schwoerer, L. G., *No Standing Armies!: The Anti-Army Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1974).

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Study of the impact of the Dutch state on English state formation after 1660, emphasising the role of Sir George Downing, the English ambassador to the Republic, as a conduit for institutional reforms modelled on Dutch precedents.

Scott, W. R., *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*. 3 vols (New York, 1951).

Highly detailed study of financial projects during the early phases of the financial revolution, including major semi-public corporations such as the Bank of England, the East India Company and the South Sea Company, up to the Bubble of 1720-1.

Scouller, R. E., *The Armies of Queen Anne* (Oxford, 1966).

Comprehensive if rather unimaginative study of British armies and military administration during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Sherwig, J., *Guineas and gunpowder: British foreign aid, 1793-1815* (1969)

Detailed study of subsidies and British diplomacy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, emphasising the interplay of political, diplomatic, financial and military concerns, but written mainly from the British point of view.

Simms, B., *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714-1783* (London, 2007).

Wide-ranging and ambitious survey of British diplomacy during the eighteenth century, emphasising the importance of European alliances for British military victories and the dramatic consequences after 1775 when Britain faced European armies alone.

Sperling, J. 'Godolphin and the Organization of Public Credit, 1702-1710', University of Cambridge, 1955).

Detailed study of the management of public finance and taxation under Godolphin during the War of the Spanish Succession, emphasising the importance of close relations with the City of London for maintaining confidence in English public debt.

Stapleton, J. M. 'The Blue-Water Dimension of King William's War: Amphibious Operations and Allied Strategy During the Nine Years War, 1688-1697', in D. J. B. Trim and M. C. Fissel (eds.), *Amphibious Warfare 1000-1700: Commerce, State Formation and European Expansion*, (Leiden, 2006), pp. 315-356.

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Detailed history of British privateering in the eighteenth century, examining not only its military impact but also the commercial concerns which most privateers faced, and the success of the policy of contracting out this function to private individuals.

Stone, L. (ed.), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London, 1993).

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Strachan, Hew, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54* (Manchester, 1984).

Examines the administration of the British army in the early Victorian period, arguing that Wellington's immense prestige and conservative influence meant that the army failed to enact major reforms and entered the Crimean War largely unchanged from Waterloo.

Sundstrom, R. A., *Sidney Godolphin: Servant of the State* (Newark, 1992).

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Sussman, Nathan and Yafeh, Yishay, 'Institutional Reforms, Financial Development and Sovereign Debt: Britain 1690-1790', *Journal of Economic History* 66, no. 4 (2006), 906-35.

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Detailed study of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, arguing that it relied heavily on foreign resources, but that the British state was able to draw on recent experience to mobilise resources in order to match and defeat them.

't Hart, M. C., '"The Devil or the Dutch": Holland's Impact on the Financial Revolution in England, 1643-1694', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 11, no. 1 (1991), 39-52.

Challenges the orthodoxy that the British financial revolution was based on Dutch precedents, by pointing out that superficial similarities concealed important differences between institutions such as the Amsterdam Bank and the Bank of England.

Temin, P. and Voth, H.-J., *Prometheus Shackled: Goldsmith Banks and England's Financial Revolution* (Oxford, 2013).

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Walsh, P. 'The Fiscal State in Ireland, 1691-1769', *Historical Journal* 56, no. 3 (2013), 629-56.

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Walsh, P., *The South Sea Bubble and Ireland: Money, Banking and Investment, 1690-1721* (Woodbridge, 2014).

Study of financial participation by provincial Britons in the early stages of the financial revolution, with a particular focus on Irish and Scottish investors.

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Short but relatively detailed study of the administrative problems of coalition warfare in the Peninsular War, including the difficulties of managing finance, and the reliance on personal relationships to overcome these problems.

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Very short but important study of the English land tax during the eighteenth century, emphasising the scope that it offered for negotiations between the central state and local interests, and the political problems blocking the updating of tax quotas.

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Wilson, Charles, *Anglo-Dutch commerce and finance in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1941)

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F9. Riga

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Mollat, Michel (ed.), *Le Navire et l'économie maritime du Nord de l'Europe du Moyen Age au XVIIIème siècle* (Paris, 1960).

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F10. Vienna

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