

2017–18

ECON2547  
**Economic History**  
John Powell

**7: Financial system: 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Century**  
Evolution or revolution? *[week 11]*

for detailed **reference list** see  
[www.economicstoolbox.com](http://www.economicstoolbox.com)

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### Reading

- \* Murphy in Floud et al (2014)
  - Michie and Mollan (2011)
  - Rogers (2007)
  - Thorpe (2010)
  - Bank of England (2013)
  - Reinhart and Rogoff (2009)
- See [economicstoolbox.com](http://economicstoolbox.com)



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### Outline and learning outcomes

- Introduction
  - *Recognise context of change in Britain's financial system*
- Evolution of public finance
  - *Understand some components and changes in the financial system*
  - Goldsmith bankers
  - Bank of England and government securities
  - Levels of public debt
- Finance in the industrialising economy
  - *Review debate regarding effects of financial system upon the economy*
  - Overend Gurney collapse
    - *Recognise significance and wider impact*
- Review

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## Introduction

- *"During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a financial revolution transformed both the British state's ability to raise funds and the investment habits of a nation"* (Murphy, 2014:321)
  - primarily driven by war
- Debate over whether economic development was hindered, given the domination of state needs in shaping the financial system (ibid)
  - Capital market benefited:
    - instruments of public debt
    - shares in *"great monied companies"* (ibid)
      - including the Bank of England
  - *But: "...restrictions in size, scope and experience of the financial system"* (ibid:322)

eg see North & Weingast (1989)



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## Introduction [print]

- Nonetheless, we must recognise that the evolution of the banking system was one largely without *"active"* state direction (Michie and Mollan, 2011)
  - Bank of England was founded in 1694 as a private institution by William Paterson and continued to be a private, shareholder-owned company until nationalisation in \_\_\_\_\_ (Bank of England, 2013)
- Where *active* direction was evident, it was often in response to financial crises
  - The Economist (2014) suggests that financial institutions *"are not the products of careful design in calm times, but are cobbled together at the bottom of financial cliffs. Often what starts out as a post-crisis sticking plaster becomes a permanent feature of the system."*



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## Evolution of public finance

**'Goldsmith bankers'** (Thorpe, 2010)

- By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, goldsmiths had become *"recognisable and reliable keepers of money and valuables for people without their own safe custody facilities"*
- exchange of goldsmiths' receipts for deposit – 'promissory notes'
  - Effectively the birth of paper money (ibid)
  - Became *"an efficient system of private banking in London"* (ibid)
  - some developed into famous banks still existing today



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### Evolution of public finance

- However, public finances were weak (could the state repay its debts?) and the financial system was disorganised (Murphy, 2014:323-4)
- Saved only by *innovation* in ways of raising funds that facilitated longer-term borrowing, including the foundation of the Bank of England (*ibid*: 324)
  - though relatively small impact on national finance
- But did represent a **pivotal change** in methods of raising public finance and “a significant change in the structure of Britain’s public debt” (*ibid*:326)
  - Instruments that had wide appeal and could draw on a broader range of investors
  - **Secondary market** in government securities that emerged during the 18<sup>th</sup> century – helped create trust amongst investors (*ibid*:331)

The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain  
 eg 1692

9.5% of state borrowing 1688–1702 (Dickson, 1967 – cited in Murphy, 2014:324-6)

Pelham’s ‘3% Consols’

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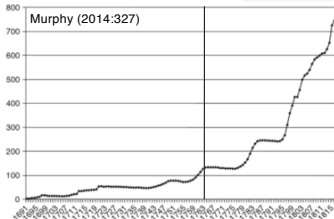
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### Evolution of public finance [print]

**Levels of public debt, 1691–1815 (millions £)**

- Increasing sophistication of secondary market (role of ‘stock jobbers’ and brokers) liquidity
- Increasing dominance of Bank of England conflict of interest
  - managed 70% of government debt by 1764 (Murphy, 2014:333)
  - Many *failed* attempts to legislate debt market (18 attempts over 1694–1773; *ibid*)



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### Finance in the industrialising economy

- Murphy (2014) highlights the lack of recent work on the development of the banking industry – much commentary is drawn from Pressnell (1956), Dickson (1967) with ‘recent’ work being Brewer (1989) and Neal (1990)
  - Temin and Voth (2005–2013) make a case for state ‘crowding out’ of private investment for industry (but look at only a single bank over 1702–1862) – see Murphy (2014:334-5)
  - Murphy argues that this may have “*superficial appeal*” (2014:335) – Richard Arkwright being turned down for a loan by Nottinghamshire bankers (cited in Allen, 2009:203) is a ‘classic’ illustration
  - But not irrefutable evidence...

The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain

Richard Arkwright Textiles

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## Finance in the industrialising economy

- Strong **counter case** to 'crowding out'
- "Although the Bank of England's monopoly did certainly retard the development of banking over the latter part of the eighteenth century, the provision of financial services expanded considerably" (Murphy, 2014:336)
  - Development of 'country banks'
    - provincial (ie non-London) banks (nearly 400 in England by 1802)
    - Pressnell cited in *ibid*:337)
  - Banker-industrialists (Murphy cites Hudson)
  - Discount houses which connected country banks to London "grew to become a significant pillar in Britain's financial architecture by the early nineteenth century" (Murphy, 2014:337)



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## Finance in the industrialising economy [p]

- Murphy concludes that there is clear "evidence of a wide-ranging, adaptable and innovative financial services industry that provided value for the domestic and international economy" (2014:338)
- However, "there were fundamental problems rooted in the structure of the system" (*ibid*)
  - Frequent crises (eg see The Economist, 2014)
  - Banks vulnerable to panics and runs due to small scale (limited to partnerships of 6 until 1826 when joint stock banks were permitted)
    - "The counterpoint of being too big to fail is being too small to survive" (Michie and Mollan, 2011)
  - Bank of England emerged as "arbiter of the country's financial system and the lender of last resort" (Murphy, 2014:338)



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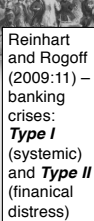
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## Finance in the industrialising economy [p]

### Overend Gurney collapse 1866

- Marked culmination of B of E's transition to a 'mature' central bank, building on the role defined by the Bank Charter Act of 1844
  - Overend Gurney = "the country's wealthiest bank, after the Bank of England" (Rogers, 2007)
  - failed in May 1866 with liabilities of nearly £10m
    - "poor asset management and risky lending practices" (Murphy, 2014:341)
  - Balance sheet was "approximately ten times that of the combined balance sheets of the Midland and the Westminster Banks, two of the biggest in the country" (Murphy (*ibid*) citing Capie, 2002)
- B of E refused to intervene and let the bank fail
  - lender of last resort, without risking moral hazard



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## Review

- The needs of the state played a fundamental role in shaping the nature of Britain's financial system over the 18<sup>th</sup> century
- The mid-19<sup>th</sup> century marked a transition to a system more broadly responsive to the wider economy, but reflecting a more concentrated banking market
- By the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Bank of England was clearly the central bank and had taken on the responsibilities that the role implies
  
- Next:
  - w15 lecture: 20<sup>th</sup> century economy
  - w16/17 tutorials: financial crises

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