

## **FISCAL-MILITARY SYSTEM PROJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY**

(see also [www.oxfordbibliographies.com](http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com): “Fiscal-Military State”, “Warfare and Military Organizations”, and “War and Trade”)

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### **SECTION A: CONCEPTS**

#### **A1. Fiscal-Military State**

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## **A2. Contractor State**

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#### **A4 International Order**

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## **SECTION F: CASE STUDIES**

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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, Genève, 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<sup>6</sup>*: 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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*Barthélemy, François. Papiers de Barthélemy, ambassadeur de France en Suisse, 1792-1797, publiés sous les auspices de la Commission des archives diplomatiques par Alexandre Tausserat-Radel (1886).*

*Bishop Burnet's travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, etc.*

*Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux des finances avec les intendants des Provinces. Tome premier, 1683 à 1699 / publ. par ordre du Ministre des finances, d'après les documents conservés aux Archives nationales, par A. M. de Boislisle, (... 1874-97).*

Colladon, Esaie, *Journal d'Esaié Colladon: mémoires sur Genève 1600–1605* (Geneva, 1883).

*Correspondance de Roland Dupré: Second Résident de France a Geneve, 1680-1688.*

*Documents sur l'Escalade de Genève tirés des archives de Simancas, Turin, Milan, Rome, Paris et Londres* (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, 1903).

*Factums judiciaires genevois* (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, 1988).

Flournoy, Jacques, *Journal, 1675-1692* (published in Geneva by Librairie Droz, 1994).

*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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*Inventaire sommaire des documents relatifs à l'histoire de Suisse*, ed. Edouard Rott, 5 vols., 1886-1894

Spon, Jacob, *Histoire de la ville et de l'estat de Genève, depuis les premiers siècles de la fondation de la ville jusqu'à présent* (Utrecht, 1685).

Stanyan, Abraham, *An Account of Switzerland written in the year 1714* (Edinburgh, 1716).

*Lettre de Monsieur le général de St. Saphorin écrite à Monsieur le comte de Marsay à Genève, le 21 octobre en 1734.*

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### **F4.3 Secondary Sources**

#### **Geneva: political, social, financial**

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## **F5. Savoy-Piedmont**

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Ashworth, W. J., *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production and Consumption in England 1640-1845* (Oxford, 2003).

Synthesises recent work on indirect taxation in Britain and analyses its impact on the British economy, arguing in particular that the growing need to measure and quantify the production of goods so that they could be taxed facilitated economic development and industrialisation.

Austin, P., *Baring Brothers and the birth of modern finance* (London, 2015)

A study of Baring Brothers as merchant bankers, including their role in floating loans for a wide variety of Latin American and European regimes after 1815, and the financial mechanisms and networks which allowed them to do so effectively.

Aylmer, G. E., *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649-1660* (London, 1973).

A study of the bureaucracy of the English Republic and Protectorate during the initial period of state formation, arguing that on the one hand there were continuities in recruitment and practice with royal administration, but also key instances of change.

Aylmer, G. E. 'From Office-Holding to Civil Service: The Genesis of Modern Bureaucracy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 30 (1980), pp. 91-108.

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Examines the supply of provisions to British armies in North America during the American Revolutionary War, arguing that the British state was relatively effective at managing contractors, who were constrained more by economic and financial circumstances than by corruption or inefficiency.

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Banner, S., *Anglo-American Securities Regulation: Cultural and Political Roots, 1690-1860* (Cambridge, 1998).

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Bannerman, G., *Merchants and the Military in Eighteenth-Century Britain: British Army Contracts and Domestic Supply, 1739-1763* (London, 2008).

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An extensive economic and social history of German merchants in London and their commercial and cultural connections with Germany, particularly major commercial centres such as Hamburg. Also including their investment in the British national debt.

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Braddick, Michael, 'An English Military Revolution?', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), 965-975.  
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A comprehensive survey of state formation under Elizabeth and the Stuarts, covering not only taxation and warfare but also social and religious policy. Argues that in many cases, state formation represented not so much the creation of new institutions but the absorption of existing methods into explicitly 'royal' rather than private control.

Brewer, J., *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989).

The landmark study of state formation in Britain during the eighteenth century, which pioneered the concept of the fiscal-military state. Based theoretically on the work of Michael Mann and Max Weber, and empirically on a study of the excise administration, it also argues for the importance of politics and parliament in legitimising the taxation that supported the creation of the national debt, and contests the existing scholarship arguing that Britain possessed a relatively weak state compared with absolutist France or Prussia.

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Brooks, C. 'Interest, Patronage and Professionalism: John, 1st Baron Ashburnham, Hastings, and the Revenue Service', *Southern History* 9 (1987), 51-70.

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Examines the system of venality which allowed British army officers to purchase military rank, showing how it was valued as a system which maintained the political reliability of the officer corps, until the military inefficiencies it introduced became too serious to overlook.

Buchet, C., *The British Navy, Economy and Society in the Seven Years War* (Woodbridge, 2013).

A study translated from the French doctoral thesis of naval victualling and contracting during the Seven Years War, arguing that the British state relied heavily on markets at home and abroad to support its projection of power.

Burton, I. F. 'The Secretary at War and the Administration of the Army During the War of the Spanish Succession', University of London, 1960).

Examines the administration of the British army during the early eighteenth century, in particular the evolution of the office of Secretary at War from secretary to the Commander in Chief to an independent official in his own right.

Caputo, Sara, 'Alien seamen in the British navy, British law, and the British state, c. 1793-c. 1815', *Historical Journal* 62 (2019), 685-707

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Carruthers, B.G., *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution* (Princeton, 1996)

Argues that political partisanship influenced patterns of financial investment during the 'financial revolution' circa 1690 to 1720, with Whigs favouring the Bank of England and New East India Company and Tories the Land Bank, Old East India Company and the South Sea Company. It has since been argued that he overstates the extent of this difference, and that many investors were guided more by financial returns than political loyalty.

Chandaman, C. D., *The English Public Revenue, 1660-1688* (Oxford, 1975).

A detailed reconstruction of English taxation under the Restoration, showing how the innovations of the English Republic and Protectorate were preserved and developed by successive officials, contributing to the increased yield and reliability of the Crown's income.

Chatziioannou, Maria, 'War, crisis and sovereign loans: the Greek War of Independence and British economic expansion in the 1820s', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 10 (2013) pp. 33-56

Chew, Emrys, *Arming the periphery: the arms trade in the Indian Ocean during the age of global empire* (London, 2012)

Childs, J., *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976).

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Childs, J., *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702* (Manchester, 1987).

Three detailed studies of the evolution of the British army (including its Scottish and Irish components) between 1660 and 1702, including the continuities with the army of the Protectorate and the political and social impact of its transition into a standing force.

Childs, J, 'The British Brigade in France, 1672-1678', *History* 69 (1984) pp. 384-97

Childs, J., *The Nine Years' War and the British Army 1688-1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991).

A detailed study of British army operations overseas during the Nine Years War, with details on logistics and administration.

Clapham, J. H., *The Bank of England: A History* (Cambridge, 1945).

This remains the standard history of the Bank of England, from its formation in 1694 up to 1945. Provides a broad survey of key incidents, including its role in the management of the national debt and British currency, and the development of the British banking system.

Clark, Dorothy, 'Edward Backwell as a royal agent', *Economic History Review* 9 (1938) pp. 45-55

Clark, G.N. 'War trade and trade war, 1701-1713' *Economic History Review* 1 (1928) pp. 262-80

Clark, Geoffrey, 'Insurance as an instrument of war in the 18th century', in *Geneva Papers on Risk and Insurance: issues and practice* 29 (2004) pp. 247-57

Cockroft, Wayne, *The archaeology of gunpowder and military explosives manufacture* (Liverpool, 2000) ch. 2 'The royal factories, 1759-1850' pp. 30-66

Clay, C. G. A., *Public Finance and Private Wealth: The Career of Sir Stephen Fox, 1627-1716* (Oxford, 1978).

Examines the career of Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster-General of the army in the 1670s and 1680s, and the importance of informal financial intermediation in supporting military credit.

Coffman, D. M., *Excise Taxation and the Origins of Public Debt* (London, 2013).

An important study tracking the evolution of the excise tax from its introduction by Parliamentary forces in 1643 to support the war against the king, its continuation after 1660 by Charles II, and its developing role in supporting the growth of the national debt.

Cole, Gareth, *Arming the Royal Navy, 1793-1815: The Office of Ordnance and the State* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012)

A study of the interaction between the Ordnance Office and the Royal Navy in the supply of the key war materials of gunpowder, cannon and ammunition, focussing mainly on the efforts of the Office to improve their quality through scientific research and better administration.

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.

Crimmin, P.K., 'Searching for British naval stores: sources and strategy c. 1802-1860', *The Great Circle* 18 (1996), 113-24

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.

Edwards, Ifor, 'John Wilkinson and the development of gunfounding in the late eighteenth century', *Welsh Historical Review* 15 (1991) pp. 524-44

Edwards, John Richard, 'Accounting for fair competition between private and public sector armaments manufacturers in Victorian Britain', *Abacus* 51 (2015)

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.

Emsley, Clive, *British society and the French Wars, 1793-1815* (London, 1979)

Falkner, J., *Marlborough's War Machine 1702-1711* (Barnsley, 2014).

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.

Flandreau, Marc, 'Sovereign states, bondholders committees and the London Stock Exchange in the nineteenth century (1827-68): new facts and old fictions', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 29 (2013), 668-96

Flandreau, Marc, and Flores, Juan H., 'The peaceful conspiracy: bond markets and international relations during the pax britannica', *International Organization* 66 (2012), 211-41

Fleischmann, Richard K. and Parker, Lee D., 'Managerial accounting early in the British industrial revolution: the Carron Company, a case study', in *Accounting and Business Research* 20 (1990), 211-21

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.

Fries, Russell, 'British response to the American system: the case of the small-arms industry after 1850', *Technology and Culture* 16 (1975), 377-403

Frykman, Niklas, 'Seamen on late eighteenth-century European warships', *International Review of Social History* 54 (2009), 67-93

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 Sineews 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.

Hodgkinson, Jeremy S., 'The decline of the ordnance trade in the Weald: the Seven Years War and its aftermath', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 134 (1996), 155-67

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 manoeuvres.

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.

Hutchinson, Ranghild, 'The Norwegian and Baltic timber trade to Britain 1780-1835 and its interconnections', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 37 (2012), 578-99

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.

John, A.H., 'War and the English economy, 1700-63', *Economic History Review* 7 (1955) pp. 329-44

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.

Jones, George Hilton, 'The recall of the British from the Dutch service', *Historical Journal* 25 (1982), 423-35

Jones, Philip Dwight, 'The British army in the age of Reform, 1830-1854' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Duke University, 1968)

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.

Kennedy, Catriona (ed), *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: military and civilian experience in Britain and Ireland* (London, 2013)

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.

Knights, 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.

Lambert, Andrew, 'Preparing for the long peace: the reconstruction of the Royal Navy, 1815-1830', *Mariner's Mirror* 82 (1996), 41-54

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.

Liedtke, Rainer, 'Agents for the Rothschilds: a nineteenth-century information network', *European History Yearbook* 16 (2016), 33-46

Linch, Kevin, *Britain and Wellington's army: recruitment, society and tradition, 1807-15* (London, 2011)

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.

Lopez-Morell, Miguel A., *The house of Rothschild in Spain, 1812-1941* (Farnham, 2013)

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 National 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.

Mauskopf, Seymour H., 'The crisis of English gunpowder in the eighteenth century', in Klein, Ursula and Spary, E.C., *Materials and expertise in early modern Europe: between market and laboratory* (Chicago, 2010) pp.289-320

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.

McDonnell, Ciaran, 'A 'fair chance'? The Catholic Irish Brigade in the British service, 1793-1798', *War in History* 23 (2016), 150-68

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.

Nash, R.C., 'The balance of payments and foreign capital flows in eighteenth-century England: a comment', *Economic History Review* 50 (1997), 110-28

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 emphasize the growing degree of integration.

Neal, L., 'Interpreting power and profit in economic history: a case study of the Seven Years War', *Journal of Economic History* 37 (1977), 20-35

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.

Nir, Arielli et al. 'The Foreign Enlistment Act, international law and British politics, 1819-2014', *International History Review* 38 (2016), 636-56

Norris, John T., 'The struggle for Carron: Samuel Garbett and Charles Gascoigne', *Scottish Historical Review* 37 (1958), 136-45

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.

Oosterlink, Kim, et al, 'Baring, Wellington and the resurrection of French public finances following Waterloo', *Journal of Economic History* 74 (2014), 1072-1102

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.

Ostwald, J. 'The "Decisive" Battle of Ramillies, 1706: Prerequisites for Decisiveness in Early Modern Warfare', *Journal of Military History* 64, no. 3 (2000), 649-77.

Uses the Battle of Ramillies in 1706 to draw wider conclusions about the nature of early modern warfare, arguing in particular that battles were rarely decisive off the battlefield unless the right circumstances prevailed.

Outhwaite, R.B., 'The trials of foreign borrowing: the English Crown and the Antwerp money market in the mid-sixteenth century', *Economic History Review* 19 (1966), 289-305



Outhwaite, R.B., 'Royal borrowing in the reign of Elizabeth I: the aftermath of Antwerp', *English Historical Review* 86 (1971), 251-63

Philp, Mark (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: the British response to the threat of invasion, 1797-1815* (London, 2006)

Pizzoni, Giada, *British Catholic Merchants in the Commercial Age 1670-1714* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019)

Pool, B., *Navy Board Contracts, 1660-1832: Contract Administration under the Navy Board* (London, 1966).

Old but still useful study of Navy Board contracting during the eighteenth century, focussing on contracts for ships with private dockyards, and the process of obtaining key resources such as wood or ironworks for ships built in the royal dockyards.

Pollard, S., 'The decline of shipbuilding on the Thames', *Economic History Review*, 3 (1950), 72-89.

Pressnell, L. S., *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 1956).

An important study, still not surpassed, of the rise of country banks in England from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, showing how burgeoning connections with London enabled financiers there to invest in the British national debt.

Quinn, S. 'Gold, Silver and the Glorious Revolution: Arbitrage between Bills of Exchange and Bullion', *Economic History Review* 49 (2nd ser.) (1996), pp. 473-490.

Quantitative study of the financial impact of the Nine Years War on foreign exchange operations, as they were destabilised by taxation and overseas remittances for the benefit of the armies in Europe.

Quinn, S. 'Goldsmith Banking: Mutual Acceptance and Inter-Banker Clearing in Restoration London', *Explorations in Economic History* 34 (1997), pp. 411-432.

Examination of note-clearing by goldsmith-bankers after 1660, a vital stage in the development of a system of paper money, and subsequently adopted by the Bank of England after its formation in 1694.

Quinn, S. 'The Glorious Revolution's Effect on English Private Finance: A Microhistory, 1680-1705', *Journal of Economic History* 61 (2001), pp. 593-615.

Tests the credible commitment hypothesis to see whether the Glorious Revolution and the new political regime had an impact on rates of interest. Finds that there was no immediate change, but a slow decline in interest rates over the medium term.

Rabinowicz, O. K., Tapiero, J. K. and Rabb, T. K., *Sir Solomon De Medina* (London, 1974).

Biographical study of Sir Solomon de Medina, one of the most important provisions contractors of the 1690s. Contains a certain amount of information about his wider commercial networks in Europe, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and his financial investments in support of the credit of the British government.

Redgrave, Toby, 'Wellington's logistical arrangements in the Peninsular War, 1809-1814' (Unpublished PhD thesis, KCL, 1979)

Reitan, E. A., *Politics, Finance, and the People: Economical Reform in England in the Age of the American Revolution, 1770-92* (Basingstoke, 2007).

Examines the process of Economical Reform in Britain during the 1780s, emphasising the political pressure which lay behind demands for reform and the elimination of corruption, and the negotiations which enabled limited reforms by 1792.

Robertson, J., *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh, 1985).

Examines the intellectual and ideological history of the militia in Scotland from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century, and how it shaped changing ideas about the military during the Scottish Enlightenment.

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

A detailed social history of the eighteenth-century navy, emphasising the role of personal networks in the mobilisation and organisation of manpower and how these increasingly came under pressure after 1775, and were replaced by harsher forms of discipline.

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

Comprehensive study of the operations, administration and social history of the British navy from its emergence as a professional standing force in the 1650s to become the dominant naval power in Europe and the wider world after 1815.

Rogers, N., *The Press Gang: Naval Impressment and Its Opponents in Georgian Britain* (London, 2007).

Social history of the press gang and naval impressment during the eighteenth century, emphasising the unpopularity of the press and the various methods used to resist or escape impressment, both in Britain and in colonial territories.

Roseveare, H., *The Treasury, 1660-1870: The Foundations of Control, Historical Problems--Studies and Documents* (London, 1973).

Broad survey of the development of the British Treasury after 1660, emphasising the impact of warfare in driving financial expansion and administrative change, and the political battles necessary to secure Treasury control of spending.

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

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

Salvucci, Richard, *Politics, markets and Mexico's London debt, 1823-1887*

Econometric study of Mexican loans floated on the British market after 1823, and the financial structures and political and diplomatic negotiations which enabled them.

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

Detailed study of the intersections between politics, finance, diplomacy and naval warfare in the case of the Silesian Loan made by Britain to the Habsburgs in the mid-eighteenth century and secured on their Silesian revenues, and whether the Prussian conquest meant that the Hohenzollerns were now responsible for the loan.

Schonharl, Korinna, 'Why does a prestigious emission house emit a loan for a peripheral state? The house of Rothschild and the Greek guaranteed loan of 1833', *Business History* (2019)

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

Intellectual and ideological study of the Standing Army Controversy in Britain in 1697, and the debates over whether to accept the continuation of a standing professional army or return to a militia force, based on the experience of warfare.

Scott, J. "'Good Night Amsterdam": Sir George Downing and Anglo-Dutch Statebuilding', *English Historical Review* 118, no. 476 (2003), 334-356.

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.

Smith, Barbara M.D., 'The Galtons of Birmingham: Quaker gun merchants and bankers, 1702-1831', *Business History*, 9 (1967), 132-50.

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. Applies Baugh's work on the English 'blue water strategy' to examine how these views shaped British military strategy and policy during the Nine Years War.

Starkey, David J., *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter, 1990).

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).

Important series of contributions by leading scholars in reaction to Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, exploring in particular its implications for understanding other areas of British history.

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).

Biographical study of Godolphin as Lord Treasurer in the 1690s and 1700s, emphasising his success in managing the Treasury and relations with financial markets in London in order to create confidence for investors.

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.

Responds to the credible commitment debate by arguing that institutional reforms had only a limited impact on the interest rate, and that other factors, such as the successful development of trust and reputation, underpinned British financial power.

Sutherland, L. S., 'Samson Gideon and the Reduction of Interest, 1749-50', *The Economic History Review* 16, no. 1 (1946), 15-29.

Examines the successful reduction of interest on British debt from 5 pct to 4 pct in 1749, and the role of Jewish financier Samuel Gideon as an intermediary in negotiations between the Treasury and key investors such as the Bank of England.

Syrett, D., *Shipping and the American War, 1775-83: A Study of British Transport Organization*, *University of London Historical Studies* (London, 1970).

A study of the supply of shipping for British forces during the American Revolutionary War, arguing that the lack of a central coordinating body meant that departments competed for ships, pushing up the price and creating inefficiencies.

Syrett, D., *Shipping and Military Power in the Seven Years War: The Sails of Victory*, *Exeter Maritime Studies* (Exeter, 2008).

A prequel to the earlier study, arguing that arrangements for shipping worked better during the Seven Years War because the existence of a Transport Board allowed for effective management of shipping to reduce costs and allocate resources.

Szechi, D., *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (London, 2006).

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.

Taylor, Michael, and Bryson, John, *Understanding the firm: spatial and organizational dimensions* (Oxford, 2006) ch. 3 'Guns, firms and contracts: the evolution of gun-making in Birmingham', pp. 61-84

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

Argues that the growth of the British national debt held back economic development from the late eighteenth century by 'crowding out' investment that would otherwise have gone into industry, using the records of several private banks to show this in operation.

Tomlinson, H. C., *Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office under the Later Stuarts*. Vol. 15 (London, 1979).

A study of the Ordnance Office between 1660 and 1715, arguing that the department did its best to meet the conflicting demands made on it by the army, navy and Treasury, and to manage contractors to provide the resources required.

Tomlinson, H.C., 'Wealden gunfounding: an analysis of its demise in the eighteenth century', *Economic History Review* 29 (1976), 383-400

Waddell, L. M. 'The Administration of the English Army in Flanders and Brabant from 1689 to 1697', University of North Carolina, 1971).

Detailed study of military administration of the English army and its allies in the Netherlands during the Nine Years War, emphasising the challenges of managing and administering a coalition army made up of different nationalities.

Waddell, D.A.G., 'British neutrality and Spanish-American independence: the problem of foreign enlistment', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 19 (1987), 1-18

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

Study of taxation and revenue in Ireland before 1770, arguing that the Irish state relied more on customs and direct taxation than the excise, as was the case in England, but was nevertheless able to tap into Irish resources relatively effectively.

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.

Ward, S., *Wellington's Headquarters: A Study of the Administrative Problems in the Peninsula, 1809-1814* (London, 1957).

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.

Ward, W. R., *The English Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1953).

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.

Webb, S. S. 'William Blathwayt, Imperial Fixer: From Popish Plot to Glorious Revolution (Pt. I)', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 25, no. 1 (1968), 4-21.

Webb, S. S. 'William Blathwayt, Imperial Fixer: Muddling through to Empire, 1689-1717 (Pt. II)', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 26, no. 3 (1969), 373-415.

Two studies of Blathwayt as an imperial bureaucrat, who was able to use his extensive networks of contacts to manage colonial policy.

Webb, S. S., *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681* (Chapel Hill, 1979).

Webb, S. S., *Marlborough's America* (New Haven, 2013)

Webb, S. S. 'Army and Empire: English Garrison Government in Britain and America, 1569 to 1763', *William and Mary Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1977), 1-31.

Introduces the idea of 'garrison government', arguing that the early British Empire relied heavily on military officers to manage its territories, contributing to the absolutist manner in which they were ruled and thus creating the roots of colonial independence.

West, J., *Gunpowder, Government and War in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (London, 1991).

A study of the Ordnance Office and the supply of gunpowder in the mid-eighteenth century, focussing on the complex interactions between officials and the contractors, who faced considerable commercial difficulties managing its supply.

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

Path-breaking study of the interaction of British and Dutch finance in the eighteenth century, including some of the first efforts to calculate capital flows and Dutch investment in the British national debt after 1688. Expanded by Neal and Ormrod but still not superseded.

Williams, David, 'James Farmer and Samuel Galton, the reality of gunmaking for the Board of Ordnance in the mid-18th century', *Arms & Armour* 7 (2010), 119-41

Wright, J.F., 'The contribution of overseas savings to the funded National Debt of Great Britain, 1750-1815', *Economic History Review* 50 (1997), 657-74

## **F9. Riga**

Dorosenko, R, and Elisabeth Harder-Gersdorff, 'Ost-Westhandel und Wechselgeschäfte zwischen Riga und westlichen Handelsplätzen: Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen und Amsterdam (1758/59)', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 62 (1982), 120-47.

Harder-Gersdorff, Elisabeth, "Bullion Flow" and rates of exchange between Amsterdam and Riga', in J. Lemmink and J. van Koningsbrugge (eds.), *Baltic Affairs: relations between the Netherlands and North-eastern Europe 1500-1800* (Nijmegen 1990), pp.97-119.

Harder-Gersdorff, Elisabeth, 'Zwischen Riga und Amsterdam: Die Geschäfte des Herman Fromhold mit Frederik Beltgens & Comp., 1783-1785', in *The Interactions between Antwerp and Amsterdam with the Baltic Region, 1400-1800* (Leiden, 1986), pp.171-80.

Harder-Gersdorff, Elisabeth, 'Aus Rigaer Handlungsbüchern (1783-1785): Geld, Währung und Wechseltechnik im Ost-West-Geschäft', in E. Schremmer (ed.), *Geld und Währung vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1993), pp.105-20

Kotilaine, J.T., 'Riga's Trade with Its Muscovite Hinterland in the Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 30:2 (1999), 129-61.

Kotilaine, J.T, 'The Significance of Russian Transit Trade for the Swedish Eastern Baltic Ports in the Seventeenth Century', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 49 (2000), 556-89.

Kirby, David, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492-1772* (London, 1990).

Lesger, Clé, and Eric Wijnrok, 'The spatial organization of trade. Antwerp merchants and the gateway Systems in the Baltic and the Low Countries c.1550', in Hanno Brand (ed.), *Continuity and Change in the North Sea Area and the Baltic c. 1350-1750* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2005), pp. 15-35.

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

'This volume contains several valuable articles dealing with Baltic shipping issues: the supply of forest products in the Baltic ports, the tonnage of Baltic trading ships, the trade of Riga in the 17th century, and an important article by Carl-Gustav Hildebrand on iron exports from Sweden and Russia in the 18th century.'

## **F10. Vienna**

Abteilung für Kriegsgeschichte des K.u.K. Kriegs-Archivs, *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen. Nach den Feld-Acten und anderen authentischen Quellen*, 21 Vols. (Vienna, 1876-1892).

Ágoston, Gábor, *Guns for the Sultan. Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, 2005).

Ágoston, Gábor, 'Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power', in: *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22, 1 (1998), 126-41.

Ágoston, Gábor, 'Gunpowder for the Sultan's Army: New Sources on the Supply of Gunpowder to the Ottoman Army in the Hungarian Campaigns of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in: *Turcica* 25 (1993), 75-96.

Ágoston, Gábor, 'Empires and Warfare in East-Central Europe, 1550-1750: The Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry and Military Transformation', in: Frank Tallett and D. J. B. Trim (eds.), *European Warfare 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.110-34.

Aichelburg, Wladimir, *Kriegsschiffe auf der Donau* (Vienna, 1978).

Albrecht, Dieter, 'Zur Finanzierung des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Die Subsidien der Kurie für Kaiser und Liga 1618-1635', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 19 (1956), 534-67.

Allmayer-Beck, Johann Christoph, Erich Lessing, *Die kaiserlichen Kriegsvölker. Von Maximilian I. bis Prinz Eugen, 1479-1718* (Munich, 1978).

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- Anderson, Matthew Smith, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748* (London and New York, 1995).
- Apfelknab, Egbert, *Waffenrock und Schnürschuh. Die Monturbeschaffung der österreichischen Armee im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1984).
- Arnegger, Katharina, Leopold Auer, Friedrich Edelmayer and Thomas Just (eds.), *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg und seine Auswirkungen* (Vienna, 2018).
- Arneth, Alfred Ritter von, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, 10 vols. (Vienna, 1863-79).
- Aretin, Karl Otmar Freiherr von, *Heiliges Römisches Reich 1648-1806*, 3 vols. (2nd edn., Stuttgart, 1997).
- Aretin, Karl Otmar Freiherr von, 'Reichsitalien von Karl V. bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches. Die Lehnsordnungen in Italien und ihre Auswirkungen auf die europäische Politik', in: idem (ed.), *Das Reich. Friedensgarantie und europäisches Gleichgewicht 1648-1806* (Stuttgart, 1986), 76-163.
- Aretin, Karl Otmar Freiherr von, 'Kaiser Joseph I. zwischen Kaisertradition und österreichischer Großmachtspolitik', *Historische Zeitschrift* 215 (1972), 529-606.
- Asch, Ronald G., 'Kriegsfinanzierung, Staatsbildung und ständische Ordnung in Westeuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift* 268 (1999), 635-71.
- Asch, Ronald G., 'Albrecht von Wallenstein. Der letzte der großen Kriegsunternehmer?', in: Birgit Emich et al. (eds.), *Wallenstein. Mensch – Mythos – Memoria* (Berlin, 2018), pp.239-52.
- Baasch, Ernst, 'Der Verkehr mit Kriegsmaterialien aus und nach den Hansestädten vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in: *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* 137 (1932), 538-43.
- Backerra, Charlotte, *Wien und London, 1727–1735: Internationale Beziehungen im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2018)
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