The Newsletter of

The Cliometric Society

July 1998 Vol. 13 No. 2

Summary of Papers and Discussion from the 38th Annual Cliometrics Conference

by George Grantham, McGill University, Sumner J. La Croix, University of Hawaii, and Hans-Joachim Voth, Stanford University

(St. Louis) The 38th Annual Cliometrics Conference was held at the Olin School of Business at Washington University, May 8th through 10th, 1998. The warm hospitality provided by our three hosts – Douglass North, John Nye, and Sukkoo Kim – was accompanied by beautiful spring weather throughout the weekend. On the opening afternoon; participants were welcomed by Edward Macias, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Wilhelm Neuefeind, Chair of the Economics Department.

Joan Hannon (St. Mary's, California) was chair of the first session, introducing George Deltas, Konstantinos Serfes, and Richard Sicotte (all of Illinois), who presented their analysis of how multi-market contact affected the organization of early 20th-century steamship conferences. Prior to the First World War, regularly scheduled transatlantic shipping was cartelized by conferences regulating prices and quality of service. There were two types of conference, according to whether agreements were restricted to pricing ("flexible") or included features such as sailing schedules and vessel capacity ("inflexible"). The authors find that overlapping conference membership by shipping lines facilitated the creation and maintenance of shipping cartels.

What's Inside

Discussion focused on whether their index of overlap measures the actual amount of interaction among shipping firms. Voth observed that some shippers owned railways, allowing them to compete for business in markets where they might not necessarily have been members of a conference. Lucia Tsai (UC-Berkeley) asked why the capacity of individual firms had not had more effect on the probability of forming an inflexible cartel, given that large firms possessed a latent threat to deploy their capacity on marginal routes held by competitors. A second line of discussion focused on the actual operation of the cartel. Chulhee Lee (Binghamton) asked about conditions of entry to the shipping trade and whether the formation of a conference preceded collusion or followed it. Scott Eddie (Toronto) asked about barriers to entry, such as port capacity. Larry Neal (Illinois) responded that capacity may have declined in the earlier period and then risen shortly before the War. Price Fishback (Arizona) added that the discount rate for future earnings probably varied across shipping lines, since cash-constrained firms tend to have an extremely high rate of time discount and were therefore more likely to cheat. Sean Rogers (McGill) asked whether seasonality in shipping certain commodities played a role in maintaining the cartel.

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Executive Director's Notes

Trustees Meeting
The trustees held an e-mail meeting in June to address several important items which could not wait until the annual meeting. The first was to reappoint me as Executive Director for a four-year term, as stated in the by-laws. The vote was unanimous. The second item was to create a Chair of the Board of Trustees, who will supervise the appointment of the Executive Director, set the agenda, and conduct the trustees' meetings. After amending the by-laws, the trustees elected Richard Sylla acting Chair until the next regular meeting. (Revised by-laws can be seen at **http://www.eh.net/Clio**) Other business was to appoint me as representative and Sylla as alternate to the IEHA General Assembly. The next trustees' meeting will be held as usual during the EHA meetings in September.

ASSA Sessions
Because of prohibitive printing and postage costs, this year we have had to change the procedure for distributing the papers to be presented at our ASSA sessions. In the past, we have published 3,000-word summaries of the papers as an insert to the October *Newsletter*. We will now publish abstracts in the *Newsletter* and summaries on the Society's web page, a suggestion from respondents to the July 1997 questionnaire. Members planning to attend our sessions can print summaries from the web site.

Cliometrics Conference and World Congress
The 1999 Cliometrics Conference will be held at Miami University May 14-16, hosted by Bill Hutchinson, John Lyons, Melissa Thomasson and Sam Williamson. Following the successful World Congress in Munich last year, we plan to hold the Fourth World Congress in Montreal, July 6-9, 2000. George Grantham will handle local arrangements, and the European Historical Economics Society will co-sponsor the Congress. Mark your calendar – or see the EH.Net Calendar of Events.

The IEHA and the Clio E Session
As almost all of you know, the International Economic History Congress that was to be held in Seville, Spain, was "suspended" on May 18th, then reinstated in Madrid. The suspension and uncertainties about what happened made many people decide not to go. This has caused some financial loss to nearly everyone who cancelled or changed plans. This situation and the way it was handled has focused attention on the IEHA itself. We are one of more than 30 organizations that are dues-paying members of the IEHA. I have heard from several Clio members who question the desirability of our continuing IEHA membership. I plan to attend the IEHA General Assembly meeting and to work for changes in the Association. We will review the issue of continued membership at the next trustees meeting. Lou Cain and I had organized an excellent two-part session for the Congress. With the suspension, many of our participants have decided not to go. We will still hold a shortened session, a round-table on internet resources for economic history research, as scheduled Friday afternoon August 28.

EH.Net
Although some people think EH.Net is a service of The Cliometric Society, it is a separate organization. According to its new charter, EH.Net is owned by several sponsoring organizations: BHC, The Cliometric Society, EHA, and HES. These organizations appoint representatives to the Board of Trustees, who decide about officers, funding, and services. If you have not visited the EH.Net Economic History Services website recently, I recommend that you check its new design and expanded services, particularly Book Reviews and Abstracts in Economic History.

Please note our new fax number: 513-529-3308.

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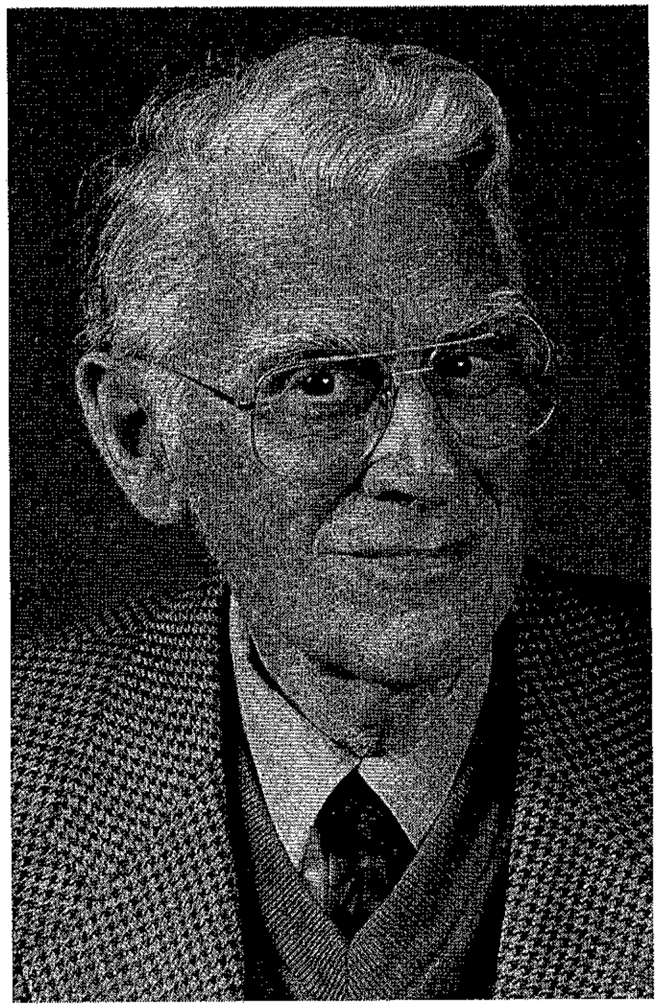
AN INTERVIEW WITH W. A. COLE

Editors' Note: W. A. ('Max') Cole retired as Professor and Head of the Department of Economic History at University College Swansea in 1986, and now lives near Cambridge. He was born in Buckinghamshire in 1926 to parents who were both Quakers 'by convincement'; his father was proprietor of a small family grocery, and his mother was daughter of a south London baker and confectioner. After schooling at The Friends School, Sibford and Leighton Park, Reading, he arrived at Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1943. Owing to war-time and post-war National Service, he did not complete his undergraduate work until 1950, and then remained at Cambridge for a Ph. D. in History (1955). He was Research Officer in the Department of Applied Economics, Cambridge, 1955-59, taught at Bristol, 1959-66, and became Professor of Economic History at Swansea in 1966.

The interview took place on 17th April, 1998, at what is now (since 1995) The University of Wales Swansea. Our interviewer was A. J. H. Latham, who writes:

After Max had been appointed Professor in 1966, I was his first appointment, taking up my job in Autumn 1967. I have been at Swansea ever since, apart from two Semesters with Larry Neal at Champaign-Urbana, one in 1979, and another in 1988. I look on the years when Max was my boss (Head of Department) as happy and productive years, and we turned out some good students, including Professor Richard Griffiths (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden), Dr Peter Wardley (University of the West of England, Bristol), and Dr Kathryn Watson (University of Birmingham). The Department was particularly interested in the history and process of economic development. Max's political philosophy was very different to my own – by ethos and ethnicity I'm basically a Manchester School Free Trader – but these political differences were mutually acknowledged and tolerated. We were always on friendly terms!



Max, your work with Phyllis Deane, *British Economic Growth*, was a milestone in British economic history, and indeed in economic history in general. Phyllis Deane has recently spoken warmly of your collaboration with her [*The Newsletter of The Cliometric Society*, July 1996 Vol 11 No 2]. What were you hoping to achieve with this project and how far do you think you were successful?

Our objective was to establish the main quantitative features of British economic growth over as long a period as the available evidence would permit. Given the fragile basis of many of the estimates, the results of the enterprise were a pretty mixed bag, although if it is judged by the reception it received and the influence it has had, we seem to have succeeded beyond our wildest dreams.

How did you become involved?

By being in the right place at the right time. In the Autumn of 1954, my Ph.D. thesis was in draft, and I was looking for a job. My wife at the time was a Research Officer at the Department of Applied Economics, and in consequence I knew most members of it, including Phyllis Deane, who was already working on *British Economic Growth*, and who wanted a historian to work with her on the inquiry. When I was interviewed for the post, it was not my first choice, because at the time I was also a candidate for a permanent lectureship at the University of Keele in the Midlands, in seventeenth century history which I had come to regard as my special field. But perhaps fortunately for my subsequent career, I was runner-up at Keele, so I published two articles based on my thesis and went to the Department of Applied Economics at Cambridge instead.

Phyllis Deane says that the pair of you worked independently on your sections of the book, and then the sections were put together. Which sections were you responsible for?

I was responsible for Chapter Two, the section dealing with the eighteenth century origins of (modern) economic growth. But I must also accept responsibility for Chapter Three on industrialisation and population change, which, though it was not part of my original remit, I undertook during my last three months in Cambridge because the topic happened to interest me.

What do you think were your key findings?

This was not quite how I put it at the time, but looking back, I think that my key findings were that after what proved to be a false start in the middle of the eighteenth century, the take-off in Britain (*i.e.*, a substantial increase in the overall rate of economic growth, as a result of which it consistently outstrips the growth of population) dates from the 1780s – although, as now seems clear, the acceleration was fairly gradual, and it was not until about 1830 that the long-term rates of growth of both total output and output per head were stabilised at about three times the level prevailing before 1780.

This was in the days before computers. How did you tackle the manipulation of the statistical material on which the study depends?

Fairly easily, given that the volume of material was much less than that which can be dealt with very rapidly on a modern computer. If I wanted to do a relatively large amount of number crunching, I prepared my own programme and gave it to a young woman in the computing room who, incidentally, was called a computer, and she did all the calculations on an electrically operated calculating machine.

Your original Ph. D. was, I understand, on the Quakers; perhaps you can tell us something of this?

Yes. The thesis attempted to analyse and explain the evolution of the early Friends' political standpoint between 1652 and 1660, and the genesis of Quaker pacifism. For the early Quakers were by no means consistent pacifists and it was not until January, 1661, after the Restoration of Charles II, that they adopted the famous Quaker Peace Testimony from which the movement as a whole has never since departed. My reasons for choosing this topic were twofold. I had earlier made an abortive start on a subject in late medieval economic history and as a result I was obliged to switch to a clearly defined and more manageable topic which I could hope to tackle effectively within the space of two years. But secondly, and perhaps more important, in my own boyhood in the mid-1930s, no doubt because of my Quaker upbringing, I was an ardent pacifist and keen supporter of the Peace Pledge Union. Yet when war came a few years later, I felt compelled to abandon my pacifism and became a reluctant, but nevertheless fully committed supporter of the war against German and Italian fascism. The decision was not an easy one, and partly for that reason, I never became a member of the Society of Friends. So I was naturally concerned to understand the considerations which had prompted my spiritual forbears to make a similar *volte-face*, albeit in the opposite direction. As so often happens in history and life, the explanation in both cases appears to have been that circumstances alter cases.

Can you tell us something of your days in Cambridge, both as an undergraduate and as a postgraduate researcher? Who were your friends, who were the notables of the day, who were your influences?

Although I had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances in Cambridge, few of them were economists, apart from my colleagues at the Department. Nor were many of my close friends economic historians, although I did, of course, rub shoulders with Peter Mathias from time to time and, rather later, with Tony Wrigley. My own college, Peterhouse, was bursting with historians in those days, and, indeed my reasons for choosing it were that it had an excellent reputation for history – at one time the Professors of Modern History, Medieval History, Economic History and Political Theory and Government were all Fellows of Peterhouse[1] – and, in addition, it was the only college in Cambridge whose kitchens were endowed, and which had an excellent kitchen garden, not inconsiderable recommendations in wartime! I suppose that the senior members of the University who influenced me most were Postan, who first aroused my interest in economic history as an undergraduate, and who continued to take a fatherly interest in my subsequent career almost until his death, in, if I remember correctly, 1981; Brian Wormald, who was my supervisor for two of my three years as an

[1]Respectively, Herbert Butterfield, David Knowles, M. M. Postan, and D. W. Brogan

undergraduate and for my Ph. D. thesis, and who introduced me to the work of the American theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, whose Gifford Lectures on *The Nature and Destiny of Man* exercised a major influence on my intellectual development; and Maurice Dobb, the most distinguished Marxist economist in Britain and perhaps the world at that time, a foundation member of the British Communist Party, and an old-fashioned English gentleman to boot!

And finally, a visiting notable, Walt Rostow, whose earlier work on the British economy of the nineteenth century had both stimulated and provoked me in my final year as an undergraduate, and who spent a sabbatical year in Cambridge in 1958 when he delivered his famous lectures on the 'Stages of Economic Growth' which I, together with many other gob-smacked youngsters, was privileged to attend. Incidentally, I attended a party for Rostow at that time at which I was introduced to him by Postan as "our resident cliometrician". That was, I think, the first time that I had heard the term, and, I should add, it is not a title I would claim for myself either then or now.

Your wartime experience split up your days in Cambridge and involved both working in a coal mine as a 'Bevin Boy' and later service in RAF Pay Accounts. Can you tell us a little of those days?

Well, technically, I wasn't a Bevin Boy, because I wasn't conscripted into the mines but volunteered for underground service when I registered for National Service in August, 1944, because at that juncture it seemed the most useful thing to do. I was called up almost immediately and sent to the government training centre at Creswell in Derbyshire and from there to Gedling colliery near Nottingham. I started work at the pit bottom and thence worked my way up the roads to the coal face (it was a conventional long wall pit) where I worked for a time under the supervision of an experienced collier who taught me the tricks of the trade and how to cope with potentially threatening situations before going it alone. Eventually, I had a 'real' Bevin Boy working under me, but in November, 1945, I was discharged from the mines on medical grounds. A month later, I was given another medical, graded 2 and pronounced fit for 'non-combatant' duties in the RAF where I served for two years as a pay clerk and was eventually released at Easter, 1948, in time to do a term's supply teaching before returning to Cambridge to complete my course for a 'straight' History degree. My time in the RAF was more or less uneventful and certainly less interesting than my fifteen months underground; but it was nonetheless very valuable, as two years in Pay Accounts made me reasonably proficient in mental arithmetic which was to stand me in good stead in my research work in later years!

You were a member of the Communist Party for many years; can you tell us something of that?

That's rather a tall order, but I'll do my best. I joined the student branch of the Communist Party almost immediately after my arrival in Cambridge in October, 1943, and remained a member for fifteen years. I had been a communist in all but name for two or three years before I became eligible for party membership, and a socialist of sorts ever since I was old enough to think about the world around me. For socialism, as another former Communist (Denis Healey) has put it, is based on a belief in the brotherhood of man which it seeks to realise through political action, and as such it has a good deal in common with Christianity, especially Christianity of the kind I took in with my mother's milk. But there were, I think, two major influences which prompted my move from this idealistic, and sometimes rather woolly form of socialism to communism. First, in the Spring or Summer of 1941, I acquired a copy of John Strachey's 1936 volume, *The Theory and Practice of Socialism*, which so impressed me that in the years which followed, I immersed myself in the classics of Marxism, particularly the historical and philosophical works of Marx and Engels. (*Capital*, I'm afraid, only came later, towards the end of my undergraduate career). But meanwhile, of course, the Germans had also invaded Russia in the summer of 1941, and the titanic struggle which followed, which Churchill dubbed 'the Russian glory', had such a profound effect on a highly impressionable teenager (I was 15 at the time) that I became determined to join the Communist Party as soon as I was eligible to do so.

Once inside the Party, however, though outwardly a disciplined and belligerent Communist (much to the chagrin of my first-year Director of Studies, Herbert Butterfield), I frequently managed to incur the displeasure of the Party hierarchy, either for my deviations from the Party line, or for the manner in which I often made fun of the tendency of some of my comrades to treat the Party as some kind of secular substitute for the Church of Rome. But I did not consider leaving it until after the events of 1956 demonstrated beyond a doubt that the Party to which I belonged had, to put it mildly, feet of clay. The problem then was not so much the actions of the Soviet Party in Hungary or even the misdeeds of Stalin in the past, neither of which by that time came as a complete surprise, but the reaction to them of the British Party which made me doubt whether that organisation, as then constituted, had any useful role to play in a democratic society. And so after two years prevarication, I resigned from the CP and a little later joined the Labour Party instead. I should perhaps add, however, that this was not in my case a matter of a God that failed, because the Communist Party was never my God, nor did I ever regard the writings of Marx and Engels as Holy Writ. But a Marxian socialist I became early in life, and a Marxian socialist I remain.

After Cambridge, you went to Bristol where you were in William Ashworth's Department. Can you tell us something of your days in Bristol? How did you get on with him?

Bill Ashworth, or William as he preferred to be called, arrived in Bristol the year before me as the first Professor of Economic History within the History Department. His major effort was directed towards the development of a Joint Honours Degree in History and Economics, the centrepiece of which was a group of four or five courses in international economic history leading to a discussion class in the final year at which students were invited to consider issues in the economics of development in the light of their historical knowledge.

My experience in Bristol proved to be a very useful interlude in my career partly because the demands of a teaching appointment provided me with the opportunity to extend my own reading in areas of the subject which had perforce been rather neglected in earlier years, and partly because the fact that I was involved at the birth of a new degree scheme in Bristol meant that I already had a clear idea of where I wanted the subject to go when the time came for me to develop my own Department.

You asked how I got on with Bill Ashworth. I have always been very fortunate in the course of my academic career with my academic superiors, with Phyllis of course, but also with William Ashworth who showed great forbearance and understanding during a rather traumatic interlude in my private life, and who also indulged my wish to teach a special subject course on the industrialisation of the USSR.

You then moved to Swansea in 1966 as Professor of Economic History to establish a new Department of Economic History there. You retired I think in 1986, although as an Emeritus Professor, you are still a member of the College Court of Governors. Can you tell us something of your days in Swansea?

Yes, although when I went to Swansea, it was not envisaged I would seek to establish a new Department of Economic History. This was because the chair was established in the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, which had been set up the previous year to provide a broad range of inter-disciplinary degree schemes in the social sciences leading to a BScEcon. degree. And since there were no single subject courses in the Faculty, and students were not required to decide the subjects in which they wished to specialise until the end of their first year, all applications for admission were dealt with by the Faculty and not by individual 'Departments'.

These arrangements, however, did not last long. For at that time social science degrees were becoming very fashionable, with the result that the number of students in the Faculty rapidly increased despite attempts to regulate the influx by imposing above-average admission requirements. Moreover, the setup in Swansea was calculated to appeal to prospective applicants who wished to read for a social science degree but who were undecided about the area in which they wished to specialise. This obviously created opportunities for expansion for economic history which was not a mainstream school subject, and this meant that we were soon bursting at the seams; new members of staff had to be appointed who provided a wider range of courses which in turn promoted a demand for opportunities for a greater degree of specialisation in the subject. To some extent, we were able to cater for that demand by persuading the Faculty to treat economic history and social history as separate subjects for the purposes of the BScEcon. degree scheme, which meant, in effect, that we were able to offer single honours in economic and social history masquerading as a joint honours degree. But then, after a brief foray on our part into the Faculty of Arts where we were able to offer not only Joint Honours courses in Economic History with History and a wide range of other subjects but also Single Honours in Economic History, the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies agreed to amend its regulations so that it became possible for Departments to offer a complete range of Single, Joint and Combined Honours courses for the BScEcon. degree. Throughout these manoeuvres, however, we sought to ensure that

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Long-Run Economic Change in the Mediterranean Basin

by Sevket Pamuk, Bogazici University, and Jeffrey Williamson, Harvard University

(Istanbul) While modern research on the economic history of Iberia and Italy has exploded recently, the same cannot yet be said for the rest of the Mediterranean Basin – what now are called the Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East, Egypt, and the rest of North Africa. In short, the Mediterranean Basin has been inadequately studied by economists and quantitative economic historians. Our goal was to provoke a change in this state of affairs. Certainly the time is ripe: if economic history is really going to inform policy within the Basin, and between it and the rest of Europe, a collective debate about the sources and impact of the region's long-run growth over the past two centuries must begin now.

The Conference met in the Old Ottoman Mint complex adjacent to the Topkapi Palace for three days in June 1998, co-organized by Sevket Pamuk and Jeffrey Williamson. The event was hosted by Bogazici University and the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey; a generous grant from Yapi ve Kredi, a leading private bank in Turkey, greatly facilitated the local arrangements. Fifteen papers by twenty-one authors were presented, and about twenty local participants joined the lively debate.

The first day offered six papers on long-run growth. Each day, including this one, was broken up by a wonderful Mediterranean lunch *al fresco* under perfect Turkish skies, followed by two hours of individual sight-seeing in the mosques, markets and museums nearby. The second day offered four papers on policy, with the afternoon set aside for a memorable boat trip across the Bosphorus, from Istanbul harbor in the south all the way north to the Black Sea. The trip ended with a long dinner at a restaurant in Sariyer amidst fishing boats. The final day focused on the impact of trade on domestic production, the evolution of transport, and economic change in divided Palestine. The Conference ended that evening with a celebratory dinner at Bogazici University, under the stars and overlooking the Bosphorus. All in all, the surroundings weren't bad at all! The program follows.

June 4

Long Run Growth Performance: A Comparative Assessment

James Foreman-Peck (Oxford) and Pedro Lains (Instituto de Ciencias Sociais), "European Economic Development: The Core and the Periphery, 1870-1914"

Jaime Reis (EUI), "How Poor Was the European Periphery Before 1850? The Mediterranean *vs.* Scandinavia"

Jeffrey Williamson (Harvard), "Real Wages and Relative Factor Prices Around the Mediterranean Basin, 1500-1940"

Long Run Growth Performance: Country Studies

Konstantinos Kostis (University of Athens) and Socrates Petmezas (University of Crete), "Growth and Stagnation in the Greek Economy, 1830-1940"

Ahmet Akarli (LSE), "Measuring Economic Performance in Ottoman Micro Regions: The Case of Ottoman Macedonia, 1880-1905"

Joan Ramon Roses (EUI), "Choice of Technique and Competitiveness in Early Manufacturing: Some Evidence from British, American and Spanish Cotton Mills, 1830-1861"

June 5

Policy Choice and the Political Economy of Growth: Pre-1914

Giovanni Federico (University of Pisa) and Kevin O'Rourke (Univerity College, Dublin), "The Impact of 19th-Century Italian Protectionism"

Blanca Sanchez-Alonso (Universidad San Pablo and Oxford), "What Slowed Down the Mass Migration from Spain in the Late 19th Century?"

Policy Choice and the Political Economy of Growth: Interwar

Sevket Pamuk (Bogazici University), "Intervention in Response to the Great Depression: Another Look at the Turkish Case, 1929-1939"

Tarik Yousef (IMF), "Transport Development and the Law of One Price During Egypt's Age of Economic Liberalism, 1921-1939"

June 6

Trade and Domestic Production in the Mediterranean Basin before WWII

Ramon Ramon-Muñoz (EUI), "Export Performance in the World Olive Oil Market, 1870-1938"

Jose Morilla-Critz (University of Alcalá), Alan Olmstead (UC-Davis) and Paul Rhode (University of North Carolina), "Horn of Plenty: The Globalization of Mediterranean Horticulture and the Economic Development of Southern Europe, 1880-1930"

Three Centuries of Trade and Transport in the Mediterranean Basin

Gelina Harlaftis (University of Piraeus) and Vassilis Kardasis (University of Crete), "Changes in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea-Trade, 1880-1914"

Gigliola Pagano de Divitiis (University of Calabria), "English Imports of Raisins from the Mediterranean in the XVII Century"

Twentieth Century Palestine

Jacob Metzer (Hebrew University), "Structure and Change in the Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine"

These papers can be secured from their authors, whose addresses are available *via* e-mail from the organizers Pamuk (**pamuk@boun.edu.tr**) and Williamson (**jwilliam@kuznets.fas.harvard.edu**).

The Istanbul Conference was the second in a series of Third World Cliometrics conferences, the purpose of which is to foster cliometric research on the Third World by frequent conferences on site. The participants left this conference with the strong feeling that it had aired a stimulating collection of papers, and that it had provoked a lively and productive debate as well. Indeed, the organizers believe the quality of the conference was high enough to serve as a beacon for further good analytical and quantitative work on the economic history of the Mediterranean Basin. It might also encourage more frequent and even regular Clio conferences with regional foci. To help achieve these objectives, the organizers have begun to explore publishing arrangements for a volume based on the 1998 Istanbul Conference. Subsequent conferences are planned for, and in, Latin America, South- and Southeast Asia.

Call for Papers and Dissertations: Business History Conference

March 5-7, 1999

Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

The theme of the conference is "The Virtues of Business; the Business of Virtue". Papers or panels are invited on any topic of business history for any area of the world. Papers relating to the theme will find special favor with the organizers. Proposals should include a brief description of the paper(s) and a one-page *c.v.* for each presenter. Suggestions for chairs and commentators are welcomed. Send proposals and suggestions to the President-Elect and Program Chair by **October 15, 1998**:

Professor Larry Neal
Department of Economics
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
1407 W. Gregory Drive
Urbana, IL 61801
Telephone: (217) 333-4678 FAX (217) 333-1398
l-neal@uiuc.edu

Dissertations completed in the previous three years (1996-1998) are eligible for competitive consideration. Dissertations accepted for presentation at the meeting will be eligible for the Herman E. Krooss Prize, $500 and a plaque. Send dissertations with mail and e-mail addresses and a note stating "BHC submission" to the Dissertation Session Chair by **December 1, 1998**:

Professor Sally Clarke
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An expanded version of this announcement is available at **http://www.eh.net/bhc/Conference/confnews.shtml**

Report on the All-UC Conference

by Chris Meissner, University of California-Berkeley

(Santa Clara, Cal.) The All-UC Group in Economic History, in collaboration with Santa Clara University, held its annual spring meeting from 20 to 22 March at the Leavey School of Business on the Santa Clara campus. The conference, "Communication and the Location, Structure and Organization of Economic Activity", was arranged by a program committee chaired by Alexander Field with the administrative help of Mary Davis and Sharon Squyres and the financial support of Santa Clara University and the University of California. The conference attracted over 50 participants from many California schools and other institutions in the United States, England and France, including numerous graduate students. After introductory remarks from Santa Clara's Provost, Father Stephen Privett, S. J., the conference began.

Lacey Plache (UCLA) presented the opening paper, "To List or Not to List: Deciding Between the Official and the Informal French Stock Markets during the Second Empire and the Early Third Republic (1852-1875)." The paper uses new data of listings of firms on parallel stock markets in France, and explores various hypotheses about why firms chose to list on specific markets. Natural shocks to the financial system are used to test the validity of competing hypotheses.

Larry Neal (Illinois) commented on Plache's work by detailing the extensive history of the various types of stock markets during this period in France, suggesting that Plache look more closely at the motivations of traders in each type of market and their incentives to allow firms to list on their markets. Neal also observed that another reason firms listed on informal markets was to gather information on market reactions to the listings. Discussion began with remarks by Gregory Clark (UC-Davis) that such a project would be a good way to test how much institutions did not matter. When looking at a decision to list on a market, one should not forget that there might be some unobserved variable driving the decision. Field noted that corruption might be an issue in these markets and that different markets may have provided varying amounts of transparency and credibility.

The next paper, presented by Alex Field, proposes a counterfactual world in which US financial markets of the 19th and 20th centuries were unable to use the telegraph and its successor technologies. Field's paper, "The Telegraphic Transmission of Financial Asset Prices and Orders to Trade: Implications for Economic Growth, Trading Volume and Securities Market Regulation", argues that the social savings from using electromagnetic technology in this sector were much less than those accrued from application of the telegraph to logistical control in transportation, distribution, and manufacturing. Field also examines the effect of telegraphic transmission on the volatility of share prices and of trading volume in the stock market. He concludes that the telegraph did not have a long-run effect on either of these aspects of trading, although it did result in an increase over time in resource use in secondary asset markets.

Lance Davis (Caltech) began his discussion by asking the "real question": "What were the social benefits of a secondary financial market?" He noted that some of the secondary markets (outside New York) provided intermediation by selling new securities, and that one would need to pick the correct measure of the social benefits of secondary markets. Davis urged Field to extend his project with comparative analyses of different markets within the US and in other countries, and suggested that future research might bring together scholars now working independently to do a comparative analysis of the world's financial markets' reactions to such new technologies. Jeremy Atack (Vanderbilt) pointed out that volume is less important than the sheer number of trades, since one can trade one million shares as quickly as 100. David Landes (Harvard) queried whether the telephone might have had the same effects as the telegraph.

Jean-Laurent Rosenthal (UCLA) presented a paper, written with Gilles Postel-Vinay (INRA and EHESS) and Philip Hoffman (Caltech), "French Mortgage Markets After the Revolution: The Consequences of Public Information on Private Intermediation", which details the decline of the notarial credit system in 19th-century Paris. The paper outlines the emergence of the centralized lien registry in Paris, and how this displaced the intermediating role that notaries had played before the Revolution. The paper also contrasts the fate of the notarial system in the countryside with that of the cities: the rural notarial advantage was maintained because of the continuing importance of private information in the countryside.

Alan Taylor (Northwestern and Hoover Institution), discussant, observed that the disappearance of the notaries had taken over 60 years and that it would be useful to measure the rate at which notaries had been driven from intermediate markets. He wondered if the decline in loans might not have been caused by a reduction in the supply of funds rather than by the regressivity of the *hypotheque* registration system. As the authors mention, notaries sustained their business largely because of a cooperative network they had arranged in the 18th century, and Taylor pointed out that further exploration into the "coalition-proofness" of their cooperation might be warranted.

Saturday morning's first session commenced with Paul Rhode (North Carolina), who presented a revisionist view of why nearly the entire American aeronautics industry chose to locate on the West Coast, in "Technology and the Dynamics of Business Location: The Pacific Coast Aircraft Industry 1909-39." Rhode vigorously disputes the notion that climate was the key to siting the industry, arguing instead that its West Coast location was not inevitable: such factors as economies of scale, location effects and the availability of competent engineers favored the West. Further, Rhode's dynamic analysis implies that the peculiarities of demand in the Western market affected the types of aircraft made there, which subsequently became the preferred designs nationally.

Naomi Lamoreaux (UCLA) opined that Rhode might ultimately dare to be bolder and to make more varied assertions, adding that the paper might benefit from a more detailed business history enumerating the corporate decisions taken in the industry's early years. She also noted that there might be a strong parallel between the factors affecting location of the aircraft and automobile industries. Susan Carter (UC-Riverside) wondered if the inelastic demand for mail service created by the Federal Government might have had an important effect on the evolution of the industry.

Lucia Tsai (UC-Berkeley) followed with a paper on "The Spatial Aggregation of Automobile Manufacturing Activities in the American Midwest", which seeks to explain the concentration of early automobile manufacturers. She reports statistical corroboration that location in the Midwest or location near other firms helped prevent exit from the industry. Tsai believes that an early mastery of gasoline engine production helped sustain the Midwestern firms which produced what later became the market standard, and demonstrates that clustering of firms, as in the Midwest, led to higher survival rates than for the dispersed firms elsewhere.

Atack observed that a difficult point in the paper is the definition of the auto industry: firms actually in the industry before 1910 are not easy to identify. How can one previous study of the auto industry show 25 firms while Tsai finds over 1,000 at the same time? He also argued that a good explanation of the auto industry's location must necessarily answer why Detroit, rather than the entire Midwest, was the center of greatest concentration of automotive firms. Tim Leunig (Royal Holloway, London) wondered if the presence of organized skilled labor might have determined choice of location.

Richard Walker (UC-Berkeley) concluded the session with "Industry Builds the City: The Suburbanization of Manufacturing in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1940." Continuing the theme of location of economic activity, Walker's paper presents compelling evidence to counter the conventional wisdom that industry followed better suburban transportation away from the city. Industry actually pulled the city apart, as evidenced by many stories of firms locating themselves in undeveloped areas. His work on the Bay Area is part of a larger project to examine the growth of North American cities and to refute the notion that industry moved out of cities only as transportation allowed.

Rhode responded to Walker's geographical interpretation of history first by noting that the measure of industrial decline in San Francisco might be inconsistent over time, given the variety of data sources. He urged use of a consistent measure to get a better feel for the decline of San Francisco, apparently beginning in the 1880s, and wondered whether labor unrest, fomented by proximity to other workers, might not have been a driving force behind the emigration of industry from the city. The so-called "not in my backyard" effect might also have had an effect on dispersing industrial firms. In discussion, Lamoreaux suggested that particular types of firms might have been more prone to relocation. Rebecca Menes (UCLA) thought that a political comparison could be made between the Bay Area and the New York/New Jersey metropolitan area. Rosenthal noted that property values might have had a strong effect on firm migration and should have been included in Walker's story.

To begin the afternoon session, Steve Usselman (Georgia Institute of Technology) offered a new history of IBM:

"Making Waves in the Computer Business: Critical Transitions at IBM." Usselman focuses on information flows both within IBM and between IBM and the outside world, and contends that these flows were the decisive factor in IBM's destiny. Usselman's paper also analyzes, in depth, several points in the company's history when it had to make important decisions regarding the focus of its research. Thus, the paths that IBM took in its product development are seen not as a function of market factors, but as the outcome of the interaction between the directors, the corporate culture, and the hierarchical structure of the firm.

Leunig commented on this epic paper, urging a more complete formalization of the paper's claims, and asking specifically how such factors as government policies and subsidies had affected business choices, what the rates of return on different choices might have been, and how market competition may have constrained IBM's choices. Peter Lindert (UC-Davis) commented that IBM might have been operating in the shadow of the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department, which could also make a difference. Rosenthal wondered how the unique and quite profitable history of IBM could have engendered such pessimistic executives who believed that trouble was always around the corner.

John Majewski (UC-Santa Barbara) continued with a story of two regions in "Why Ante-bellum Virginians Never Developed a Big City: Comparative Urban Development in Philadelphia and Eastern Virginia." This paper extends Majewski's previous inquiry into why the Philadelphia area was able to establish an efficient railroad network while Virginia languished. He synthesizes three perspectives. First, Virginia's orientation in agricultural markets was towards tobacco instead of grains as in Pennsylvania, and tobacco did not seem to have as many industrial linkages as grain. The Navigation Acts also impeded early progress in Virginian commerce while the Philadelphia area benefited from heavy demand for its primary products. Majewski compares the hinterlands of each area to conclude that there were larger markets near Philadelphia than in Virginia. Finally, he cites the agglomeration effects of industry in Philadelphia and their positive effects on industrial growth.

In his comments, David Meyer (Brown) noted that while textiles may have mattered to the Philadelphia area, Virginia also had a diverse and robust industrial base, especially in Richmond, even though it was smaller than Philadelphia. Taylor urged further study of the effect of "open economies" on the industrial endowments of the two areas. Landes noted that skilled immigrants had a higher propensity to land in Philadelphia (a non-slave area) rather than in the South, and this could have been important for subsequent development of the regions. Gavin Wright (Stanford) commented that the urban community in the North was decisive for later development and that city-to-city trade was likely to have been crucial for early types of manufacturing and industry.

The next paper, "Disease and Nutrition in the Mexican Population: Evidence from the Military Historical Records", by Moramay Lopez Alonso (Stanford), looks at the history of standards of living of the Mexican population over the past century. Lopez uses original data on soldiers' heights in the Mexican military to test the hypothesis of improving living standards, and finds that Mexican nutrition did not improve significantly over time. She asserts that rising Mexican life expectancies were due to public health improvements such as vaccinations, public works and better hygiene.

Noel Maurer (Stanford) was wary of using height/mortality-risk comparisons over time since the samples involved might not be comparable. He also wondered how transportation improvements might have affected the nutrition or living standards of the rural and semi-rural Mexican population. Menes wondered if there might not be a way of using these data, and those for other countries, to measure the benefits of public health spending. Landes pointed out that soldiers could have been exposed to diseases before they went into the army.

Turning to issues in property rights, Gavin Wright presented a paper, written with Karen Clay (Toronto), called "Property Rights and California Gold." Although previous scholarship on the California Gold Rush by Umbeck and others has concluded that private ordering of property rights was efficient, Wright and Clay dispute this view. They argue that the Gold Rush resembles a patent race, allocating too many resources to searching for gold, and that while private ordering initially functioned well, court ordering often changed private outcomes. They also note that claim sizes in the California hills diminished over time, which implies there may have been political as well as strictly economic forces operating on private outcomes.

Clark commented by delineating the exact dimensions of an efficient property rights system, observing that many

(continued on page 23)

Meet Me In St. Louis, Louie

The Clioms did indeed meet at the Fair, and the Mullah was delighted to find the meeting was held adjacent to the site of the 1904 Olympics. As he left the meetings on Friday, undergraduates – fledgling athletes really – from several schools were competing in track where the world's finest had once gathered. The parallel with the typical Cliom's meeting was all too obvious as members of tribes that have no names from across the great water were taking stage where some of the greatest of luminaries had been. Even they knew of the Mullah's quest for universal truth.

The Clioms were becoming better conditioned in some aspects of their work, even if not Olympian status. They knew of the Mullah's quest for universal truth and were becoming adept at spotting those kernels of speech that appeared as though they contained wisdom. They commented as one when something was uttered that they felt was deserving of his consideration. Their eagerness is much appreciated by the Mullah, although he recognizes that at times they still err. The clioms were much taken with the utterance "this work is closer to astrology than econometrics", whereas the Mullah prefers not to dwell on such small differences. Although post-conference events have given him or her second thoughts because Old Blue Eyes did sing "You're riding high in April, shot down in May."

Nasrudin's faithful and obsequious servants with the handmaiden of St. Mary's.

The Clioms should recall that the aphorisms he covets are those, uttered in the heat of debate, that are not only universal, but of benefit to mankind. With the Clioms assembled in the den of the bear, with Taurus near its zenith, with Gemini ascending, can it be argued that econometrics has been of greater benefit to society? If so, why do we not find the estimating technique of the day adjacent to "Dilbert"?

It is also required that the aphorism be true. Consequently, "after 1915 the Midwest narrowed to Detroit and Michigan" cannot be considered, as it is apparently false. As the Mullah understands the history of the automobile industry in the decade following 1915, Detroit became increasingly fat.

The Mullah was disappointed that she who must be heard to be believed, the great aphorist of the southwest desert, the only member of the Hall of Fame, and so on and so on, was absent, but there were two very encouraging developments. First, several of those whose names grace the Book of the Clioms have absorbed the lessons they have taught and have incorporated them into the papers they presented this year. The telegraphic tattler who identified Stiglitz, Summers, and Tobin as pushing for taxes in the 1880s compressed 70 years of history in his paper with "long after the establishment in the 1870s-80s ... at least two decades before the innovations of the last 30 years." This is reminiscent of his previous winner – "Distances in the US are larger than in Europe." Or consider the Glaswegian revisionist who had won previously for his utterance, "It is difficult to count all the manure." Does it then come as a surprise he failed to find an agricultural revolution? That he believes "the Industrial Revolution killed the French"? That "the British are a people without a history"?

He who as the blond bomber from the Main Line noted "Unions are just bubbles on the foam of the competitive economy", now as a Keynesian central banker asks us to approach union activity with "Greek letters denoting fixed parameters and Latin letters denoting variables."

The second new development that pleased the Mullah was the blossoming of the German *Maximmacher* who told us not to believe German data, then proceeded to present his own new series. Unlike French data, the beauty of German data may be in the eye of the beholder. The Mullah was thrilled when, in the space of a few minutes, he revealed that "Monetarism speaks French", "Keynesian discussion in German began a little before Keynes", and the aforementioned juxtaposition of econometrics and astrology. The Mullah will keep a watchful eye for future presentations by this emerging star.

The Mullah is apologetic that those consigned to Sunday morning slots are excluded from this competition, but it has been rare that the Clioms have had much of interest to say on Sunday morning. Two years ago was of course an exception as a disciple of he who has studied the potato at great depth preached that "Salvation and Calvinism are orthogonal!" Alas, no such pious pithiness was forthcoming under the Arch.

The Mullah is concerned about what appears to be an emerging alphabetical trend. It is understandable that those weaned on *n* as sample size and *p* as prices would have to think twice about *n* being negative and *p* being positive, but, as St. Mary's handmaiden queried, can it be that "*p* being non-intuitive is a masculine thing"? He wonders if, as enunciated by the "l'oxymoron de France" that "*w* is whatever" will catch on?

The concern for Zen-like simplicity and Zen-like clarity was little more than a reflection of last year's winner: "Facts should be simplified to fit short periods of time." And clearly the countryman of he who is twice misspelled understands that "French data are too beautiful to be true." How else could one discover Smithian growth amidst successful Mercantilism without the benefit of any data whatsoever?

There were three statements the Mullah considered, but ultimately rejected. While appealing, they were found wanting. He who would sell railroad securities to a Greek financier noted, "I'm obliged to say that sometimes it's simply too much." This is clearly true; so too is sometimes it's too little. The Mullah is concerned about the problems of specification and measurement in the statement. What is the source of the obligation? How does it arise? What form does it take? Is it possible to predict when "too much" will occur, and, if so, why would we ever observe it – much less be obliged to comment upon it? He who knows the way to San Jose told one presenter, "I'd like to come to your aid, but I don't know if it will help." Little can be learned from this parable of the Bumbling Samaritan, but even that might be of greater assistance than what was offered by the senior cartelizer, "Maybe you don't want to go in this direction."

There were three semi-finalists this year. Old King Coal, and sometime Director of Aquatic Activities for the desert wildcat tribe, noted, "To New Yorkers, a guy in Philadelphia is just like a guy in Timbuktu." This may in fact be true. But it was from New York that one learned of the contest in which the grand prize was a one-week holiday in Philadelphia and second prize was a two-week holiday in Philadelphia. Timbuktu must have been the destination of the consolation prize winner, for, as W. C. Fields (a favorite of the Mullah) had placed on his tombstone, "On the whole, I'd rather be in Philadelphia."

The senior cartelist uttered an early favorite and the Mullah was concerned that its appearance as a sure winner would discourage many clioms from letting loose with their best emanations. The fear was misplaced as the early utterance served to incite the Clioms and they tried mightily to surpass the front-runner as the sessions progressed. That premier remark – "It is not always true that tramps are cheap, they can be very expensive, very good tramps" – is clearly true as events in our nation's capital have shown. However, as the member of the gaucho tribe revealed, "people in Washington eat bad apples" – like Granny Tripps and Green Monicas. This struck Old King Coal as unbelievable because his sources tell him that all Washington's apples are good ones. The Mullah, not having any tapes of someone who heard someone else telling another about something that yet another may have done but which no one else saw, chooses not to add to this discussion.

This year's winner stood out from the rest. It clearly met the criteria better than any other and is sage advice for Clioms in whatever task they pursue: "Think hard before crossing your fingers." A task so simple, yet so difficult to fathom upon reflection. To ponder it is to wade into the deepest of wisdom, perhaps even to lose sight of the eternal question about the sound of one hand clapping. As you might suspect, this was contributed by the outstanding young *Maximmacher*, and the Mullah plans to listen closely whenever he is close enough to be heard.

After thinking hard, the Mullah has crossed his fingers and hopes to see all his old, and his many new, friends at next year's gathering in the land of the redhawks (*nee* redskins), where after a long absence the clioms will get to see little Miss Muffet get off her tuffet.

– Submitted humbly by the
faithful and obsequious servants of the Mullah

Clio Conference Report *continued from page 1*

Certain classes of agricultural produce demanded specific shipping facilities at specific times of the year, limiting the number of potential competitors.

With Joshua Rosenbloom (Kansas) in the chair, Daniel Schiffman (Columbia) then opened discussion of his paper, which investigates the extent to which the threat of financial insolvency posed by the great deflation of the early 1930s affected railway firms' expenditures for track maintenance and rolling stock. Using an accelerator model to analyze financial data, Schiffman finds that changes in current operating revenues had a larger effect on employment and maintenance expenditures than changes in the balance sheet. Firms in receivership tended to maintain their rolling stock and right-of-way more thoroughly than firms still technically solvent.

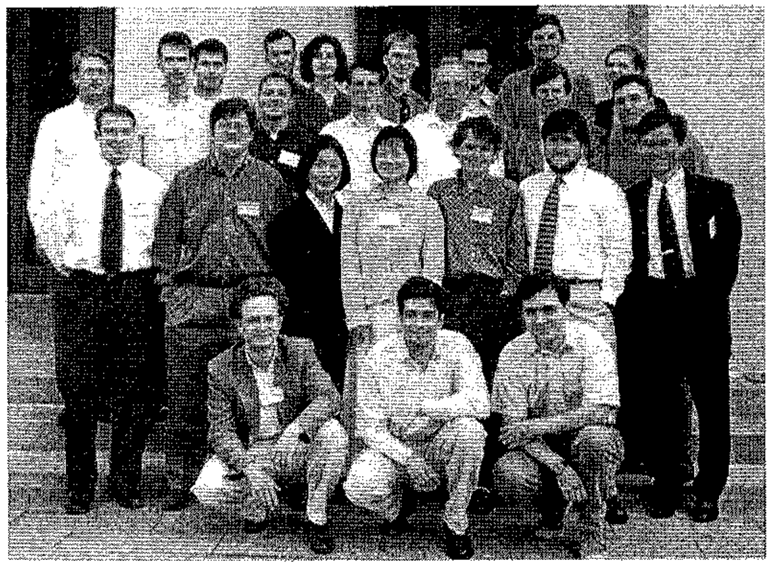
Christopher Hanes (Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System) suggested that the variable constructed as the ratio of fixed costs to operating revenue be separated, so that the independent effect of each factor could be estimated. To get around the problem of endogeneity in the level of fixed costs, he suggested they be entered at two dates, 1929 and 1939. Rogers thought that the effect of firm size could better be analyzed using a random effects approach, to see whether the regression coefficients differ by firm size. Richard Sutch (UC-Berkeley) asked whether the reduction in firms' expenditures on maintenance was due to the general rise in real interest rates in the early 1930s, which occurred independently of changes in individual balance sheets. Schiffman replied that because of flawed accounting practices, some railroad debt was not matched by a corresponding asset. Richard Sylla (NYU) noted that railway firms tried to avoid bankruptcy because of its effect on their future ability to borrow. Ann Carlos (Colorado) asked whether there were any differences between lines in the quality of fixed facilities, which would imply differing base levels of maintenance expenditure. Guillaume Daudin (LSE) asked why firms in difficulty did not simply declare bankruptcy. Schiffman replied that government regulations required roads to maintain service regardless of their financial state. Peter Ferderer (Macalester) noted that maintenance expenditures have differing degrees of irreversibility, and that these differences can influence the way they are financed. Neal noted that the financial variables in the equation are likely to reflect the role of large firms acting as financial intermediaries for smaller roads. Andrew Godley (Reading) asked whether 19th-century maintenance policies could be used as a control for comparison with the experience of the 1930s.

Lucia Tsai then presented her work investigating how the American automobile industry became geographically concentrated in the Midwest. She argues that concentration was due to differential exit rates by firms in the Midwest, whose lower exit rates were due to two characteristics of entering firms from the region: a preference for gasoline technology and larger production scale. Using newly collected data, Tsai finds support for her hypotheses in a series of regressions explaining entry, technological choice, production scale, and exit.

Session chair Ann Carlos first called on Fishback, who observed that the absolute number (rather than the proportion) of firms ought to be relevant, if critical mass matters. With the large number of firms on the East Coast, there were more Eastern firms specializing in gasoline-powered cars, despite their lower incidence. Samuel Williamson (Miami) suggested that the number of cars produced and sold by region might be more important than the number of firms. On Tsai's finding that differential exit rates were largely responsible for the Midwest's eventual rise to dominance in car production, and that much of the variation in exit rates was due in part to firm size differences, David Wheelock (Federal Reserve Bank-St. Louis) observed that the direction of causality between survival and scale was not clear and should be rethought. Andrew Keeling (UC-Berkeley) postulated that, as transport costs fell in the Midwest, optimum firm size increased. Werner Troesken (Pittsburgh) suggested that the role of agglomeration economics was overstated in the paper, and that the supposed locational advantages of the Midwest ought to be discussed in more detail. Lou Cain (Loyola and Northwestern) later extended this point, arguing for the importance of agglomeration economies through the concentration of human capital in one location, facilitating technological collusion. Albrecht Ritschl (Pompeu Fabra) doubted that the adoption of gasoline as a fuel was significant in the rise of the Midwest as the center of US car manufacturing. Tom Weiss (Kansas) felt that the use of a region as large as the Midwest was not ideal; the issue is the rise of Detroit, not the Midwest. La Croix then suggested an experiment with alternative regression specifications, varying the size of the area being examined. He also doubted the importance of relative proportions in explaining differential exit rates – the absolute number of firms backing one type of power source ought to matter.

Early Saturday morning, with Sumner La Croix in the chair, Alexander Field (Santa Clara) discussed his analysis of the relationship between the introduction of telegraphic transmission of stock prices and changes in the volume of and motives for stock trading. A startling finding is that the market achieved million-share days as early as the 1880s, with trading volume continuing at this order of magnitude into the 1960s. Field inquires whether the recent reduction in trading delays has improved capital market efficiency compared to the circumstances prevailing in the telegraphic age.

Ritschl wondered whether the link between trading volume and price volatility reveals the presence of adaptive expectations, but Field replied that there is no necessary relationship between the two. Gregory Clark (UC-Davis) asked whether there was a bottom line to this account of the evolution of stock-market transactions technology. Field said that the story suggested that the social savings from faster communication of stock prices are not all that large, implying that a Tobin tax on transactions might be socially advantageous. Neal countered this assertion by stating that much short-term trading represents attempts by investors to re-balance their portfolios, allowing them quickly to shift risk to those more prepared to bear it. Troesken asked whether the telegraph had contributed to economic growth by integrating regional capital markets. Field replied that this point is not in dispute; rather, the central issue is the one raised by Tobin: do improvements in financial transactions technology necessarily force prices to converge more rapidly to fundamental or long-term values? Lee asked whether the improvements might not have raised the savings rate by providing higher risk-adjusted rates of return to savers. Sylla noted that rapid communications technology affects the ability of the market to supply desired liquidity to investors – a Tobin tax is a tax on responses to uncertainty by investors. He also observed that changes in price and volume volatility might be due to the rise of institutional investment. Siddharth Chandra (Pittsburgh) noted that academic work on optimal investment strategies has actually affected the behavior of market participants. Might this also have been true for the telegraph? John Nye noted that economists have no theory of trading volume; in the absence of such a theory, any discussion of the welfare effects of a transactions tax is premature.



Attending a Cliometrics Conference for the first time (l. to r.):
Front row: Guillaume Daudin, Siddharth Chandra, Gaetano Antinolti.
Second row: Bill Collins, Pete Ferderer, Chiaki Moriguchi, Jenny-Shaojun Chen, Joanna Short, David Flynn, Der-Yuan Yang.
Third row: Wayne Grove, Eric Isenberg, Dan Giedeman, Noel Johnson, Alton Gilbert, Andrew Godley, Konstantinos Serfes.
Fourth row: George Deltas, Jason Martinek, Courtney LaFountain, Sean Rogers, Richard Seppälä, Drew Keeling, Mette Ejrnaes.
Not in photo: Daniel Schiffman.

In the next session, chair Susan Carter (UC-Riverside) orchestrated discussion for Gunnar Persson and Mette Ejrnaes (both of Copenhagen), who presented their challenge to the conventional wisdom that the French economy was not fully integrated in the 19th century. They examine integration of wheat markets, using data for a dozen local markets, 1825-1900, and a threshold equilibrium error correction model. Their results on adjustment processes in price differentials between pairs of markets show a high degree of regional and national integration, increasing over time.

Daudin, Fishback, and Rosenbloom asked about the authors' definition of an integrated market: what determines the "grain points" (similar to gold points) that are used to measure the extent of integration? Der-Yuan Yang (UC-Santa Barbara) questioned whether other markets in France were as integrated as the grain market. Grantham urged the authors to focus on the size of the "bandwidth" and then try to explain why it changed over time. He noted that market integration does not necessarily imply commodity flows, but simply stock revaluations. Clark argued that market integration has many dimensions and that this paper focuses on only one of them. The authors responded that the strength of their method is that it can separate two aspects of market integration: correlation of prices and speed of adjustment to market shocks. Farley Grubb (Delaware) asked how speeds of adjustment were being estimated. The authors noted that the estimation of the speed of adjustment was limited in some cases because of the small number of observations outside the band. Sicotte suggested that techniques developed in the antitrust literature to determine relevant geographic markets could be used in this research. Adverting to the previous paper, Rogers suggested that improved communication may have been important to more rapid speed of adjustment over time. Weiss argued that additional attention be given to the determinants of bandwidth. Cain urged the authors to take a look at the von Thünen-type models concerning the choice of commodity across geographic space, and Rosenbloom asked whether a national market is relevant – why not consider whether there had been market integration internationally?

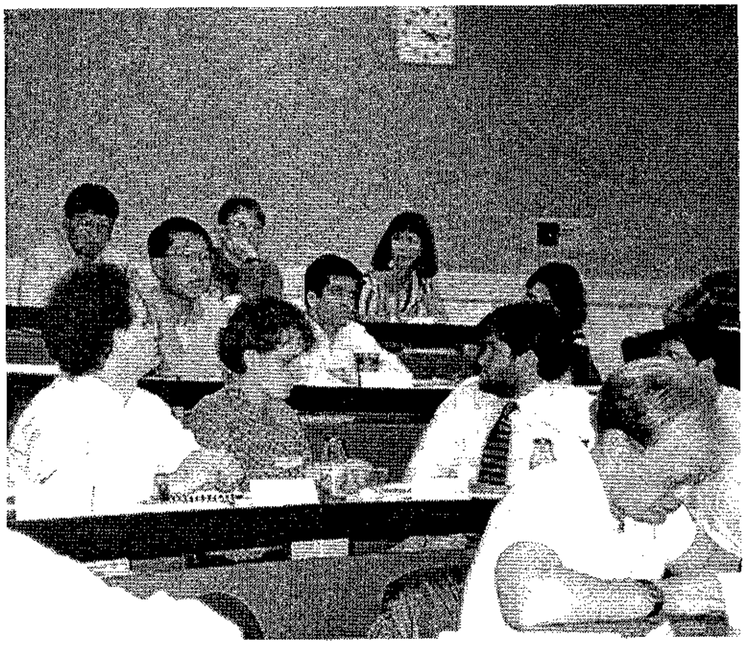
Caroline Fohlin banking on German data.

After a short break, Guillaume Daudin presented his mercantilist model of growth and trade in 18th-century France, in which he argues that classical and neoclassical models may miss many important features of the economy of the *Ancien Régime*. Prosperity depended, first of all, on the supply of circulating capital, which, second, depended ultimately on the positive balance of invisibles (trade and services). That is, mercantilist policies aimed at increasing the share of specie of each country through a positive invisibles balance were growth-enhancing.

Session chair and discussion coordinator Shawn Kantor (Arizona) first acknowledged Voth, who asked why, given the model, Portugal and Spain had not been economically more successful. Grantham asked why Hume's argument about long-run monetary neutrality is invalid. Was it a mistake for France to try to eliminate Holland's influence on the French economy? Fishback provided a rationale for the high rates of return on capital in external trade: barriers to entry. Sylla noted that Daudin uses a "Smithian" model to rationalize mercantilist policies in France, although Smith himself had written 1,000-pages to criticize mercantilism. Nye doubted that Daudin's model could explain French mercantilism: there is no discussion of retaliation by other countries, France's mercantilist policies may not have had much effect on trade balances, and the model does not address the many restrictions on French internal trade. Hanes asked for an example of a policy that would bring gold into the country without changing relative prices, and Daudin replied that French policies restricting trade in sugar to French merchants had had this effect; money is non-neutral in his model because it is a capital good. Neal pointed Daudin to Kindleberger's article comparing the British and French financial systems, noting that mercantilist policies were directed to building a war chest and not to improving the welfare of the general population. Grubb wondered whether it would have been difficult to move to a specie substitute internally; after all, tobacco certificates had been used widely as a medium of exchange in colonial America. Persson asked whether the big problem in France was not the underdevelopment of financial markets. Chiaki Moriguchi (Stanford) suggested a possible relationship between growth of social capital and growth of the money stock.

After lunch, with Richard Sutch presiding, Caroline Fohlin (Caltech) presented her work on the impact of Germany's universal banking system on firm capital structure in the pre-World War I era. Using cross-sectional data for 320 German joint-stock companies in 1904, she finds little effect of formal relationships with banks on enterprise capital structure. In general, her results support the predictions of information-based theories of capital structure, but undermine the traditional emphasis on formal bank-firm relationships as a substitute for reputation acquisition in capital markets.

Wheelock thought there might be substantial selection bias in favor of larger firms. He doubted the effect of debt/equity ratios could be ascertained in the way chosen by Fohlin, adding that her approach could not readily test for the effect of universal banking if the primary influence had been to reduce the cost of capital. Rogers expressed concern about possible endogeneity problems, and William Collins (Harvard) thought she might use instrumental variables to overcome such objections. Eddie wondered if the tax treatment of debt and equity had varied according to the exact legal status of individual firms, and Neal pointed out that a considerable proportion of German firms had not in fact enjoyed limited liability status. Ritschl emphasized that German balance sheets should not be taken at face value – it takes a heroic researcher indeed to accept the reliability of published German accounts. Daudin argued that the presence of bankers on the boards of firms was a poor proxy for the actual influence of universal banks, and thought that a more convincing test would use comparable data for French and English firms. Ritschl suggested that the existence of a "*Hausbank*" relationship was arguably much more important than board representation, and that the latter was unlikely to be a good proxy for the former. Sylla raised the issue of regulatory interference with the progression from debt to equity, since Germany had instituted a tax on equity trading in 1896. Moriguchi encouraged more explicit modeling of relationships, for example, game theoretic models of reputation effects.



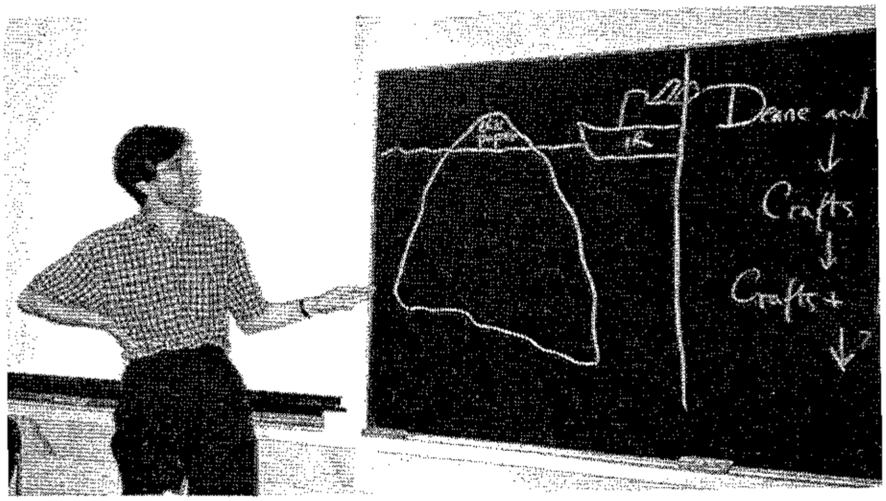
Conferees preparing to launch Session 10 discussion.

Tom Weiss next sat in as session chair for Robert Gallman (North Carolina, Chapel Hill), who was unable to attend. He introduced Albrecht Ritschl, who contributed his revisionist work on the impact of public expenditure on German economic recovery of the 1930s. Using newly discovered data, he recalculates government consumption, investment, and transfers, and shows how budget deficits were financed. Although deficit spending was much higher than previously estimated for 1934 (the critical year for the Nazi recovery), he finds that the role of public deficits in providing a Keynesian explanation for Nazi recovery is limited: fiscal policy changes were too small to account for the observed upswing in economic activity.

Troesken asked Ritschl why his data set should be regarded as superior to data already available. For the first time, Ritschl responded, we have access to the budget accounts of the Reich, including all shadow budgets; a major purpose of his paper is to advertise this new archival evidence. Rosenbloom and Cain felt that the nature of the economic regime change after 1933 requires further elaboration. What is the exact importance of the year 1934, and what was the role of a change in expectations after the Nazi rise to power? Persson then invited Ritschl to elaborate on the causes of Germany's escape from the Great Depression – if a Keynesian fiscal stimulus had been unimportant, then some other factor ought to have been at work. Ritschl replied that the strength of the 1934 boom had until now been something of a puzzle; given the new evidence, it is clear just how expansive fiscal policy had been in that year. Voth felt that the evidence marshaled against the importance of multiplier effects was less than fully convincing – simply dividing the annual increase in GDP by the annual change in the budget deficit is bound to yield erratic figures. Since the economy had experienced lower interest rates as well as larger budget deficits, it might be more appropriate to estimate the magnitude of the multiplier in a multi-variate framework; finally, the lag between expenditure change and economic effect ought to be determined empirically. Ritschl replied that he had carried out analysis along these lines in a VAR framework. Eddie asked for further comment on trade with Eastern Europe. To what extent had rearmament and budget deficits been financed by advantageous bilateral trade agreements with Central European countries?

Ritschl noted that there had been a positive, but very small, contribution during the latter part of the 1930s, but only from 1939 onwards did trade with Eastern Europe provide massive benefits for the Reich.

With Richard Sylla in the chair, Greg Clark's paper on "Too Much Revolution" was the subject of Saturday's closing session. The notion that an agricultural



Greg Clark modestly depicts his titanic efforts, as "the tip of the iceberg".

revolution had accompanied the industrial revolution, in Clark's view, should be consigned to the scrap heap of history. Using duality theory, Clark constructs new estimates of output and productivity for Great Britain, suggesting that there was no labor surplus in English agriculture even in 1700, and very little productivity gap between agriculture and industry. He concludes that economic growth between 1700 and 1860 was driven primarily by demographic rather than technological change.

Hanes asked why real wages had not declined as additional population crowded into agriculture, a sector with diminishing returns. Lee pointed to the improvement in the disease environment, and to the changing age structure, which may have reduced caloric requirements. Clark emphasized his view that the agricultural sector had shifted away from materials production and toward food production over the period. Ritschl asked how Clark can reconcile his earlier and current views on the agricultural revolution. Clark replied that most investigators have searched for sources of productivity growth, even when actual productivity growth was absent. Tsai asked why productivity growth was so slow, and Clark stressed that few important technical advances had taken place. Keeling asked whether efficient dietary change had allowed people to subsist on a smaller food output, but Clark responded that imported food was often less nutritious than domestically produced food. Rosenbloom said Clark's story suggests that colonies were instrumental in effecting economic change in 18th-century Britain, and Weiss added that these results correspond with similar changes in the 19th-century United States, urging Clark to clarify the use of price series to deflate nominal income data. Daudin asked whether the price index deflating agricultural production includes the prices of non-food agricultural output. Clark replied that it should include these prices, but regrettably does not. Grubb suggested that Ireland be integrated into the analysis, since Irish exports to Britain increased substantially in the late 18th century. Wayne Grove (Syracuse) asked how the switch away from fuel and raw material production in the rural sector had affected labor allocation, and Nye wondered whether some changes in grain prices in fact reflect quality change.

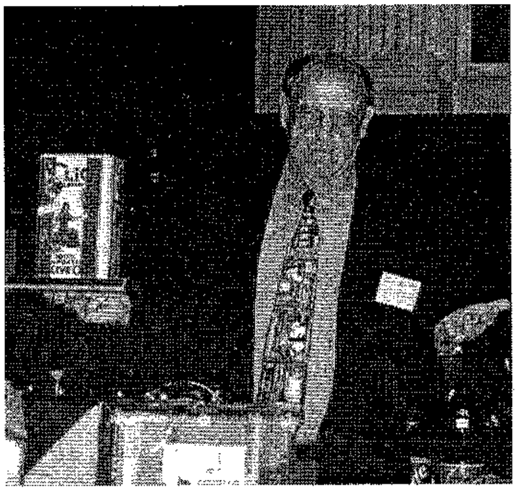
The Saturday evening Awards Banquet at Holmes Lounge on campus was presided over by Price Fishback, who presented several awards to participants, including Guillaume Daudin and Albrecht Ritschl. A high point was the presentation of the Mullah Award by Lou Cain, himself a humble servant of the Mullah, standing in for Tom Weiss, who remained otherwise engaged. Another notable moment occurred when the participants, in an act of solidarity, each raised a shot of vodka from a large bottle that had been presented to Sam Williamson by Russian economic historians from Chuvashia.

The banquet was distinguished, as always, by the presentation of the "Clio Can" to Richard Sylla, who seemed delighted and genuinely surprised at receiving this coveted prize. Last year's "Can" winner, Bob Gallman, was no doubt there in spirit, but was again represented in the flesh by Weiss, who in making the presentation provided only a pale imitation of Bob. Although everyone had been anticipating a clear, rich, and witty text extolling the virtues (and vices) of the winner's scholarship and golf game, they had instead to suffer through a half-hearted and semi-literate parody of "You Did It", from *My Fair Lady*.

In a session overseen by George Grantham early Sunday morning, Farley Grubb in his usual sartorial splendor presented his investigation of the rationale for statutory regulation of colonial servitude. Colonial statutes forced employers to provide specifically enumerated goods, "freedom dues", to their servants, for example, that at the expiration of his term a servant be given two complete suits of clothes, at least one of which was to be new. Grubb argues that freedom dues were legally mandated as a cost-minimizing resolution of problems created by incomplete contracts.

Kantor asked whether Grubb does not unduly minimize the role of the Law of Moses in mandating freedom dues, but Grubb replied that although Biblical injunctions may have played a role in the existence of freedom dues, they cannot explain the particulars. Fishback questioned the appropriateness of Grubb's assumption that colonial statutes were structured to "complete" otherwise incomplete private contracts. Troesken asked whether it was efficient for such statutes to mandate payments-in-kind. Grubb observed that currency payments were particularly costly in this era, and Field noted the potential for unexpected inflation to devalue statutory cash payments. Yang inquired whether contracts could be terminated for unproductive servants, but was told that colonies did not permit such actions. Carlos asked whether the theory explains the timing of enactment of these statutes, and Grubb noted that Virginia's late enactment of a freedom dues statute is a puzzle. Grove asked whether freedom dues were paid if the servant had died. Kim wondered why precisely two suits of clothes constituted efficient freedom dues.

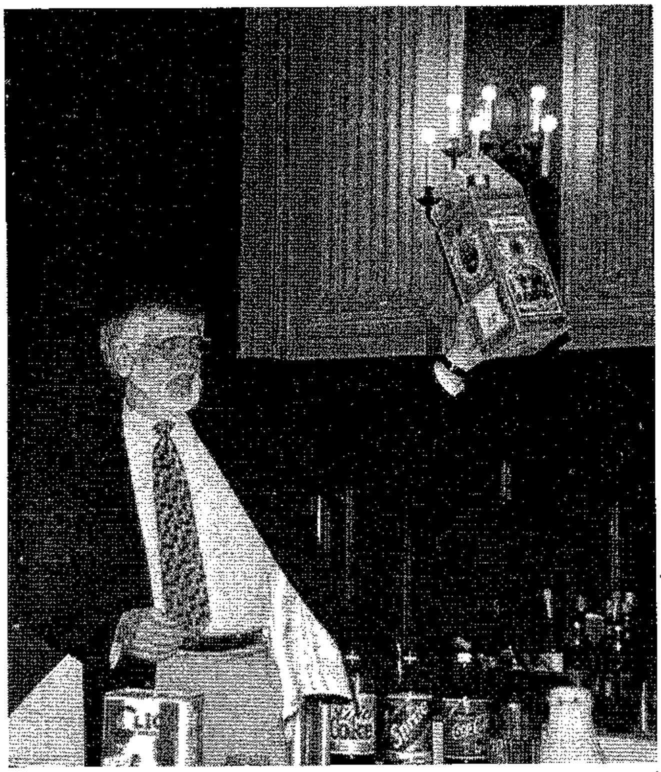
With Larry Neal in the chair, William Collins next discussed the effects of government programs to promote employment of black workers during WWII, and his investigation of the wartime narrowing in the black-white wage gap using retrospective work histories collected in the early 1950s. Although black men had improved their relative economic standing by migrating, Collins finds that their improvement was less than for white men with similar qualifications.



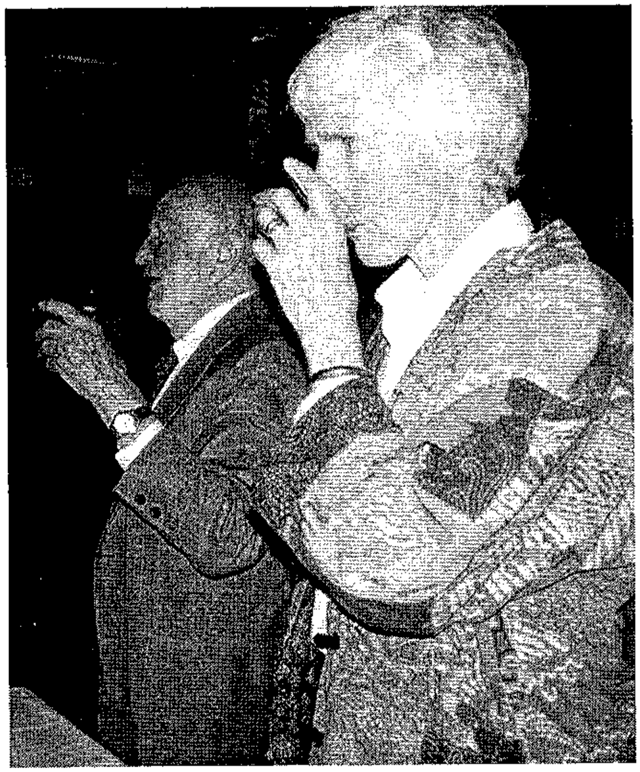
Tom Weiss (as Bob Gallman) awards the Clio Can to Dick Sylla (as Dick Sylla).

Fishback asked whether the probability of lodging a complaint with the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) was endogenous to working in one of the industries under its mandate. Collins responded that most of the complaints were not about wages or working conditions, but about inability to be hired in the first place. Carter observed that the Palmer data are subject to selection bias, since they cover only migrants who survived to the 1950s, and she suggested using census data as a control. Grove asked how the sample was constructed. Collins replied that it was a random cluster sample. Sutch noted that the low participation of Southern black agricultural workers in wartime industry was largely due to instructions to labor contractors to avoid recruiting them, since Southern rural labor markets would have been adversely affected. Schiffman pointed out that superior education and access to job information created a selection bias against agricultural laborers migrating to war industries. Fohlin observed that the regressions indicate that schooling had almost no effect on wages and that the return to education for whites was nearly twice as high as for blacks. Carlos doubted the accuracy of retrospective inquiries, since people do tend to forget things, but Sutch stated that oral historians have found that blacks kept good records of their home lives in annotated albums of family photographs. Moriguchi noted that the central issue is why temporary regulations such as the ones investigated in this paper should have had a permanent effect. Collins responded that learning by employers is part of the answer.

In the final session, with Elyce Rotella (Indiana) at the helm, Chris Hanes discussed his work on the sliding scale, an arrangement by which wages were linked explicitly to product prices. Sliding scales were used



Sam Williamson, hoisting "living water" from Chuvashia.



Hosts Doug North and Elizabeth Case, toasting solidarity.

in union contracts in metals and mining during the late 19th century, but declined markedly in importance during the first half of the 20th century. Hanes concludes that the sliding scale was a marginally useful device in preventing strikes that otherwise would have resulted from employees' ignorance about product demand. He argues that changes in the US legal environment that later allowed unions to contract not to strike had reduced the benefit of the sliding scale in avoiding strikes.

Carter asked whether monopsony should play a role in the model; sliding scales could only be a means to adjust wages downwards if competition from other firms for workers were conspicuous by its absence. Because pay scales were constantly being renegotiated, Hanes replied, his model is still a relevant analysis. Clark argued that the model seemed too powerful. If ever there were an industry that had ideal conditions for the use of sliding scales, it was textiles: product and input prices could be observed with great ease, but still there are no examples of the successful use of sliding scales. Hanes replied that price observability was less obvious than might be supposed; for example, prices published in the *Journal of Commerce* might differ from prices paid by individual firms because of discounts. Fishback and Cain stressed that the operation of sliding scales should be more difficult in a deflationary environment – although employers would be delighted to be able to cut nominal wages when prices are falling, money illusion should make workers very reluctant to accept such reductions. Hanes pointed out that the type of sliding scale with which he was concerned was radically different from a COLA – wages were tied to output prices, not to the cost of living. Yang and Williamson wondered whether profit-sharing agreements or share ownership schemes were not conceptually very close to the sliding-scale agreements Hanes had analyzed – the remuneration of workers and the firm's profit situation become more closely aligned in both cases. Hanes agreed that share ownership schemes and share option plans in the more recent past were similar.

Thus ended the 1998 Clio Conference. Clio will return in 1999 to the land of the Red(tailed) Hawks in Oxford, Ohio.

Cole Interview *continued from page 6*

the basic structure of the courses we offered was consistent with the objectives which had first taken shape in my mind in Bristol and which I sought to explain in my inaugural lecture, *Economic History as a Social Science*, twelve months after my arrival in Swansea. The last innovation during my time in Swansea was the introduction, in co-operation with the Centre for Development Studies, of a Joint Honours degree in Economic History and Development Studies, a development which would surely have appealed to development economists from Adam Smith onwards.

I was sometimes asked whether I ever experienced a desire to move to a department elsewhere, but my answer was always No, because Swansea had provided me with the opportunity to do from scratch what I wanted to achieve and to build a department in which, though we sometimes quarreled amongst ourselves as academics are often wont to do, we were never divided about our fundamental objectives. But after twenty years at the helm, I was acutely aware that the competing demands of the job meant that I had done very little of my own work and my teaching was beginning to suffer; and so, when the question of early retirement arose, since there was little more that I could hope to do in Swansea, I decided that perhaps the time had come to move on.

Can you tell us about your period in Brazil in the 1970s?

Yes, a little. I spent about three months in Brazil between the end of July and the beginning of November, 1974, at the invitation of Professor Canabrava, the Professor of Economic History at the University of São Paulo. I was asked to go at very short notice, apparently to deputise for a French economic historian who had been obliged to cancel at the last minute. I was given a room at the University, the use of a car and a very affable driver who rejoiced in the name of Marco Aurelio, and was asked to give a weekly lecture about British Economic Growth to the postgraduate students in the Faculty. The students and an Argentinian member of staff were extremely hospitable, but in other respects I do not recall having a great deal of contact with the University during my stay there. Nevertheless, the visit was both interesting and enjoyable, since although I had traveled widely in Europe, this was the first and only time that I have had to visit a developing country on the other side of the world and at the same time to sample the delights of Rio. My abiding impression of São Paulo itself was of the traffic. The city is about the same size as New York, with nearly as many skyscrapers; but there was no metro and the public transport system was wholly inadequate, and in consequence everyone who could afford to do so traveled by car, driving with such reckless abandon that according to wags at the University the most affluent people in the city were the plastic surgeons!

You gave a paper at the Leningrad International Economic History Congress in, I think, 1982. Can you tell us something of this?

The Fifth Congress at Leningrad was actually in 1970, and on that occasion my paper was based on an attempt to measure the variations in the rate of change of British industrial structure since 1850, in order to test the oft-repeated charge of a failure of British entrepreneurship in the period between 1870 and 1914. Since the exercise suggested that the rate of change was not significantly different in that period from that prevailing in earlier and later periods, and there were alternative explanations, in the economic circumstances of the time, for the delay in exploiting some of the major technological innovations of the late nineteenth century, I came to the conclusion that the charge of entrepreneurial failure was misplaced, or at least greatly exaggerated.

I also gave a paper at the Eighth Congress in Budapest which was held in 1982. This paper, which was entitled 'Long-Term Trends in the Economy of Pre-Industrial England', was a preliminary attempt to explore the possibility of using probate inventories to push back the study of British economic growth to the early sixteenth century. Although it was based on a very small sample of 706 inventories drawn from four readily-available published series, the exercise sufficed to convince me that such a study might indeed be feasible and could be expected to yield worthwhile results.

You are still engaged in research in economic history. What are you working on these days?

My current research arose directly from the Budapest paper, but for various reasons, although I was able to make a preliminary survey of the field in 1984-5, it was not until 1991 that I was able to get down to serious work on it. My aim is to produce estimates of the long-term trends in the level, distribution and structure of the household wealth of the probate population of middle England in the two and a half centuries between 1530 and 1780. The study is based on a sample of approximately 7,000 inventories drawn from the records of seven probate courts whose jurisdiction extended over ten counties in Midland and Southern England and whose combined population accounted for nearly a fifth of that of the country as a whole. The amount of information contained in these documents is enormous, but before it is possible to make use of them, it is necessary to produce classified abstracts of the data in machine-readable form which are appropriate for the purpose of analysis. This is a laborious and time-consuming task which has kept me busy for most of the past six years and is not yet complete. But the end is now in sight, and I have promised to let the History Data Archive at the University of Essex have a copy of the completed database, together with appropriate documentation, as soon as possible in 1999, so that it will be available for use by other researchers. When that point has been reached, I hope to begin to analyse the data myself, in order to see what conclusions can be drawn from it, but in the meantime all I can say is this. At the end of my Budapest paper, I ventured to remark that the process of "self-sustained growth in a pre-industrial context", as I had once half-jestingly described it in a mildly provocative dig at Rostow, was by no means confined to the early part of the eighteenth century; and it seems most unlikely that this broad conclusion will be contradicted by the outcome of the present research.

You are universally and affectionately called 'Max' Cole, although your initials are W. A., which I seem to remember stands for William Alan. Wasn't it something to do with your fondness for Maxim Gorky's works in your schooldays?

Yes, more or less. In the Autumn of 1941, during my first term at Leighton Park, the school Literary, Historical and Archaeological Society decided to hold a symposium on Russian Literature to commemorate our new ally's entry into the war, and I was asked to produce a short paper on a Soviet writer. I chose to talk about Gorky and became known thereafter as Maxim, or Max for short, mainly, I must confess, because at that time he was the only Soviet writer I had even heard of, although I did become quite interested in him as a result of the work I had to do in preparing my paper.

Well, Max, I must thank you for agreeing to do this interview. It is good to see you back in Swansea from your home in Cambridge. Let's go and get some lunch.

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All-UC Report *continued from page 11*

criteria, such as excludability and zero-cost maintenance of property rights, may have been absent during the rush. He asked how people had actually decided on property rules, referring to British historical antecedents where land tenure and property size were once decided by brute force. Landes urged that more insight might be gained from an historical comparison to other gold rushes, specifically those in Brazil. Masao Suzuki (Mills) thought that one reason capital might have been discouraged from entering the Gold Rush is that Americans feared that only Chinese workers would be hired.

The Sunday morning session began with a paper by Lisa Marovich (UCLA), entitled "Uncle Sam Calling All Inventors: Inventive Culture and Women's Inventive Activity in World War II America." Marovich uses a sample of over 6,000 patents from the war years to investigate the effects of government policy in spurring invention by women. She finds limited evidence that US policy actually had its intended effect, but does, however, adduce evidence that there were marginal gains in opportunities for women resulting from the wartime policy.

William Sundstrom (Santa Clara) commented that Marovich was really tracking two effects, those of policy to foster women's inventive activities, and those of the appeal to patriotism to elicit inventive activity in general. He stressed that issues of timing are particularly important to the analysis: it is difficult to assess whether the observed drop in patent rates was due to the War. Alan Olmstead (UC-Davis) inquired about backgrounds of women inventors, remarking from personal experience that patenting is very difficult the first time it is done. Menes also suggested that the demand pattern for patents may have changed substantially during the War and that one should control for this effect.

The next paper, "Paving Machines: Politics and the Provision of Public Infrastructure in American Cities During the Progressive Era, 1900-1910", by Rebecca Menes, examines a paradox of received theory, which holds both that corrupt governments limit growth, but also that countries such as Italy had corrupt machine politics but grew quickly early in the 20th century. She explores the theoretical implications of machine politics as well as their empirical consequences, and finds that machine cities had elevated unskilled wages for city workers, higher budgets and, most importantly, that they contributed much more to road paving than did other cities. This, she claims, is evidence of the propensity of corrupt politicians to provide more public goods than honest politicians do.

Wright commended the dual theoretical and empirical approach of Menes's paper, but also warned that her evidence may in some ways be suspect. Although there may be evidence for increased public spending, he thought such expenditure might not be growth-enhancing. The difference between the total amount of activity and productivity, he stressed, should not be ignored. Finally, he suggested that there may have been tradeoffs lurking in the background, and public goods such as roads and pavement might have come at the cost of other public goods. Rosenthal noted that Menes's static model might miss some important predictions that could be developed in a dynamic setting.

The final paper of the conference, "Inflationary Expectations and Uncertainty during the Great Depression in Germany", was given by Hans-Joachim Voth (Stanford). Voth argues that investors were overly wary of inflation in the 1930s and that their caution severely restricted German public policy during the Depression. The proposition is tested *via* a rational expectations approach using bond market data to estimate expected inflation.

John James (Virginia) proved a skeptical interlocutor, doubting Voth's econometric technique; he suggested there may be ways to get the opposite conclusion using only a slightly different econometric approach. James asked whether investors might have had another fear: that of a regime change. He also suggested that looking at interest rate parities between Germany and France might give better evidence of expected inflation. Lindert claimed that yet another fear of investors might have been default rather than inflation. Voth defended his lack of analysis of default risk by mentioning that the historical record has no reference to anyone having had such a fear.

The conference benefited from the presence of David Landes, who was the honored speaker at the Saturday evening banquet. He provided a brief glimpse of some of the hypotheses in his new book, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some are so Rich and Some are so Poor* (New York: Norton, 1998). The next confirmed conference of the All-UC Group in Economic History will be in the late winter or early spring of 1999 at UC-Berkeley, host John Douglas, with the theme "R & D Investment and Economic Growth in the 20th Century."

Call for Papers
Canadian Economic History Meeting
April 23-25, 1999
Alberta, Canada

The theme of the 1999 conference is "Canadian Economic History at the Millennium: What do we know? Where should we go from here?" Within this broad theme, the organizing committee invites proposals for papers which advance knowledge about Canadian economic development, which provide critical assessments of economic history methodology, or which may not address Canadian economic history explicitly, but which provide comparative experiences or lessons for Canadian economic development. Papers with a retrospective or historiographical dimension are strongly encouraged, as are proposals from graduate students. Some funding to defray the costs of participation may become available. Information on the conference and the conference venue, The Lodge at Kananaskis, can be found at

http://www.ucalgary.ca/~hemery/kan99.html

Anyone interested in presenting a paper should send an abstract of the proposed paper and a *curriculum vitae* as soon as possible, but no later than **September 15, 1998**, by post, e-mail or fax to:

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