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NEWSLETTER

The Newsletter of

The Cliometric Society

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The Newsletter of the Cliometric Society

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Editor's Note: Throughout this issue we share remembrances of Professor Robert Fogel, who died in June 2013. Rather an provide an obituary (see the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune), we share stories contributed by several Clio Society members whose careers have been influenced by Professor Fogel. The remembrances were solicited through e-mail and condensed and edited from a July 10 event in his memory at the meetings of the Development of the American Economy program of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Recordings of the event were generously provided by Claudia Goldin in advance of their posting on the NBER website. We also must sadly report the passing of Cynthia Taft Morris.

--Mary Hansen, Editor

Reported by Eric Schneider, Andrea Matranga, Theresa Gutberlet, James Feigenbaum, Marc Goni, Edward Kosack, Sebastian Fleitas, Dustin Frye, Alan de Bromhead, Gabriele Cappelli, Pei Gao, Dan Marcin, Wayne Liou, Anna Missiaia, Ross Knippenberg, Zachary Ward. Edited by Mary Eschelbach Hansen. Pictures courtesy of Andrea Matranga and Summer LaCroix.

The 7th World Congress of Cliometrics was held June 18-21 in Honolulu on the campus of the University of Hawaii. The organizing committee of Ann Carlos, Mike Haupert, and Sumner La Croix (chair) put together a stimulating conference. Yeoman's work was done by Sumner La Croix, who also served as the local organizer. He arranged for a welcome picnic the evening before the conference began, a hula reception on the first night of the conference, and a fabulous banquet for the closing ceremonies. His attention to detail made for a conference that matched the scenery in splendor and magnificence.

With 83 papers on the conference schedule, it was not possible to report on each one. Many apologies to the authors whose presentations are not summarized here, and many thanks to the team of 16 volunteer reports who made it possible to cover the many sessions included below.

Tuesday, June 18

Eugene White (Rutgers) presented "Can Moral Hazard Be Avoided? The *Banque de France* and the Crisis of 1889." The paper, co-authored with **Pierre-Cyrille Hautcoeur** (Paris School of Economics) and **Angelo Riva** (European Business School, Paris), examines the role of the central bank as a lifeboat in a financial crisis. In 1889 the *Societe industrielle et commercial des metaux* (SM), a major player in the speculation of copper, faced certain failure. SM had cornered the copper futures market, massively over-leveraging itself. The *Banque de France* conducted a lifeboat operation to avoid contagion by extending a line of credit funded partly by other firms who shared blame in the debacle. This was a perfect alignment of incentives, and the French economy did not see any similar crisis for decades. The empirics of the paper consist of network analysis by linking together people in various firms and finding the central figures. The results support the idea that firms and executives more central to the cause of the crisis were pshed more harshly. The higher the centrality of a person indicates a higher possibility for corruption, as the he would have conflicting interests.

The first half of the discussion centered on the framing of the paper. **Eric Hilt** (Wellesley) suggested emphasizing that the current literature misses the role of other firms in the crisis, including how they came out relatively unscathed. **Christine Mumme** (Tüebingen) and **Jeremy Atack** (Vanderbilt) wondered about applying the analysis to other financial crises. White replied that he and his co-authors want to be careful about over-applying, except to say that incentives and pshments need to be properly aligned. A large part of the discussion revolved around the authors' use of network analysis. While the metrics were versally applauded, **Michelangelo Vasta** (Siena) asked if the network could be examined before and after the crisis. White replied that results are forthcoming, but he is confident that the network was less dense after the crisis, indicating that the perpetrators of the crisis had fewer vested interests in neighboring firms. **Carola Frydman** (Boston) concluded the discussion by asking about pshment to instigators after this crisis. White responded that rules today are very different and incentives have also changed: executives cannot lose their personal wealth.

James Feigenbaum (Harvard) presented in one of the second sessions of the first day. His paper was entitled "A New Old Measure of Intergenerational Mobility: From Iowa 1915 to 1940." The paper asks how economically mobile the US were in the past compared to today and whether mobility increased over time. The work is based on the observation of fathers and their sons across two censuses: 1915 and 1940. The paper does not only look at occupational mobility, as it is customary in the literature, but also looks at educational and income mobility. The main results are that inequality increased when looking at educational and income mobility but occupational mobility seems to have had a different trend from the other two.

The discussion was opened by **Robert Margo** (Boston), who cast doubt on whether 1940, a year of war preparation, was a good year for the analysis. Feigenbaum agreed that 1940 is not the perfect year but he was confident that any bias was not too severe.

He further explained that these two censuses were the only two that could be used to link fathers and sons effectively. **David Mitch** (Maryland) said that circulation mobility, which is the mobility that takes into account of the change in quality in occupation, was not considered in the paper. Feigenbaum explained that when only the occupation is known, it is quite hard to assess whether the mobility is upward or downward in the employment. **Bill Colllins** (Vanderbilt) cast doubt on the comparability of years of education across the sample. Feigenbaum reminded the audience that the sample is at county level, therefore he is not too concerned about differences in school quality. **Gabriele Cappelli** (EUI) asked about the role of immigration. Feigenbaum explained that he looked at whether having immigrant grandparents made any difference: It didn't. The last comments were by **Jessica Bean** (Denison) who suggested using marriage records to track women, and **Carolyn Moehling** (Rutgers) who asked whether Iowa was really representative of the US. On this last comment Feigenbaum replied that Iowa is by far the state with the best quality data and other states would allow for a similar analysis.

In one of the third sessions in the first day, **Joyce Burnette** (Wabash) presented her paper with **Maria Stanfors** on "Gender and Wage Growth: Evidence from Swedish Manufacturing c. 1900." In this paper, the two authors study the occupational patterns of women in the tobacco manufacturing industry in Sweden at the beginning of the 20th century. This industry had two main occupations: cigar rolling and composting. The former required far less skills than the latter. The fact that this industry employed men and women in similar numbers allows the authors to study how the internal labor market for the two genders worked. The bottom line of the paper is that women tend to choose low training profiles (cigar

Enjoying Cliometrics al fresco.

Good thing the session ended before sunset!

rolling) while men choose high training profiles (composting). This led to a wage gap. An open question is why women do so: discrimination or different preferences?

The first comment was by **Paul Sharp** (Southern Denmark) who suggested that women are more risk averse when choosing the number of years in training. Burnette agreed that it could be the case. **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) suggested adding a time dimension, as the cross section does not capture technological change or retraining. Burnette said that it was not possible to build a panel with the available data. Also, a panel could be tricky for other reasons therefore she was happy with studying a steady state. **Chiaki Morguchi** (Hitotsubashi) asked whether there was information on the internal market of the firm. This could be interesting as different patterns could be observed in firms of different size. Moreover, she asked whether this was a discrimination story. The author was not sure at this stage of research that the wage gap in this industry could be attributed to discrimination. **Yukiko Abe** (Hokkaido) asked why Sweden was a frontrunner in fighting sex discrimination. Burnette suggested that it could have been because of the strong welfare state. **Gabriele Cappelli** (EUI) suggested that behind the choice for less training there could be a cultural explanation. Burnette found the point interesting, as women often decided not to participate to on activities even if they were allowed to.

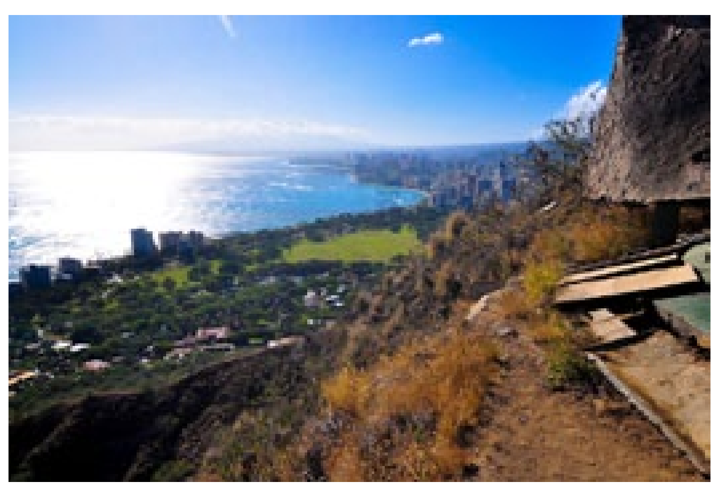
Yasuo Takatsuki (Kobe) presented his paper "Informational Efficiency under the Shogunate Governance: Concentration and Integration of the Rice Market in Tokugawa Japan," in which he constructs a new database to test the level of integration of the markets for rice in Japan between 1798 and 1856. This zone and time frame is very important since it is well know that the first organized market for future contracts emerged in Oasaka, Japan during the Tokugawa period (1603-1867). Using a new daily price index from a unique historical document, he discusses the integration of the markets for rice certificates (futures) in the markets of Dojima (DSE), in the area of Oasaka and Otsu (OSE) through time series econometric analysis. Based on the results of the Granger Causality tests, the author states that the market integration increased greatly during the late Takugawa period.

The main point in the discussion was about how to identify the concept of causality in the setting of Granger Tests. **James Fenske** (Oxford) wondered if it is possible to distinguish in the applied settings the effects of the flows of information (that generates market integration) with other co-shocks. **Florian Ploecki** (Oxford) pointed out that the paper would benefit from a discussion of the shocks that impact the prices. **Alfredo Garcia-Hiernaux** (*Universidad Complutense de Madrid*) suggested that if it were possible to find data for a more distant market, even if it is more aggregated data, it could be possible to test more directly the effect of distance in the integration and then the informational flow. A second point was related to the institutional details of the market. **Helen Yang** (George Mason) wondered about the role of public finances and about the possibility of contracts among producers, while **Tuan Hwee-Sng** (National Univ. of Singapore) asked about reputational effects among markets and producers. **Concha Betrán** (Valencia) asked about the possibility of existence of price floors for the rice as in the case of Spain. Finally, **Larry Neal** (Illinois) raised the question of why the contemporary rice merchant made the effort of taking notes of daily prices for the two markets for such a long period. Human motivation is always difficult to understand, but all who were present agreed that economic historians should be thankful to those people.

Alan de Bromhead (Oxford) presented on “Women Voters and Party Preference in Weimar Germany.” The paper is concerned with the voting behavior of German women in the elections that brought the Nazi to power. **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) asked about the drivers of the women’s vote. He wondered whether women tended to vote for more conservative parties or parties that care more about the welfare state. De Bromhead said that women tended to vote for parties that promise more protection. **Christina Mumme** (Tuebingen) was worried about the overrepresentation of Protestant regions in the sample, and De Bromhead agreed that he should try to drop some Protestant regions as a robustness check. **David Mitch** (Maryland) asked why the number of women voters was so low over the period. The author suggested that the reason for the low rate of participation was that women were not very targeted by propaganda. **Qian Lu** (Maryland) asked how secret were the ballots, and the author confirmed that the vote was still secret at the time. A number of participants engaged in a discussion of whether it was appropriate to assume the women in the 1930s had the same preferences that we expect from women today.

Yukiko Abe (Hokkaido) presented “On the Historical Development of Regional Difference in Women’s Participation in Japan,” which reviews how regional differences in women’s participation in job market in Japan evolved through time and across regions. Regional difference in term of women’s participation declined after 1970, but the same regional pattern persists. Also, large regional disparities in women’s participation ratios exist for married women. The supply factors play the main role: the difference in availability of childcare and prevalence of the three-generation household across regions account the most for the variation in female labor force participation.

Bishnupriya Gupta (Warwick) and **Pei Gao** (LSE) among others raised their concern on the interpretation of childcare facilities. The first part of the discussion was concentrated on what kind of childcare facility was prevalent in the areas that had higher women participation rates, since the demand for female labor and provision of childcare could be two separate things if the nursery institutions were publicly provided. **Jessica Bean** (Denison) and **Beverly Lemire** (Alberta) both questioned why childcare was



How do they get work done when hiking like this is nearby?

I first met **Bob Fogel** and his family about 55 years ago. At Johns Hopkins, Bob and I shared an attic office with four other with four other graduate students. Bob had just completed his MA at Columbia University, was publishing his book on the Union Pacific Railroad, and was starting to work on his railroad book. Since we were the only two of the six interested in economic history, we had frequent discussions and debates. I particularly remember two of these debates which took quite some time to resolve.

For several weeks we were concerned with the recently published—and at the time highly-praised—work of Walt Rostow in *The Stages of Economic Growth*. I had then naively thought that it was a major contribution, while Bob—as seen in one of the chapters of the railroad book—thought the work was quite flawed.

The other major discussion, which had considerably more impact on our work, was originated by my required journal club presentation of the famous Conrad and Meyer article in the *Journal of Political Economy*. This was immediately seen to be a very controversial piece for both its method of analysis and for its substantive conclusions. After numerous arguments about what it did or did not prove, we ultimately agreed that to resolve the issue it would be useful to collect more data from primary sources on slave prices and productivity, which we were able to do so with some help from the NSF. With Bob in Chicago and me Rochester, we began our collaboration at some distance—more difficult then than now. The data collection and analysis led to many interesting debates and fruitful discussions, and a great deal of fun, enjoyment, and intellectual stimulation over many years.

--*Stanley Engerman*

more available in the Northern coastal area rather than in urban areas like Tokyo. **Joyce Burnette** (Wabash) and **Carolyn Modhling** (Rutgers) wanted more about demand for women's labor.

Ralph Hippe (Strasbourg) presented "Remoteness Equals Backwardness?" which uses European regions from 1850 to test whether remoteness gives disincentives to invest in human capital. Using numeracy and population potential to proxy human capital and market access, the paper argues that market access has a significant positive influence on human capital level across Europe from 1850 onward, therefore the result confirms the 'penalty of remoteness' hypothesis for Europe in a long term perspective.

The discussion focused on the methodology. **Anna Missiaia** (LSE) asked about using straight line distance to measure market access, given that most of European countries have multiple transportation choices. Many suggested that this paper should add distance to a coast as control variable or incorporate cost of shipping into the model. **Steve Nafziger** (Williams) was concerned about the quality of the data because 50% of the sample lay in Russia and the census of Russia at that time point had systematic problems. **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) pointed out that migration should not be neglected. The second part of the discussion focused on questioning the framework. **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) and others suggested that the alternative possibility was higher human capital level lead to better market access, not the other way around.

Tuan-Hwee Sng (National Univ. of Singapore) and **Chiaki Moriguchi** (Hitotsubashi) presented a principal-agent model aimed at understanding differences in state capacity between pre-modern China and Japan. Their paper focuses on the cost of monitoring bureaucrats in charge of tax collection, which in turn depends on the size of domains and the available technology. The authors claim that in Japan – a smaller domain than China – economic expansion and increased revenues led to investment in public goods, while in China economic growth led to low taxes in order to prevent bureaucratic expropriation. In the authors' view, this had important implications for the divergence observed between China and Japan after 1850.

William Collins (Vanderbilt) suggested that a number of features (urbanization and the productivity in agriculture among the others) might have affected tax revenues. **Nicolas Ziebarth** (Iowa) asked whether public goods were central for the development of China and Japan – especially those goods that the authors focus on. **Anna Missiaia** (LSE) asked if assuming the ruler's life as infinite is reasonable. **Daniel Marcin** (Michigan) suggested that the given monitoring technology might have evolved with the level of corruption. Finally, **Marlous Van Waijenburg** (Northwestern) wondered if benefits were misaligned with costs at the regional level because of fiscal redistribution.

Andrea Matranga (Pompeu Fabra) presented a paper aimed at explaining why humans embraced sedentary agriculture about ten thousand years ago – despite the fact that the new practice led to a lower average consumption than that achieved through the nomadic life of hunters and gatherers. This work suggests that the independent discovery of sedentary farming across different regions of the world was not motivated by the promise of a more abundant diet, but rather by the desire for a less uncertain one.

Christina Mumme (Tubingen) wondered how a strong relationship between sedentary agriculture and consumption smoothing existed given that agricultural output was likely to be influenced by fluctuations caused by seasonality. **Alessandro Nuvolari** (Sant'Anna) pointed out that the title of the paper should not be so negative given the subsequent developments and success of agricultural practices across the world. The discussion focused mainly on the relationship between institutional advances, social developments, and sedentary agriculture. Many of the participants – **Leonard Dudley** (Montreal), **John Wallis** (Maryland) and **Rick Steckel** (Ohio State), among the others – pointed out that the paper assumes that 'modern' institutions were developed largely as a result of sedentary lives while the reverse might be true.

Marta Felis-Rota (*Universidad Autonoma de Madrid*) presented "A GIS Analysis of the Evolution of the Railway Network and Population Densities in England and Wales, 1851-2000." The paper, co-authored with Jordi Marti Henneberg and Laia Mojica (both *Universitat de Lleida*), examines the role of railway access on urbanization Wales and England. By creating a comprehensive GIS database of railway and stations maps paired with census population data from 17,000 time-consistent parishes, the authors measure the extent to which a rail station increases population in a parish. The time period of the study can generally be divided into two: pre- and post-1900. The first part characterizes expansion of the railway network while the second part characterizes contraction. The main conclusion is that railway stations are strongly correlated with urbanization and population growth.

The discussion began with some clarifying questions. **Jeremy Atack** (Vanderbilt) asked if stations could be divided between passenger and freight (no), and **Florian Ploeckl** (Oxford) wondered about the inclusion of trams (no). The discussion quickly turned to the matter of causality: did rail stations really cause urbanization? **Robert Margo** (Boston) explained that instruments for railway studies are difficult to find and justify. **Tim Hatton** (ANU) asked why some stations and lines closed: was the peak railway network size really too large? **Daniel Marcin** (Michigan) asked whether the lines being closed were old or new? Felis-Rota replied that it appears mostly small branch lines closed, which were also the last ones to open, indicating over-investment. Additionally, lines were opened under private investment, but closed under public management.

After the Plenary Session.

Masanori Takashima (Hitotsubashi) presented new historical GDP estimates for Japan from 725 to 1890. The paper is co-authored with **Jean-Pascal Bassino** (IAO, ENS den Lyon), **Stephen Broadberry** (LSE), **Kyoiji Fukao** (Hitotsubashi), and **Bishnupriya Gupta** (Warwick). The authors use measures of agricultural output, population, and urbanization to estimate GDP from the output side. They find that Japan was nearly equal to Britain in GDP per capita in the fourteenth century but fell behind Britain after the Black Death. There was some convergence with Britain until the mid-seventeenth century after which Japan could no longer match Britain's growth. They also find that Japan's GDP per capita was always higher than India's.

Alessandro Nuvolari (Sant'Anna) asked whether the hours worked were the same in both countries. He worried that assuming that the hours worked was constant across time and space would lead to bias in the demand elasticities calculated. **Leonard Dudley** (Montreal) wondered why Japan's agricultural output and productivity was not influenced by the Little Ice Age. **James Fenske** (Oxford) wondered whether a sensitivity analysis could be added to show how great

Bob Margo accepts appointment as Clio Fellows.

an influence the elasticity assumptions had on the final GDP estimates produced. Finally, several people asked questions about the skill premium. **Ahmed Rahman** (US Naval Academy) asked whether the skilled and unskilled wages reported were coming from different industries, hinting that changes in the skill premium might solely reflect the plight of different industries in the economy. **Andrea Matranga** (Pompeu Fabra) wondered whether there were barriers to entry into the skilled classes and how these might have changed over time.

Nicolas Ziebarth (Iowa) presented "The Radio and Banks Runs in the Great Depression," which highlights how the existence of a public signal known to a select group of individuals affects the behavior of those uninformed. In other words, the paper emphasizes the potential role of bad information, what people know and how they use it, on some results like the bank runs in the Great Depression. Using econometric analysis that controls for a variety of measures of local economic conditions and pre-trends, the paper presents evidence that the counties with higher levels of radio penetration rates in 1930 experienced higher levels of banking stress between 1930 and 1933. This result is framed in a model of bank runs with strategic externalities and with agents with heterogeneous information.

Regarding the main argument of the paper, **Ken Snowden** (UNC Greensboro), **Eugene White** (Rutgers) and **Robert Margo** (Boston) noted that whether more information is a good or a bad thing depends on whether people are running against an insolvent or a merely illiquid bank. A second concern was about the use of radio penetration as a measure of the information that the people have. **Stephen Nafziger** (Williams) wondered if the radio ownership could reflect other aspects of wealth while **Eric Hilt** (Welesley), **Farley Grubb** (Delaware), **Florian Ploeckl** (Oxford) and Carola Frydman (Boston) recommended that Zeibarth use data on telephones, telegraphs and newspapers as controls of other sources of information in order to have a clear interpretation of the coefficients on radio penetration. A third stream of comments was about the geographic spillovers. **Matthew Jaremski** (Colgate) and **Kris Mitchener** (Warwick) suggested that in this setting it could be a key issue to capture the effects of what happened in a county on other counties.

Giovanni Federico (EUI) and **Antonio Tena-Junguito** (Carlos III) presented the preliminary results of a research project on world trade. For approximately 100 countries, they collected and estimated trade flows from the end of Napoleonic wars to the outbreak of World War II. They found that a long period of steady growth in world trade started around 1830, but was interrupted by World War I. After a brief recovery in the twenties, commerce was severely curtailed by the Great Depression.

Price Fishback (Arizona) noted that the Napoleonic wars had also interrupted a trend of rising trade growth. **Tim Hatton** (ANU) pointed out that the dataset allowed for backing out comparable and standardized freight rates, (the authors half-jokingly) promised to bring this for Clio 2017. **Leonard Dudley** (Montreal) inquired as to the relationship between exchange rate and trade in the data, while **Michelangelo Vasta** (Siena) asked whether the effect of the telegraph could be observed.

Beverly Lemire (Alberta) analyzed a representative sample of just over 1,000 wills of sailors who died on ships engaged in intercontinental trade, mostly with the East Indies for "Men of the World: English Mariners, Plebeian Consumerism and New Worlds of Fashion in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1600-1800." These wills shed light on sailors' private trading activities, which were sometimes allowed by their employers, but more often officially forbidden but tolerated to various extents. The paper shows how sailors' decisions were pivotal in determining fashions across wide swathes of European material culture.

Brooks Kaiser (Southern Denmark) noted that retailers were the most popular recipients of mariners' bequests and asked whether these were gifts to friends, or settlements towards creditors. She also wondered whether it might be possible to infer the strictness of the controls from the value of the goods being smuggled. **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) asked whether the degree of enforcement depended on whether the company was trading similar goods at the time. **Silvi Berger** (Univ. College Dublin) argued that using the wills of non-mariners as baseline could result in instructive comparisons.

Qian Lu and **John Wallis** (both Maryland) delved into the connections between politicians and bankers in their paper, "From Partisan Banking to Open Access." By focusing on banking in Massachusetts during the early 19th century, they measure how bank ownership changes after the 1812 election when Federalists and Republicans fought over chartering new banks. Since new banks required an act of legislation, whoever controlled the house and the senate had control over chartering new banks. They connect names from bank boards to legislators to show the close association between banking and political parties before 1812 while after 1812 the correlation between the two starts to weaken.

Farley Grubb (Delaware) opened the conversation by wondering if the authors could connect the story from 1812 to today's fight over banking regulation. **Alan Dye** (Barnard) asked why the Federalists would give up control of the banks after they still had control following the 1812 elections. With so many mentions of 1812, **Larry Neal** (Illinois) questioned whether the War of 1812 really "had no role to play" in state finances. **Eric Hilt** (Wellesley) continued on this theme by pointing out the ending of the charter for the First Bank of the United States ended in 1811. Finally the discussion turned to whether there were alternative ways to measure the political connectedness of the boards of directors.

Jules Hugot (*Sciences-Po*) presented "Who Gained from Suez and Panama?" which is co-authored with **Camilo Umana Dajud** (also *Sciences-Po*). They use variation in the distance between trading partners

Clio attendees take a break from the comments.

We think of **Bob Fogel** as the great workaholic. He was a really hard-working guy, but he had interests outside of economics. He pursued his interests at a very high level. He was a woodworker of great skill, almost, I'd say, professional level. If I think about what Bob's was really about—what was special about it—it wasn't the counterfactual, it wasn't the technical things. It was the architecture. He had big ideas in mind, big projects. And he always could see the architecture of them. He could see the beginning, the middle, the end—the overview. If you saw one of the tables that he made, you can also see that there. He knew you can't make a work of art unless you have the architecture.
---Robert Margo

arising from the opening of the Suez and Panama canals and dynamic fixed effects in a gravity equation framework in order to obtain unbiased estimates of the elasticity of trade to distance. Using these parameter estimates, they simulate a counterfactual in which the canals are not built to calculate import penetration ratios for this case. Comparing actual import penetration ratios with the counterfactual values, they estimate the welfare gains from trade creation for the opening of the Suez and Panama Canals. They conclude that these gains are quite small.

Eugene White (Rutgers), **Farley Grubb** (Delaware) and **Danial Marcin** (Michigan) all noted that the welfare analysis should include the costs of building the canals. The author responded that sufficient trade flow data do not exist for these countries. **Eugene White** (Rutgers) and **Gisela Rua** (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System) applauded the project as timely as the Nicaraguan government wants to build their own canal, and suggested that a discussion of recent proposals to widen the Panama Canal could be a great motivation for the paper.

David Jacks (Simon Fraser) presented "Defying Gravity: The 1932 Imperial Economic Conference and the Reorientation of Canadian Trade." The paper examines the implications of a change in Canadian commercial policy in response to the Great Depression. The example is important because Canada is a representative small- to medium-size economy, U.S.-Canada border trade made up 5% of world trade, and there exists a detailed dataset on this rare historical event of a trade collapse. The results show very few positive impacts of Ottawa Conference: little trade was diverted to the rest of the British Empire.

Jessica Bean and Marianne Wannamaker enjoy the reception.

Ahmed Rahman (US Naval Academy) started out the discussion by asking if Jacks had copyrighted the phrase "Defying Gravity," and why a standard gravity equation was not being used. **Giovanni Federico** (European Institute) wondered if the change in trade could be explained by just a few commodities, rather than an across-the-board reduction. **Les Oxley** (Waikato) suggested considering a counterfactual. He mentioned that this study is similar to one he had performed with New Zealand and Australia. **Sebastian Fleitas** (Arizona) suggested using Argentina: it's like Canada but without the Ottawa meetings. **Pierre Siklos** (Wilfrid Laurier) asked if policymakers were concerned that reductions in trade would spill over into reductions in the finance sector.

"Residential Exodus from Dublin c.1900: Municipal Annexation and Preferences for Local Government" by **Silvi Berger** (Univ. College Dublin) explores residential preferences in Dublin at the beginning of the twentieth century. In particular it examines whether or not certain individuals "voted with their feet" by moving away from areas that imposed higher taxes to outlying areas that maintained low rates of taxation and spending. Using household level data from the 1901 and 1911 censuses of Ireland, a "natural experiment", namely the expansion of city boundaries, is exploited to surmount the potential problem of endogeneity. The results suggest that wealthy and Protestant residents were more inclined to move away from the areas which became a part of the relatively high tax area following the boundary change when compared to the control group. This finding is consistent with the social history literature in which maintains that a desire for lower taxation and/or political autonomy was behind the exodus of wealthy residents from the city of Dublin.

The question as to why one area was annexed while another was not was raised by both **Jeff Traczynski** (Hawai'i) and **Ann Carlos** (Colorado). **Paul Rhode** (Michigan) asked about the possibility of political corruption in these redistricting decisions. Berger countered that she had found no evidence of corruption. **Andrea Matranga** (*Pompeu Fabra*) asked whether house prices fell in the newly annexed areas as result of the higher taxation, something that the author said could be investigated.

"Real Wages and the Household: The Impact of Women and Children's Labor Force Participation on Real Wages in Pre-Modern England" by **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) examines the potential for households in eighteenth century England to increase family incomes and welfare through labor inputs and through non-labor market efforts. These different strategies constituted an "economy of makeshifts" and were based on choices regarding women and children's labor inputs, household resource allocation, self-provision through garden plots, appealing for poor law aid and increasing the number of days worked per year. Overall the analysis suggests that the "economy of makeshifts" could help to raise welfare ratios and to allow the average agricultural laborer family at the average point in the life cycle a modest or even "respectable" level of consumption. However, the "economy of makeshifts" could not deliver the additional income required to bring family consumption up to subsistence levels at the low point of the family life cycle.

Steven Nafziger (Williams) began by asking whether the decision for women to enter the workforce could really be modeled as a simple probability from year to year, arguing that a woman who enters the workforce in one year is more likely to also be in the workforce in the following year. This prompted

Many thanks to meetings host Sumner LaCroix.

Schneider to quickly produce a copy of his recently submitted thesis to show that he had attempted to address this issue! **Beverly Lemire** (Alberta) asked about households' access to the commons; Schneider acknowledged that gleaning was important in this period. The possibility of using a structural model to look at the issues of the paper was raised on a number of occasions by different speakers. Evan Roberts (Minnesota Population Center) raised the issue of female household members foregoing consumption in difficult times so that the male breadwinner could continue to work. Schneider replied that "yes, the female sacrifice model is optimal" which caused much amusement among the audience!

Jessica Bean (Denison) presented "Intergenerational Labor Supply in Interwar London," which examines the dynamics of household labor supply in London during the interwar period. While present day labor supply decisions at the household level are well understood, the lack of detailed evidence results in few studies analyzing this issue in a historical context. This is particularly troublesome given how different historical households looked like, with teenage and young adult workers still living in the parental home. Using the 1929-31 New Survey of London Life and Labor, she is able to highlight the role of young adults as secondary workers, as well as the division of domestic labor among mothers and young sons and daughters.

One part of the discussion focused on the many decisions at the household level that may affect labor supply. **Steven Nafzinger** (Williams) and **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) pointed out that households decided not only how much labor to supply, but also its location in the city. These decisions may independently affect labor market opportunities of the household. **Carolyn Moehling** (Rutgers) and **Anthony Wray** (Northwestern) suggested the use of census data to locate households in the city, and to evaluate the decision of children about when to leave the household. In relation to other factors that may affect labor supply decisions, **Zackary Ward** (Colorado) and **Paul Sharp** (Southern Denmark) asked whether there were differences across industries or between families from different geographic origins.

Daniel Marcin (Michigan) presented "Tax Revenue Act of 1924: Publicity, Tax Cuts, and Response." The elasticity of income with respect to marginal net-of-tax rate (ETI) is usually estimated using anonymous aggregate data. This requires strong assumptions, such as rank preservation. Are estimates sensible to these assumptions? This paper tackles this question in the context of the 1924 tax cuts in the US. What makes this setting unique is that, at the time, newspapers were allowed to publish names, income, tax payments, and addresses of wealthy individuals. This allows Marcin to construct a dataset in which taxpayers from New York and Chicago are matched across years, before and after the tax cuts. The estimated ETI for the 1924 tax cuts are similar to the lower bound estimates using aggregate data. This suggests that the rank preservation assumption does not bias much the estimation of ETI, or in the worst scenario might slightly overstate them.

A major part of the discussion concerned the newspaper lists. **Steven Sprick Schuster** (Boston) asked if rich taxpayers were willing to appear in the lists to "show off" or whether they were reluctant to be exposed. More generally, **Brendan Livingston** (Rowan) and **Paul Rhode** (Michigan) asked if the lists

I had written a paper on social rates of return for **Bob Fogel**'s course. I got the paper back and it says: "This is a publishable paper; you should come and see me." This was just thrilling because no one had ever said anything that nice to me. But then I noticed that the grade was a B.

I went into Bob's office. This was one of the first times I'd really had a conversation with him. I said, "Professor Fogel, do you really think this is a publishable paper?" He said, "Oh yes. There was somebody else who had written something similar in a different semester. You should work with him and write it up as a note for the *Journal of Economic History*." Wow! Then I said, "Professor Fogel, I think you have made a mistake about the grade." He looked at me and said, "Hugh, this is the University of Chicago. We have much higher standards here than they do at the journals. They publish all kinds of crap in the journals!" To prove it, he took an AER off the shelf behind him and opened it up to an article by a prominent labor economist. "Look at this article by ... the model makes no sense, the data is no good, the conclusions don't follow from the regressions, and are trivial anyway ... It's all crap!" Then I said "Thank you for your advice Prof. Fogel," and quickly left his office.

---Hugh Rockoff


Rick Steckel & Mike Haupert

were seen as controversial at the time, and how they were constructed. Tax evasion also received attention, and not only by Brendan Livingston (Rowan), who inquired if Al Capone was on the lists. Finally, **Dustin Frye** (Colorado) suggested exploiting the GIS dimension of the data, to which the author responded that he was planning to see how the representatives of these taxpayers voted the tax reform, and whether they were reelected.

Melinda Miller (Yale) presented "Assimilation and Economic Performance: The Case of Federal Indian Policy." Miller motivated the discussion of her paper by documenting that today American Indian reservations are the poorest parts of the ted States. The paper traces the tension in federal American Indian policy between assimilation and removal. President Washington's policy focused on "civilization," teaching the American Indians to farm or to weave, aiming to eventually incorporate Indians into the greater US population. President Jackson endorsed removal, evidenced by the 1830 Indian Relocation Act. The paper links historical assimilation (which Miller argues is a proxy for the effects of federal policy) with economic outcomes today. To do this, Miller measures the share of Indians in each tribe with a European name in 1900, according to the 1900 Federal Census. She finds that higher assimilation in 1900 leads to higher per capita income today.

Given the paper's reliance on census-recorded names, **Ahmed Rahman** (US Naval Academy) asked whether a dual name structure might frustrate measurement if people go by multiple names in different contexts. **Rick Steckel** (Ohio State), **Steven Nafziger** (Williams), and others asked about potential mechanisms; Steckel suggested differences in property rights on reservations, Nafziger focused on labor market integration off the reservation. The discussion then focused on the drivers of assimilation, the independent variable in Miller's paper. **Carolyn Moehling** (Rutgers) thought assimilation would have been the outcome. **James Fenske** (Oxford) asked what drove variation in assimilation why those potential factors would not drive economic outcomes.

Bill Collins (Vanderbilt) and **Marianne Wanamaker** (Tennessee) ended the first day of presentations by jointly presenting "The Great Migration in Black and White: Racial Differences in Geographic Mobility from the American South." The paper links a sample of southern men, both black and white, from the 1910 Federal Census to the 1930 Federal Census. The sample is built by taking all men aged 0 to 40 living in the South in the 5% IPUMS sample in 1910 and links them forward using Ancestry.com. Collins and Wanamaker can measure where people migrate and whether or not they do so. The paper reports that southern blacks move north, but that southern whites move west. The results suggest that if observables were the same (other than race) the north migration gap would be even larger than in the raw data. Blacks also seem more driven in migration by labor market conditions (demand for labor) and seem to have a strong preference for Northern amenities.

With the afternoon Hawaii sun baking the room through the western-facing windows, many attendees considered the appeal of northern migration. **Bob Margo** (Boston) pushed for a conditional logit rather than the multinomial logit used in the paper, which led to a discussion of power and big datasets. **Steven Nafziger** (Williams) asked about the inheritability of mobility and whether sons with more mobile fathers were more likely to migrate. Citing a bit of person family history, **Rick Steckel** (Ohio State) asked about return migration: how to explain it and whether it would be captured in the data. **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) pushed the authors to consider white-on-white discrimination and linguistic differences between southern and northern whites, which led Collins to discuss (and dispute) so-called Hillbilly Ghettos.

Wednesday, June 19

James Fenske (Oxford) began the second day of the conference with a presentation of "Climate, Ecosystem Resilience and the Slave Trade." Co-authored with **Namrata Kala** (Yale), the paper considers the effects of temperature on slave exports. The authors draw on annual climatic data reconstructed by modern climate scientists and the Eltis Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. Results suggest that more slaves were exported in cooler weather. Fenske and Kala argue that the costs of slave capture fall with temperature. The link between temperature and slave exports is strongest at ports near the least resilient ecosystems.

Paul Rhode (Michigan) asked about Fenske's measurement of crop suitability. Specifically, Rhode suggested that while the FAO GAEZ data used allows researchers to estimate land quality using historically correct water and fertilizer inputs, the seeds measured in the data are post-Green Revolution and that this may lead to mismeasurement of suitability. This led to a discussion between Fenske, Rhode, and others about the use of modern estimates of historical crop suitability measures. **Les Oxley** (Waikato) asked about the effects of temperature shocks on slave survival rates on the trans-Atlantic voyage, which might shed light on the selection of slaves initially. Fenske suggested that the results for on-ship mortality were the same. **Marlous van Weijenberg** (Northwestern) asked about the changes in both farming and slave raiding technology over time and how that might complicate the analysis. **Rick Steckel** (Ohio State) asked Fenske whether temperature shocks might be slave demand (rather than supply) shocks and how he could measure slave demand.

Another of the papers in opening session of the second day was chaired by **Alan Dye** (Columbia) and hosted the paper "The Bracero Program and Effects on Human Capital Investments in Mexico, 1942-1964" by **Edward Kosack** (Colorado Boulder). The paper is concerned with the effects on human capital of the Bracero Program in Mexico. This program was implemented to allow Mexican seasonal workers to legally migrate to the US. The author exploits the exogenous location of the recruiting centers to assess whether the effect on human capital for the children of the workers benefitted from the program. The bottom line is that the effect was positive.

Price Fishback (Arizona) asked the first question about endogeneity and suggested to generate an artificial distribution of the centers to overcome this problem. **Ralph Hippe** (BETA and Tubingen) suggested taking distance to the nearest center instead of proximity. Kosack replied that it would be hard to decide what point in each state from which to calculate distances. **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) suggested controlling for the number of children in the school when assessing their school performance. **Claude Diebolt** (BETA and CNRS) and **Bishnupriy Gupta** (Warwick) asked about the motivations for setting up the program in first place. The presenter said that the reasons for having the program were to seek for political consent in Mexico. **Tim Hatton** (Australian National) asked to tell more about the mechanism through which the program affected human capital, if it was lagged, and if transportation had any role. Kosack said he expected some lag and that he will need to measure how hard it was to get to the nearest recruitment center. **Wayne Liou** (Hawaii) asked why the workers were so concerned about human capital and whether a higher human capital level could help get into the program. The author explained that he only looks at children of the workers, not the workers per se. **Bill Collins** (Vanderbilt) said that he was still not convinced about the esogeneity of the location of the centers and more work will be needed in that direction. **Price Fishback** (Arizona) suggested controlling for remittances. **Joyce Burnette** (Wabash) brought up the issue of illegal immigrants, asking whether it was better to be the child of an illegal immigrant or of a Bracero worker. From the data it looks like Bracero workers were better off. **David Mitch** (Maryland) asked if there was any way to divide the effect by gender. The presented said that unfortunately for many years the data was not divided by gender but the fact that women would be more in control of the family budget probably led to an advantage for them. On the same point, **Steven Sprick Schuster** (Boston) suggested to separate the income effect from the "women in charge" effect. The author answered that both the pie got bigger (income effect) and the slice give to education (thank to women) increased and it is very hard to disentangle the two. **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) suggested looking into the opportty cost of education when assessing the effect of the program and finally **Alan Dye** (Columbia) suggested evaluating the size of the effect by comparing it with public spending in education.

James Fenske (Oxford) began the second day of the conference, presenting his paper "Climate, Ecosystem Resilience and the Slave Trade". Coauthored with

I met **Bob Fogel** in the spring of 1970. I was researching my dissertation on urban slavery and realized that I needed to go to the archives at Chapel Hill and Duke. I knew that Bob and Stan were also working on a big project that had something to do with slavery and that they also wanted some items searched in the archives. It was determined that I would go first and Bob's secretary, Marilyn, got me a plane ticket. When I returned I walked into Bob's office. He greeted me warmly with his usual Cheshire Cat smil— from ear to ear: "Before we discuss what you found, did you give Marilyn all your receipts?" I said, "I don't have any receipts."

"That's okay. Just tell her what you spent money on."

"I didn't spend any money."

He looked at me like I was crazy because he had this big NSF grant. What was I doing *not* spending money? He asked, "Where did you stay at Duke? "

"Well, I crashed on the floor of a friend's house"
"Okay. But how did you get to Chapel Hill from Duke?"

"It was pretty simple. You take 147 to 15."

"That's good. So where is the car receipt?"
"No receipt; I hitched."

I could see he looked frightened and perplexed. He didn't know where to go from there. He said, "Well, where did you stay in Chapel Hill?"

I said," I walked into the Southern Historical Collection and asked a researcher where I should stay, and she said, 'You must stay with me.' I did, and we went bowling every night after the archives closed and ate pizza."

I could see in his eyes a twinkle. The radical in him had reappeared and he was the hippie wannabe. He said to me, with this twinkle: "Stan is going to go to the archives next. Why don't you call him and tell him what to do?"

--Claudia Goldin

Namrata Kala (Yale), the paper considers the effects of temperature on slave exports during the Atlantic slave trade. The authors draw on annual climatic data reconstructed by modern climate scientists and the Eltis Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database to measure slave exports by port city. Results suggest that more slaves were exported in colder weather. Fenske and Kala argue that this result reflects the fact that the costs of slave capture are falling with temperature. The link between temperature and slave exports is strongest at ports near the least resilient ecosystems.

Paul Rhode (Michigan) asked about the measurement of crop suitability, which was part of the specification. Specifically, Rhode suggested that the seeds measured in the data are post-Green Revolution and that this may lead to mismeasurement of historical suitability. This led to a discussion between Fenske, Rhode, and others about the use of modern estimates of historical crop suitability measures. **Les Oxley** (Waikato) asked about the effects of temperature shocks on slave survival rates on the trans-Atlantic voyage, which might shed light on the selection of slaves initially. Fenske suggested that the results for on-ship mortality were the same. **Marlous van Waijenburg** asked about the changes in both farming and slave-raiding technology over time and how that might complicate the analysis.

Yannay Spitzer's (Northwestern) paper, "Pogroms, Networks, and Migration: The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the U.S. 1881-1914," examines possible causes for the large influx of Jews from the Russian Empire to the U.S. between 1881 and 1914. Spitzer focuses on whether the outflow of Jews from Russia is due to *pogroms*, or anti-Jewish mob violence. He uses the passenger lists submitted by shipping companies to the Bureau of Immigration in Ellis Island, develops an algorithm to predict whether a passenger was Jewish, and links passengers to the last place of residence in Russia. This data set of Jewish migrants and their last place of residence is compared to a list of pogroms. He finds that the first wave of pogroms in 1881 likely is not related to subsequent migration and finds weak support that the second of pogroms in 1903-1906 increased the level of migration.

In a surprising turn of events, Spitzer was able to convince chair **Ken Snowden** (UNC – Greensboro) to give him eight minutes of time to present an example of a particularly violent pogrom. It should be noted that little about the paper was discussed during these eight minutes. Afterwards, **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) worried about whether there was selection bias in the Jews migrating to the U.S., as opposed to all Jewish out-migration from Russia. Spitzer pointed out that a majority of Jewish immigrants moved to the U.S. **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) and **Petra Moser** (Stanford) offered some extensions for the paper: Carlos suggested examining who chose to migrate and who chose to stay, while Moser suggested comparing this to other migration stories.

Mark Koyama (George Mason) presented "From the Persecuting to the Protective State? Jewish Expulsions and Weather Shocks from 1100 to 1800," a paper co-authored with Robert Warren Anderson (Michigan) and Noel Johnson (George Mason). The authors use the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2007) to put together a dataset on all expulsions and persecutions of Jews in European cities from 1100 to 1800. They then use historical climate data to test whether Jewish expulsions are related to temperature shocks (a proxy for income shocks) after controlling for urban density and the suitability for growing wheat. They find that there was a significant and negative relationship between expulsions and weather shocks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but that this relationship weakened after 1600. They argue that this weakening relationship was at least partly driven by an increase in state capacity.

Yannay Spitzer (Northwestern) wondered whether the weakening relationship between expulsions and temperature was more related to the gradual migration of Jews into Eastern Europe where they enjoyed more freedom and less persecution. There were several data-related questions. **Steven Nafziger** (Williams) and **Paul Sharp** (Southern Denmark) wondered whether wheat suitability was a good control since rye was the most prominent crop across Central and Eastern Europe. **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) suggested that absolute temperature level was less important than the temperature relative to the normal expected temperatures in living memory. Finally, several people had questions about the paper's state capacity argument. **Alan Dye** (Barnard) and **James Fenske** (Oxford) wondered whether other proxies for state capacity could be used to more precisely identify the mechanism between state capacity and expulsions. **Bishnupriya Gupta** (Warwick) wanted to see more evidence on the history of conflict before expulsions.

Tim Hatton (ANU and Essex) presented "American Immigration Policy: the 1965 Act and Its

The University of Hawaii.

Consequences." A steep upward trend in immigration followed the amendments, together with a dramatic shift in the source country composition away from Europe and towards Asia and Latin America. Although the author recognizes that previous legislation and unintended consequences played a role, he claims that much of the results were due to the act itself – especially to the pattern of chain migration that it sparked.

Kenneth Snowden (UNC – Greensboro) suggested that the Act was probably passed because of more conditions economic conditions in the 1960s relative to conditions before WWII or today. **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) asked whether family reunification occurred more rapidly in the case of naturalized citizens. She also wanted to know about family dynamics and the pattern of gender inequality in sending countries. **Edward Kosack** (Colorado) wondered about what kind of effects the policy brought about in the US labor market. **James Fenske** (Oxford) pointed out that the identification strategy might not be optimal because the proxy for chain migration is likely to pick up too many effects. **Sumner La Croix** (Hawai'i) suggested using lagged regressors in order to take into account dependency over time, while **Yukiko Abe** (Hokkaido) stressed the need to use region-specific trends in the analysis. **Andrew Mason** (Hawai'i) wondered if income had any role in explaining the patterns observed.

Christina Mumme (Tubingen) and **Joerg Baten** (Tubingen) analyze whether civil wars are more likely when there is significant inequality in "Does Inequality Lead to Civil Wars? A Global Long-Term Study Using Anthropometric Indicators (1816-1999)." They use data on civil wars from the Correlates of War Project, as well Clodfelter (2002). Using data on male heights from Baten and Blum (2012), the authors construct the coefficient of variation as a measure of the degree of inequality. The use of height, rather than wages, is interesting for two reasons: it greatly expands the dataset of times and places for which data is available, and it measures inequality in access to basic life-supporting resources, rather than in comparative luxury goods. They find that height inequality is an excellent predictor of the risk of civil war, even when instrumented by geographic factors associated with inequality.

Giovanni Federico (EUI) pointed out that boundary changes could complicate the analysis. **Richard Steckel** (Ohio State) proposed that civil wars might not occur when average consumption per capita is simply too low to support strenuous physical activity: he suggested interacting inequality with average height to test for this. **Tim Hatton** (ANU) worried about the extent of selection bias in the heights reported, which is often a problem when a significant part of the data comes from army records. **John Wallis** (Maryland) pointed out a pathway of alternative causation: bad government could lead to both inequality and higher likelihood of civil war. **Jeff Traczynski** (Hawaii) suggested that transitions *out* of civil war could be just as informative as outcome variables as transitions into civil war.

In "Financial Market Integration in Western Europe, 1400-1700; Evidence from Exchange Arbitrage," **Ling-Fan Li** (LSE) analyzes the degree of integration in fourteenth century financial markets, by considering the correlation in movements of foreign exchange rates across different markets. The data come from the records of Francesco Datini, a prominent trader from Prato who also had offices in many European cities. The paper verifies that the law of one price did in fact hold: the direct and cross-exchange rates are in fact the same, once transaction costs and information frictions are accounted for. The analysis suggests that major financial centers in the 14th century were in fact about as integrated as London was to Amsterdam in the 18th century.

Giovanni Federico (EUI) asked why certain markets were included in the analysis in preference to others. **Andrea Matranga** (Pompeu Fabra) pointed out that the paper showed that transportation costs (rather than institutions) were already the binding constraint in the early 15th century Europe. **Larry Neal** (Illinois) argued that, while Datini was not as politically influential as some of the more famous Florentine families, he could not be considered modest (as he was introduced in the paper). Neal also lamented the lack of observations from Genoa, one of the economic powerhouses of the time.

Peter Sims (LSE) presented "From Chaos to Order: National Consolidation and Sovereign Bonds in Uruguay 1890-1914." The paper, co-authored with **Stephanie Collet** (ESCP Europe) uses the case of Uruguay from 1889 to 1914 to test how investors in the bond market reacted to news about state consolidation. By adapting structural VAR model and using weekly price data, the paper argues that, in the case of Uruguay, expectations of war and peace mainly determine investor's perception of sovereign risk.

The first part of the discussion mainly raised questions on the interpretation of the results. **John Wallis** (Maryland) and others concerned that the paper over-emphasized the monopoly of force. The second part of the discussion was centered on the methodology. **Alan Dye** (Barnard) wanted more robustness checks and **Beverly Lemire** (Alberta) wanted data at different frequencies. **Mathew Jaremski** (Colgate) pointed out that connecting the breaks to their possible causes would enrich the paper. **Melinda Miller** (Yale) suggested applying the methodology to other countries, especially Uruguay.

Steven Nafzinger (Williams) presented "Russian Serfdom, Emancipation, and Land Inequality: New Empirical Evidence." The paper is motivated by a growing literature on whether and how the institution of slavery and the emancipation process mattered for subsequent economic outcomes in Africa and the US. The paper brings Russia into the analysis. With a rich set of newly collected data at the district level, the paper first details the geographic variation in serfdom and emancipation across European Russia. The causal link between serfdom, emancipation, and economic performance is established by exploiting variation in monastic expropriation following the 1764 edict, which transferred former serf population under state control. Districts in which more peasants were freed in 1764 are nowadays performing relatively better. The suggested channel of persistence is land concentration.

The discussion revolved around issues of causality. **Andrei Markevich** (New Economic School) and **Helen Yang** (George Mason) pointed out that districts that, after 1764, saw more peasants transferred to state control might be inherently different than those in which monastic properties remained untouched. As

Jessica Bean (Denison) suggested, this endogeneity problem resembles the one faced by studies dealing with the effect of enclosures in Britain. Along the same line, **Yannay Spitzer** (Northwestern) reminded the audience of the differences between Polish and Muscovite serfdom, which may affect the process of emancipation. In particular, in Poland the process was more regulated to prevent land to fall in catholic. **Leonard Dudley** (Montréal) and **Evan Roberts** (Minnesota Population Center) argued that other institutional changes in education and labor markets took place after 1764, and may also affect today's economic performance.

Rodrigo Parral Duran (Arizona) presented "Contractual Commitments in New Spain: The Local Allocation of Quicksilver in Zacatecas, 1740-80." The paper seeks to understand how informal credit mechanisms emerge by considering the silver industry. In the 16th century, the refining of silver relied on quicksilver. Quicksilver was scarce, and the Spanish Crown held a monopoly over its supply. It required financially constrained miners to either pay for the quicksilver in cash or provide their lands/mines as collateral for credit, providing their lands/mines as collateral. Soon enough, informal credit relations between miners and other actors emerged, helping to reduce the risk associated with silver production. In particular, two mechanisms were used: Buying and repaying debts and cross-collaterals.

The discussion was focused on two points. First, the source of volatility in silver refining was discussed. It would seem, as **Yannay Spitzer** (Northwestern) pointed out, that mineral extraction and mineral quality would be quite predictable. The supply of mercury by the Crown doesn't seem to add much uncertainty, as the author and **Paul Castañeda Dower** (New Economic School) agreed. The second point concerned why, in some periods, the outstanding debts by miners did not led to foreclosures by the Crown. This point, raised by **Peter Sims** (LSE) and **Price Fishback** (Arizona), is crucial, since it is precisely in these periods of lax debt enforcement that informal mechanisms arise.

Alfredo García-Hiernaux (*Universidad Complutense de Madrid*) presented "West Versus East: Grain Market Integration and the Great Divergence." The paper, co-authored with **Rafael Dobado-González** (also, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*), examines wheat prices in European cities and Pennsylvania and rice prices in Asian cities to see if, and when, price

Cliometrics is a picnic!

convergence occurs. National integration is inspected first, with similar levels of integration in both East and West. Internationally, Western nations tend to converge to one price while China and Japan show no convergence.

Gabriele Cappelli (European Institute) started out the discussion by asking if the empirics controlled for countries or technological innovations. **Tuan-Hwee Sng** (Singapore) stated that Asian countries were trading goods other than rice, and that there should be price convergence in those goods. **Giovanni Federico** (European Institute) disapproved of the co-integration methods, stating that they do not really measure market integration, but rather efficiency after a shock. **Theresa Gutberlet** (Arizona) asked if restrictive trade policy could be the reason for the lack of integration in between Japan and China. García-Hiernaux agreed that it was. **Masanori Takashima** (Hitotsubashi) wondered if the analysis could be extended back to earlier years, and was told that the data is not available. **Ross Knippenberg** (Colorado) asked if the rice in China and Japan was the same variety, since a shock to only one variety would look the same as a lack of market integration. García-Hiernaux said he was looking into the types and qualities of rice. **Helen Yang** (George Mason) said that grain prices over this period in China were controlled and stabilized by the government which could be driving the divergence.

In "Birds of Passage: Self-Selection of Return Migrants in the Early 20th Century," **Zachary Ward** (Colorado) looks at the characteristics of return migrants from the United States during the early twentieth century. The number of migrants who returned home to their native countries is believed to have been substantial, with the assumption often made that return migrants were somehow “failed” migrants. Using data collected from the from annual administrative records released by the Department of Immigration from 1908-1930, the author finds that Eastern European migrants have negative self-selection (those returning are earning less than those that remain in the United States), while the story is more mixed for Western European countries. Asian and Western hemisphere return migrants are found to have earned more than those who stayed. Finally the author estimates a model of return migrant self-election to explore the impact of quota restrictions introduced in the early 1920s. The results show that quota restrictions influenced both the quality of incoming migrants and the quality of those deciding to remain in the United States.

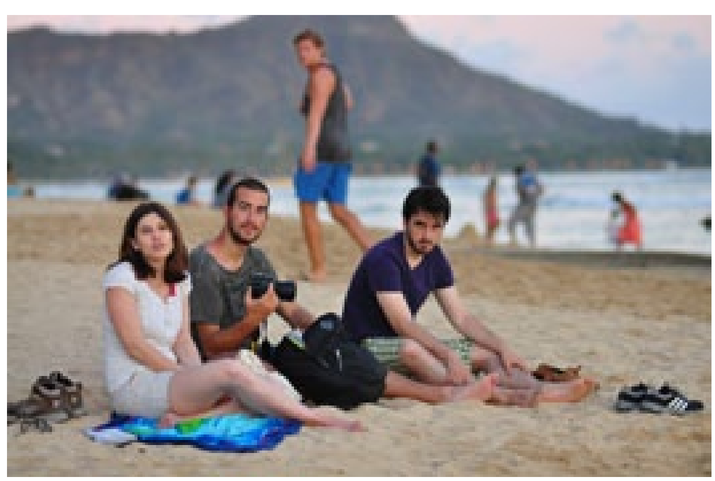
Marianne Wanamaker (Tennessee) began the discussion by asking about whether it was wise to assume that all individuals falling into a particular occupational category earned the same wage. **Farley Grubb** (Delaware) stated that in a world without divorce migrating may be a substitute, a statement that brought forth a hearty laugh from the attendees! A question that arose on a number of occasions was whether the business cycle played in the decision to return migrate. **Joyce Burnette** (Wabash College) wondered about the effect of unemployment while **Wayne Liou** (Hawai'i) asked about the macroeconomic conditions in the home country. **Kris Inwood** (Guelph) wished to know whether the data could uncover whether individuals definitely returned to their home country or migrated to a different country. A number of attendees to give accounts of their own family's migration histories, which underlined the complex issues surrounding the decision to migrate.

Farley Grubb (Delaware) presented “The Continental Dollar: Initial Design, Ideal Performance, and the Credibility of Congressional Commitment.” The paper is expected to be chapter 3 of a forthcoming book on early American currency. The paper analyzes the history of the continental dollar, which featured a maturity date that gave it similarity to today's savings bond. Due to *ex post facto* changes in the maturity dates of these bonds, the value of the continental dollar also changed.

Qian Lu (Maryland) led off the questioning by risking the ire of the chair and his advisor, **John Wallis** (Maryland). As Qian asked his fourth question, the chair interrupted and reminded him to ask just one. Qian carried on with his questions, undeterred. **Jeremy Atack** (Vanderbilt) noted that prices should have been rising as redemption approached, but this fact is missing from the data. **Alex Field** (Santa Clara), **Larry Neal** (Illinois), and John Wallis asked clarifying questions about taxation, collection, and the retirement of the continental dollar. **Peter Sims** (LSE) thought that if the stability of the continental dollar was in doubt, that there might be evidence of a flight to safe assets, like land.

Alex Hollingsworth (Arizona) presented “The Impact of Sanitaria on Pulmonary Tuberculosis Mortality: Evidence from North Carolina, 1932-1940.” The paper uses models from epidemiology to isolate the most plausible mechanism for transmission and death from tuberculosis. The paper finds that white residents of North Carolina benefited from sanitaria, while African Americans did not. The most likely mechanisms for these effects are considered to be education and isolation of infected patients.

Pamela Nickless (UNC—Asheville) asked about the racial composition of these sanitaria. Group discussion indicated that most were segregated, and that the Duke endowment may have data on hospitals and sanitaria that they funded. This would cover 25% of the sanitaria. **Melissa Thomasson** (Miami Ohio) thought that the number of hospital beds in each county belonged in the analysis, in case they were substitutes for sanitaria. **Paul Rhode** (Michigan) complained that when he lived in North Carolina, the roads were long and winding, and as such, Alex should use road distance to sanitaria rather than as-the-crow-flies distance.



After the sessions, the beach.

Rainbow Warrior Report from World Clio 2013

Clioms gathered on the island retreat for their quadrennial gathering known as the World Congress of Cliometrics. Hosted by the man whose name resembles the weather here, the tribe of Clio gathered, ruminated, discussed, and pronounced wisdom. Well, not always wisdom. That is why the Rainbow Warrior is here.

What is a Rainbow Warrior? In a time not too long ago, the nickname of University of Hawaii sports teams was the "Rainbows." But then the head football coach concluded that the name was an impediment to player recruiting. He and his allies forced through a change in the nickname to "Warriors." This upset the fans who valued tradition. when the athletic director was fired this year, a compromise was struck. UH would be neither the Rainbows nor the Warriors, but instead would be the Rainbow Warriors. The name embodies the fighting spirit and the diversity of views, peoples, and interests of both the University of Hawaii and the Cliometric Society.

The Rainbow Warrior is here not to pass judgment, but to record history. He reports what he hears and parses out what is irrelevant, uninteresting, and just plain dull. Okay, so maybe he does pass a little bit of judgment while also recording what he truly believes to be history. But be reminded that any judgment he passes needs to be so passed. The Rainbow Warrior is trained to ferret out those observations and arguments, those claims and criticisms, those conjectures and absent-minded utterances that may have gone unnoticed in the heat of discussion, but which, upon reflection, prove to be profound and universal truths. He acknowledges only those things said spontaneously, not the premeditated, planned, or carefully considered. Nothing requiring forethought appeals to the Rainbow Warrior.

The Rainbow Warrior was busy with the Congress administration (and assembling break food), so he was not able to attend all of the Congress sessions. So how did he learn about those spectacular statements at sessions that potentially would be evaluated as pithy, profound and universally true? The Rainbow Warrior called a contact at the National Security Administration and asked for the tapes of all sessions. His contact requested a warrant and the Rainbow Warrior replied that his report needed no warrant as it had been authorized by the Board of Trustees of the Cliometric Society. No problem, the NSA responded, and the tapes were turned over forthwith.

Each year on the occasion of the Clio banquet, candles are lit and Clioms enter a trance-like state while reciting the inaugural winner: "Never open a can of worms larger than the universe." Homage is then paid to the winner, *She-who-won-three-times-and-is-now-no-longer-eligible-to-win-again*. This year the Rainbow Warrior hoped to find a winner who could proudly take his or her place next to last year's honoree, the Wildcat Counter, whose name has forever been entered into the pantheon of Cliodom for his brilliant observation that "You can fix it with women."

The tropical climate lulled many a participant into a false state of confidence. Certain that the trade winds would blow away any unseemly insights and that the laid back atmosphere—Did the Rainbow Warrior really see the elder statesman of all things financial wearing shorts?—would be more forgiving, Clioms were perhaps less careful than usual.

The Rainbow Warrior began his quest for worthy statements by searching the NSA tapes for key Clioisms like "gangsters," "cocaine," "prostitutes," and "F-bombs." Only the Don from South of the Bay had uttered each of these words, and he hit them all in the opening sentence of his presentation! He immediately leapt to the top of the leaderboard. Then, remembering that a leaderboard does not actually exist, the Rainbow Warrior promptly eliminated him from further consideration.

As usual, Clioms tended to clump. This year the Rainbow Warrior was able to recognize a couple of themes to the observations. The first theme may be titled "Inquiring minds want to know." In this category the Rainbow Warrior overheard the Postmaster Down Under ask if "doctors are really just farmers who do something different one day a week?" The Rainbow Warrior does not know much about western medical practice, but knows that he will not be asking the Postmaster for medical advice.

Also in this category would be the enthusiastic query made by the Sartorial King of the First State, who eagerly asked "When do I rush to the Treasury to pay my taxes?!" When indeed? Would that the Rainbow Warrior had any income on which to pay taxes. He is too busy pondering other issues, such as those brought up by the Volunteer, who asked "Can you observe people where they actually are?"

Another identifiable theme around which Clioms seemed to ruminate was "family." There were many deep and thought-provoking statements on this topic. The Matron Buffalo asked if "young women think they're going to get one of the few men left?" In response, though admittedly not to that particular question, the Rainbow Warrior heard the Bean Counter say that "If you don't get married, you end up living with another woman." This might explain a lot. But what if you do get married? Well, then we might follow the direction of the aforementioned Sartorial King who admitted: "In a world without divorce I'd leave town."

The subject of children was also a popular topic of discussion. What exactly children are like was the particular topic. The Young Buffalo claimed that "young men and young women are complements for each other." Not too fast though, because not all Clioms believe this to be true. The Youthful Don asserted that "Children and *electricity* are complements for each other." Now the Rainbow Warrior is confused, though he tends to agree with The Man with the Judicial Name that "it sounds bad to starve your wife and children." Never mind about whether it actually <u>is</u> bad to starve them. It's all about image.

Some pearls of wisdom stand alone, and are worthy of individual recognition from the Rainbow Warrior. He grants to the Cow Man the award for Unassailable Self Esteem for his bold proclamation "How terrible an idea would this be?" On a somewhat depressing note, the Rainbow Warrior grants the award for bleak choices to the Wolverine of the East for noting that "There are people who can out-migrate and people who are incarcerated." She did not, however, reveal which she preferred.

None of these, however, rose to the level of serious consideration for the ultimate award of eternal recognition. The Rainbow Warrior reminds his readers that to be entered into the Lexicon of Eternal Clio Wisdom, the observation must be both profound and universally true. With that in mind, Rainbow Warrior introduces the finalists.

The offering of first runner-up grabbed the attention of the Rainbow Warrior because of its familiarity. The Youthful Don noted that "the optimal model is the female sacrifice model." Profound, perhaps even universally true. But too close to last year's winner to cop the award. The Rainbow Warrior cannot be sure that this gem was not slipped in by carefully planned subterfuge.

Also very close to being a winner was the admission of the Maryland Crab that "I don't know what structural econometrics is, but this paper needs it." The Rainbow Warrior wonders what is more profound in this case, the statement, or the man making it. Unable to be certain, he cannot anoint this a winner.

"Farmers are tricky." The Physicist in Cliom Clothing let us in on this secret. Very close. Profound. But universally true? The Rainbow Warrior thinks not. He knows several farmers who are actually deceitful, not tricky.

The Patent Clerk breathlessly informed the gathered throng that "if you know how to whittle, or some other useful skill, you may be less likely to move." Obviously this is universally true. But having watched many episodes of *Mayberry RFD* and the *Beverly Hillbillies*, the Rainbow Warrior is not convinced of its profundity.

This year the Rainbow Warrior faced a dilemma. There were quotes that were worthy of winning. But both could not win. That would fly in the face of all that is held sacred in Cliodom. Fortunately, however, a solution was at hand because both statements were proclaimed by the same man, within the span of a few moments. Indeed, our Sailor Statistician first informed us that he was nearly lost in "the swirling vortex of endogeneity." This is close to being a winner, but the Rainbow Warrior couldn't really figure out what it meant. He had an easy out however, because mere moments later, obviously after having swirled in said vortex, our Sailor revealed that "with each country added, a chunk of life goes by." A statement worthy of eternal recognition.

Even with the plethora of material to work with, it ultimately became an easy decision. After all, that is what the Rainbow Warrior is paid so handsomely to do –make the difficult look easy. To identify that which is at the same time profound yet universally true. In the end, it all seems so easy. Until next year, *Aloha*.

Thursday, June 20

Dustin Frye (Colorado) chaired the presentation by **Petra Moser** (Stanford) on "Dead Poet's Property: Copyright and the price of intellectual assets". The paper is coauthored with **Xing Li** (Stanford) and **Megan MacGarvie** (Boston Univ.). The paper measures the effect of increased copyright length in 19th century Britain on the price of novels by dead authors. The bottom line of the paper is that longer copyright is effective in raising prices.

Alessandro Nuvolari (Sant'Anna) asked about the effect of rising prices on the quantity demanded. Moser replied that the price elasticity of demand was quite high but the paper is concerned with the creativity effect, too. Creativity does not seem to be affected by copyright, but the sample is small. **Peter Sims** (LSE) asked whether some discount rate should be included, as the period considered in quite long. Moser explained that authors were not very rational in assessing their own chances of becoming successful, overestimating them by a lot. On the other hand, publishers are very rational about it. **Marc Goñi Tràfach** (UPF) asked whether the books were bought to be read or to be shown off by rich people and whether there is any difference between the two cases. The presenter explained that the reason behind the purchase does not matter because the mechanism is the same. **Alan Dye** (Barnard) asked whether publishers and writers were aware of the effect that copyright was having. Moser said that they had started realizing it.

Michelangelo Vasta (Siena) and **Alessandro Nuvolari** (Sant'Anna) presented "Independent Invention in Italy during the Liberal Age, 1861-1913." The chair was **Gabriele Cappelli** (EUI). The paper introduces a dataset on Italian patents and inventors. The goal is to study the quality of patents released to independent inventors compared to corporate ones. The main result of the paper is that Italian independent inventors were patenting inventions that were less innovative compared to the corporate ones.

Petra Moser (Stanford) started the discussion pointing out that the authors use renewal rather than the standard measure of citations to assess quality. She was worried that renewals were cash constrained. The authors replied that citations were not available, but

I went to the University of Chicago in 1970 intending to study math econ and did very well in the first quarter course taught by Stan Fisher, but I needed employment to survive financially. In the spring of 1971 I interviewed for an RA job with **Bob Fogel**, who I was surprised to find tape-recording my interview, as if it was worth saving for posterity. Mystified but intrigued, I discovered that Bob had projects underway on slavery and on a new approach to teaching principles of economics. I chose the slavery project, for which my first task was to begin reading classic books in the field. Soon we engaged in numerous conversations on slavery and I began attending the economic history workshop. Given my long-standing interest in history, which here I discovered could be blended with economics, I was hooked and never looked back. Here was a workshop and a field with intellectual presence.

The workshop was exciting partly because Bob was absolutely convinced—and conveyed his excitement—that our projects, and all the papers given at the workshop, were immensely important to the profession. When it came time to choose a dissertation topic, I was told that I would become the world's leading expert on the economics of slave and southern white fertility. Fortified with enthusiasm, I made numerous trips to the archives in search of data for my dissertation and for Bob and Stan's project on slavery.

I began by describing my first encounter with Bob Fogel; at some point Bob also discussed his first meeting with his advisor, Simon Kuznets. Bob had carefully prepared a two page-single spaced document describing the research he wanted to do on railroads, which included work on estimating interregional commodity flows. Kuznets glanced at the document for perhaps 10 to 20 seconds (he was a very fast reader) and to Bob's amazement he began critiquing his proposal. In particular, Bob had described only one method of estimating commodity flows and that there were three others. Simon then told Bob "don't come back to see me until you figure out what they are." This comment would have tanked most graduate students, but Bob accepted it as a challenge, just like many other projects of his career.

---Rick Steckel


Preparing for the first day of the conference.

a future step will be to compare the cost of renewal with the average wage to show that the cost of renewal was not an issue. **Antonio Tena** (Carlos III) asked if there is any North-South pattern. Patents from the Northwest were of higher quality. When questioned by **Gabriele Cappelli** (EUI) on the impact of the inventions, the authors said that these were small incremental inventions rather than breakthroughs. Finally, **Giovanni Federico** (Pisa) suggested that this lower level of innovation compared to the US was due to the lack of quality control by the patent system.

Ross Knippenberg (Colorado) presented "By How Much Did Railroads Conquer the West?" in which he studies the role that railroads had on integrating markets in the middle to late nineteenth century United States. Using a dataset of prices of 13 commodities for 283 locations over the years 1851-1892, he calculates the price gaps between various locations to determine whether gaps fall when a railroad connection is built. To deal with the potential endogeneity between these two variables, he uses an instrumental variables approach to predict which cities should be connected by the railroad (based on population, ruggedness and elevation change). There are three important results: first, the price level appears to have been higher in connected cities; second, cities connected by the railroad had a 70% lower price gap than unconnected cities; third, there were substantial differences in the behavior of prices for agricultural and manufactured goods and between Eastern and Western cities.

Several participants were concerned about the railway connection variable. **Giovanni Federico** (EUI) wondered whether a simple connected versus unconnected dummy could capture changes in competition after locations became connected to the railroad. **Jeremy Atack** (Vanderbilt), after some prompting from Bob Margo, pointed out that one must measure connectedness for the late nineteenth century first with the newest, most accurate maps, and then move back in time because the older maps are not as accurate. **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) implored Ross—and everyone in the room—not to forget about Canada because there were important railroad lines north of the Great Lakes. **John Wallis** (Maryland) noted that railroad connection was not just whether a city was on the railroad: distribution networks were important in determining price dynamics, and there were also substantial benefits if you were located at a place where two major railroads crossed. Finally, **Bob Margo** (Boston) was slightly worried that the retrospective prices reported in the Aldrich and Weeks reports would be biased since only successful merchants that had records for thirty or more years were included. He wondered whether it would be possible to use prices in newspapers to expand the number of locations and check the retrospective prices.

In "Technology Shocks, Relative Productivity, and Son Preference: The Long-Term Impact of Historical Textile Production," **Meng Xue** (George Mason) argues that a technological shock in cotton textile production in the 13th century empowered Chinese women by increasing woman's productivity relative to men. The lower productivity gap created a gender culture of greater equality in counties where cotton textile production was common. Thus, counties with cotton textile production in the Yuan Dynasty have lower levels of son preference today, as measured by the sex ratio at birth in the 2000 census. In order to control for the potential endogeneity between early gender culture and cotton textile production, she uses humidity as a IV for textile suitability and provides additional historical analysis.

Bishnupriya Gupta (Warwick) wondered if it would be possible to control for family structure since sons can serve as insurance for parents' welfare in later life. **Se Yan** (Peking) noted that there are other measures for son preference, such as educational investments, and wondered whether Yuan cotton textile production would also affect these measures. He also suggested that Meng utilize sex ratios at birth from the 1980 census since China's one-child policy might have changed the mechanisms driving son preference in different ways in different parts of China. **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) wondered if there is any county-level information on foot-binding.

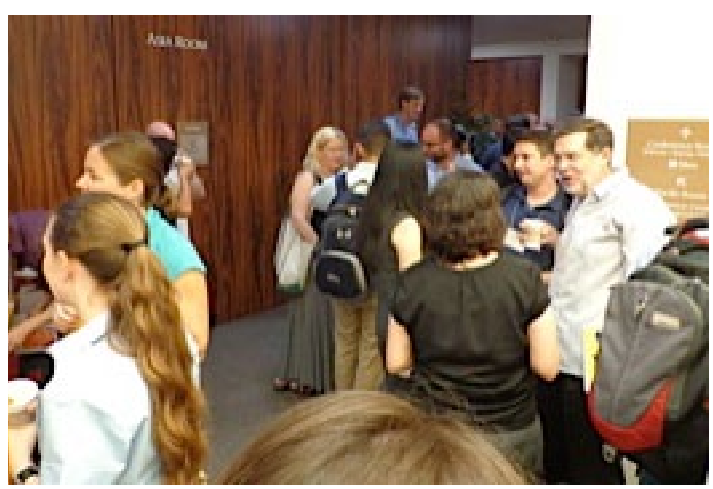
Chiaki Moriguchi (Hitotsubashi) noted that forms of inheritance would also influence son preference. **Evan Roberts** (Minnesota) added that the China multi-generational panel dataset has lots of households and regions and could provide household level dependent variables. **Alex Field** (Santa Clara) wondered whether the new cotton textile technology was particularly suited to women, either physically or culturally.

Brooks Kaiser (Southern Denmark) presented "Bioeconomic Factors of Natural Resource Transitions: The US Sperm Whale Fishery of the 19th Century," in which she describes the transition from whale oil to petroleum and its impact on whale populations. She uses an instrumental variables approach to estimate structural parameters in the demand and cost functions for the whaling industry. Using these estimates as well as population estimates by whale biologists, she simulates the whale population over time under optimal harvest for a variety of plausible demand conditions. She concludes that although the whaling industry would have taken a toll on sperm whale populations, claims that the discovery of petroleum was responsible for saving the whales are probably overstated.

Eric Hilt (Wellesley) started the discussion with concerns about the methodology and the lack of attention paid to other populations of whales, which where inferior but close substitutes, in the demand estimates. The author responded that the other types of whales are very different in biology and not wanted for the same things, but Hilt urged Kaiser to research the point further. **Melinda Miller** (Yale), armed with whaling knowledge from a recent trip to a museum in Mystic, noted the unpleasantness of whaling and suggested that the impact on the relative cost in recruitment should be included in the cost function. **Larry Neal** (Illinois), after admitting he didn't read the paper, asked why the Americans were so good at whaling and why the whalers wouldn't have devised a way to self-regulate this common resource problem, a point echoed by **Melissa Thomasson** (Miami of Ohio).

Dustin Frye (Colorado) presented "Politics, Transportation Infrastructure and Economic Growth: Understanding the Distributional Consequences of the Interstate Highway System," in which he describes the largest public infrastructure program in the history of the ted States. He identifies the impact of the Interstate Highway System on various demographic and economic outcomes in rural America. He utilizes an historic military plan in an instrumental variables strategy to overcome the problem of endogenous placement of highways. Quantile regressions decompose the distributional effects of the interstate highways. He finds that the highways did indeed affect the economic and demographic landscape of the rural United States, and that the impacts were felt differently across counties depending on their initial position in the distribution.

Ahmed Rahman (US Naval Academy) opened the discussion by expressing concerns about spatial autocorrelation. The discussion quickly turned to politics, however, as **Brooks Kaiser** (Southern Denmark) suggested taking a look at whether the politicians doing the politicking actually got what they wanted. **John Wallis** (Maryland) insisted that the key is really state politics since the federal government had very little control over how the states used the money for highways. **Bob Margo** (Boston) was concerned about the large number of outcomes and the lack of integration between them; he suggested that the author focus on demography in order to differentiate his paper from other papers on the Interstate System. **Rick Steckel** (Ohio State) noted that many focus on the benefits of infrastructure but not the costs, and suggested that the author use the same framework in an analysis of costs. **Marianne Wanamaker** (Tennessee) echoed this concern for costs when she wondered whether economic activity related to the highways was a zero sum game. Petra Moser (Stanford , NBER), after admitting that her knowledge of highways came from *Cars* and *Lightening McQueen*, wanted to know what happened to towns that were bypassed.



The discussion continues after the session ends.


Matt Jaremski chairs the presentation by Se Yan.

In "It's All in the Mail: the Urban Geography of the German Empire," **Florian Ploeckl** (Oxford) analyzes the economic geography of Imperial Germany with a new methodology that distinguishes the differential impact of endowments of natural resources frompreexisting human activities. He uses a three-step approach. (1)He uses data on business mail to calculate a measure of information intensity, which is used in conjunction with geographic distance to determine the degree of market access. (2) He feeds market access and population size in a New Economic Geography-inspired model to back out a value of natural resources for each location. (3) He measures the differential effect of information intensity and the value of resources in determining the observed population distribution.

Leonard Dudley (Montreal) asked whether the state really held a monopoly of the mail within the German Empire. **Peter Sims** (LSE) warned that the use of mail as a proxy for trade could be misleading if firms differed widely in the size of their average orders. **Alan Dye** (Barnard) suggested that insight could be gained by segmenting mail flow by speed of delivery.

In "Necessity's Children? The Inventions of the Industrial Revolution," **Leonard Dudley** examines the conditions under which innovation flourishs in spite of less-than-ideal market conditions. For example, between 1700 and 1850, aristocratic France saw many useful inventions, while the more commercially minded Netherlands saw very little innovation. The paper uses a dataset of 117 important inventions and finds that innovation ideology and institutions had little effect on the propensity to innovate. Instead, it seems that ability of people from different backgrounds to communicate with each other (mediated by an open social structure and a standardized language) are the key determinant of successful innovation.

Alessandro Nuvolari (Sant'Anna) asked for a more precise definition of cooperation in invention. **Farley Grubb** (Delaware) pointed out that only extraordinary political developments could lead to cooperation between a Scot such as James Watt and an Englishman like Matthew Boulton. **Petra Moser** (Stanford) asked: When does positive cooperation become anti-competitive collusion? **Andrea Matranga** (Pompeu Fabra) proposed that cooperation in inventing an idea is distinct from cooperation in manufacturing and marketing a product. The use of "Date of Earliest Dictionary" as a control variable proved contentious: **Giovanni Federico** (EUI) worried that in practice it is really dummy variable indicating "French", and **Michelangelo Vasta** (Siena) expressed certainty that Italian had a vocabulary well before the date shown in the paper.

Claude Diebolt (BETA) presented "A New Monthly Chronology of the U.S. Industrial Cycles in the Prewar Economy." The paper estimates business cycle start and end dates using several methodologies. While the new method identifies 90% of the business cycles that both the NBER and Romer and Romer find, the dates are earlier. Interestingly, while NBER data show that expansions were longer in the interwar period, the paper finds the opposite.

Eugene White (Rutgers) pointed out that one of the largest date discrepancies is the 1929 crash. **Les Oxley** (Waikato) noted that there may be flaws in the new methodologies. **Alexandru Minea** (Auvergne CERDI) asked about the usefulness of the Markov switching approach and wondered if smooth transition models may be useful.

There is a debate in the literature over the extent to which American capital overwhelmed the Cuban economy after its independence in 1898. This debate steams from the lack of domestic investment figures to compare with FDI. In "Where Are All the Yankees?" **Alan Dye** (Barnard) overcomes this issue by focusing on the sugar industry. Dye collects information on annual increments of the grinding capacity of sugar mills, on the building of new mills, and on mill sells. The evidence suggests that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the recovery after 1898 was led by domestic entrepreneurship and domestic investment. In the second wave of investment into the sugar industry, right before WWI, Cuban and creole mill owners were not forced to sell because they were financially constrained, but they did so as an "exit strategy." Finally, American money flew in at large rates in this second wave, but it could be said that the major change this "invasion" brought was the adoption of new business practices that facilitated the consolidation of multiple mills under a single owner and management.

Eugene White (Rutgers) opened the discussion by suggesting that Dye extend the scope of the paper to compare US FDI in Cuba with that in the rest of the world, with special attention to Puerto Rico and the Philippines. In addition, he said, it would be nice to use Cuba as a natural experiment, because it saw a sudden period of great openness after independence and then a sudden shut down with the establishment of the Communist regime. **Bishnupriya Gupta** (Warwick) agreed, and further proposed a comparison with British colonies, in which the Empire tightly controlled the export market and, thus, entry and exit into the market. Several discussants raised doubts over how the nationality of the mill owner was defined. **David Mitch** (Maryland) argued that the relation between cane producers (supplier) and sugar mills (producer) would be much easier for Cuban owners, and thus that mill ownership could be biased towards Cubans. Marta Felis (versidad Autonoma de Madrid) noted that Spaniards bought more mills after the Cuban independence from Spain in 1898. The author explained that this comes from the fact that many of those recorded as Spaniards were in fact Cuban creoles. Much of the remaining discussion was

Price Fishback (left) and Jeremy Atack (right) model the latest in Fellows-wear.

focused on understanding what explained the increase in production capacity of Cuban Mills. In particular, **Brendan Livingston** (Rowan) asked why the Cubans built so much capacity during WWI, knowing the war was not to last forever. Dye explained that the growth in capacity at that time was not only meant to get advantage of the war, but also to compete in the long run in the global market.

Warren Anderson (Michigan–Dearborn) followed up the Bob Fogel tribute at lunch by presenting his paper "The Inquisition and Scholarship." The paper examines the effects of the Inquisition on the number of geniuses in a country, as defined by *The Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Though some propose that the censorship during the Inquisition's did not have a large effect because of a lack of strict enforcement, Anderson finds that the Inquisition had significant negative effects on the number of geniuses living in countries affected by it.

Many members of the audience wanted a careful rethink of the definitions of *scholarship* and *geniuses*. **Tim Hatton** (ANU) wondered about selection bias, **Florian Ploeckl** (Oxford) was concerned about a substitution effect and proposed that intelligent members of society might become lawyers instead of scientists. **Matthew Jaremski** (Colgate) and **Bob Margo** (Boston) encouraged Anderson to expand his definition of genius to include cultural geniuses such as composers. **Eric Schneider** (Nuffield) and Jaremski suggested at looking at long term effects, such as the probability of generating future geniuses. Anderson's paper seemed to infer that scholarship is a zero-sum game among countries, so **James Feigenbaum** (Harvard) wanted Anderson to look more closely at the total number of geniuses.

Wayne Liou (Hawaii) presented on how the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i by the United States changed the market for sugar labor in Hawai'i. The annexation voided all indenture contracts. Hawai'i had a large pool of Japanese migrant workers that came to Hawai'i for a couple of years to work on the sugar plantations before returning home. The paper used plantation pay records to explore how the distribution of wages changed after the annexation. Liou finds that wages increased and days worked decreased. He explores possible mechanisms such as changes in migration patterns.

Tim Hatton (ANU) opened the conversation by asking how Japanese workers paid for their return journey back home and whether the number of return migrants would be large enough to increase the labor supply in Japan. **Pamela Nickless** (North Carolina – Asheville) asked whether plantation laborers were exploited, as she has been led to believe by fictional accounts, and whether workers were compensated in-kind with room and board. **Melissa Thomasson** (Miami of Ohio) asked if pay was at a daily rate or a piece-rate, and **Jessica Bean** (Denison) asked how the workers were monitored. **Carola Frydman** (Boston) wondered if the plantation owners expected the change and supported it to gain access to the US market.

Marc Goni (Pompeu Fabra) looks at assortative matching a new light in "Institutional Innovation and Assortative Matching: The London Season 1700-1914," by exploring high class society's meetings at the London Season. Using records on occupations,

Among other things I remember about **Bob Fogel** are his generosity and the impact of his teaching. Even though I never took a course from Bob, I have seen the effect of his teaching. In the 1980s I was an advisor in the undergraduate honors program at the University of Kansas. One of my responsibilities was to offer 10 to 15 students a semester-long tutorial in their first year. It was supposed to be on a topic that would open their minds to a new thing. I had them see what a traditional historian (U.B. Phillips) thought about slavery and then what the new work in *Time on the Cross* was all about. I talked with Bob about giving a seminar to my colleagues and talking informally with these students. I was surprised when he said, "I'd be delighted." I think he came down because I offered him the opportunity to talk with undergraduates. He talked with them for about an hour. The short run impact of his talking with these kids was that, at our next meeting, they were much more interested in this topic. In the longer run he also had an impact. Six or seven years later, I got a letter from one of the students with a news clipping and a note saying: "I think this was the guy that talked to us. Did you know he won the Nobel Prize?" Recently, I tracked this "kid" down and said, "Given that you remembered Bob Fogel when he won the Nobel, I thought you might be interested in this unfortunate news [of his death]." He wrote back: "You know, I still have fond memories of that experience." I couldn't agree more.

---Tom Weiss

land rents, and attendance rates, Goni finds that the times when more people attended the Season, there was more assortative matching – it was more likely for an upper-class individual to marry somebody else upper-class rather than a commoner. He consideres the massive increases in attendance from the Crystal Palace fair and decreases in attendance after Queen Victoria canceled many balls after the death of Prince Albert as exogenous variation in the number attending the ball.

After many references to Jane Austen, the conversation really got started when **Marianne Wanamaker** (Tennessee) asked if there was a sample selection problem since people who do not get married are not observed. **Paul Rhode** (Michigan) suggested the paper might be called "Greg Clark is Wrong" since the data seem to contradict Clark's arguments about changes in inequality. **Yannay Spitzer** (Northwestern) wondered whether the London Season could really be separated from the size of the overall marriage market. **Melinda Miller** (Yale) asked how many people left the market to marry people in India if they were not successful in London. After a final reference to Downton Abbey, the conversation ended on a discussion of arranged marriages.

In "The Savings and Loan Crisis in the Shadow of the 2000s" **Alexander J. Field** (Santa Clara) compares the impact of the S&L insolvencies of the 1980s on the performance of the wider economy to the predicted impact of the current economic situation. He concludes that the S&L insolvencies did not create a macroeconomically significant crisis. The cumulative output loss attributed to them is far less than that of the most recent crisis, even if the economic slowdown of the early 1990s can indeed be directly attributed to the S&L insolvencies, there was no "crisis."

Rick Steckel (Ohio State) was concerned that the blame for the current and ongoing economic difficulties was being placed on the financial crisis while the impact of policy since the crisis is overlooked. Jeremy Atack (Vanderbilt) asked about the specific geography of the Savings and Loans insolvencies and the scope for localized externalities, to which the author replied that this was exactly the point; the S&L insolvencies were localized events. **Larry Neal** (Illinois) asked whether the resolution of the S&L insolvencies stopped the situation from getting worse and whether there was any long run legacy. The author responded by reaffirming his contention that the S&L insolvencies never had the potential to cause a downturn like the 2007-2009 crisis. However, he noted that the legacy of S&L insolvencies is that it is associated with a steep increase in debt to nominal house values beginning in the 1980s. **Kenneth Snowden** (North Carolia –Greensboro) wondered if memories of S&Ls contributed to complacency in the run up to the 2007 crisis.

"Central Bank Credibility and Reputation: An Historical Exploration" by **Michael D. Bordo** (Rutgers) and **Pierre Siklos** (Wilfrid Laurier) explores how central bank credibility and reputation has changed over time. The analysis uses a theoretical approach to examine how well central banks are able to anchor inflationary expectations around an implicit inflation target that can change over time as shocks hitting the economy. Central bank reputation is thought to have a stock-like representation with credibility being accumulated persistently, while financial crises lower the stock of reputation. The authors find that the Great Depression lowered the credibility and reputation of the Federal Reserve in the United States, a shock which persisted until the 1960s. The authors were surprised surprise that the 1990s did not result in a more credible Federal Reserve.

Eugene White (Rutgers) suggested that the number of times a Federal Reserve Governor appeared before Congress might be an interesting variable to add and that the personalities of the central bankers themselves should receive some attention. **Nicolas Ziebarth** (Iowa) asked whether it is appropriate to apply a modern policy guide such as the Taylor Rule to historical data as it is unclear whether central bankers really had an equivalent rule in mind. The authors countered that central bankers were interested in economic indicators such as industrial production and price indices and that therefore the consideration of an implicit Taylor Rule in the past is not inappropriate. **Les Oxley** (Waikato) commented that credibility often meant having to be "hard-nosed" and even meant having to do the wrong thing at times to be credible.

"Market Exit and Institutional Change: B&L Mortgage Contracts During the Great Depression" by **Sebastian Fleitas** (Arizona), Price Fishback (Arizona), and Kenneth Snowden (North Carolina–Greensboro) was presented by Fleitas. It examines the contemporary claim that Share Accumulation Contracts (SAC) contributed to increases in mortgage defaults and increased the probability that Building & Loan (B&L) institutions would fail during the Great Depression. The construction of SACs meant that as defaults mounted, borrowers discovered that their effective loan balances increased and their repayment period lengthened. Using data covering over 1,500 B&Ls in New Jersey between 1934 and 1938, the authors find that market participants were less likely to borrow from B&Ls that were holding a larger share of SAC loans. However larger shares of SAC loans are found to have had no influence on the probability of failure, and might even have been associated with lower failure rates.

> I had the opportunity to meet **Bob Fogel** at an economic history seminar, probably in Spring of 1973. I spoke very briefly with him. About three or four weeks later I received this big package in the mail—a typescript of *Time on the Cross.* That was the first true all-nighter that I ever pulled in my life. I got so engrossed reading *Time on the Cross* that I stayed up all night. It changed my career choices.
>
> ---*Jeremy Atack*

Peter Sims (LSE) wondered whether different people were being offered different types of mortgages depending on their characteristics, with the authors acknowledging this particular source of potential endogeneity. **Eric Hilt** (Wellesley) questioned the validity of the instrument used in the analysis, a concern shared by the authors. **Robert Margo** (Boston) wished to know if it was possible to document the diffusion of SAC mortgages geographically. Following this, **Florian Ploeckl** (Oxford) asked for clarification of the counter-intuitive result that more cash on hand was associated with a higher probability of failure. It was explained that, in this case, more cash on hand was a sign that a B&L was not generating loans. Of course, any discussion of B&Ls in the 1930s would have to include a reference to "It's a Wonderful Life." Price Fishback's impersonation of Jimmy Stewart was convincing!

Paul Sharp (Southern Denmark) presented "North and South: Social Mobility and Welfare Spending in Preindustrial England." The paper, co-authored with **Nina Boberg-Fazlic** (Copenhagen), in motivated by the work of Picketty (1995) and Ferri and Long (2012), who hypothesize that historically high levels of social mobility can lead to the development of a culture in which welfare provision is less accepted. The current paper contributes by showing that the expected relation between social mobility and welfare spending holds within England between the North

Price Fishback chairs the presentation by Tuan-Hwee Sng and Chiaki Moriguchi.

and the South. England, were 'poor law' relief was determined locally, and where abundant micro-level family data exists pre-1650, is particularly suited for such a study, and does not suffer from the usual problems of cross-country comparison. Results suggest that Northern England both spent less money on poor relief and had systematically higher rates of social mobility.

One part of the discussion was about structural differences between North and South England that may explain both occupational mobility and poor law relief. **Jessica Bean** (Denison) highlighted cultural differences, **Beverly Lemire** (Alberta) noted differences in the agricultural systems and in the extent to which the Industrial Revolution affected the regions. **John Wallis** (Maryland) and **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) stressed that local landowners, who dominated poor relief provision, might have acted differently in the North than in the South. The other major points in the discussion were technical. **Marianne Wanamaker** (Tennessee) and **Steven Nafzinger** (Williams) argued that the Altham statistic was not suited for the purposes of the paper. **Price Fishback** (Arizona and NBER) thought the "farmer" category was ambiguous, and illustrated the point graciously by asking whether Mr. Darcy would be found in this category. Finally, Jessica Bean made an intriguing point: If social and geographical mobility are correlated, then in the North more people would be excluded from the sample because of not remaining their whole life in the same parish.

Gabriele Cappeli (European Institute) presented "Escaping from a Human Capital Trap? Italy's Regions and the Move to Centralized Primary Schooling, 1861-1936." The paper investigates whether decentralized primary schooling inhibited regional convergence in schooling in Italy. The results confirm that decentralized primary education locked Italy's regions and municipalities in a human capital trap between 1861 and 1936, but the Daneo-Credaro reform of 1911 caused convergence and fostered the supply of schooling after WWI.

The first part of discussion focus on how to detangle the effect of decentralization and other possible factors which may impact on schooling. **Pei Gao** (LSE), among others, pointed out that without adding controls for economic development level, the regional pattern of schooling could be a result of income distribution but not decentralization. **Leonard Dudley** (Montreal) also provided an alternative explanation: the persistence of the regional distribution of human capital in Italy was caused by persistence of culture. The discussion then moved to the source of income for municipality governments. **Alexandru Minea** (CERDI), **Theresa Gutberlet** (Arizona), and others noted that if a big proportion the revenue came from donations and private loans, then schooling was not really a public good and cannot represent government fiscal ability.

Pei Gao (LSE) presented "The Uneven Rise of Modern Education in the 20th century China." The paper reviews the quantitative dimension of the rise of modern primary schooling in China after modern schooling was first introduced. It also explains what factors shaped its regional pattern and inhibited the expansion of primary schooling at its early development. The paper argues that regional political stability, local elite-biased governance, and historical legacy in education account the most for the variation in modern schooling outcomes.

Given the preliminary nature of the research, most of the discussion focused on the paper's analytical framework and methodology. **Price Fishback** (Arizona), among others, pointed out that instead of emphasizing China's special institutional setup and providing a separate framework, this paper should compare China to other locations and then explain how China's results enrich the existing literature. **Se Yan** (Peking) suggested that this paper should only focus on single main factor instead of three, and to vigorously test the mechanism between this main explainer and educational outcome. **Steve Nafziger** (Williams) and **Bishnupriya Gupta** (Warwick) were concerned about the the quality of the indicator for local elite-biased governance and suggested that adding case studies of one county through time or several counties across regions would be helpful. **Qian Lu** (Maryland) wondered whether the traditional educational institutions persisted after the modern schooling system was introduced.

Andrei Markevich and **Paul Castaneda Dower** (both New Economic School) teamed up to present "Labor Surplus, Mass Mobilization and Peasant Welfare: Russian Agriculture during the Great War." They take advantage of the mobilization of Russian men during World War I to determine whether there was indeed a labor surplus in Russian agriculture. Using changes in gender ratios as a proxy for mobilization, they find evidence that the departure of men from agricultural work led to a decrease in production on farms. In addition, they find differences in the size of the effect between private and commune land.

Question time with a hot debate which persisted throughout: How should the authors should position their paper? **Yannay Spitzer** (Northwestern) and **Chiaki Moriguchi** (Hitotsubashi) approved of the "surplus" angle, though Spitzer wanted a model to ensure "labor surplus" was well defined. On the other hand, **Giovanni Federico** (European Institute), **Price Fishback** (Arizona), and **Tim Hatton** (ANU) wanted a story about the impact of war. **Bishnupriya Gupta** (Warwick) and **Jessica Bean** (Denison) wanted to hear more about the women and specialization in labor.

At the Plenary Session capping Thursday's presentations **Robert Margo** (Boston) presented "Technical Change and the Relative Demand for Skilled Labor: The United States in Historical Perspective," which is co-authored with Lawrence F. Katz (Harvard). The paper re-assesses the complementarities between technological change and the demand for skilled labor. The conventional wisdom suggests that this relationship was characterized by a discontinuity between the 19th and the 20th century: while during the former period de-skilling accompanied capital deepening, after the turn of the century the adoption of new technologies was coupled by a growing demand for skilled labor. Margo and Katz identify a different pattern: although de-skilling in the conventional sense did occur in 19th century manufacturing, occupation actually "hollowed out;" that is, the share of middle-skill jobs declined while those of high-skill and low-skill workers increased. Additionally, when the aggregate economy is considered, a pattern of monotonic skill upgrading can be observed since about 1850.

Price Fishback (Arizona) noted that technical change might not be the only factor driving people out of unskilled jobs. For example, artisans' skill may survive but if no training is promoted, the occupations eventually disappear. But **Peter Sims** (LSE) noted that, even in periods when mass-production is accompanied by de-skilling, high-skilled labor might remain in small firms operating in small niches. **John Wallis** (Maryland) stressed that capital deepening can be naturally connected to increased demand for skilled labor because of conceptual work – as opposed to routinized labor. He suggests that more case studies should be conducted in order to shed light on this mechanism. **Evan Roberts** (Minnesota Population Center) suggested that skills might be interpreted as a social construct because they can be measured through a comparison with peers. He suggested that qualitative information might measure skills more accurately. **Yukiko Abe** (Hokkaido) asked whether the adoption of new technology had any impact on the geographical (re)location of labor. **Brooks Kaiser** (Southern Denmark) underlined the importance of agriculture in the framework traced by the paper–technological change in the sector did not displace skilled labor. **Zachary Ward** (Colorado) wondered if there might have been any impact of import competition on the wage structure.

Ann Carlos helps at the picnic.

Friday, June 21

Helen He Yang (George Mason) presented "Dual Landownership as Tax Shelter." Chinese property norms differed substantially from Anglo-American private property system: In China, the subsoil and the topsoil had different owners. Some scholars argued that this rights system didn't incentivize investment may explain why the Yangzi delta fell behind England in the early-modern period. This paper argues that dual landownership allocated property rights efficiently: the gentry (owners of the subsoil) paid land taxes while farmers (owners of the topsoil) managed farms with full freedom. Each was therefore in charge of the task in which they had comparative advantage. Yang develops a theoretical model to support this hypothesis and tests it using a plot-level dataset. Double ownership was more likely on double-cropped plots and when tax rates were higher. The practice was "abandoned" when a tax reform reduced the tax rate differential between gentry and commoners.

The main concern of the audience was about the persistence of the system over time if a ruler who is willing to maximize tax revenue. John Wallis (Maryland) was the first to point this out. **Chiaki Moriguchi** (Hitotsubashi) urged the author to include the figure of a ruler in the theoretical model, and **Tuan-Hwee Sng** (Singapore) cited Melissa Macauley's work showing that the central state fought the dual landownership system. On a related point, **Price Fishback** (Arizona) asked why dual landownership was not universally implemented in China. In terms of suggestions, **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) pointed out that the paper would benefit from looking at the long run consequences of dual landownership on economic growth, while **Meng Xue** (George Mason) proposed incorporating demographic data from genealogical studies. This would allow the paper to answer interesting questions such as the one raised by **Paul Castañeda Dower** (New Economic School): were married couples more likely to be awarded topsoil ownership than unmarried individuals?

Evan Roberts (Minnesota) presented "Height, Weight and Mortality in the Past: New Evidence from a Late 19th Century New Zealand Cohort." The paper, co-authored with **Kris Inwood** (Guelph) and **Les Oxley** (Waikato), examines how body mass index (BMI) affects mortality. The authors are the first to examine data from this time period for New Zealand. Using data on New Zealand's WWI veterans linked with official death records, the authors find that a high BMI increases risk of mortality, but, contrary to previous literature, they find no evidence to suggest that a lower-than-normal BMI is associated with an increase in risk of mortality.

Much of the discussion focused on sample selection bias. Because the sample comes from WWI veterans

Bob Fogel was my mentor, co-author, and on-going research partner. Among the many things that made him so exceptional was his ability to make everyone around him think big. Bob really did think big: "If it's worth doing, it's worth spending 10 years to get it right." And spending more than 10 years on a project is what he did. He did this when he researched slavery and he did this with his most recent and on-going project on the aging of Union Army veterans. When I started working with him in about 1989, as a graduate student, he had been working since 1986 on the project to collect the life histories of Union Army veterans. No one other than Bob would have stuck with this research project in the face of initial rejections from federal funding agencies—review committees simply did not believe that it could be done—and once it was clear just how long it would take to even get off the ground. The project (*Early Indicators of Later Work Levels, Disease, and Death)* is still on-going and funded by NIH.

One of the characteristics of Bob's work has been the emphasis on big data. This is, perhaps, because in his youth he was in thrall to a theory, having been a member of the communist party. Later he said that he did not understand communist theory and just assumed he wasn't smart enough. Fortunately, he decided to understand the world by studying economics.

He once said that if you have a theory you had better hope it is tested after you are dead because you will probably be wrong. And Bob tested his theories not just once, not just twice, but at least three times using different methods and different data sources. This was one of the lessons he imparted to all of his graduate students -- he would force us to beat the data until we were certain we had gotten it right.

---Dora Costa

there is the possibility that BMI is also associated with death in the war. Also the sample suggests BMI differences based on race, and because Maori soldiers tended to be assigned to support units, they may have been more likely to return home. **Jessica Bean** (Denison) wondered if the Spanish flu could have influenced the sample. Another portion of the conversation focused on the use of BMI. **Alex Hollingsworth** (Arizona) suggested that race should be considered important in BMI calculations. **Rick Steckel** (Ohio State) suggested running a separate regression for the Maori group.

Kris Mitchener (Warwick) presented "Capital Controls and Recovery from the Financial Crisis of the 1930s," which is co-authored with Kirsten Wandschneider (Occidental). The paper explores the effects of capital controls imposed during the economic crisis of the 1930s. Two questions are asked: (1) Did capital controls succeed in halting capital flight? (2) Did the imposition of capital controls influence economic recovery? Using monthly data from a number of different countries, the authors find that capital controls did succeed in slowing down capital flight. Results from time-shifted difference-in-differences regressions suggest that countries that imposed capital controls fared worse in terms of economic performance than those that allowed their currencies to float and did no better than those that remained steadfastly committed to gold.

Farley Grubb (Delaware) began the discussion; he asked about the part played by politics in the decision to impose capital controls. **Alan Dye** (Barnard) wondered whether there might be differences between countries in how capital controls were enforced. **Matthew Jaremski** (Colgate) and **Alan de Bromhead** (Oxford) wanted to know more about why some countries imposed capital controls in the first place. Finally, **Eugene White** (Rutgers) suggested that the authors consider that capital controls can also be affected through controls on the stock market.

"Delivering the Vote: The Political Effect of Free Mail Delivery in Early Twentieth Century America"

> I think **Bob Fogel** gave the longest presidential address in the history of the *Economic History Association*, in Toronto in 1978. He read the entire paper on social saving. It was great, you know, but I'm not sure people were expecting that.
>
> --- *Michael Haines*

Eugene White is ready to work.

by **Elisabeth Perlman** and **Steven Sprick Schuster** (both Boston) examines how the introduction of Rural Free Delivery (RFD) of mail in the United States influenced voter behavior. Using county-level data from 1892-1916, the authors find that countries that received more postal routes experienced a decrease in voter turnout in both Congressional and Presidential elections. They also find that voters in counties receiving more routes are more likely to vote for candidates of small parties. Furthermore, they find that districts with more RFD routes elected officials that had greater attendance records in the House of Representatives. The precise mechanism that links RFD to these changes is not yet clear, but it is hoped it can be untangled with further research.

Florian Ploeckl (Oxford) began by discussing the problem of endogeneity, in the sense that getting a RFD route may have been politically motivated. **Pamela Nickless** (North Carolina – Asheville) suggested that primary elections may be worth examining more closely. **Alan de Bromhead** (Oxford) wondered whether conflicting information now arriving by mail may have led to some confusion or voter apathy. **Ann Carlos** (Colorado) asked what kind of voters would even be susceptible to propaganda received through the mail, given that in many families voting preferences are entrenched. Finally, **John Wallis** (Maryland) wondered whether the presence of other items in the mail may have influenced voter turnout.

"Exogenous or Endogenous Colonial Institutions? Lessons from a Comparison of Tax Systems in British


Young cliometricians hard at work.

and French Africa, 1880-1940" by **Marlous van Waijenburg** (Northwestern) and **Ewout Frankema** (Utrecht) tries to disentangle the relative effects of the local geographic conditions which the colonists encountered and the institutional framework of the home country. They analyze the ability of each colonial administration to raise revenues through taxation, a crucial performance measure for the European colonists. They find that controlling for local geography, the nationality of the colonists makes very little difference. The greatest influence was whether the colony had a coastline or not. The authors argue that this reflects the ease of taxing international trade.

Jules Hugot (Science Po) was amazed that for once French institutions were not being singled out as the root of all evil in Africa. **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) asked whether the tax systems of colonies should be ranked not only based on their ability to raise revenue, but also for their tendency to distort incentives. **Larry Neal** (Illinois) pointed out that the landlocked regions tended to be inhabited by nomadic groups, which are notoriously difficult to tax. **Marc Goni** (Pompeu Fabra) suggested that the analysis should be repeated with an interaction effect of local geographic conditions and colonist's institutions: perhaps it was only when local conditions were poor that the institutions of the home country were forcibly imported. **Steven Nafziger** (Williams) noted that coastal areas could be colonized irrespective of their direct economic potential because they could be stepping stones for naval powers interested in riches further afield.

"Public Debt and Economic Growth Through History: New Evidence from a Macroeconomic Retrospective Analysis" by **Alexandru Minea** (Auvergne) and **Antoine Parent** (Science-Po, Lyon) is a critical re-assessment of Reinhart and Rogoff now-notorious work. R&R claims that countries with a debt to GDP ratio of more than 90% are less likely to experience economic growth. The authors stretch the dataset used by Reinhart and Rogoff back in time to 1880–2009 and use use new econometric techniques. They find nonlinearities in the effect of public debt on growth: high growth and high public debt were associated during some historical episodes of growth and development.

Much of the discussion focused on the role of particular historical episodes, especially wars, in determining the amount and growth of public debt. **Christina Mumme** (Tubingen) asked whether the authors could leave aside the post-WWII period. **Eugene White** (Rutgers) stressed the role of credibility in issuing debt. **Peter Sims** (LSE) followed up: How concerned should we be by a negative correlation between debt and growth, given that most of the poor countries would not be able to reach high levels of debt in any case because of limited credibility? **John Wallis** (Maryland) stressed the need to differentiate across different types of debt and their effect on growth. **Claude Diebolt** (BETA and CNRS) and **Larry Neal** (Illinois) argued that the authors should explain more detail why the particular technique they used is the most suitable.

Brendan Livingston (Rowan) presented "Murder and the Black Market: Alcohol Prohibition's Impact on Homicide Rates in American Cities." He used data on intoxication arrests and homicides for 64 American cities to determine whether prohibition increased or decreased the murder rate. Because only two of the 64 cities voted for prohibition, the timing of prohibition in each city can be considered exogenous to conditions in the city. He finds that Prohibition increased the murder rate when holding the number of intoxication arrests constant. Intoxication arrests would have had to decrease by 33% in order to prevent an increase in the murder rate.

Carolyn Moehling (Rutgers) argued that homicides and other violent crimes are infrequent and may not be the best measure of the social cost of Prohibition. **Mark Koyama** (George Mason) noted that in a study of the Mexican drug war, Melissa Dell had found differences in crime rates between places where one cartel had taken over the market and where turf wars were being fought. He suggested that this might have been an important difference between murder rates in different cities. **Carl Kitchens** (Mississippi) wondered whether the distance to a wet state influenced the development of the black market in dry cities before Prohibition. **Evan Roberts** (Minnesota) wanted a comparison of US and Canadian cities directly across the border from one another.

Anthony Wray (Northwestern) emphasized in his introduction that "Childhood Illness and Occupational Choice in London, 1870-1911" tries to get at long run consequences of childhood illness, both demographic and economic, using sibling controls to address endogeneity concerns. **Eric Schneider** (Oxford) started the discussion by saying that ignoring women was a big problem in his opinion since it only gives us half the picture of disease and possibly a biased one. **Yannay Spitzer** (Northwestern) pointed out that the sue of siblings as a control group should bias the results towards zero since hospitalization should have negative effects on siblings. **Marianne Wannamaker** (Tennessee) suggested that Wray look at the literature on resiliency that argues that early life illness or trauma have little impact on later life. **Melinda Miller** (Yale) suggested looking at localized epidemics to differentiate between the impact of illness and hospitalization.

In the last session of the conference, **Eric Golson** (LSE) presented "German and British Balance of Payments with the European Neutrals in the Second World War." This paper required meticulous data collection tracking the inflows and outflows of payments for Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland with Britain and Germany. Golson finds that many neutrals benefited from trading with belligerent countries. He explores differences between two different types of clearing relationships, compensation clearing and monetary clearing.

Eugene White (Rutgers) asked about the details of the balance of payments. He wanted to know whether the countries supported whatever country was currently winning the war and asked if game theory could be used to strategically model flows. **Kris Mitchener** (Warwick) wondered if the problem could be expressed in terms of Fogel's "Axiom of Indispensability": What was the overall importance of balance of payments during the war. **Larry Neal** (Illinois) suggested that studying balance of payments after the War was also important.

Rare, indeed, is a lecture that transforms one's life: path-dependence lived in real time. I had the privilege—the good fortune—to hear such a lecture on November 22, 1982. I know the date because I still have my notes. **Bob Fogel** argued with his usual enthusiasm that the height of a population was a robust proxy of its nutritional status. In his usual style, he presented an overwhelming amount of data stratified one way then another. By the end of the lecture I found my true calling.

The field flourished around the globe. Publications in major journals, books, and conferences cascaded as the methodology became more widely recognized. Ten years ago I came to the realization that we were studying more than the secular changes in nutritional status. There was actually a larger perspective waiting to be studied: in some sense we were exploring how economic processes affect the human organism's biological development. So the journal *Economics and Human Biology* was born dedicated to the exploration of the ways in which economic processes effect and are affected by biological processes. The field integrates economics with biology, thereby creating a new sub discipline within economics of which Bob is the grandfather.

Although I was not his favorite student, I was the only one at his Nobel Prize ceremony. I went in order to honor his contribution to my intellectual and scholarly development. It was an uplifting ceremony celebrating the best humanity has to offer. I'm now glad more than ever that I decided to go: I was able to give back a tiny bit of what he gave to me.

---John Komlos

The 2012 Class of Fellows

By Mike Haupert

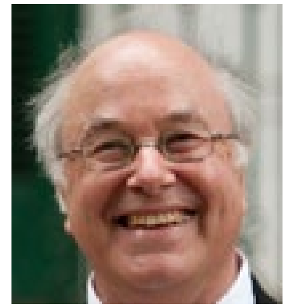
Traditionally, Cliometricians have recognized one another with the annual achievement award known as the "Can." Despite its pedestrian name, the award is a serious and sincere honor, bestowed upon an individual for significant contributions to the Cliometric Society. It was originally intended to recognize contributions over the prior year, but has since evolved into an award recognizing lifetime service to the Cliometric Society, where service is broadly interpreted to include scholarship and mentorship as well as service in the traditional sense. The honor was created in 1985 and is awarded annually at the Cliometric Society conference.

In 2009 the Cliometric Society Board of Trustees established a formal process for recognizing the outstanding scholars in its midst with the creation of a Society of Fellows. The Society of Fellows is not meant to replace the annual awarding of the "Can" but to augment it. While the "Can" is awarded for contributions to the Cliometric Society, the exact interpretation of those contributions is determined each year by the previous recipient. The Society of Fellows focuses specifically on lifetime research contributions. The Cliometric Society wishes to honor outstanding scholarship in the field of economic history through its election of Fellows of the Society. Fellows must have published contributions to economic history that are markedly original and have significantly advanced the frontiers of knowledge. To be eligible, a Fellow must be, or upon election become, a member of the Cliometric Society.

The first class of Fellows was elected in 2010 and formally inducted at the annual meeting in the spring of 2011. The second class was inducted last spring. This year our class of 2012 was inducted at the World Congress of Cliometrics in Honolulu. The Fellows inducted this year have a long and meritorious association with the Cliometric Society, and their academic and professional honors, awards, and accomplishments are numerous and impressive. They join an equally impressive group of previous inductees, bringing the total number of Fellows to date to 19.

Not surprisingly, each of this year's Fellows has previously been a recipient of the "Can." Deirdre McCloskey was the original recipient of the award in 1985, and 17 years later it was presented to Price Fishback. The other three of this year's Fellows were honored with the "Can" in successive years: Jeremy Atack in 2005, Robert Margo in 2006, and Rick Steckel in 2007.

Jeremy Atack



Jeremy Atack is Professor of Economics at Vanderbilt University, and Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. He completed his Ph.D. in Economics at Indiana University in 1976. His first full time position was at the University of Illinois in 1976, where he remained until moving to Vanderbilt in 1993. In 2000 he was also named Professor of History at Vanderbilt.

Atack is one of the leading scholars in American agricultural and manufacturing history. He is the author of more than 60 refereed articles and book chapters, as well as three books. He has also edited two volumes. He was the winner of the 1987 Theodore Saloutos prize awarded for the outstanding book published on agricultural history for *To Their Own Soil: American Agriculture in the Antebellum North*, coauthored with Fred Bateman. The volume was also selected by *Choice* as one of the outstanding academic books of 1987. His work on steam power earned him an honorary life membership in the Newcomen Society. The Cliometric Society honored him with the "Can" in 2005.

Atack has been elected President of three professional academic societies, reflecting the esteem in which he is held by his peers. He served as President of the Business History Conference in 1999, the Agricultural History Society in 2003-04, and the Economic History Association in 2011-12.

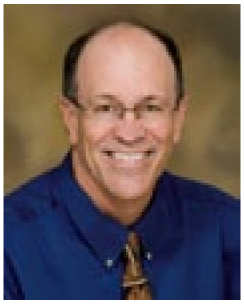
He served as co-editor of the *Journal of Economic History* (2004-08), *Explorations in Economic History* in 1982 and *Business and Economic History* (1981-87), as well as serving as a special guest editor for the *Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics*. He has been an elected trustee of the Cliometric Society, the Economic History Association, and the Agricultural History Society.

Bob Fogel once said to me: "The measure of success in our profession is influencing the way other people think." It's taken me 30 years to appreciate all the implications of that. Our profession is filled with people who want to learn, but who don't want to be taught. Bob understood that in a very intuitive way. He was very warm and generous personally, but he was also very tenacious. He understood that academic conversations would always be debates. You have to convince people. Bob's willingness to listen to what people were saying was an important part of convincing them, if they think you aren't listening to them, then they aren't listening to you.

---John Wallis

His research has been funded by the Newcomen Society and the National Science Foundation. Along with Fred Bateman, he constructed a sample of U.S. Manufacturing and a matched sample of rural households in 1880. He also worked with Bateman to extend the Bateman-Foust Agricultural and Demographic Sample, which includes data on over 21,000 rural households from 1860 to 1880. These original databases have been used by numerous scholars to further our understanding of 19th century agriculture.

Price Fishback



Price Fishback is Thomas R. Brown Professor of Economics at the University of Arizona and Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. He is also a Fellow of the TIAA-CREFF Institute and a Research Affiliate at the Centre for Economic History at Australian National University. Fishback earned his Ph.D. from the University of Washington. He joined the faculty at the University of Georgia in 1982, where he remained until moving to Arizona in 1993.

He has won numerous awards, including the Cliometric Society "Can" in 2002 and the Paul Samuelson Award for outstanding scholarly writing on lifelong financial security in 2000 for his book, *A Prelude to the Welfare State*, coauthored with Shawn Kantor. The book also received the Richard A. Lester Prize for the outstanding book in labor economics and industrial relations in 2000. He has also won awards for articles co-authored with Shawn Kantor in 1997 and Kantor and Leah Platt Boustan in 2010.

He has also been recognized by the University of Arizona as an outstanding teacher, winning awards for his classroom work in the MBA Program in 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2010 and 2011. He won a Swift Teaching Award at the University of Georgia in 1984, and received the university's Honors Day Recognition for Outstanding Teaching in 1983, 1984, and 1986. His service was recognized by the University of Arizona in 2007 with an Eller Leadership Award.

Fishback served as co-editor of the *Journal of Economic History* from 2008-12. He has served on numerous editorial boards, including *Cliometrica*, *Explorations in Economic History,* and *Labor History*. He has served as a trustee for the Cliometric Society and the Economic History Association, and served on the NSF Review Panel for Economics. He is a member of the executive committee of the International Economic History Association. He is the editor of the Markets and Governments in American History book series published by the University of Chicago Press, and was a principal investigator for the NSF Grant for the annual Clio conference from 1999-2008. He was on the conference organizing committee for the annual Clio conferences from 1996-2008.

Fishback has authored two books and edited two others and published 44 journal articles and 18 book chapters. He currently has two books in progress.

Robert Margo

Robert Margo earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1982, where he served as a Teaching Fellow before accepting a position at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1989 he moved to Vanderbilt University, where he would ultimately hold positions in both the Economics and History departments. In 2005 he moved to Boston University, where he holds positions in economics and African-American studies. He has also held visiting positions at the Russell Sage Foundation, Harvard, Bard College, and Colgate University.

In addition to his academic positions, Margo is a Fellow at the Center for the Study of Poverty and

Inequality at Stanford University, a member of the Conference on Research on Income and Wealth, and a research associate with the NBER. He has consulted for the World Bank and the Rand Corporation, among others.

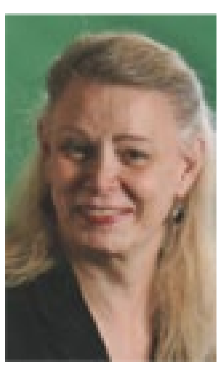
He is an associate editor for the *American Economic Journal*: *Applied Economics* and the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, and has previously served as editor of *Explorations in Economic History* and co-editor of the *Southern Economic Journal*. He has served on the editorial boards of half a dozen other journals as well as on the national advisory boards of the Center for Poverty Research at the University of Kentucky and Stanford University's Center for the Study of Poverty and Inequality. He previously served on review panels for the NSF and the Spencer Foundation.

He received the Excellence in Refereeing award from the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* in 2012 and was recognized by the Cliometric Society with the "Can" in 2006. He has been awarded grants for his research by the US Department of Education, the Wharton Real Estate Center, the National Science Foundation, and the Spencer Foundation, among others.

Margo has authored four books and nearly 90 articles and book chapters, as well as 45 NBER working papers. His book, *Race and Schooling in the South,* was a Princeton University noteworthy book in industrial relations and labor economics in 1990 and named an Outstanding Academic Book by *Choice* in 1992. The Economic History Association awarded him the Cole prize for the best article published in the *Journal of Economic History* in 1987 for "The Growth of Wages in Antebellum America: New Evidence," coauthored with Georgia Villaflor.

> The lesson that I took away from my experience with **Bob Fogel** is to always be more interested in what other people are doing than in telling them what you are doing. In my experiences at the University of Chicago, of having plenty of non-classroom time with Nobel Prize winners, there was never a one—apart from Bob—who was ever as interested in engaging people at their own level, on their own terms, and talking about what they were interested in rather than telling them what they should be interested in based upon what they themselves were doing.
>
> *---Joe Ferrie*

Deirdre McCloskey



Deirdre McCloskey is Distinguished Professor of Economics and History, Professor of English, and Professor of Communication at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She moved to Chicago after serving as the John F. Murray Professor of Economics and Professor of History at the University of Iowa. She earned her Ph.D. in economics from Harvard. Her first position was as Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, where she began her academic career in 1968. In 1979 she added the title of Professor of History at the University of Chicago, before leaving for Iowa in 1980.

In conjunction with her current appointment at UIC, McCloskey is also Profesora Honoraria at La Universidad Francisco Marroquin (Guatamela), Extraordinary Professor, University of the Free State (Bloemfontein, South Africa), Visiting Professor Economic History at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden), and adjunct faculty member in Philosophy and in Classics at UIC, and a regular member of the faculty of the Summer School of the EDAMBA in southern France.
McCloskey has served as president of the Social Science History Association (1988-89), the Midwest Economics Association (1989-90), the Economic History Association (1996-97), and the Eastern Economics Association (2003-04). She served as co-editor of the *Journal of Economic History* from 1983-86, and was the first American named to the Council of the Economic History Association in 1987. She also served as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Economic Association from 1994-97.

McCloskey is one of the most prolific authors in the discipline of economics. She has authored and edited two dozen books, with numerous others in various stages of preparation. In addition, she has written more than 350 academic articles, replies, and reviews ranging from the history of international finance to open fields and enclosure in England to the industrial revolution, economic pedagogy, rhetoric, academic policy, feminist economics, gender crossing, ethics, religious economics, political philosophy, and language. She has published more articles on the economics of the English enclosure system (14) than

most economists have published articles.
McCloskey, along with Samuel Williamson, was the founder of the Cliometric Society. In 1985 the society honored her as the first recipient of its annual "Can" award for outstanding service.

Richard Steckel

Richard Steckel is Distinguished University Professor of Economics at Ohio State University and Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic. Research. Steckel earned his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Chicago in 1977.

Steckel has served his entire career at Ohio State, where he joined the Economics Department as an instructor in 1974. He now holds Professorships in the departments of Economics, Anthropology, and History. He has held visiting positions at Harvard, where he was the Charles Warren Fellow in 1993-94, a Visiting Research Fellow at Flinders University of South Australia, a Visiting Research Fellow in the Center for Economic Studies at the University of Munich, the London School of Economics, and a Visiting Fellow at Oxford University, and Northwestern University.

Steckel has authored or coauthored five books. He has also written more than 112 articles and book chapters. He is the recipient of numerous grants from the NICHD, NSF, Bank of Sweden Tercntenary Foundation, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to name a few.

He has served on numerous editorial boards, including the *Journal of Economic History, Historical Methods, Explorations in Economic History, Economics and Human Biology,* and *Cliometrica*, and served as the editor of *Explorations in Economic History* from 2008-12. He served on the review panel for NIH and the Board of Trustees of the Cliometric Society. He served as President of the Social Science History Association (2004-05), and the Economic History Association (2008-09).

He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He was awarded the "Can" in 2007. He was named the Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow at Ohio State University for the period 1999-2002 and the L. Edwin Smart award for Excellence in Economics Instruction in 1995.

Steckel is regarded as one of the leading scholars in the field of anthropometric research. His work has garnered numerous grants and resulted in publications in the leading journals. In addition, his research on stature was featured in the Euorpean edtion of *Time Magazine* on October 14, 1996.

Fellows of the Cliometric Society

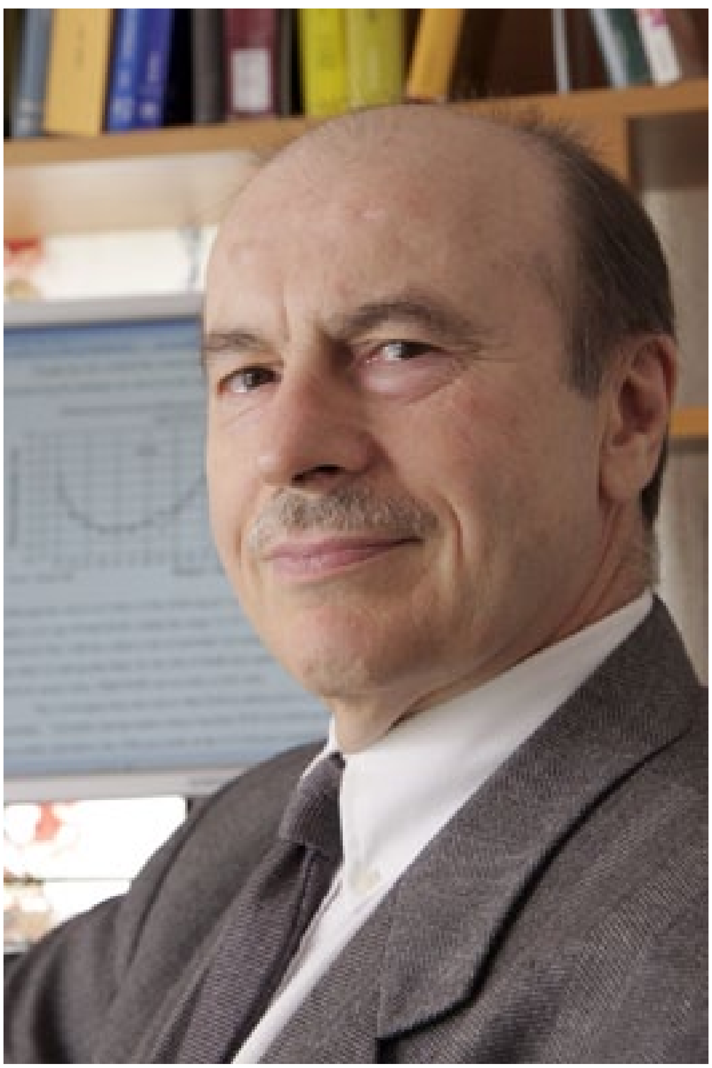
Jeremy Atack*
Fred Bateman
Lance E. Davis
Stanley L. Engerman
Price Fishback*
Robert W. Fogel
Claudia Goldin
Robert Margo*
Deirdre McCloskey*
Joel Mokyr
Larry D. Neal
Douglass C. North
Alan L. Olmstead
Hugh Rockoff
Richard Steckel*
Peter Temin
Thomas Weiss
Jeffrey G. Williamson
Gavin Wright

**Inducted in 2013*

An Interview with John Komlos

John Komlos is Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Munich, Germany, where he held the Chair of the Institute of Economic History from 1992 until his retirement in 2010. He is the founding (2003) editor of Economics & Human Biology (EHB), *a high-impact factor journal in economics and one of the primary resources for cliometricians. Professor Komlos has published numerous articles related to economic history, historical methods, and health economics; most importantly, he is perhaps best known for his research in anthropometric history—a discipline he spearheaded and a term he coined in the 1980s. On account of his many investigations, often featuring human-height measurements, into the effects of economic development on human biology, he has earned the alias of the "Pope" of anthropometric history. He is currently Visiting Professor of Economics at Duke University.*

This interview was conducted by Daniel Schwekendiek (Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul) via e-mail in May 2013; it was finalized in June 2013.



I will begin with a question that I have wanted to ask you for some time. Does it bother you to be introduced by the media as the "pope" of height research?

LoL! The media love such exaggerations, but they amuse more than they annoy. I hate to disillusion my fans, but I have serious doubts about my infallibility.

I am impressed by your diverse educational and multidisciplinary background. You graduated from college with a degree in physics and then went on to earn two MAs and two PhDs (in history and in economics). To what extent did your multidisciplinary academic background contribute to your decision to plant your flag in the relatively unplowed field of anthropometric history?

I believe that I unconsciously strove to be a Renaissance man—not an easy task, given the way that academia is constituted. I was not focused on having some sort of a career. If you single-mindedly pursue the goal of obtaining tenure, scholarship can easily slip into the back seat, so it is unlikely that you will immerse yourself in a subject such as the history of human height. But for me education was not an instrument to obtain a position; it was an end in itself. I suppose that if I were a Calvinist I would say that I was predestined to do what I did. Instead, I'll just say that for me there is no doubt my socio-cultural heritage shaped me for this somewhat eclectic career path. The only objective evidence I can bring to bear on this point is the fact that Hungarian Holocaust survivors—such as I and my family—had a high probability of choosing such paths. We constitute a tiny population—roughly that of a mid-size U.S. city, such as Akron, Ohio—but among us are found five Nobel laureates (including John Harsanyi, for economics) and numerous other pragmatic, if also intellectual, innovators: for example, the philosopher of science Imre Lakatos, the economist Janos Kornai, Andrew Grove of Intel, and George Soros, as much a philosopher as he is a financier. So my guess is that those who have survived the hell of *Darkness at Noon* tend to be unfazed when society says, "But you'll never get away with *that*!" We've gotten away with it already two or three times, so I think that we tended unconsciously to generalize that experience and not trust society's judgment. In short, I'd like to emphasize that my life unfolded not as a consequence of some conscious rational strategy to be iconoclastic. It just turned out that way as I was chasing some elusive and fascinating ideas.

But of course, it is not straightforward to be a nonconformist. It is well known that the academic world is suboptimal for interdisciplinary research with a low probability of payoff. Few academics are willing to take such risks with very limited institutional support—financial or emotional. Note, however, that I was not completely a nonconformist. Rather, I think I conformed to the ideal version of academia instead to its real, existing counterpart. I dared to suppose that reality should conform to the ideal. That disposition is, however, often threatening to those who are more realistic. Imagine when I told my immigrant parents, who themselves didn't get past elementary school, that I intended to devote my life to the study of anthropometric history—and this at a time when I had no prospects beyond a short-term contract, as a lecturer, at the University of Vienna. My world view made no more sense to them, or to university search committees who surely puzzled no longer than a few seconds over my curious CV before tossing it in the trashcan. (For more on the secrets of my life, see the *New Yorker* article where my position of "pope" is cited.)

Both you and Professor Richard Steckel (Ohio State University) were students of Robert Fogel at the University of Chicago, and both of you became Cliometricians specializing in anthropometrics. However, it seems to me Professor Steckel eventually has focused on the past by exploring premodern anthropometric history, whereas you have pushed forward to investigate postindustrial populations and periods. What was the nature, if any, of the division of labor between you and Professor Steckel? Did you attempt to coordinate your research agendas?

Obviously, we were both inspired by Fogel to work on the history of human height. I still have my notes from November 23, 1982, when I first heard Bob lecture on the topic, and I said to myself: *Wow! This is the most interesting idea I've heard in years. It's exactly what I've been waiting for!* Here was a new field where one just might be able to make some beautiful discoveries. What is more, there was quite a lot of peer pressure at the University of Chicago to undertake this sort of project—that is, one offering little chance of success. For someone like me—that is, born into a family of survivors, exiles, and immigrants—the risks posed by anthropometric history were child's play.

The fact that while an undergraduate I had done some computer programming gave me an edge when it came to analyzing large datasets. By the next summer I was already in Vienna, digging up data. Meanwhile, Rick Steckel had done some exciting work on slave heights, and Bob Fogel had a number of other students writing papers on the topic. And in the same year, 1982, *Social Science History* devoted a whole volume to heights. For me that was inspirational. Before turning to archeological records, Rick had done substantial work not only on slave heights but also on Swedish military records and on the Ohio National Guardsmen, among other datasets. So at the start we had a similar strategy, one advancing the field by analyzing samples from disparate populations, in order to learn about living standards of different socioeconomic groups in different economic settings. But this was not a conscious strategy; we never attempted to coordinate our research; Bob also did not influence us after the initial impetus. We just went our own way. There were plenty of opportunities for research, and it was not at all clear where the next breakthrough would happen.

When and where did you first visit a historical archive to retrieve data? What was the most important lesson you learned at that time?

In 1974 I visited several Viennese archives for the dissertation I was working on at that time, dealing with economic development in the Habsburg Monarchy. That experience was a great help in 1983, when I returned to Vienna to cull height data from the military archives. Other researchers had looked for them in vain; finding them is more difficult than you may imagine. This 1983 experience, in turn, helped me to dig up datasets all over the world, including those of the West Point cadets. (By the way, they are all preserved for posterity at the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.)

It took a certain perseverance to get along with the archivists, unaccustomed as they were to dealing with researchers who required tens of thousands of observations for a decent random sample. They were less than thrilled to have to lug up out of storage dusty, oversize bundles of documents, unopened in three centuries. I would often wait until the changing of the guard, as it were, in the hope that that the next archivist on duty would be a little less resistant. Sometimes a gift, of bottle of wine or the like, helped to break the ice.

Your second book, Nutrition and Economic Development in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy: An Anthropometric History*, was published by Princeton University Press in 1989. What were your reasons for choosing this specific period and region as your focus? Would you say that this work was your most time-consuming publication? If not, what other scholarly work would you cite as fitting this description?*

I had been working on the economic development of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century. So when I learned about the possibilities of height research it was natural for me to go back a century and explore economic development in the eighteenth century. It was certainly rewarding, because it enabled me to identify the "early industrial growth puzzle," that is, the decline in nutritional status, as proxied by physical stature, simultaneously with the Industrial Revolution. This enabled me to infer that a Malthusian crisis was threatening at the time that the Industrial Revolution (IR) was able to overcome. It also led me to model (with Marc Artzrouni) the IR as an escape from the Malthusian trap. It was an endogenous growth model before such models were popular, and so we had a hard time getting it published.

That research enabled me to give a twist to the prevailing paradigm of industrialization, according to which the IR was British in origin, with the Continent simply following in its footsteps. Instead, I argued that the timing was more nuanced: the IR was essentially a pan-European phenomenon, with the upswing in economic activity on the Continent coinciding perfectly with that of the British IR even if technological change on the Continent took place at its own, unBritish, rate. It was thanks to anthropometric data that I was able to offer this interpretation of the Continental version of the IR. Please note that when it came to the amount of time that I invested in this effort, I had a zero discount rate: time did not play a role in my thinking at all.

Anthropometric history is a flourishing discipline, a popular topic for conferences such as the World Economic History Congresses, and the meetings of the Economic History Association or that of Social Science History, and a subject increasingly familiar to the readers of economic history's flagship journals. But of course this has not always been the case. How was your early research perceived by other economic historians? When did anthropometric history begin to make some headway in the field of economic history?

It was slow going at first, although I did have some initial successes such as the 1985 article in the *American Historical Review* followed by one in the *Annals of Human Biology* in 1986 and then in the *Journal of Economic History* in 1987. That positive feedback gave me some reason to hope that this would be a feasible project in the long run. But between 1983 and 1993, not even Bob Fogel was able to get an economics journal to publish anything of his on heights, although he did write important working papers and book chapters. The first real success in an economics journal was his Nobel Prize lecture in a 1994 issue of the *American Economic Review*. The next year, the *Journal of Economic Literature* published an important overview by Richard Steckel and thereafter all limits were off. Editors and referees became more receptive to the idea.

In order to emphasize how much adversity one faced at the beginnings Rick Steckel tells the story that his department was going to deny him tenure and it was only the dean's intervention that overruled that

Bob Fogel first came into the lives of us economic historians at one of the early Clio meetings at Purdue. As several of us waited together at Chicago O'Hare for the plane to West Lafayette, one of us, reading the program for the forthcoming meeting, said "Who is this Robert William Fogel?" From the fringe of the group came the answer: "I am Robert William Fogel." There he was: a somewhat "rumpled" figure, as described by the *New York Times* in his obituary. Perhaps in the early years he was rumpled because he slept very little and worked almost all the time. His appearance belied his intelligence, his curiosity, his generosity, and what came to be his immense contributions over 50 years.

What made Bob Fogel unique was his deliberate attack on traditional explanations. The work of academic social scientists generally had considered static, but not dynamic, elements: their road to success had been to build on existing theory and modify it incrementally. Bob attacked the whole framework head-on. In early work he undermined the view that the railroad had been the dominant source of development in 19th century America. Next he attacked the view that slavery was inefficient; and in his most recent years he successfully undermined traditional demographic history. In each case he suggested a radically different approach to development.

---Douglass North

decision. By the time I came along, a little later in the 1980s, the baby-boom expansion was over, and there were no more deans on my side. I had a number of strikes against me: my field of expertise; Central Europe, passed under the radar of most departments in any field. Besides, no department was interested in the history of human height; I didn't stand much of a chance. So I ended up moving back to Europe.

In short, it was not until Bob Fogel received the Nobel Prize, in 1993, that anthropometrics began to win some overdue respect; however, by then I had an endowed chair and full professorship in Munich. What saved me in the meanwhile was the same sort of principled flexibility that had enabled my father to make it through some far, far tougher times. So I was a postdoctoral fellow in demography at the Carolina Population Center for two years, followed by stints as a historian and subsequently as an economist—but never neglecting my research agenda on the history of human height. That was the constant in my life, because I realized that this constituted, in effect, my vocation: that without it my life would be nothing but a hollow shell. So I clung to it the same way that my father clung to his individuality and stayed far away from the Communist Party, even when that would have been the "reasonable" thing for him to do. So I had my father as a role model for how to be a survivor and even outsmart your adversaries at times: not that I could have explained all this at the time; this is how I see it now. In any case, it took me only six years to go from being a postdoctoral scholar to a full professor. So I guess you could say that my zero discount rate did pay off, after all.

Professor Barry Popkin and some other economists have recalibrated their research in order to take into consideration not only undernutrition in historic societies but also overnutrition in modern affluent societies. Many of your frequently cited works deal with America's emergence as a nation of obesity. When did anthropometric historians begin to shift their focus from stunted growth to body-mass indexes and overweight measurements?

My first article on BMI came out in 2004 that was soon after the obesity literature took off in economics. At first, I had a mental block about doing work on contemporary populations. I considered myself to be an economic *historian*; why should I deal with *present-day* data? But eventually, after several years of procrastination, I said to myself, *Well, let's have a look*—and discovered, to my amazement, that the U.S. no longer boasts the tallest population in the world but rather (but for a few tiny outliers, such as the Cook Islands) the heaviest. So all of a sudden anthropometrics became the talk of the town, from NPR and The Daily Show to The Today Show by way of *The New Yorker* and Paul Krugman in the *The New York Times,* and (after twenty years' of, shall we say, toiling in the field) I got my fifteen minutes of fame.

I first met **Bob Fogel** in September 1965 when I entered the graduate program at the University of Chicago. I had a hard time with the cut-throat competitive nature of Chicago. Into this atmosphere stepped Bob Fogel. In addition to his course being such a treat, Bob Fogel was the only professor at the University of Chicago who was accessible. I used to just drop by and schmooze, and talk about my doubts about my future at Chicago, and about economic history. Bob really inspired me, both to stick it out at Chicago and to become an economic historian. His warmth, generosity, and enthusiasm for his work and for economic history is what I will always remember.

---Michael Bordo

While you focused mainly on the anthropometric history of Europe and North America, scholars collaborating with Professor Joerg Baten at the University of Tuebingen began to expand their studies to remote regions, such as sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. Other scholars even studied the anthropometric history of North Korea, which is arguably the most secluded country on earth. Is there forthcoming research on a particular geographical region and historical period of particular interest to you?

It has been enormously gratifying to see students of mine such as Joerg develop into scholars and teachers who in turn have inspired you and your generation to do important work: Alexander Moradi (Sussex) on Africa and Nikola Koepke (Barcelona) on the Roman Empire, to name just a few. I myself do not have a favorite century or a favorite region. My focus is not anchored by space-time coordinates.

What do you consider your most important contributions to scholarship?

I discovered the "early-industrial-growth" puzzle—that is, the decline in heights at the onset of the Industrial Revolution. This was controversial at first, because it strengthened the pessimists' case in the long-standing debate about the trend in living standards at the onset of modern economic growth. Puzzling over the puzzle, I soon realized that the concurrent demographic revolution was leading to an old-fashioned Malthusian crisis—averted thanks to the IR's counterweight.

Next, I offered a solution to the antebellum puzzle—the height decrease that marked the generation born just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. This decrease was a puzzle because the Whig interpretation of history did not have room for a decline in heights at the onset of modern economic growth. I showed that industrialization came at the cost to the nutritional status of the children who experienced it. This negative externality was hitherto hidden from view. My interpretation of the historical record was a more nuanced way of conceiving of living standards, in that it took into account the impact of industrialization on children as well as adults.

That realization led me to the concept of the biological standard of living as distinct from its conventional counterpart. It was a shorthand measure of how well the human organism itself thrives in its socioeconomic environment. This distinction led me to consider in depth how economic processes affect biological ones—as deep as the cellular level. Joerg Baten and I organized several international conferences on this new field of study, "economics and human biology," each of which was attended by about sixty scholars from around the globe. The journal that goes by the same name has now been thriving for ten years. So it seems that the creation of a field at the intersection of economics and human biology was well received by the scholarly community.

The introduction of biology into the socioeconomic equation prompted me to think of economic agents as breathing sentient beings and to offer a course, "Humanistic Economics," at the University of Munich, that attracted quite a following. I covered such topics as behavioral economics, happiness research, imperfect information, oligopolistic market structures, and Amartya Sen's capabilities approach. I dared to envision an economic system, which I called (with a tip of the hat to Alexander Dubcek) "capitalism with a human face," that featured a population that reached its genetic potential in height as in the Netherlands, that was not overwhelmingly overweight or obese, had as high a happiness rate as in Denmark, had Scandinavian longevity, had a low crime rate, an excellent educational system, financial stability, and so forth. I just finished a textbook on the subject, to be published by M. E. Sharpe next Fall: *What Every Econ 101 Student Must Know… but doesn't get in standard principles textbooks.* So anthropometric history inspired me to devise the field of economics and human biology, which in turn led me to devise that of humanistic economics. And all this because I let my mind roam.

You earned an excellent reputation not only as a researcher but also as a lecturer at the University of Munich. What is the key to becoming a successful educator in the field of economic history?

In a department devoted exclusively to what Deirdre McCloskey—after Ronald Coase—calls "blackboard economics," the students appreciated learning about economics as a force in history: its impact on specific people in specific times and places. I would like to think that my enthusiasm for the subject was not only evident but contagious -- that they were inspired by the fact I was happy to be sharing with them certain ideas that they were not getting in other courses, such as that economic activity takes place in an institutional and cultural context. I subscribe to Richard Feynman's advice to "bend over backwards" to be "utterly honest" with students. One result was that my ratings were among the highest of all professors not only in the department but at the whole university.

I had a number of excellent role models from my own grad-student days: Bob Fogel, who inspired me to do anthropometric history; Bert Hoselitz (an Austrian émigré and development economist who stood out as a non-conformist and who also had an influence on John Nash; Arcadius Kahan, also an émigré who had the ability to cross interdisciplinary boundaries and who was my advisor on my first dissertation; Emile Karafiol, a historian of the Habsburg Monarchy who introduced me to the very notion of Cliometrics; William McNeill, who had a global perspective before that term was popular; D. McCloskey whose excitement about Cliometrics gave me a good foundation for further research; Eduard Maerz, who invited me to teach in Vienna; and James Tanner of London, who taught me all I know about the biology of human growth. They had a nurturing attitude, cared intensely about my development, and I merely continued that tradition.

That attitude attracted students at all levels. So graduate students such as Joerg Baten, Francesco

Cinnirella (Ifo), Michela Coppola (Max-Planck), Tim Cuff (Westminster), Benjamin Lauderdale (LSE), and Marco Sunder (Leipzig), but also post-docs such as Brian A'Hearn (Oxford) and Ulrich Woitek (Zurich) found my institute a congenial place to spend some time. Marco Sunder won the Economic History Association's prestigious Allan Nevins Prize for the best dissertation in American economic history in 2008—the first time that the prize has gone to a German student. Joerg Baten's dissertation also won prizes, so there was a good atmosphere at the Institute of Economic History at all levels.

The Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research focuses on past and present demography and economics. Do you see a need to establish a similar, independent, institute, focused exclusively on past and present anthropometry and economics?

No—but it would be great to make room for the subject within institutes devoted, for example, to health or to the study of living standards.

In the long list of your publications, there is a, outlier. Most of your contributions are clearly scholarly ones, but The Chicago Guide to an Academic Career *(which you co-authored with John Goldsmith and Penny Schine Gold and published by the University of Chicago Press in 2001) is obviously different: it is written as an informal conversation among scholars and is addressed to recent graduates. Can you tell us more about this project?*

The format was suggested by the publisher. We just wanted to help graduate students prepare for a career in academia. It was written in the spirit of the time; that is, with the aim of nurturing young talent. I myself would have benefited from a similar text when I was in graduate school.

You are an economic historian with extensive experience in academia in both Europe (Germany, mostly) and the United States. Do you see a divergence or a convergence of the two in regard to means and to aims? How do recruitment and funding processes differ?

American economics departments have been eliminating economic history from their curricula; now German departments are doing likewise. Richard Tilly's position, for instance, was discontinued upon his retirement. However, thanks to the popularity of economic history in Munich, this did not happen there when I retired. Not surprisingly, my departmental colleagues had wanted to follow the crowd; I cast the single dissenting vote. But after this departmental vote—which came as a surprise to me, since it had not been listed on the agenda—and after even the university senate had approved the discontinuation, I organized a campaign objecting to the decision, which was supported by many colleagues from around the globe; an outcry on the part of many students also contributed to the success of the campaign—of which, needless to say, I am quite proud.

Despite victory in that particular battle, economic history has suffered severe setbacks on many other fronts, and at a time when both the need and the demand for it are greater than ever. I have started teaching a course on economics and human biology at Duke University—the only one like it in the world—and it is always sold out. This summer I will be teaching a course on the "The History of Financial Crisis" at Harvard, and it is already closed as well. So evidently there is a great need for courses that consider extensive stretches of time, that explore the nitty-gritty of economic systems in an inductive way, that are not merely offshoots of mathematical theory but instead weave into the economic narrative ideas from sociology, history, and political science. There is an ever-increasing demand for this interdisciplinary approach from the students. So universities should be hiring, not firing, economic historians.

In Germany, chairs in economic history have dedicated funds in order to sponsor dissertations and research in general; this policy spared me the uncertainties of the grant-application process as in the US. Similarly, the German equivalent of the National Science Foundation dedicates funds to those of us working in the field of economic history, in particular, thereby eliminating competition with theoretical economists

Bob Fogel was a serious scholar, of course, but he was often quite humorous, in a Yogi Bera way. He often said things that were funny, but he didn't really mean them to sound funny. One time, Bob visited our home in North Carolina during the days of research on Time on the Cross. Towards the end of the visit, Bob said: "It's a bit ironic that I'm here looking at these farm records because I was 18 years old before I realized that the normal condition of the surface of the earth was not to be covered in asphalt."

---Richard Sylla

and permitting me to get on with my research.

Econometric historians tend to forget that the word "history" contains the word "story." Generally, pure historians and area specialists, along with anthropologists, undervalue the contributions of Cliometricians' published works. Do you think that Cliometrics will continue to be regarded as nothing more than a subdiscipline of economics?

The compartmentalization of intellectual life within academia jeopardizes an interdisciplinary subject such as economic history. The remedy is to change the incentive structure and the institutional organization of the university system. The faculty in both history and economics departments would have to make space for such programs, but I don't see this happening. The economics discipline cannot possibly succeed without a proper dose of economic history, but most of those able to communicate comfortably across the disciplines are gone. In the 1970s, Cliometrics was in its heyday: there were three tenured professors at the University of Chicago alone! It was a respected field. Today half of the top schools do not have a single economic historian on the faculty.

Finally, please feel free to comment on any issue that has not yet been addressed in this interview and that you would like to share with the readers of The Newsletter of the Cliometric Society.

We should organize a more concerted effort to convince our colleagues that economic history is an indispensable subject and that every economics department, every history department, and every business school should have a specialist in the our field. If this were the case, I dare to venture that the world economy would be in better shape.

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"The Diminution of Physical Stature of the British Male Population in the 18th-Century," *Cliometrica*, 6 (2012), 1: 45-62. (with Helmut Küchenhoff)

"The Trend of Mean BMI Values of US Adults, birth cohorts 1882-1986 indicates that the obesity epidemic began earlier than hitherto thought," *American Journal of Human Biology*, 22 (2010): 631-638. (with Marek Brabec)

"Underperformance in Affluence; the remarkable relative decline in American heights in the second half of the 20th-century," *Social Science Quarterly* (June, 2007) 88, 2:283-304. (with Benjamin E. Lauderdale)

"Access to Food and the Biological Standard of Living: Perspectives on the Nutritional Status of Native Americans," *American Economic Review*, 91:1 (March 2003): 252-255.

"The Industrial Revolution as the Escape from the Malthusian Trap," *Journal of European Economic History* 29:2-3 (Fall/Winter 2000): 307-331.

"Shrinking in a Growing Economy? The Mystery of Physical Stature during the Industrial Revolution," *The Journal of Economic History* 58 (1998) 3: 779-802.

"The Height and Weight of West Point Cadets: Dietary Change in Antebellum America," *The Journal of Economic History* 47 (1987): 897-927.

"Population Growth Through History and the Escape from the Malthusian Trap: A Homeostatic Simulation Model," *Genus* 41 (1985): 21-40. (with Marc Artzrouni)

"Stature and Nutrition in the Habsburg Monarchy: The Standard of Living and Economic Development," *American Historical R*eview 90 (1985): 1149-1161.

The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union. Economic Development in Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century (Princeton University Press: 1983).

In Memory of Cynthia Taft Morris

Cynthia Taft Morris passed away on July 16, 2013 at the age of 85. She was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 28, 1928. She was the granddaughter of U.S. President and Supreme Court Chief Justice William Howard Taft, and the daughter of former Cincinnati Mayor Charles P. Taft II. Among her numerous accomplishments, she was the founder of the Washington Area Economic History Seminar and served as the 40th president of the Economic History Association from 1993-94.

She was Distinguished Economist in Residence at American University since retiring as the Charles N. Clark Professor of Economics at Smith College in 1998. She had previously held positions at the American University of Beirut, the Agency for International Development, the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva, and the Mutual Security Agency in Paris.

She earned a BA in International Relations from Vassar College (1949), an MSc in Labor Economics from the London School of Economics (1951), and a PhD in Economics from Yale University (1959), where she studied with pioneer labor economist Lloyd Reynolds.

She was a devotee of travel, research, and world culture. She spoke French and German fluently, and could read Spanish, Italian and Dutch. She lived in Germany, Austria, France, Lebanon, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

Morris and coauthor Irma Adelman broke ground with quantitative analysis of the determinants of economic development, publishing two books. They then applied their technique to the economic history of the world for a third book. In all three books, they were pioneers in including social, political, and institutional factors in their economic analyses.

Though she made few public presentations of her research, Morris did present at the Cliometric Society meetings for the first time in 1978, and made subsequent appearances at the annual conference, most recently at the 2000 World Congress in Montreal.

Among her awards and honors were four NSF grants, membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, membership in Phi Beta Kappa. She was most proud of: being named the Honored Professor at Smith College in 1996.

While she was a gifted and highly regarded scholar with four books and 30 scholarly articles on her resume, Morris was most passionate about her teaching. She was demanding, but cared deeply for any student who gave an honest effort.

She is survived by a brother, two children, and grandchildren. A memorial service is tentatively planned for October in Washington, D.C. In lieu of flowers, the family requests that friends make a donation in her name to an organization of mutual interest with Cynthia.