# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program Overview</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detailed Schedule</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Sessions and Events</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Address</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstracts</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster Session Abstracts</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments and Announcements</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Political Theory of Neoliberalism  
Thomas Biebricher
CURRENCIES: NEW THINKING FOR FINANCIAL TIMES

Vendors’ Capitalism  
A Political Economy of Public Markets in Mexico City  
Ingrid Bleynat

The Spirit of French Capitalism  
Economic Theology in the Age of Enlightenment  
Charly Coleman
CURRENCIES: NEW THINKING FOR FINANCIAL TIMES

The Political Economy of Collective Action, Inequality, and Development  
William D. Ferguson

Unwitting Architect  
German Primacy and the Origins of Neoliberalism  
Julian Germann  
EMERGING FRONTIERS IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Corporate Conquests  
Business, the State, and the Origins of Ethnic Inequality in Southwest China  
C. Patterson Giersch

Bubbles and Crashes  
The Boom and Bust of Technological Innovation  
Brent Goldfarb and David A. Kirsch

Egypt’s Occupation  
Colonial Economism and the Crises of Capitalism  
Aaron G. Jakes

New World of Gain  
Europeans, Guaraní, and the Global Origins of Modern Economy  
Brian P. Owensby

History in Financial Times  
Amin Samman  
CURRENCIES: NEW THINKING FOR FINANCIAL TIMES

Empire of Guns  
The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution  
Priya Satia

The Sympathetic Consumer  
Moral Critique in Capitalist Culture  
Tad Skotnicki  
CULTURE AND ECONOMIC LIFE

PAPERBACK FORTHCOMING MAY 2022
From the Grounds Up  
Building an Export Economy in Southern Mexico  
Casey Marina Lurtz

The Engaged Scholar  
Expanding the Impact of Academic Research in Today’s World  
Andrew J. Hoffman

Permanent Revolution  
Reflections on Capitalism  
Wyatt Wells

sup.org  stanfordpress.typepad.com
Program Overview

All times are Arizona [GMT-7] time

Friday, October 29, 2021
8am-12pm ................................................. Tours
8am-12pm ................................................. EHA Board of Trustees Meeting
10am ....................................................... Poster Session Setup
10am-12pm ............................................... Job Market Workshop
12:45-5:00pm ............................................. Poster Session
1-2:30pm .................................................. Sessions 1-3
2:30-3pm ................................................ Coffee Break
3-4:30pm ................................................ Sessions 4-6
5-6:30pm ................................................ Plenary Session
7-8:30pm ................................................ Reception
8:30-10pm ................................................ Graduate Student Dinner

Saturday, October 30, 2021
6:45-8am ................................................ Historians and Teachers Breakfasts
8:30am-5:15pm ....................................... Poster Session
8:30-10am ............................................... Sessions 7-9
10-10:30am ............................................ Coffee Break
10:30-12pm ............................................... Sessions 10-12
12-1:30pm ............................................... Women’s Lunch
1:30-2:30pm ............................................ Business Meeting
2:45-4:45pm ........................................... Dissertation Session
4:45pm-5:15pm ....................................... Coffee Break
5:15pm-6:30pm ....................................... Presidential Address
6:30-7:30pm ........................................... Cocktail Reception
7:30-9:30pm ........................................... Banquet and Awards
9:45-Midnight ....................................... Presidential Party

Sunday, October 31, 2021
7-8:30am ................................................. Full Buffet Breakfast (sponsored by Global Financial Data)
8:30-10am ............................................... Sessions 13-15
10-10:30am ............................................ Coffee Break
10:30-12pm ............................................... Sessions 16-18
Noon ...................................................... Conference Ends
Detailed Schedule ▪ Friday, October 29

8:00am-12:00pm:
Tour 1 – Taste of Tucson Downtown Food Tour
✦ Meet at 8am in the Hotel Lobby

9:00am-12:00pm:
Tour 2 – Tohono Chul Botanical Garden
✦ Meet at 9am in the Hotel Lobby

10:00am-12:00pm:
Job Market Workshop
Conveners: Richard Hornbeck (University of Chicago) and Michela Giorelli (University of California, Los Angeles)
✦ Location: Turquoise I
✦ Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/81117399801

12:45-5:00pm:
Poster Session
✦ Location: Turquoise III

1:00-2:30pm:
Session 1: Early Institutional Development
Chair: Steven Nafziger (Williams College)
✦ Room: Turquoise I
✦ Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84106420405
Discussant: Noel Johnson (George Mason University)

Pier Paolo Creanza (Princeton University), “Institutions, trade and growth: the ancient case of proxenia”
Discussant: Sheilagh Ogilvie (University of Oxford)

Antonio Iodice (University of Exeter; University of Genoa), “Innovation in disguise: GA rules and institutional development in the Republic of Genoa (1590-1700)”
Discussant: Jari Eloranta (University of Helsinki)

Session 2: Historical Labor Markets
Chair: Todd Neumann (University of Arizona)
✦ Room: Turquoise II
✦ Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/85124000317
Michael Poyker (University of Nottingham), Riccardo Marchingiglio (Analysis Group), “The Economics of Gender-Specific Minimum-Wage Legislation”
Discussant: Joyce Burnette (Wabash College)

Judy Zara Stephenson (University College London), Meredith Paker (University of Oxford), Patrick Wallis (London School of Economics), “Monopsony in early modern labor markets”
Discussant: Suresh Naidu (New York University)

Discussant: Elizabeth Cascio (Dartmouth College)

Section 3: Meritocratic Reforms and Elites
Chair: Joshua Rosenbloom (Iowa State University)
✦ Room: Agave
✦ https://arizona.zoom.us/j/88133396743
Santiago Perez (University of California, Davis), Diana Moreira (University of California, Davis), “Who Benefits from Meritocracy?”
Discussant: Guo Xu (University of California, Berkeley)

Jean Lacroix (University of Paris-Saclay), Toke Aidt (University of Cambridge), Pierre-Guillaume Méon (Université Libre de Bruxelles), “The Origins of Elite Persistence: Evidence from Political Purges in post-World War II France”
Discussant: Jean Laurent Rosenthal (California Institute of Technology)

Rowena Gray (University of California, Merced), Raymond Kim (University of California, Merced), “Making a Police Officer: Police Quality After the Spoils System in the Urban U.S.”
Discussant: Rob Gillezeau (University of Victoria)

2:30-3:00pm:
Coffee Break
✦ Location: Turquoise Foyer
Detailed Schedule  ■ Friday, October 29

3:00-4:30pm:
Session 4: The Great Depression and its Legacies
Chair: Mary Rodgers (State University of New York-Oswego)
Room: Turquoise I
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/8423293186

Vellore Arthi (University of California, Irvine), Katherine Eriksson (University of California, Davis), Gary Richardson (University of California, Irvine), “Labor Market Scarring in the Very Long Run: Evidence from Large-Scale Linked Microdata”
Discussant: Katherine Shester (Washington and Lee University)
Sarah Quincy (Vanderbilt University), “Income Shocks and Housing Spillovers: Evidence from the World War I Veterans’ Bonus”
Discussant: Dan Fetter (Stanford University)
Discussant: Price Fishback (University of Arizona)

Session 5: Mortality Risk and Insurance
Chair: Walker Hanlon (Northwestern University)
Room: Turquoise II
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/82817697097

Gertjan Verdickt (KU Leuven), Gustavo Cortes (Warrington College of Business), “Did the 1918-19 Influenza Pandemic kill the US Life Insurance Industry?”
Discussant: Jonathan Rose (Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago)
Discussant: Peter Lindert (University of California, Davis)
Ezra Gabriel Goldstein (Florida State University), “The Long-Run Effect of Parental Death: Evidence from Mining Accidents”
Discussant: Erin Troland (Federal Reserve Board of Governors)

Session 6: American Slavery and its Legacies
Chair: Melinda Miller (Virginia Tech University)
Room: Agave
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/83452684655

Discussant: Gavin Wright (Stanford University)
Warren C. Whatley (University of Michigan), Nina Banks (Bucknell University), “A Nation of Laws, And Race Laws”
Discussant: Jonathan Pritchett (Tulane University)
John Majewski (University of California, Santa Barbara), “Creative Capacity in a Slave Economy: Invention and Innovation in Southern Cities before the Civil War”
Discussant: Lisa Cook (Michigan State University)

5:00-6:30pm:
Plenary Session
Room: Presidio Ballroom
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/83021712490
Chair: John Wallis (University of Maryland)
Woody Powell (Stanford University) and Robert Gibbons (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
“Rules in Organizations?! Perspectives from Economics and Sociology (and Political Science)”

8:30-10:00pm:
Graduate Student Dinner
Location: Sundance Courtyard
All graduate students are encouraged and welcome to attend.
Detailed Schedule • Saturday, October 30

6:45-8:00am:
**Historians Breakfast**
Speaker: Ranjit Dighe (State University of New York-Oswego)
“Take the Idiot Bait? How Can We Promote Historical Literacy among the Public?”
Room: Sonoran

**Teachers Breakfast**
Speaker: Anne McCants (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
“Teaching the Medieval Economy to Students Living in a Just-in-time World”
Room: Santa Rita

12:45-5:00pm:
**Poster Session**
Location: Turquoise III

8:30am-10:00am:
**Session 7: Protectionism and its Consequences**
Chair: David Mitch (UMBC)
Room: Turquoise I
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/86059766545

Stephen Redding (Princeton University), Stephan Heblich (University of Toronto), Yanos Zylberberg (University of Bristol), “Distributional Consequences of Trade: Evidence from the Corn Laws”
Discussant: Douglas Irwin (Dartmouth College)

Kris James Mitchener (Santa Clara University), Kirsten Wandschneider (University of Vienna), Kevin O’Rourke (New York University, Abu Dhabi), “The Smoot-Hawley Trade War”
Discussant: Christopher Meissner (University of California, Davis)

Vinzent Ostermeyer (Lund University), “Winners and Losers: The Asymmetric Impact of Tariff Protection on Swedish Firms in the Late 19th-Century”
Discussant: Kilian Rieder (Osterreichische Nationalbank and CEPR)

**Session 8: Agriculture, Institutions and Growth**
Room: Turquoise II
Chair: Paul Rhode (University of Michigan)
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/89852676239

Itzchak Raz (Hebrew University), “Learning is Caring: Soil Heterogeneity, Social Learning and the Formation of Close-knit Communities”
Discussant: Pat Testa (Tulane University)

Discussant: Eric Edwards (North Carolina State University)

Discussant: Dustin Frye (Vassar College)

**Session 9: Racial Segregation and the Civil Rights Movement**
Chair: Marianne Wanamaker (University of Tennessee)
Room: Agave
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84517520111

D. Mark Anderson (Montana State University), Kerwin Kofi Charles (Yale School of Medicine), Daniel I. Rees (University of Colorado, Denver), “The Federal Effort to Desegregate Southern Hospitals and the Black-White Infant Mortality Gap”
Discussant: Edson Severnini (Carnegie Mellon University)

Discussant: Daniel Aaronsen (Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago)

Andreas Ferrara (University of Pittsburgh), Marco Tabellini (Harvard University), “World War II and the Roots of the Civil Rights Movement”
Discussant: John Parman (College of William and Mary)

10:00-10:30am:
**Coffee Break**
Room: Foyer

10:30-am-12:00pm:
**Session 10: On the Importance of Institutions**
Chair: Peter Lindert (University of California, Davis)
Room: Turquoise I
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/87015310254

Deirdre McCloskey (University of Illinois, Chicago), “Institutions are Not Fundamental”
Discussant: Barry Weingast (Stanford University)

Anne McCants (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Daniel Seligson (Independent Scholar), “Nature and Culture in Economic History”
Discussant: Joel Mokyr (Northwestern University)
Lee J. Alston (Indiana University), Marie Duggan (Keene State College), Julio Ramos (Pennsylvania State University), "Spanish Missions and their Impact on Native Americans in the Southwest and California"
Discussant: Ann Carlos (University of Colorado)

Session 11: Financial Development
Chair: Christopher Meissner (University of California, Davis)
+ Room: Turquoise II
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/8456453965

Amanda Gregg (Middlebury College), Caroline Fohlin (Emory University), "Financing Industrialization in Russia and Germany"
Discussant: Matthew Jaremski (Utah State University)

Chenzi Xu (Stanford University), He Yang (Amazon), "Monetizing the Economy: National Banks and Local Economic Development"
Discussant: Mark Carlson (Federal Reserve Board of Governors)

Sasha Indarte (Wharton, University of Pennsylvania), "Bad News Bankers: Underwriter Reputation and Contagion in Pre-1914 Sovereign Debt Markets"
Discussant: Christoph Trebesch (Kiel Institute)

Session 12: Intergenerational Mobility and Assortative Mating
Chair: Simone Wegge (City University of New York)
+ Room: Agave
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/87000850415

Gregory Clark (University of California, Davis), Neil Cummins (London School of Economics), "Assortative Mating and Intergenerational Mobility, England, 1837-2020"
Discussant: Jose Espin-Sanchez (Yale University)

Jennifer Withrow (U.S. Census Bureau), "Farm Crisis and Marryable Men: Changes in Farm Tenure Mobility and Family Formation during the US Farm Crisis of the 1920s and 1930s"
Discussant: Carl Kitchens (Florida State University)

Matthew Curtis (University of California, Davis), “The heir in inheritance: marriage and mobility in Quebec 1800-1970”
Discussant: Laura Salisbury (York University)

2:45-4:45pm:
Dissertation Session
+ Room: Presidio Ballroom
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84748023695

Gerschenkron Prize
The Alexander Gerschenkron Prize is awarded for the best dissertation in the economic history of an area outside of the United States or Canada completed during the preceding year.

Chair and Convener: Steven Nafziger (Williams College)

Benjamin Milner (PhD: University of British Columbia, Current: University of Alberta)
*Essays on British Labour Markets During the Second Industrial Revolution*

Meredith Paker (PhD: University of Oxford, Current: University of Oxford)
*A Problem of Industries and Regions: Unemployment and Structural Change in Britain During the Interwar Years and 1980s*

Emiliano Travieso (PhD: University of Cambridge, Current: Carlos III University of Madrid)
*Resources, Environment, and Rural Development in Uruguay, 1779-1913*

Nevins Prize
The Allan Nevins Prize in American Economic History is awarded annually by the Economic History Association on behalf of Columbia University Press for the best dissertation in U.S. or Canadian economic history completed during the previous year.

Chair and Convener: Martha Olney (University of California, Berkeley)

Brian Marein (PhD: University of Colorado, Current: University of Toronto)
*The Economic Development of Puerto Rico after United States Annexation*

Tianyi Wang (PhD: University of Pittsburgh, Current: Princeton University)
*Technology, Media, and Political Change*

Yiling Zhao (PhD: Northwestern University, Current: Peking University)
*Essays in Economic History of American Higher Education*

12-1:30pm:
Women’s Lunch
+ Location: Poolside Lawn

1:30-2:30pm:
Business Meeting
+ Room: Presidio Ballroom
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/86501609008
## Detailed Schedule • Saturday, October 30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:45pm-5:15pm</td>
<td><strong>Coffee Break</strong></td>
<td>Turquoise Foyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15pm-6:30pm</td>
<td><strong>Presidential Address</strong></td>
<td>Presidio Ballroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Convener: Price Fishback (University of Arizona)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Presidio Ballroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zoom: <a href="https://arizona.zoom.us/j/89675997442">https://arizona.zoom.us/j/89675997442</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>EHA President: John Wallis (University of Maryland)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>An Alternative Institutional Approach to Rules, Organizations, and Development</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-7:30pm</td>
<td><strong>Cocktail Reception</strong></td>
<td>Turquoise Foyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30-9:30pm</td>
<td><strong>Banquet and Awards</strong></td>
<td>Presidio Ballroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45-Midnight</td>
<td><strong>Presidential Party</strong></td>
<td>Sundance Courtyard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Detailed Schedule • Sunday, October 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:00-8:30am</td>
<td><strong>Full Buffet Breakfast (Sponsored by Global Financial Data)</strong></td>
<td>Presidio Ballroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30-10:00am</td>
<td><strong>Session 13: Institutions and Chinese Development</strong></td>
<td>Turquoise I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: Sumner La Croix (University of Hawaii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Turquoise I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zoom: <a href="https://arizona.zoom.us/j/8815873191">https://arizona.zoom.us/j/8815873191</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Xin Nong (University of Texas, Austin), <em>Informal Succession Institutions and Autocratic Survival: Evidence from Ancient China</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Melanie Xue (London School of Economics)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuan-Hwee Sng (National University of Singapore), Jiahua Che</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(China Europe International Business School), John K.-H. Quah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Johns Hopkins University), <em>Aristocrats and Bureaucrats</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Jared Rubin (Chapman University)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beatrix Simón Yarza (University of Navarra), <em>The Changing Wheels Hypothesis. Corruption and Development: Evidence from China</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Carol Shiue (University of Colorado)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-10:30am</td>
<td><strong>Coffee Break</strong></td>
<td>Turquoise Foyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30-12:00pm</td>
<td><strong>Session 14:Origins of Innovation</strong></td>
<td>Turquoise II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: Geoff Clarke (Brandeis University)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Turquoise II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zoom: <a href="https://arizona.zoom.us/j/8537324754">https://arizona.zoom.us/j/8537324754</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shmuel San (New York University; Hebrew University), <em>Labor Supply and Directed Technical Change: Evidence from the Abrogation of the Bracero Program in 1964</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Reka Juhasz (Columbia University)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00-13:00pm</td>
<td><strong>Session 15: Violence and Coercion</strong></td>
<td>Agave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: Greg Niemesh (Miami University)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Agave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zoom: <a href="https://arizona.zoom.us/j/85103613362">https://arizona.zoom.us/j/85103613362</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Felix Poege (Max Planck Institute), <em>Competition and Innovation: The Breakup of IG Farben</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Walker Hanlon (New York University)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jinlin Wei (University of Warwick), <em>Financial development and patents during the First Industrial Revolution: England and Wales</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Elisabeth Perlman (U.S. Census Bureau)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Felix S.F. Schaff (London School of Economics), <em>Warfare and Economic Inequality: Evidence from Preindustrial Germany (c. 1400-1800)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Philip Hoffman (California Institute of Technology)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michiel De Haas (Wageningen University), Bram van Besouw (Erasmus University), <em>Coercion or adaptation? Expanding African commodity exports during the Great Depression</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Belinda Archibong (Barnard College)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saumitra Jha (Stanford University), Julia Cagé (Sciences Po), Pauline Grosjean (UNSW), <em>Heroes and Villains: The Effects of Combat Heroism on Autocratic Values and Nazi Collaboration in France</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussant: Greg Niemesh (Miami University)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00-17:00pm</td>
<td><strong>Closing Session</strong></td>
<td>Sundance Courtyard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
10:30am-12:00pm:

**Session 16: Migration and its Effects**
Chair: Bryan Stuart (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia)
+ Room: Turquoise I
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/87225417419

Gianluca Russo (University of Pompeu Fabra), Nicola Fontana (London School of Economics), Marco Manacorda (Queen Mary University), Marco Tabellini (Harvard University), “Emigration and Economic Development: Evidence from the Italian Mass Migration”
Discussant: Bryan Stuart (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia)

Vasily Rusanov (New York University), “Internal Migration and the Diffusion of Schooling in the US”
Discussant: Andreas Ferrara (University of Pittsburgh)

Alexander Persaud (University of Richmond), “The Sun Never Sets on the British Empire’s Money Orders”
Discussant: Rui Esteves (IHEID-Graduate Institute of Geneva)

**Session 17: Urbanization and Social Change**
Chair: Price Fishback (University of Arizona)
+ Room: Turquoise II
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/89892634419

Ronan Lyons (Trinity College Dublin), Alan de Bromhead (Queen’s University Belfast), “Rooted to the Soil: Social Housing and Population in Ireland since 1911”
Discussant: Cormac O’Grada (University College Dublin)

John C. Brown (Clark University), David Cuberes (Clark University), “The Birth and Persistence of Cities: First and Second Nature in Oklahoma’s Urban Development”
Discussant: Hoyt Bleakley (University of Michigan)

Eric Melander (University of Namur), “Transportation Technology, Individual Mobility and Social Mobilization”
Discussant: Dan Bogart (University of California, Irvine)

**Session 18: Technology Adoption: Causes and Consequences**
Chair: Michael Haupert (University of Wisconsin, La Crosse)
+ Room: Agave
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/82242353190

Björn Brey (University of Nottingham), “The long-run gains from the early adoption of electricity”
Discussant: Jeremy Atack (Vanderbilt University)

Michela Giorcelli (UCLA), Bo Li (Tsinghua University), “Technology Transfer and Early Industrial Development: Evidence from the Sino-Soviet Alliance”
Discussant: Richard Hornbeck (University of Chicago)

Michael Rubens (KU Leuven; UCLA), “Management, Productivity, and Technology Choices: Evidence from U.S. Mining Schools”
Discussant: Michael Andrews (UMBC)

**Conference Ends**
Special Sessions and Events

**Friday 12:45-5:00pm; Saturday 8:30am-5:15pm**

**Poster Session**

+ Location: Turquoise III

*Note: Graduate student posters will be available in Turquoise III most of the day Friday and all-day Saturday. Please visit and discuss these posters with the students. Students will be present for discussion during breaks throughout the program. Posters will not be available virtually, but we strongly encourage those attending virtually to reach out to the students below if they wish to find out more about their research. Emails for all attendees and participants will be emailed separately just before the conference begins.*

Madison Arnsbarger (University of Pittsburgh)
“High and Dry: The Origins of Women’s Labor Force Participation and Political Activism in the United States”

Sharbani Bhattacharjee (Auburn University)
“Protectionism and Industrialization in Colonial India”

Pietro Buri (Princeton University)
“Coping with Unknown Risks: The Rise of Maritime Insurance Contracts and Markets in Late Medieval Italy”

Dheeraj Chaudhary (University of Maryland)
“Railroads, Market Access, and Wealth Inequality”

Jay Dhar (University of Arizona)
“The Diffusion of Automobiles and Motortrucks on American Farms in the 20th Century: The Impact of Last-Mile Road Access and New Deal and World War II Spending”

Nathan Eisner (University of Pittsburgh)
“Rural Free Delivery and Black Agricultural Productivity”

Katherine Hauck (University of Arizona)
“An Empirical Estimation of a Structural Option Value Model of Homesteading”

Pawel Janas (Northwestern University)

Max McDevitt (Boston University)
“Between the Boardroom and Parliament: Special Legislation, Capital Investment, and Railway Directors in Parliament, 1876-1900”

Matthew Pesner (Vanderbilt University)

Juan Rojas (University of California, Los Angeles)
“Coordination Problems, Information Disclosures, and Industrial Development”

Fernanda Rojas Ampuero (University of California, Los Angeles)
“Sent Away: Long Term Effects of Forced Displacements”

Hanna Schwank (Boston University)
“Disruptive Effects of Natural Disasters: The 1906 San Francisco Fire”

Colin Sharpe (Vanderbilt University)
“Where the King’s Writ Did Not Run: Common Law and Growth in the March of Wales, 1290-1510”

Matthew Suandi (University of California, Berkeley)
“Promoting to Opportunity: Evidence and Implications from the US Submarine Service”

Friday, October 29, 10:00am-12:00pm:
**Job Market Workshop**

Conveners: Richard Hornbeck (University of Chicago) and Michela Giorcelli (University of California, Los Angeles)

+ Location: Turquoise I

Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/81117399801

This workshop is for graduate students and recent grads looking for advice and guidance for the upcoming job market. On this panel faculty will share advice for graduate students in economic history, and job market candidates in particular, and answer any questions that candidates may have.

Friday, October 29, 7:00-8:30pm:
**Reception**

+ Location: Last Territory

Everyone is welcome to attend the reception at Last Territory. It will be hosted outdoors (weather permitting) and will have hors d’oeuvres and cash bars. Please see the map below for directions from the hotel.
Friday, October 29, 5:00-6:30pm

**Plenary Session**

Chair: John Wallis (University of Maryland)

“Rules in Organizations?! Perspectives from Economics and Sociology (and Political Science)”

**Room: Presidio Ballroom**

Zoom: [https://arizona.zoom.us/j/83021712490](https://arizona.zoom.us/j/83021712490)

**Woody Powell (Stanford University)**

Woody Powell is Jacks Family Professor of Education, and (by courtesy) Sociology, Organizational Behavior, Management Science and Engineering, and Communication at Stanford University. He has been faculty co-director of the Stanford Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society since its founding in 2006, and he heads the Civic Life of Cities Lab, which studies civil society organizations in the SF Bay Area, Seattle, Shenzhen, Sydney, Taipei, and Vienna. He has served on the board of directors of the Social Science Research Council since 2000. He was an external faculty member of the Santa Fe Institute from 2001-13 and continues involvement with SFI today. His interests focus on the processes through which ideas and practices move across organizations, and the role of networks in facilitating or hindering the transfer of ideas.

**Robert Gibbons (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)**

Robert Gibbons is Sloan Distinguished Professor of Management at MIT’s Sloan School of Management and Professor in MIT’s Department of Economics. His research and teaching concern the design and performance of organized activities, especially “relational contracts” (informal agreements so rooted in the parties’ circumstances that they cannot be adjudicated by courts). Organized activities may occur within firms, between firms (e.g., supply relationships, alliances, joint ventures), or beyond firms (e.g., hospitals, schools, government agencies). He has won teaching awards in both the Sloan School and the Economics Department. With Woody Powell, he has led the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) summer institute on Organizations and their Effectiveness since 2016.
Friday, October 29, 8:30-10:00pm:
Graduate Student Dinner
✦ Location: Sundance Courtyard

All graduate students are encouraged and welcome to attend. We will have a few senior scholars to chat with you, but mostly this is an opportunity to network with one another.

Saturday, October 30, 6:45-8:00am:
Historians Breakfast
✦ Room: Sonoran
Speaker: Ranjit Dighe (State University of New York-Oswego)
“Take the Idiot Bait? How Can We Promote Historical Literacy among the Public?”

Ranjit Dighe is Professor of Economics at the State University of New York at Oswego. His specialty is American macroeconomic history, and he has written extensively on American labor markets between the world wars. He has also written extensively on the prohibition era along with historian’s guides to the Wizard of Oz and Huckleberry Finn.

Teachers Breakfast
✦ Room: Santa Rita
Speaker: Anne McCants (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
“Teaching the Medieval Economy to Students Living in a Just-in-time World”

2020 winner of the Jonathan Hughes Prize in Teaching awarded by the EHA, Anne McCants is Professor of History and Margaret MacVicar Faculty Fellow at MIT, where she directs the Concourse Program for the integration of humanistic study with the science core. She currently serves as the President of the International Economic History Association and as a co-editor for both Social Science History and The Journal of Interdisciplinary History.

Saturday, October 30, 12-1:30pm:
Women’s Lunch
✦ Location: Poolside Lawn

The Women’s Lunch will be held on the Poolside Lawn (weather permitting) in the courtyard of the hotel. Tickets are required for attendance, but they can be purchased at the registration desk or during the online registration process. This event is intended to facilitate networking and hear some of the excellent research being conducted by women in the discipline.

Saturday, October 30, 1:30-2:30pm:
Business Meeting
✦ Room: Presidio Ballroom
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/86501609008

Everyone is invited to attend to hear updates from around the academic world of economic and business history and witness the formal transition from one president to the next. Updates on the business of the Economic History Association will be given by the Executive Director, Michael Haupert (University of Wisconsin, La Crosse) and President John Wallis (University of Maryland).

Saturday, October 30, 2:45-4:45pm:
Dissertation Session
✦ Room: Presidio Ballroom
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84748023695

The six finalists for the dissertation prizes will present their dissertations in this general session. Awards will be announced at the banquet. See the abstract section for complete details on the dissertation finalists. The prizes to be awarded are the following:

Gerschenkron Prize

The Alexander Gerschenkron Prize is awarded for the best dissertation in the economic history of an area outside of the United States or Canada completed during the preceding year.

Nevins Prize

The Allan Nevins Prize in American Economic History is awarded annually by the Economic History Association on behalf of Columbia University Press for the best dissertation in U.S. or Canadian economic history completed during the previous year.

Saturday, October 30, 7:30-9:30pm:

Special Sessions and Events
Saturday, October 30, 5:15-6:30pm

Presidential Address

Convener: Price Fishback
(University of Arizona)

EHA President:
John Wallis
(University of Maryland)

An Alternative Institutional Approach to Rules, Organizations, and Development

Room: Presidio Ballroom
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/89675997442

John Wallis is the Mancur Olson Professor of Economics at the University of Maryland. John specializes in the public finance of American governments, constitutional development, and more generally on the institutional development of governments and economies. He co-authored Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History with Douglass North and Barry Weingast. The book has been translated into multiple languages and has led to a series of follow up studies published in 2013 in an edited volume, In The Shadow of Violence: Politics Economics and the Problem of Development. John is currently finishing up the sequel to the book with the working title Leviathan Denied: Rules, Organizations and Governments. He has written about a wide range of topics: New Deal funding and the organization of Congress; fiscal federalism and the growth of government; corruption; the history of state constitutions; banking regulation; state and local finances, the structure of government in the National Era from 1790 to 1860; measurement of transactions costs; institutions, rules, and norms; how periods of shrinking GDP have harmed the long term success of less developed economics; and the role of open access in economic growth. He has provided large-scale public goods by developing a database for state and local expenditures, debt, and revenue from 1787 to 1990 (with Richard Sylla and John Legler) available through IPUMS and a textual database of all of the clauses in every state constitution https://bit.ly/3kMplOM.

Professor Wallis received his PhD in economics in 1981 from the University of Washington, where his dissertation was supervised by Nobel Laureate Douglass North. After a post-doctoral fellowship at the University Chicago, he moved to the University of Maryland Department of Economics in 1983. He has been a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research since 1989 and a Research Associate at the CAGE Center at Warwick University since 2011.
Banquet and Awards
Room: Presidio Ballroom
The banquet and awards ceremony are held in the Presidio Ballroom. A plated dinner and entertainment will be provided by Sumner La Croix (University of Hawaii). All who registered for the conference are welcome to attend, and if you have any special dietary requirements, a ticket will be provided to you in your registration packet.

Awards to be Presented:
Alexander Gerschenkron Prize
For the best dissertation in economic history dealing with an area outside the United States or Canada

Allan Nevins Prize
For the best dissertation in U.S. or Canadian economic history

Arthur H. Cole Prize
For the best article published in the JEH since September of previous year

Larry Neal Prize
For the best article published in Explorations in Economic History in the previous year

Distinguished Referee Award
For Explorations in Economic History

Gyorgy Ranki Prize
For an outstanding book in European economic history

Jonathan Hughes Teaching Prize
For excellence in teaching economic history

Distinguished Referee Award
For Journal of Economic History

Lindert-Williamson Prize
For outstanding book in global, Africa, Asian, Australian, and/or South American economic history

Gallman-Parker Prize
For creating, compiling, and sharing data and information with scholars over the course of a career

Saturday, October 30, 9:45-Midnight:
Presidential Party
Sundance Courtyard
Following the conclusion of the banquet and awards ceremony, President John Wallis invites all attendees to an evening of drinks and light snacks in the Sundance Courtyard. Special thanks to the University of Maryland for sponsoring this event.

Saturday, October 30, Sunday, October 31, 7:00-8:30am:
Full Buffet Breakfast (Sponsored by Global Financial Data)
Room: Presidio Ballroom
A full buffet breakfast has been provided by Global Financial Data, an online database providing financial data across time and space. Please come and chat with representatives from Global Financial Data and enjoy a hot breakfast before the final day of sessions.

Friday-Sunday, October 29-31:
Exhibits and Book Sale
Location: Turquoise III
The book exhibit hall will be open every day until the end of the conference. Come and peruse the most recent additions to the field and chat with representatives from publishers and exhibitors. Do be sure to take part in the book raffle by writing your name on the book slip inside the front cover of books to be eligible to buy the book at the EHA discount. We will open the sale of books after lunch on Saturday, October 30. More information is provided in a handout in your registration packet.

Exhibitors Include:
Global Financial Data
Chicago University Press
Harvard University Press
Stanford University Press
Routledge
Cambridge University Press
MeasuringWorth.com
with respect to its application by the Genoese magistracies, the documentation will be tested the institutional developments and the strategies implemented capacity where rivers shift states form, and existing states expand their capacity. Second, these states raise taxes and build canals to replace river irrigation. Third, where canals are built, population stays constant or even increases. Absent canals, the population migrates away. Our results are inconsistent with theories of public good provision that emphasize private negotiation as a substitute for government.

**Pier Paolo Creanza (Princeton University), “Institutions, trade and growth: the ancient case of proxenia”**

Recent scholarship contends that ancient Mediterranean economies were able to grow intensively. A common explanation is Smithian growth spurred by reductions in transaction costs and increased trade flows. This paper argues that an ancient Greek institution, proxenia, was among the innovations that allowed such growth in the period 500-0 BCE. Proxenia entailed a Greek city-state declaring from a different city to be a ‘public friend,’ a status that conferred both duties and privileges. Arguably, the functions performed by beneficiaries of proxenia facilitated economic transactions between communities. Text, network and regression analyses confirm the economic significance of proxenia and establish a strong relation between its institutional network and trade intensity. This provides indirect evidence supporting a secular process of market expansion and Smithian growth.

**Antonio Iodice (University of Exeter; University of Genoa), “Innovation in disguise: GA rules and institutional development in the Republic of Genoa (1590-1700)”**

The aim of this paper is to investigate the development of the legislation of general average (GA) in the republic of Genoa between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Besides the institutional developments and the strategies implemented by the Genoese magistracies, the documentation will be tested with respect to its application. Special emphasis will be placed on researching the new developments in legislation between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I will combine a preliminary legal framework, given by local statutes and jurists texts, with an analysis of primary evidence that, in turn, will allow us a better understanding of the procedure.

**Abstracts ➤ Friday, October 29**

**Friday, October 29, 1:00-2:30pm:**

**Session 1: Early Institutional Development**

Chair: Steven Nafziger (Williams College)

+ Room: Turquoise I

Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84106420405


**Discussant: Noel Johnson (George Mason University)**

We estimate the effect of six river shifts in southern Iraq in a new archeological panel dataset. A shift creates a demand for government because private river irrigation needs to be replaced with public canals. We show three main results. First, where rivers shift states form, and existing states expand their capacity. Second, these states raise taxes and build canals to replace river irrigation. Third, where canals are built, population stays constant or even increases. Absent canals, the population migrates away. Our results are inconsistent with theories of public good provision that emphasize private negotiation as a substitute for government.

**Friday, October 29, 1:00-2:30pm:**

**Session 2: Historical Labor Markets**

Chair: Todd Neumann (University of Arizona)

+ Room: Turquoise II

Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/85124000317

**Michael Poyker (University of Nottingham), Riccardo Marchingilio (Analysis Group), “The Economics of Gender-Specific Minimum-Wage Legislation”**

**Discussant: Joyce Burnette (Wabash College)**

During the 1910s, twelve U.S. states passed and implemented the country’s first minimum-wage laws. They covered only female employees, often in a subset of industries. We study the impact of this regulation using full-count Census data. Our identification strategy compares county-industry trends in county-pairs that straddle state borders. We find that female employment decreased by at least 3.1% at the county-industry level. Across counties, we find that the own-wage elasticity of labor demand varies from around -1.6 to 0.8 as a function of the local cross-industry concentration. Affected female workers switch industries or drop out of the labor force. The latter channel is driven exclusively by married women. We document a rise in male labor demand, and we investigate the channels of substitutions between men and women. While on average men and women are gross substitutes, we find evidence that the margin of substitution is driven by the replacement of women in low-rank occupations with men in middle- or high-rank occupations.

**Judy Zara Stephenson (University College London), Meredith Paker (University of Oxford), Patrick Wallis (London School of Economics), “Monopsony in early modern labor markets”**

**Discussant: Suresh Naidu (New York University)**

This paper examines the phenomenon of nominal wage rigidity in London in the eighteenth century. Recent approaches in labour economics highlight the potential importance of monopsony in holding down wages for low skilled workers. Based on an unprecedented long run data set of wage payment records at two institutions in London, and shorter observations from many more, we observe a persistent and extreme long run nominal wage rigidity which calls into question systems of market and custom wage determination in this important pre-industrial period. We examine this rigidity in nominal and real terms and, using institutional archival and price series evidence, quantitatively analyse the persistence and breaks of wage bargains. This contributes to debates about the sources of monopsony, employer and labour power and the divergence of real wages and GDP per capita over decades.
Abstracts  ❖  Friday, October 29

Discussant: Elizabeth Cascio (Dartmouth College)

Drawing on individual-level data from 1911 and 1921 and census-linking techniques, we analyze the consequences of World War I in France on female labor force participation. First, we describe changes in the situation of individual women on the labor market immediately after the war, both in terms of participation and occupation. Second, we study the characteristics of working women before and after in order to understand changes in the composition of the female labor force. Third, and more importantly, we link the situations of women to the local mortality of men to investigate with an unprecedented precision the mechanisms that can explain changes in women’s labor market patterns: increased opportunities for women on the labor market, e.g. due to wartime industries, or sheer necessity, as women with less sources of income such as war widows were forced to become wage earners.

Friday, October 29, 1:00-2:30pm:
Section 3: Meritocratic Reforms and Elites
Chair: Joshua Rosenbloom (Iowa State University)
Room: Agave
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/88133396743

Santiago Perez (University of California, Davis), Diana Moreira (University of California, Davis), “Who Benefits from Meritocracy?”
Discussant: Guo Xu (University of California, Berkeley)

Does selecting individuals using competitive exams help or hurt the chances of disadvantaged children? While children from poorer backgrounds might be less prepared to excel in these exams, exams could decrease the importance of connections as well as reduce bias. We study the 1883 Pendleton Act, which introduced competitive exams for selecting certain federal employees. Using a difference-in-differences comparing workers in exempted and non-exempted positions, we find that the reform increased the representation of middle-class children. However, this increase was driven by less representation among the children of the poor, with no change among the rich. The reform brought “educated outsiders” to government jobs, but it did not help underprivileged children.

Jean Lacroix (University of Paris-Saclay), Toke Aidt (University of Cambridge), Pierre-Guillaume Méon (Université Libre de Bruxelles), “The Origins of Elite Persistence: Evidence from Political Purges in post-World War II France”
Discussant: Jean Laurent Rosenthal (California Institute of Technology)

This paper focuses on the mechanisms explaining elite persistence and more specifically, on the connections politicians may leverage on at political transitions. We document this phenomenon in post-World War II France. To purge supporters of the Vichy regime, France set up a two-level system whereby local courts, Comité départementaux de libération, and a central court, the Jury d’Honneur, systematically ruled on the case of each parliamentarian. Our empirical approach uses local courts’ decisions as a counterfactual to assess the advantage Law graduates, a historically powerful group in French politics, had before the Jury. In front of the Jury, the clearance rate of Law graduates was 8 percentage points higher than other politicians’ whereas it was 2 percentage points lower in front of local courts. An analysis of the still-classified 17,589 documents the Jury d’Honneur filed in defendants’ individual dossiers moreover points to the connections of Law graduates as a factor explaining our results.

Rowena Gray (UC Merced), Raymond Kim (University of California, Merced), “Making a Police Officer: Police Quality After the Spoils System in the Urban U.S.”
Discussant: Rob Gillezeau (University of Victoria)

This paper presents new data on the careers of men who became police officers in urban police forces across medium and large cities in the United States between 1880 and 1940. This data is drawn from the rosters of annual police reports and individuals are then matched forwards and backwards to their decennial Census records, where available. In this paper we firstly create a measure of turnover among police amid changing political regimes (changes in the mayor’s office) and assess whether turnover decreased with the advent of merit systems. We then document the extent to which those police forces were representative of the populations that they served. Finally, we explore how the background and quality of police officers changed with the introduction of civil service hiring systems across cities and years. We use information about their previous occupations and those of their fathers to inform this question. This research informs policy design, especially for developing countries today, in how to develop appropriate and effective public jobs hiring systems and ways to provide public goods.
Friday, October 29, 3:00-4:30pm:
Session 4: The Great Depression and its Legacies
Chair: Mary Rodgers (State University of New York-Oswego)
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84232931866

Vellore Arthi (University of California, Irvine), Katherine Eriksson (University of California, Davis), Gary Richardson (University of California, Irvine), “Labor Market Scarring in the Very Long Run: Evidence from Large-Scale Linked Microdata”
Discussant: Katherine Shester (Washington and Lee University)
Recessions may have long-run effects that vary across cohorts, in part because new labor market entrants may face very different constraints and scope for adaptation than incumbent workers. While recent work has focused on relatively short-term labor market scarring, much less is known about the long-run and intergenerational effects of adverse shocks around the time of labor market entry. This project contributes some of the first evidence on life-course labor market scarring by turning to a setting that is intrinsically important and allows for visibility into these issues in the very long run: the Great Depression. To do this, we generate large-scale longitudinal microdata by linking historical and restricted-use modern sources, and pair this with new, granular data on local economic conditions. This allows us to cleanly identify career-stage exposure, and to track individuals through the end of the working life, all while accounting for adaptations and strategic responses.

Sarah Quincy (Vanderbilt University), “Income Shocks and Housing Spillovers: Evidence from the World War I Veterans’ Bonus”
Discussant: Dan Fetter (Stanford University)
This paper isolates the direct and spillover effects of household income shocks on housing markets in the Great Depression. During the 1930s, the federal government unexpectedly gave World War I veterans a large income transfer. I examine the housing market consequences of this shock using longitudinal data on treated men and their next-door neighbors. The bonus, equivalent to per-capita income in 1936, substantially improved veterans’ 1940 home values and homeownership rates compared to those of their 1930 neighbors. Veterans capitalized on this payment to move up the wealth distribution even when abstracting from general equilibrium changes. Gains were concentrated in booming local economies, likely pricing out otherwise similar households. Together, these results indicate that the interaction between household shocks and neighborhood spillovers limited the overall recovery of these markets.

Friday, October 29, 3:00-4:30pm:
Session 5: Mortality Risk and Insurance
Chair: Walker Hanlon (Northwestern University)
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/82817697097

Gertjan Verdickt (KU Leuven), Gustavo Cortes (Warrington College of Business), “Did the 1918-19 Influenza Pandemic kill the US Life Insurance Industry?”
Discussant: Jonathan Rose (Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago)
We document two puzzling facts during the 1918-19 influenza outbreak. First, we find no significant differences among US life insurers’ profitability before or after 1918. Second, there are fewer insurers in distress after the outbreak. We argue that an increase in insurance demand offset higher death claim payouts. Moreover, we find that life insurers from heavily affected states were more likely to issue equity. The prudential control of state regulators also mitigated financial difficulties. The influenza pandemic, while severe from a public health perspective, was arguably a blessing in disguise for the sector.

Discussant: Price Fishback (University of Arizona)
Theory suggests that fiscal multipliers should be countercyclical – higher during periods of slack when unemployment is high and lower during boom times. However, despite the depressed conditions of the 1930s, Fishback et al. (2005) find that fiscal multipliers from the New Deal programs were fairly low or even negative. We build on their work and look at a major fiscal spending in Louisiana during the 1930s under populist governor Huey Long. We find very low multipliers at the state level, while county-level multipliers are closer to one for road spending, significantly lower than modern estimates. We identify several reasons for this in the context of historical Louisiana, including the high degree of tradability of output, the low level of human capital accumulation, and the corruption of Long rule.
Discussant: Peter Lindert (University of California, Davis)  
I study the impact of old-age assistance on mortality using the introduction of public pensions in the UK in 1909 as a quasi-natural experiment. Exploiting the newly created pension eligibility age through a difference-in-difference event-time design, I show that elderly mortality declined after the pension was introduced. The estimated mortality decline is economically relevant, more pronounced in counties with a higher treatment intensity and is driven by fewer deaths from infectious as well as non-communicable diseases. An analysis of individual level census data points to a reduction in crowding and retirement from hazardous work spaces as likely channels.

Ezra Gabriel Goldstein (Florida State University), “The Long-Run Effect of Parental Death: Evidence from Mining Accidents”  
Discussant: Erin Troland (Federal Reserve Board of Governors)  
Roughly one quarter of children currently grow up in a single-parent household in the United States. Yet little is known about the causal effect of parental absence on a child’s adulthood outcomes. In this study, I examine parental death, the most severe form of parental absence and leverage an individual-level historical dataset along with natural experiment that yields plausibly exogenous variation in parental death. Specifically, I utilize records of mining accidents in the U.S. during the early 20th century and compare the adulthood outcomes of children of fatal mining accident victims to children whose parent suffered serious, yet non-fatal accidents. Adults who experienced the death of a parent during childhood are more likely to be unemployed, less likely to work in high-skilled occupations, and earn less wage income. Subgroup analyses indicate that the results are driven by adults who experienced the loss of a parent at an early age.

Discussant: Gavin Wright (Stanford University)  
Our analysis of the economic effects of American slavery follows the thinking of Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont during their grand tour of the United States in 1831-32. We use antebellum census data to test for statistical differences at the 1860 free-slave border, where the environment is the same but the institutions differ. We find evidence of lower land values and less land use on the slave side. This does not support the view that abolition was a costly constraint for landowners. Indeed, the lower use of similar, yet cheaper, land presents a prima facie puzzle: why wouldn’t the yeomen farmers cross the border to fill up empty land in slave states, as was happening in the free states of the Old Northwest? More puzzling still is that we find evidence of higher wages on the slave side. We discuss channels of institutional spillovers associated with maintaining slavery.

Warren C. Whatley (University of Michigan), Nina Banks (Bucknell University), “A Nation of Laws, And Race Laws”  
Discussant: Jonathan Pritchett (Tulane University)  
This paper is inspired by the writings Sadie Alexander, who argued that Race Law in the United States undermined the Rule of Law. We take Rule of Law to mean the written and established laws of the land. We take Race Law to be laws that apply only to race. We review the economic history of African Americans to identify some of the social processes that can reasonably be called Race Laws. Sometimes these laws were explicit, like slave laws, Plessy v. Ferguson and redlining. Sometimes they were norms, like ‘know your place’ enforced by locally condoned mob violence. Race Laws have been decentralized, like Dewey’s Law that crowds black workers into Negro Jobs, or the decentralized racism of white flight from cities in the making of the ghetto. Progress on race relations tends to decentralize Race Laws, so detection of the impact on Rule of Law will prove challenging.
John Majewski (University of California, Santa Barbara)
“Creative Capacity in a Slave Economy: Invention and Innovation in Southern Cities before the Civil War”
Discussant: Lisa Cook (Michigan State University)

To better understand slavery’s impact on the broader southern economy, this paper measures the capacity of the southern cities before the Civil War to foster economic creativity, which I define as the ability to employ scientific, engineering, and artistic imagination to produce something that is at once novel and useful. Cities with slavery were among the largest in the nation—including Baltimore, New Orleans, and St. Louis—but had far lower patenting rates than northern cities, including recently established cities in the Midwest and California. Southern cities also had far fewer workers in highly creative occupations, and lagged especially far behind in industries such as publishing, musical instruments, and furniture that combined new technology with important elements of art and design. I find that relatively low levels of education and the inability to attract creative individuals from elsewhere limited the creative capacity of southern cities.

Stephen Redding (Princeton University), Stephan Heblich (University of Toronto), Yanos Zylberberg (University of Bristol), “Distributional Consequences of Trade: Evidence from the Corn Laws”
Discussant: Douglas Irwin (Dartmouth College)

We provide new theory and evidence on the distributional consequences of trade using the 1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws. This large-scale trade liberalization opened domestic markets to the “grain invasion” from the new world that occurred as a result of late-19th century improvements in transport technology. We make use of a newly-created, spatially-disaggregated dataset on population, employment by sector, rateable values (land and property values), and poor law (welfare transfers) disbursement for around 11,000 parishes in England and Wales from 1801-1911. We show that the repeal of the Corn Laws led to rural outmigration, increased urbanization, structural transformation away from agriculture, increases in rural poverty, and sizable changes in property values. We show that a quantitative spatial model is successful in accounting for these empirical findings, with our estimates implying substantial labor mobility. We find that the aggregate welfare gains from the Repeal of the Corn Laws entailed considerable income redistribution, not only across sectors and factors, but also across geographical regions.

Kris James Mitchener (Santa Clara University), Kirsten Wandschneider (University of Vienna), Kevin O’Rourke (New York University, Abu Dhabi), “The Smoot-Hawley Trade War”
Discussant: Christopher Meissner (University of California, Davis)

We document the outbreak of a trade war after the U.S. adopted the Smoot-Hawley tariff in June 1930. U.S. trade partners initially protested the possible implementation of the sweeping tariff legislation, with many eventually choosing to retaliate by increasing their tariffs on imports from the United States. Using a new quarterly dataset on bilateral trade for 99 countries during the interwar period, we show that US exports to countries that threatened to retaliate fell by between 15 and 22 percent and US exports to actual retaliators fell by 28-33 percent. These large decreases in trade led to substantial reductions in the welfare gains from trade for all participants. By contrast, there was no systematic impact on these countries’ exports to the US. Furthermore, using a new product-level dataset on US exports, we find that the most important US exports to retaliating markets were particularly affected, suggesting a possible mechanism whereby the US was targeted despite countries’ MFN obligations.

Vinzent Ostermeyer (Lund University), “Winners and Losers: The Asymmetric Impact of Tariff Protection on Swedish Firms in the Late 19th-Century”
Discussant: Kilian Rieder (Osterreichische Nationalbank and CEPR)

An influential literature documents that while tariffs are negatively correlated with economic growth across countries in recent decades, the correlation is positive during the late 19th-century. One potential explanation for these inconclusive results is that previous studies draw on cross-country regressions. Thereby they do not allow for the possibility that tariffs have a heterogeneous impact across firms. In contrast, this paper leverages detailed firm-level data from late 19th-century Sweden showing that a sharp increase in industrial tariffs has a heterogeneous impact across firms: Initially low-productivity firms experience a decline. To explain these results, I provide suggestive evidence that tariffs differentially shape the incentives of managers in low- and high-productive firms to innovate and (re)organize their production. Consistent with modern firm-level trade models, these results suggest that the inconclusive findings of a late 19th-century tariff-growth paradox may be driven by heterogeneous firm-level responses.
Aparna Ho
that historically, U
study the impact of early adoption of SCDs on climate resilience
Districts’ annual reports deposited at the National Archives and
I construct a new database from historical Soil Conservation
conservation and climate resilience
in natural resource management, especially in the context of soil
Evidence from Conservation Districts in the Great Plains”
Local Environmental Institutions in Climate Adaptation:
Itzchak Raz (Hebrew University), “Learning is Caring: Soil Heterogeneity, Social Learning and the Formation of Close-knit Communities”
Discussant: Pat Testa (Tulane University)
This paper studies the impact of social learning on the formation of close-knit communities. It provides empirical support to the hypothesis, put forth by the historian Fred Shannon in 1945, that local soil heterogeneity limited the ability of American farmers to learn from the experience of their neighbors, and that this contributed to their traditional individualism. Consistent with this hypothesis, I establish that historically, U.S. counties with a higher degree of soil heterogeneity displayed weaker communal ties. I provide causal evidence on the formation of this pattern in a Difference-in-Differences framework, documenting a reduction in the strength of farmers’ communal ties following migration to a soil-homogeneous county, relative to farmers that moved to a soil-homogeneous county. Using the same design, I also show that soil heterogeneity did not affect the social ties of non-farmers. The impact of soil heterogeneity is long-lasting, still affecting culture today. These findings suggest that, while understudied, social learning is an important determinant of culture.

Discussant: Eric Edwards (North Carolina State University)
This paper examines the persistent role of local institutions in natural resource management, especially in the context of soil conservation and climate resilience. After the devastating impact of 1930’s Dust Bowl in the Great Plain, the federal government started to focus on soil conservation through the creation of a new local institution named Soil Conservation District (SCD). I construct a new database from historical Soil Conservation Districts’ annual reports deposited at the National Archives and study the impact of early adoption of SCDs on climate resilience. Using a novel identification strategy that relies on exogenous variation in patterns of government conservation funding allocation and conservation information dissemination process, I find sizable effects of conservation institutions in the mid-20th century on per-acre crop yield. With the help of prediction-based statistical learning method, I shed light on the positive correlation of later structural and non-structural conservation practices to the early spatial variation of conservation practices.

Discussant: Dustin Frye (Vassar College)
The allotment of reservations under the Dawes Act has been extensively written about and studied—often with a focus on the long-term effects. However, there is a fair degree of uncertainty about process by which land was allotted, how and when individuals received titles in fee, and how land was transferred from Native ownership. Our goal in this project is to improve our understanding of the dynamics of allotment and its impact on individuals as the process was occurring by focusing on the Pine Ridge Reservation, which is located in South Dakota. To do this, we have digitized and geocoded land, banking, and reservation-level census records for 8000 individuals on the Pine Ridge Reservation from 1904 to 1934. We use this data to develop several stylized facts that can deepen our understanding of the allotment process and give new insight into the dynamics of indigenous land loss.

D. Mark Anderson (Montana State University), Kerwin Kofi Charles (Yale School of Medicine), Daniel I. Rees (University of Colorado, Denver), “The Federal Effort to Desegregate Southern Hospitals and the Black-White Infant Mortality Gap”
Discussant: Edson Severnini (Carnegie Mellon University)
In 1966, Southern hospitals were barred from participating in the Medicare program unless they discontinued their long-standing practice of racial segregation. Using data from five Deep South states and exploiting county-level variation in Medicare certification dates, we find that gaining access to an ostensibly integrated hospital had no effect on the Black-White infant mortality gap, although it may have discouraged small numbers of Black mothers from giving birth at home attended by a midwife. These results are consistent with descriptions of the federal hospital desegregation campaign as producing only cosmetic changes and illustrate the limits of anti-discrimination policies imposed upon reluctant actors.

Discussant: Dan Aaronson (Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago)

We link newly-digitized personnel records of the U.S. government for 1907-1921 to census data to study the segregation of the civil service by race under President Woodrow Wilson. Using a difference-in-differences design around Wilson’s inauguration, we find that the introduction of employment segregation increased the black-white earnings gap by eight percentage points. This increasing gap is driven by a reallocation of existing black civil servants to lower paid positions, lowering their returns to education. Importantly, the negative effects extend beyond Wilson’s presidency. Using census data for 1900-1940, we show that segregation caused a relative decline in the home ownership rate of black civil servants. Moreover, by comparing children of black and white civil servants in adulthood, we provide evidence that descendants of black civil servants who were exposed to Wilson’s presidency exhibit lower levels of education, earnings, and social mobility.

Andreas Ferrara (University of Pittsburgh), Marco Tabellini (Harvard University), “World War II and the Roots of the Civil Rights Movement”

Discussant: John Parman (College of William and Mary)

The effects of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts on Black Americans have been studied extensively, but an open question is what spurred the Civil Rights Movement in the second half of the century and that gave rise to the passing of these laws in the first place. Using military records to construct Black and white World War II draft rates at the county level, we show that areas with higher Black participation in the war saw increased political activism by Blacks after the war including protests and sit-ins. We also show that this activism had a significant impact on vote outcomes in presidential elections and that Congressmen from districts with more Black veterans were more likely to vote for the different Civil Rights bills. The veteran effect dominates competing explanations such as migration and occupational upgrading of Blacks at the time.

Deirdre McCloskey (University of Illinois, Chicago), “Institutions are Not Fundamental”

Discussant: Barry Weingast (Stanford University)

Neo-institutionalism says it is new, but is not. Economic history has been in this business, always. And it says it is obvious, but is not. “Institution” has a baggy definition, tempting its advocates to tautology. And it mixes up necessary with sufficient causes in economic history. The Master Narrative of neo-institutionalism is that we had bad institution’s that made us poor. The narrative does not pass a historical or economic tests. We once had bad, illiberal ideas: that was the elemental problem, evident in some places still. Institutions are at best molecules – the atoms are moral sentiments. We need an “ideational,” not institutional, economic history, illustrated with the history of sharecropping, financial development, slavery, investment, and above all the Great Enrichment after 1800.

Anne McCants (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Daniel Seligson (Independent Scholar), “Nature and Culture in Economic History”

Discussant: Joel Mokyr (Northwestern University)

The central question of economic history is why are some nations so prosperous while others remain poor. Several thousand years of scholarly inquiry into this question have pointed to climate and culture as key explanations, but both have more recently been rejected by New Institutional Economics in favor of institutions as the rules of the game. This paper surveys the way historians understand institutions—as the costly building blocks of society subject to change and decay—with particular emphasis on how that differs from the NIE’s understanding of institutions as rules. In its place, it proposes a new time-dependent or dynamical theory of the coevolution and decay of institutions and the economy, from which we construct an optimally compact model of development that explains all but 13% of its observed variance. That model’s independent variables are dominated by aspects of nature and culture. Contrary to the claims of the NIE, nature and culture are an essential part of the story of human flourishing.
Abstracts ❖ Saturday, October 30

Lee J. Alston (Indiana University), Marie Duggan (Keene State College), Julio Ramos (Pennsylvania State University), “Spanish Missions and their Impact on Native Americans in the Southwest and California”
Discussant: Ann Carlos (University of Colorado)
The Spanish missions in the present-day states of Arizona, California and New Mexico had presence of over two centuries in some cases. Missions are an organization in the North/Wallis/Weingast tradition and were funded by the Spanish crown. The missionaries had multiple goals, first and foremost conversion. But they also engaged in education, and health activities. We will assess the impacts from the missions at the superintendency level for the early 20th century and at the reservation level for the 21st century. Our preliminary results for 1911-1917 indicate that the missions increased: Catholicism; the number of churches; English; school attendance; reduced number of minors working; and the number of deaths due to tuberculosis. The magnitudes matter: superintendencies with mission contact compared to those without contact had 95% more Catholics, twice as English-speaking individuals, twice as many children attending school and 34% fewer working minors.

Saturday, October 30, 10:30-am-12:00pm:
Session 11: Financial Development
Chair: Christopher Meissner (University of California, Davis)
° Room: Turquoise II
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/84565453965

Amanda Gregg (Middlebury College), Caroline Fohlin (Emory University), “Financing Industrialization in Russia and Germany”
Discussant: Matthew Jaremski (Utah State University)
A large literature debates what system best promotes the accumulation and allocation of capital, especially in late-industrializing countries, where capital market imperfections may be severe. Russia and Germany serve as classic cases to argue that developing economies may successfully employ unusual strategies to promote industrialization, for example an outsized role for banks or state intervention. Law and finance analysis, moreover, attributes financial system differences to variation in legal systems. We present new evidence comparing Russian and German corporate performance and financial strategies based on firm-level microdata from Russian and German sources around turn of the twentieth century and compare key stipulations of corporate law and their implementation. Contrary to the standard economic backwardness and law and finance literatures we argue that corporations in both countries used similar strategies to finance operations and expansion but that entry restrictions fundamentally distorted patterns of corporate governance and finance in Russia.

Chenzi Xu (Stanford University), He Yang (Amazon), “Monetizing the Economy: National Banks and Local Economic Development”
Discussant: Mark Carlson (Federal Reserve Board of Governors)
We use a historical laboratory to show that banks impact real economic activity through the liabilities side of their balance sheet, where safer liabilities provide better monetary services. The United States National Banking Act of 1864 was enacted when the circulating money supply primarily consisted of privately issued bank notes. The Act required “national banks” to fully back their bank note liabilities with federal bonds, thereby creating a new and stable currency, which reduced transactions costs and facilitated trade. National banks also faced regulatory capital requirements defined by town population cutoffs. Using the discontinuity in the capital requirement as an instrument for national bank entry, we find that the composition of agricultural production shifted from non-traded crops to traded crops while total production was unaffected. Moreover, trade activity proxied by employment in trade-related professions and businesses engaged in trade grew. National banks also led to significant manufacturing output growth that was primarily driven by sourcing more inputs.

Discussant: Christoph Trebesch (Kiel Institute)
This paper uses new bond-level data on sovereign borrowing and defaults during 1869-1914 to quantify a reputation-based channel of contagion via shared financial intermediaries. Concerns over reputation incentivized Britain’s merchant banks, who underwrote sovereign bonds, to monitor, advise, and occasionally bail out sovereigns. Default signaled to investors that a merchant bank was not as willing or able to write and support quality issues, indicating that its other bonds may underperform in the future. Consistent with reputation-based contagion, I find that comovement between defaulting and non-defaulting bonds is six times larger when the bonds share an underwriter. To isolate the causal effect of a shared underwriter, I exploit within-country variation in bonds’ underwriters. Testing predictions from a dynamic game that models underwriter reputation formation, I find further evidence supporting reputation as the mechanism, as opposed to alternative explanations. These findings highlight that the reputation of intermediaries that monitor and intervene in crises can be a powerful source of contagion unrelated to a borrower’s fundamentals.
Gregory Clark (University of California, Davis), Neil Cummins (London School of Economics), “Assortative Mating and Intergenerational Mobility, England, 1837-2020”

It is assumed that marital assortment in social status increased in recent years as women acquired formal education and occupations. This would increase social inequalities and reduce social mobility rates. We show how to estimate the underlying degree of assortment in marriage using the occupational status and literacy of grooms and brides, and their fathers and fathers-in-law. England has copious data on this, through marriage registers 1837-2020, 1.6 million of which we have assembled. We find the underlying correlation of occupational status for spouses was high (0.8) from 1837 to 2020. It did not increase with the introduction of mass public education, and enhanced female educational opportunities, and shows signs of declining. A high degree of assortment in earlier years in England would produce a society rich in terms of “upper tail human capital” and provide another potential explanation of the timing and location of the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

Jennifer Withrow (U.S. Census Bureau), “Farm Crisis and Marriageable Men: Changes in Farm Tenure Mobility and Family Formation during the US Farm Crisis of the 1920s and 1930s”

This paper evaluates how the U.S. farm crisis of the 1920s and 1930s undermined the traditional farm family by inhibiting movement up the farm tenure ladder from wage worker to tenant owner. I exploit the geographical variation in the severity of the crisis, defined by dramatic drops in farm commodity prices, and use a shift-share instrument to measure how women responded to reduced farm family economic mobility through adjusted marriage rates, fertility, and off-farm labor force participation. I focus on regional and racial differences in tenure mobility that created heterogenous outcomes between white and Black women and on the interplay among the labor, marriage, and land markets as farm men’s “marriageability” fell. I find that white women were more likely to adjust their marriage behavior as a result of the crisis, whereas Black women, whose access to tenure mobility was already greatly inhibited by racism, had less significant responses.

Matthew Curtis (University of California, Davis), “The her in inheritance: marriage and mobility in Quebec 1800-1970”

Discussant: Laura Salisbury (York University)

When did spouses begin to strongly match on economic ability? Many believe it is a modern development, a consequence of rising female employment and education levels. Using a large new dataset from Quebec, I find that marriage in Quebec was highly assortative as far back as the early nineteenth century. Moreover, assortment was not merely matching between similar families, but instead depended on the human capital of both men and women as individuals. Finally, I show that the abilities of women mattered as much as that of their husbands for the outcomes of their children.

Benjamin Milner (PhD: University of British Columbia, Current: University of Alberta)

Essays on British Labour Markets During the Second Industrial Revolution

This thesis examines British labour markets and the role of human capital during the Second Industrial Revolution. The first chapter studies the introduction of public schools in England and Wales in 1870. I utilize a rule-generated kink in treatment probability to demonstrate that public schools greatly increased the quality of occupations obtained by the treated. Linked census data is then used to show that by specifically targeting poorer children, public schools significantly improved equality of opportunity. The second chapter studies a novel and under-researched child labour law – the 1860 Mining Act. I find that this Act increased education among the children of miners, which in turn effectively insured them against mining downturns in adulthood. The third chapter explores the effects of conflict, finding that communities with high First World War death rates experienced decreased poverty and increased employment post-war, although these effects varied considerably by gender.
Meredith Paker (PhD: University of Oxford, Current: University of Oxford)

**A Problem of Industries and Regions: Unemployment and Structural Change in Britain During the Interwar Years and 1980s**

The most serious employment crises in twentieth-century Britain occurred during the interwar years and the early 1980s, when, in both cases, the unemployment rate reached over 10% in aggregate and remained high for many years. Both downturns also coincided with periods of structural change in the economy: in the interwar years, export-oriented heavy industries lost out to light manufacturing industries, and, during the early 1980s, the decline of manufacturing accelerated as the economy pivoted towards services and finance. How did structural change affect these employment downturns, and what were the consequences for workers and the labor market? Using newly-digitized industry microdata and econometric methods, I find that in both periods, secular structural change contributed significantly to, and was amplified by, the cyclical downturn. This interaction caused the impact of the interwar and early 1980s recessions to vary across industries, regions, gender, and demographic groups, with some workers experiencing persistent disadvantage.

Emiliano Travieso (PhD: University of Cambridge, Current: Carlos III University of Madrid)

**Resources, Environment, and Rural Development in Uruguay, 1779-1913**

I examine rural development in nineteenth-century Uruguay with a combination of methods to accommodate the diversity of primary sources. This period saw the transformation of an agrarian economy in which landholding was flexible and slavery widespread into one where access to land was restricted to those who could buy it and all extra-familiar labour was paid in wages. Agricultural techniques, however, proved remarkably stable: despite a few technical innovations for which latifundia were neither an obstacle nor a necessity, the country with the most cattle per person in the world (then as now) continued to draw its comparative advantage from the ecological services of its grassland environment. This contradiction between changing institutions and persistent patterns of landscape use is crucial to understand how Uruguay became relatively rich by 1913 and why it fell into a long divergent siesta afterwards, but it may also help us think about economy-environment interactions elsewhere.

Brian Marein (PhD: University of Colorado, Current: University of Toronto)

**The Economic Development of Puerto Rico after United States Annexation**

This dissertation reexamines the economic development of Puerto Rico after annexation by the United States in 1898, a watershed moment in Puerto Rico’s history and a central theme in current debates about its political status. I compare living conditions across Spanish and US rule in four chapters exploring complementary aspects of development: public health and the mortality transition, colonial roads and local development, changes in adult height, and long-run patterns in regional growth. Local health departments reduced infant and tuberculosis mortality during Puerto Rico’s early and rapid mortality transition, and living standards more generally improved as reflected by impressive growth in the height of males born between 1890 and 1940. Large-scale roadbuilding failed to reduce regional economic disparities, as areas near roads built under Spanish rule (and with more favorable geography) became relatively more prosperous. Urbanization began around 1900, decades earlier than generally believed and before most of the Circum-Caribbean.

Tianyi Wang (PhD: University of Pittsburgh, Current: Princeton University)

**Technology, Media, and Political Change**

This dissertation studies the political and economic impacts of the media and information technologies in American history. The first chapter examines the political effects of the electric telegraph in the mid-19th century America. Exploiting unique data on the expansion of the telegraph network, I find that the telegraph led to greater national news coverage in newspapers and increased voter turnout. The second chapter investigates the impacts of the first populist radio personality in American history, Father Charles Coughlin, who blended populist demagoguery, anti-Semitism, and fascist sympathies to attract thirty million weekly listeners in the 1930s. I find that exposure to Coughlin’s broadcasts influenced voting in national elections as well as public sentiment concerning WWII and anti-Semitism. The third chapter assembles a novel dataset to examine the role of Black radio in the civil rights movement. I find that Black radio facilitated Black political participation and empowerment in the South during the early 1960s.
Yiling Zhao (PhD: Northwestern University, Current: Peking University)
*Essays in Economic History of American Higher Education*

My dissertation contains three chapters studying the evolution of the American higher education landscape, the different forces that shaped their organization, and how they, in turn, influenced human capital accumulation. The first chapter documents the near-universal denominational roots of 19th-century colleges and shows that religious diversity facilitated greater enthusiasm to build colleges through gains from differentiation. The second chapter looks at Home Economics, a college major developed in the context of the prevailing germ theory and designed as a feminine parallel to agriculture studies at land-grant universities. The institutional setup leads to a positive relationship between home economics and women’s enrollment in science majors in the early twentieth century. Finally, the third chapter explores how university hierarchy influences college major choices. I found that the percentage of women earning computer science degrees decreased when the computer science department moved from colleges of liberal arts and sciences to engineering schools.

Xin Nong (University of Texas, Austin), “Informal Succession Institutions and Autocratic Survival: Evidence from Ancient China”

Discussant: Melanie Xue (London School of Economics)

**First,** the norm of primogeniture promotes political stability for two reasons. First, it reduces uncertainty after the demise of the incumbent and provides the elite assurance that their loyalty will be rewarded in the long run. Second, the norm of primogeniture has normative factors that can constraint and shape the behavior and interests of the actors. Using a new dataset covering 357 monarchs in 17 states in ancient China during the Spring-Autumn and Warring States (771-221 BCE) eras, I find that the norm of primogeniture reduces a monarch’s risk of being deposed by the domestic elite. Furthermore, I show that a similar pattern persists in today’s autocracies.

Tuan-Hwee Sng (National University of Singapore), Jiahua Che (China Europe International Business School), John K.-H. Quah (Johns Hopkins University), “Aristocrats and Bureaucrats”

Discussant: Jared Rubin (Chapman University)

We study the use of aristocrats as administrators in historical societies and their eventual replacement by an impersonal bureaucracy. We argue that in a world with poor technology to identify individuals of high ability, it is advantageous for a regime to employ aristocrats in administration because “tenured” aristocrats have a strong stake in the regime’s survival. The advent of an effective technology to nurture or spot talent among commoners does not necessarily lead to greater representation of bureaucrats in government, because the improved calibre of bureaucrats would improve regime survival and make aristocrats more loyal. The usefulness of aristocrats is also influenced by the size of the ruler’s domain and the nature of war and transportation technologies. We use our theoretical framework to shed light on variations in the transition from aristocracy to bureaucracy across historical societies, including China, Europe, and Japan.


Discussant: Carol Shiue (University of Colorado)

China’s recent economic history poses several dilemmas when considering its low institutional development at the beginning of the reform era. Economic growth, along with rising corruption, challenges the widespread sanding wheels view of corruption. The lack of a general theory linking corruption and development prevents us from disentangling China’s paradox. This paper fills in this gap by providing the changing wheels hypothesis, which conceptualizes the relationship between corruption and growth from an institutional perspective. This theory not only reconciles previous conflicting findings on corruption but explains the role of corruption in the process of China’s recent development. By using the case-study method, I show that Chinese decentralized corruption during the eighties played a key role from an institutional perspective. The institutions I revise are the household responsibility system (1978-1984), the red hat strategy (1980-2002), and the dual-track system (1984-2000). Next, I reinterpret the effect of China’s current elite corruption on growth.
Jinlin Wei (University of Warwick), “Financial development and patents during the First Industrial Revolution: England and Wales”

Discussant: Elisabeth Perlman (U.S. Census Bureau)

What are the causes of innovation during the Industrial Revolution? This paper provides new evidence on how access to financial services affected innovation. I examine England and Wales between 1750 and 1825, where technological breakthroughs took place and led to the beginnings of sustained growth. Using an instrumental variable constructed by interacting a dummy of historical post towns status with the linear variable year, I find that better banking access stimulates innovation, and the effects are driven by patents acquired by people in the manufacturing sector. I plan to test whether better banking access affected innovation by increasing the number of firms in the manufacturing sector.

Felix Poege (Max Planck Institute), “Competition and Innovation: The Breakup of IG Farben”

Discussant: Walker Hanlon (New York University)

The effect of competition on innovation is hard to study causally. I exploit a large, externally motivated breakup in the German chemical industry that resembles a government-mandated reversal of a 4:1 merger. In the early 1950s, the Western Allies occupying Germany dissolved and restructured one of the world’s largest chemical companies, the IG Farben, along the three occupation zones. The breakup was imposed as a consequence of IG Farben’s importance for the German war economy. In innovation space, I compute the industry’s exposure to the eventual breakup in the pre-period. Patenting in affected technology areas strongly increased. I leverage fine-grained product-level information on suppliers and prices to analyze effects in product space. The breakup induced long-run product-level competition between the successor companies. Prices in affected product areas experienced moderate declines. At the same time, it led to the crowding in of additional suppliers.

Sunday, October 31, 8:30-10:00am:
Session 14: Origins of Innovation
Chair: Geoff Clarke (Brandeis University)
Room: Turquoise II
Zoom: https://arizona.zoom.us/j/85373247544


Discussant: Reka Juhasz (Columbia University)

Does emigration affect economic development? We study this question in the context of the Italian mass emigration between 1884 and 1913, when twelve million Italians left the country. We assemble a unique dataset at the municipality level, linking cumulative emigration rates to a number of indicators of economic development throughout the twentieth century. Exploiting variation in the availability of information about the potential gains from migration before the start of mass migration, we construct an instrumental variable for the total emigration rate. Results indicate that while instrumented cumulative emigration was balanced on population before the start of mass migration, it had a negative, large, and highly persistent effect on short and long run population. Historical mass emigration also reduced educational attainment, income per capita and other proxies of economic development in the long run. Further, we show that emigration favored the expansion of the agricultural sector, at the expense of manufacturing. We speculate that selective emigration was a key mechanism behind our results.

Felix Poege (Max Planck Institute), “Competition and Innovation: The Breakup of IG Farben”

Discussant: Walker Hanlon (New York University)

The effect of competition on innovation is hard to study causally. I exploit a large, externally motivated breakup in the German chemical industry that resembles a government-mandated reversal of a 4:1 merger. In the early 1950s, the Western Allies occupying Germany dissolved and restructured one of the world’s largest chemical companies, the IG Farben, along the three occupation zones. The breakup was imposed as a consequence of IG Farben’s importance for the German war economy. In innovation space, I compute the industry’s exposure to the eventual breakup in the pre-period. Patenting in affected technology areas strongly increased. I leverage fine-grained product-level information on suppliers and prices to analyze effects in product space. The breakup induced long-run product-level competition between the successor companies. Prices in affected product areas experienced moderate declines. At the same time, it led to the crowding in of additional suppliers.
Michiel De Haas (Wageningen University), Bram van Besouw (Erasmus University), “Coercion or adaptation? Expanding African commodity exports during the Great Depression”

Discussant: Belinda Archibong (Barnard College)

Although terms of trade for African export producers declined rapidly during the Great Depression, export volumes increased sharply in many regions. In this paper, we study two contrasting explanations for this paradox: i) increased colonial coercion, also causing heightened social distress, ii) voluntary export expansion in response to price decreases. We use annual, district-level variation in British colonial imprisonment and detailed trade statistics, disaggregated for a large set of export commodities, to investigate the consequences of export expansion. Our first results indicate that export expansion was generally accompanied by spikes in imprisonment, suggesting heightened colonial coercion as main driver.

Saumitra Jha (Stanford University), Julia Cagé (Sciences Po), Pauline Grosjean (UNSW), “Heroes and Villains: The Effects of Combat Heroism on Autocratic Values and Nazi Collaboration in France”

Discussant: Greg Niemesh (Miami University)

Can heroes legitimize strongly-proscribed and repugnant political behaviors? We exploit the purposefully arbitrary rotation of French regiments to measure the legitimizing effects of heroic credentials. 53% of French line regiments happened to rotate under a specific general, Philippe P’etain, during the pivotal WWI battle of Verdun (1916). Using recently-declassified intelligence data on 95,314 individuals, we find the home municipalities of regiments serving under P’etain at Verdun raised 7% more Nazi collaborators during the P’etain-led Vichy regime (1940-44). The effects are similar across joining Fascist parties, German forces, paramilitaries that hunted Jews and the Resistance, and collaborating economically. These municipalities also increasingly voted for right-wing parties between the wars. The voting effects persist after WWII, becoming particularly salient during social crises. We argue these results reflect the complementary role of the heroes of Verdun in legitimizing and diffusing the authoritarian values of their former leader.

Gianluca Russo (University of Pompeu Fabra), Nicola Fontana (London School of Economics), Marco Manacorda (Queen Mary University) Marco Tabellini (Harvard University), “Emigration and Economic Development: Evidence from the Italian Mass Migration”

Discussant: Bryan Stuart (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia)

Does emigration affect economic development? We study this question in the context of the Italian mass emigration between 1884 and 1913, when twelve million Italians left the country. We assemble a unique dataset at the municipality level, linking cumulative emigration rates to a number of indicators of economic development throughout the twentieth century. Exploiting variation in the availability of information about the potential gains from migration before the start of mass migration, we construct an instrumental variable for the total emigration rate. Results indicate that while instrumented cumulative emigration was balanced on population before the start of mass emigration, it had a negative, large, and highly persistent effect on short and long run population. Historical mass emigration also reduced educational attainment, income per capita and other proxies of economic development in the long run. Further, we show that emigration favored the expansion of the agricultural sector, at the expense of manufacturing. We speculate that selective emigration was a key mechanism behind our results.

Vasily Rusanov (New York University), “Internal Migration and the Diffusion of Schooling in the US”

Discussant: Andreas Ferrara (University of Pittsburgh)

This paper studies the role of internal migrants in the spread of schools over the United States in the second half of the 19th century. I find that counties had higher school enrollment rates for the local population if they received migrants from more educated states. This finding emphasizes the role of internal migrants in the diffusion of education across newly-settled states, explaining inequality in school enrollments through the background composition of settlers. To explore the mechanism, I use a novel dataset (the Census of Social Statistics) with a detailed description of school finances. I show that a likely channel was the increase in public spending on schools, which significantly reduced the costs of enrollment. To deal with the migrants’ selection of destinations based on the local level of schooling, I use a new instrumental variable: the similarity in potential yields between the origins and the destinations.
Alexander Persaud (University of Richmond), “The Sun Never Sets on the British Empire’s Money Orders”
Discussant: Rui Esteves (IHEID-Graduate Institute of Geneva)

Millions of people migrated in the Global South during the first wave of globalization, but the large amounts of remittances that they sent home are largely understudied. Who sent them? Why? I utilize unique microdata and the institutional arrangement of Indian indentureship in Trinidad in the 1880s to address both. I show that upper-caste individuals were more likely to remit and sent more during and just after indentureship. Furthermore, time exacerbated this trend: while other castes appear to have lost ties with India, upper caste connections, proxied by remittances, remained the strongest over time. Higher return migration by upper castes may have motivated this behavior, which points to the strength of caste ties across locations.

Ronan Lyons (Trinity College Dublin), Alan de Bromhead (Queen’s University Belfast), “Rooted to the Soil: Social Housing and Population in Ireland since 1911”
Discussant: Cormac O’Grada (University College Dublin)

Ireland is one of the least urbanised high-income countries in the world, despite its exports being concentrated in activities prone to clustering. We examine one factor that may have contributed to this, the introduction of rural social housing by the UK government prior to Ireland’s independence. We exploit detailed data on the location of 50,000 heavily subsidised cottages built for agricultural labourers 1883-1916, in 200 districts across Ireland. We find sizeable effects of the intensity of treatment on subsequent population growth. These findings are robust to the inclusion of a wide array of controls. A causal interpretation is supported by the total absence of pre-trends, zero results from a placebo test and IV analysis exploiting the combination of a 1906 legislative change and the outbreak of WWI. A 1-SD increase in cottages built is associated with 17 percentage points more growth, in a setting where the median district shrunk 19% 1911-2002.

John C. Brown (Clark University), David Cuberes (Clark University), “The Birth and Persistence of Cities: First and Second Nature in Oklahoma’s Urban Development”
Discussant: Hoyt Bleakley (University of Michigan)

This paper enlists three natural experiments to examine the influence of first- and second-nature forces on the process of city formation in Oklahoma from 1890 through 1940. The rapid settlement of 7.6 thousand square kilometers of previously unoccupied land in 1889 allows for clean estimation of the importance of first nature for explaining the spatial pattern of initial settlement. Persistence or second-nature forces dominate in explaining population growth over the first decade of settlement to 1910. The second experiment is the oil boom of 1900 to 1940, which altered the productivity potential of many locations in Oklahoma. Oil shocks increased population in those areas most profoundly affected and had a stronger long-run impact in areas with a higher initial population. The third experiment is the adverse impact of erosion in the 1930s, which reduced town population by 10 percent on average.

Eric Melander (University of Namur), “Transportation Technology, Individual Mobility and Social Mobilization”
Discussant: Dan Bogart (University of California, Irvine)

Between 1881 and 1910, Swedish society underwent two transformative developments: the large-scale roll-out of a national railway network and the nascence of grassroots social movements which came to dominate economic, social and political spheres well into the twentieth century. Using exogenous variation in railway access arising from initial plans for the network, I show that well-connected municipalities were more likely to host a local movement and saw more rapid membership growth and a greater number of distinct organisations. The mobility of individuals is a key mechanism: results are driven by passenger arrivals into connected municipalities, not freight arrivals. I implement a market access framework to show that, by reducing least-cost distances between municipalities, railways intensified the influence exerted by neighbouring concentrations of membership, thereby enabling social movement spread. Subsequently – in Sweden’s first election with universal male suffrage in 1911 – municipalities with greater social movement mobilisation exhibited higher turnout and Social Democrat vote shares.
**Sunday, October 31, 10:30am-12:00pm:**
**Session 18: Technology Adoption: Causes and Consequences**
Chair: Michael Haupert (University of Wisconsin, La Crosse)

- **Room:** Agave
- **Zoom:** https://arizona.zoom.us/j/82242353190

**Björn Brey (University of Nottingham), “The long-run gains from the early adoption of electricity”**
**Discussant: Jeremy Atack (Vanderbilt University)**

This paper explores the effect of the early adoption of technology on local economic development. While timing and intensity of technology adoption are key drivers of economic divergence across countries, the initial impact of new technologies within advanced countries has been incredibly illusive. Resolving this puzzle, this paper documents that the early adoption of electricity across Switzerland was conducive to local economic development not just in the short-run, but also in the long-run. Exploiting exogenous variation in the potential to produce electricity from waterpower, this paper finds that electricity adoption at the end of the 19th century led to local differences in structural transformation. However, despite access to electricity becoming quickly universal in the early 20th century, due to the expansion of the electricity grid, economic development did not converge across areas. Instead, areas which adopted electricity early continue to be more industrialized and have higher incomes today. In particular, the geographical distribution of the newly emerging and innovative chemical industry was shaped by early electricity adoption, while employment gains through the building and operation of new power plants themselves were mostly short-lived. The main mechanism through which differences in economic development persist in the long-run is through increased human capital accumulation and innovation, rather than persistent differences in the way electricity is used.

**Michela Giorcelli (UCLA), Bo Li (Tsinghua University), “Technology Transfer and Early Industrial Development: Evidence from the Sino-Soviet Alliance”**
**Discussant: Richard Hornbeck (University of Chicago)**

This paper studies the effects of international technology transfer on early industrial development, using evidence from the Sino-Soviet Alliance. In the 1950s, the Soviet Union supported 156 technology transfer projects in China, that involved the construction of large capital-intensive plants in heavy industries, the transfer of state-of-the-art Soviet machinery and equipment, and technical assistance and know-how diffusion from Soviet engineers to the Chinese counterpart. To estimate the causal effect of the program we exploit that, due to unanticipated political tensions, some projects were built as planned (treated projects), while others were eventually realized by China only without any Soviet technology or assistance (comparison projects). We find that: 1) treated plants had better performance that comparison; 2) Soviet technical assistance diffused industry-specific knowledge through the training of Chinese engineers that further increased plant outcomes; 3) the program generated local horizontal and vertical spillovers.

**Michael Rubens (KU Leuven; UCLA), “Management, Productivity, and Technology Choices: Evidence from U.S. Mining Schools”**
**Discussant: Michael Andrews (UMBC)**

I propose a view of managers as shifters of technology adoption. Using a historical case study, I examine how the first entry of mining college graduates into management positions in Pennsylvanian coal mines affected technological change and productivity growth. I find that mining college graduates had no direct effects on mine productivity in a Hicks-neutral or factor-biased way. They did, however, increase productivity indirectly by 5.2 percent per year by lowering the fixed cost of the most efficient new coal hauling technology, electrical locomotives.
BALTIC CONNECTIONS: A CONFERENCE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY

June 16–17, 2022, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

The Baltic Connections 2022 will take place at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, from June 16 to 17. As with the earlier conferences in Helsinki and Jyväskylä, we bring together scholars working on comparative, economic, social, and global history and related social sciences to address “East-West” historical processes and events as well as comparative and transnational analysis, including at the Baltic Sea Region, Europe, and the world. Potential topics include trade, migration, comparative development, international political economy, and the diffusion and transplantation of institutions, ideas, and cultural influences. Moreover, we want to promote interdisciplinary encounters with the goal of bringing together scholars working in Western, Nordic, Central, and Eastern European universities.

The third Riitta Hjerppe Lecture in Social Science History will be given by Anne E.C. McCants (MIT). Further solid keynotes will be delivered by Per Högselius (KTH Royal Institute of Technology) and Sakari Saaritsa (University of Helsinki). The conference week is packed with events for historians: Gender & Economy Summer School (June 13-14), Gustav Vasa Seminar (June 15-16), and Baltic Connections (June 16-17).

The deadline for proposals is March 16, 2022. In addition to individual papers, proposals for three to four paper panels are appreciated. The participants will be notified of acceptance on March 31 at the latest. Proposals can be submitted online via the conference website or by email to balticsocsciencehist@gmail.com. The conference also hosts a track on History of Technology and Industry sponsored by the Finnish Society for the History of Technology. This track accepts paper and session proposals about all aspects of history of technology and industry. To submit, please email balticsocsciencehist+tech@gmail.com.

The event is close to the summer solstice (June 21, 2022) of the Northern Hemisphere, so you can experience the Nightless Night of the north while conferencing.
Madison Arnsbarger (University of Pittsburgh)  
“High and Dry: The Origins of Women’s Labor Force Participation and Political Activism in the United States”

After the Civil War, women’s political activism increased significantly as the temperance movement gained traction across the United States. This paper asks whether women’s increased political involvement in the postbellum period was rooted in elevated rates of domestic violence and unemployment, which were consequences of Civil War veterans’ greater dependence on alcohol to cope with physical and psychological battle wounds. Using detailed data on over 2.2 million Union Army soldiers and deanonymized Census data, I exploit randomness in the battle intensity experienced by each soldier to show that wives of disabled Civil War veterans were between 1.1 and 1.7 times more likely to work outside of the home as a direct result of their husband’s disability. Further, I collect novel membership data for the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the largest women’s organization of the nineteenth century, to investigate whether this newfound economic independence further empowered women to join the temperance movement, women’s first large-scale political movement in the United States. Finally, I provide evidence that women’s temperance activism in the late-nineteenth century laid the foundation for the women’s suffrage movement.

Sharbani Bhattacharjee (Auburn University)  
“Protectionism and Industrialization in Colonial India”

I study the economic impact of protectionism on India’s industrial development during the interwar period. Starting in the early 1920’s, a policy of ‘discriminating protection’ was provided to industries based on the industry’s comparative advantages and the potential costs to consumers. I show that this industrial policy promoted the expansion in employment, output, and entry of new firms of the directly targeted industries. Preliminary results indicate that the employment in the protected industries increased by 27 percent and their rate of growth of output increased by 17 percent relative to the unprotected ones. I construct a measure of ‘intensity of protection’ based on the tariffs imposed on various industry-products. Using this, I exploit the treatment effect heterogeneity within the industry and its impact on trade outcomes and growth of the domestic industries. Next, I map these industrial outcomes to region-level outcomes to examine how industrialization induced by protectionism translates to regional development and other agglomeration economies. These results help to understand the changing industrial dynamics of colonial India post WWI and learning-by-doing externalities of infant industry.

Pietro Buri (Princeton University)  
“Coping with Unknown Risks: The Rise of Maritime Insurance Contracts and Markets in Late Medieval Italy”

Maritime insurance contracts, introduced by Italian merchants during the 14th century, are one of the great inventions entailed by the medieval Commercial Revolution. We study this institutional innovation from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective. We model the rise of insurance contracts and markets with risk and ambiguity averse merchants facing this new context. Indeed, these merchants had to bear higher and unknown risks because they sailed all year round and had to cope with increased military instability and the presence of privateers in the Mediterranean. Next, we analyze more than five thousand notarial deeds and hundreds of court proceedings housed in the archives of Florence, Genoa, Palermo, Prato, and Venice to investigate the key features of maritime insurance contracts from 1320 to 1500. First, consistent with the model’s predictions, we find that the route was more important than the distance traveled in affecting the insurance premium. The effect of seasonality was ambiguous: traveling in winter was more dangerous because of weather conditions, but in summer there were more attacks by privateers. The use of a galley, well equipped to fight, significantly reduced the insurance premium. Second, although there was a high number of participants in the insurance business, the market was controlled by a small clique of merchants, who were members of the urban elites. Third, applying network analysis to our sample of insurance contracts, we confirm the blossoming of trade involving Italian merchants and we describe the salient features of maritime commerce in the late Middle Ages.

Dheeraj Chaudhary (University of Maryland)  
“Railroads, Market Access, and Wealth Inequality”

The last forty years in the US have been characterized by rapidly growing income and wealth inequality, with a large fraction of growth accruing to individuals at the top of the distribution. There exists a broad consensus in the literature that this marked rise in inequality is primarily driven by technological changes and an increase in globalization. I inform the debate on the diverging income/wealth distribution by revisiting one of the largest technological changes in US history—the expansion of the railroad network. Using complete census schedules of 1850, 1860, and 1870, I show that a decline in trade costs facilitated by the spread of the railroad network increased wealth inequality in the US. Studying the effects of market access on the wealth of individuals across the wealth distribution, I find that gains from higher market access accrued mostly to people at the top of the distribution. My empirical results also suggest a role for financial frictions faced by individuals at the lower end of the wealth distribution. I find that higher existing financial development attenuates the impact of market access on inequality is attenuated.
Jay Dhar (University of Arizona)
“The Diffusion of Automobiles and Motortrucks on American Farms in the 20th Century: The Impact of Last-Mile Road Access and New Deal and World War II Spending”

The diffusion of automobiles and trucks contributed to a revolution in personal transportation. The pace of diffusion was likely powerfully influenced by access to all-weather roads and farmers were among the early adopters of automobiles and motortrucks. In this paper I examine the impact of access to last-mile access to an all-weather road on the diffusion of the automobile and motortruck on farms in the U.S. between 1929 and 1959, a period of most rapid diffusion. (In less developed countries today, lack of last-mile road access slows the diffusion of motor vehicles on farms.) I develop a panel of counties from agricultural censuses during this time frame. In OLS specifications with last-mile access as a single variable, with county and state-by-year fixed effects and multiple controls, last-mile road access was associated with ownership rates that were 3.21% higher for motortrucks and 1.69% higher for automobiles, but IV estimation based on a polynomial spatial-lag instrument does not show statistically significant effects. However, there was significant heterogeneity in the impact of last-mile road access based on the types of crops and farm products produced in different areas. As a result, the impact of last-mile road access varied a great deal across different parts of the U.S. (As most developing countries today devote a greater share of farm acreage to crops and farm products for which the impact of road access was greatest than the U.S. did from 1929 to 1959, we predict the impact of last-mile road access may be greater in the former than it was in the latter.)

Nathan Eisner (University of Pittsburgh)
“Rural Free Delivery and Black Agricultural Productivity”

The introduction of Rural Free Delivery, and the rise of the mail-order catalog industry, connected black Americans to national markets and provided an anonymous alternative to the discriminatory practices of Southern country stores. Using data on the expansion of rural postal routes from 1900 to 1910, I provide the first empirical evaluation of the effect of the introduction of Rural Free Delivery on black agricultural investment in productivity enhancing goods. Using the plausibly quasi-random roll-out of routes during the first years of the Rural Free Delivery program, I conduct a triple difference approach to evaluate the impact of rural routes on fertilizer expenditures in counties with a higher share of black farms. I find evidence that Rural Free Delivery increased fertilizer expenditures in the Deep South, driven primarily through the effect on black farmers. Matching across censuses, I investigate the effect of exposure to Rural Free Delivery on individual black farm tenure and ownership.

Katherine Hauck (University of Arizona)
“An Empirical Estimation of a Structural Option Value Model of Homesteading”

The Homestead Act of 1862 provided westward settlers a low-risk method of acquiring farmland by essentially allowing them to try out the land before they bought it. I create a dynamic structural model in which settlers make a first period decision to purchase or homestead, and if they decide to homestead, they can learn more information about the land, their farming ability, and the resale value before they pay money to acquire the title in the second period. Because some information is only learned by the settler through living on the land, and because decisions can be made based on this information, learning it has value. I use this model to quantify the option value arising from settlers’ sequential decisions, which take place in the presence of uncertainty. I find that settlers valued the option to learn more information about the land through homesteading at approximately $88 in 1870 dollars, with a 95% confidence interval of $80 to $96. Economically, this is a highly significant amount because the cost of purchasing that same land was only $200.

Pawel Janas (Northwestern University)

How do economic crises affect local public good provision? Does public spending influence regional economic development? I study the evolution of fiscal policies, local public good provision, and economic outcomes across a large cross-section of U.S. cities during and after the Great Depression using a novel database of city revenue, expenditure, and debt. I find significant heterogeneous impacts of the Depression on cities based on population and financial leverage. On the expenditure side, spending cuts were concentrated in infrastructure spending and, to a lesser degree, in health, protection, and education. On the other hand, financing payments remained steady during the Depression. Motivated by a large amount of debt on city books, I study whether shocks from bond markets propagate to public good provision by examining plausibly exogenous credit supply shocks of individual bonds maturing. Consistent with the presence of financial constraints, I find that financially levered cities curtailed public good provision more severely than similar non-levered cities. I then investigate the relationship between local public investment and real outcomes. I find a small and short-lived association between the changes in public investment and manufacturing output at the height of the Depression. I conclude by investigating the relationship between public expenditure and local administrators’ migration patterns and find that human capital in this industry exited financially levered cities.
Max McDevitt (Boston University)
“Between the Boardroom and Parliament: Special Legislation, Capital Investment, and Railway Directors in Parliament, 1876-1900”

In this paper I quantitatively assess a scenario in which political connections played a key role in the allocation of investment spending. I show that political connections are a primary determinant of private investment activity, under certain settings. Modern research tying political connections to economic outcomes suffers from private incentives to hide political connections. The literature commonly relies on proxies for political connections rather than observed connections. I use the historical context of the United Kingdom in the late 19th Century, when Parliamentary members commonly held corporate directorships concurrently, in order to directly observe political connections. I construct a 24-year panel of joint-stock railways in the U.K. during the final quarter of the 19th C. Using this data, I demonstrate that more connected firms engage in more capital expenditure and construction of additional miles of railway track. This effect is robust to fixed-effects specifications, implying the result is not a by-product of selection. I exploit additional original data sets on unanticipated deaths of MPs and close elections as two ways to get at plausibly exogenous variation in political connections and to argue that the descriptive result above is causal. Using an original data-set on private bill legislation, I then provide quantitative support for what I argue is the institutional mechanism leading from higher connectedness to higher capital expenditure, the impact of political connections on legislation, making this one of the first papers to explicitly address the mechanism in a quantitative fashion.

Matthew Pesner (Vanderbilt University)

This paper estimates the elasticity of elderly labor force nonparticipation with respect to public pensions in the late 1930’s for industrial workers, helping to reconcile sharply declining estimates over the 20th century. The Railroad Retirement Acts (RRA) of 1934-1937 federalized private pensions covering roughly 5% of the nonagricultural workforce, crediting up to 30 years of work ex-post and allowing for immediate and unexpected vested retirement under substantially higher benefits. Using linked Census records between 1920-1930 and 1930-1940, I compare labor force participation a decade after measuring worker’s industries. To identify the effect of the RRA, my triple-differences design compares exit of railroad to other industrial pension-covered workers, between 1930 and 1940, for pension-eligible (>65) and ineligible (<65).

Hannah Postel (Princeton University)
“Ghettoized in Gold Mountain? Chinese Segregation in 19th Century California”

Chinese immigrant communities are often portrayed as the prototypical ethnic enclave, a “distinct type of community” with a homogenous social structure across space and time (Chan 1984). This paper uses full-count historical census data to challenge this misconception and highlights the role of restrictive policies in shaping immigrant segregation.

Juan Rojas (University of California, Los Angeles)
“Coordination Problems, Information Disclosures, and Industrial Development”

This paper studies the effects of information disclosures on industrial development using evidence from the wine and grape industry in the United States. Between 1960 and 1968, the Raisin Lay Survey gave accurate, weekly information about the size and allocation of the raisin harvest to grape growers, packers, and vintners. Relying on data from multiple newly digitized sources, I estimate a difference-in-differences model that exploits that the Survey was only implemented in a reduced area compared to the original plans for budget reasons. The results show that information disclosures led to larger wine production in surveyed areas and increased investment from both grape growers and winemakers. I propose a model in which the main mechanism explaining these results is the enhanced coordination between growers and vintners resulting from the information disclosures and provide additional empirical evidence suggesting that this is effectively the case.

Fernanda Rojas Ampuero (University of California, Los Angeles)
“Sent Away: Long Term Effects of Forced Displacements”

This paper presents new evidence on the inter-generational effects of moving to a high-poverty neighborhood on income and education. We study a historical event that occurred in Santiago, Chile, during the country’s dictatorship in which the government mandated the eviction of the residents of entire slums and their relocation to public housing in low-income areas. As part of the policy, 2/3rds of slum residents were relocated to new housing projects on the periphery of the city, while the rest received housing at their initial location. These two groups of families were very similar at the time of intervention, hence, by comparing them we estimate a displacement effect on years of education and adult earnings of children, forty years after the end of the policy. We constructed a novel data set that combines archival records with administrative data containing 23,000 households that participated in the program and matched them to more than 55,000 children. Our results indicate that on average displacement was detrimental for children: displaced children earn 10% less per month and have 0.6 fewer years of education. We do not find effects on employment but do on the quality of employment; displaced children are more likely to be employed in informal and temporary jobs. Younger children experience a bigger displacement effect and the effects vary across the income distribution.
Hanna Schwank (Boston University)
“Disruptive Effects of Natural Disasters: The 1906 San Francisco Fire”

How do natural disasters impact their victims? Are the effects transitory or persistent? This paper studies the short- and long-run consequences of the 1906 San Francisco Fire. It destroyed nearly half of the residential buildings in the city. Historical records suggest that exogenous factors such as wind and the availability of water determined the boundary between the burnt and unburnt areas. Residents of the affected areas had to evacuate, but the city was rebuilt within a few years. I follow residents of San Francisco and their children over time by linking Federal Census records from 1900 up to 1940. Burnt and unburnt areas may have been different on average, so to control for confounding factors I use spatial regression discontinuity design and restrict the sample to those who lived within 1km of the (future) fire border in 1900. Affected residents were pushed out of the city and many of them stayed away permanently. I find that they work in lower paying occupations and are less likely to be self-employed. These negative effects are persistent, but the magnitude decreases over time.

Colin Sharpe (Vanderbilt University)
“Where the King’s Writ Did Not Run: Common Law and Growth in the March of Wales, 1290-1510”

Economists have argued that legal systems derived from British common law are conducive to growth. However, testing this theory using modern data is problematic because common law is highly correlated with other institutions inherited from the British. This paper will exploit the quasi-random application of common law within Medieval Britain generated by the March of Wales, a region which straddled the border between England and Wales. The March was originally a military frontier in which the nobility had independence in judicial matters. Despite losing their military function in 1290, they retained this independence until 1534, insulating them from the institutional changes that formed the core of common law. The exact border between the March and the rest of England was plausibly exogenous, not identical to ancient or modern borders between England and Wales and did not correspond to differences in other institutions. This makes the March a reasonable comparison group for neighboring parts of England to examine the impact of common law. This is done using a panel of manors constructed from the Inquisitions Post Mortem, property surveys conducted across England and Wales throughout the time period. The data are detailed, permitting analysis of both overall effects on estate value and of causal mechanisms. Identification is obtained using a difference in differences framework, with pretreatment data obtained from the Domesday book. Data on the distribution of gentry and population in the 17th century suggests exposure to common law contributed to the long run growth and commercialization of the British economy.

Matthew Suandi (University of California, Berkeley)
“Promoting to Opportunity: Evidence and Implications from the US Submarine Service”

Are later life economic and social outcomes path dependent on recognition of early professional achievements? To answer this question, I study the long-run effects of promotion in the United States submarine service among enlisted sailors. Promotion is inherently endogenous; however, conflicting signals as to the efficacy of submarine torpedoes and the crews who fired them justify torpedo success as an instrument for promotion. For the first 21 months of the Pacific War, US fleet submarines’ torpedoes were defective. Yet captains were informed by the admiralty that this was not the case, as the torpedoes sometimes worked. Leveraging this plausibly exogenous variation, I estimate that an additional promotion increases longevity by 7.8% and home values in final community of residence by 39%. Intriguingly, the sign of the OLS estimator bias suggests that personal characteristics correlated with promotion in this setting are negatively associated with later life well-being. However, early professional recognition ceteris paribus is positively associated with greater longevity and wealth.
Special Thanks to:

The EHA Program Committee and Board of Trustees
Eller College of Business and the Economics Department at the University of Arizona
The Economic History Students of the University of Arizona Economics Department
Cindy Poag
Price Fishback
Lana Sooter
Michael Haupert
John Wallis
Mike Cerneant and Global Financial Data
Susan Wolcott, Caroline Fohlin, and Mary Rodgers
Roy Eskelinen, EHA Conference Assistant
Laurie Mirman and Site Services
Mary Averill and Audrey Ferrante
Ann Carlos
Anne McCants and Ranjit Dighe
Richard Hornbeck and Michela Giorcelli
President
John Wallis

President-Elect
Ann Carlos

Vice President
Paul Rhode

Immediate Past Presidents
Hugh Rockoff
Price Fishback
Cormac O’Grada

Trustees
Melissa Thomasson
Lisa Cook
Sheilagh Ogilvie
Petra Moser

Editors
Dan Bogart, Co-Editor
Eric Hilt, Co-Editor
Lily Welch, Assistant Editor
Sally Sztrecska, Production Editor

Executive Director
Michael Haupert

EHA Office
Lana Sooter, Administrative Coordinator

Program Committee
Howard Bodenhorn (Co-Chair)
Eric Hilt (Co-Chair)
Kara Dimitruk
Laura Salisbury
Marianne Wanamaker

Local Arrangements Committee
Price Fishback (Chair)
Taylor Jaworski
Carl Kitchens
Melissa Thomasson

Dissertation Session Conveners
Martha Olney
Steven Nafziger

Meetings Office
Jeremy Land, Coordinator
Roy Eskelinen, Assistant
2020 Economic History Association Awards

**Allan Nevins Prize for the Best Dissertation in U.S. or Canadian Economic History**
Sarah Quincy, Vanderbilt University, for the Best Dissertation in U.S. or Canadian Economic History, for her dissertation *Back to Good Times: The Real Effects of Credit in Great-Depression California*, completed at University of California, Davis. (This prize is awarded on behalf of Columbia University Press.)

**Alexander Gerschenkron Prize for the Best Dissertation in non-US or Canadian Economic History**
Robin John Charles Adams, Queen’s University Belfast, for the Best Dissertation in non-US or Canadian Economic History, for his dissertation *Shadow of a Taxman: How and by whom was the Republican Government financed in the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921)*, completed at Oxford University

**Jonathan Hughes Prize for Excellence in Teaching Economic History**
Anne McCants, MIT

**Cole Prize**

**Alice Hanson Jones Prize**

**Engerman-Goldin Prize**
Sam Williamson, *Measuring Worth*
2021 Economic History Fellowship and Grant Recipients

Arthur H. Cole Grant in Aid for Post-Doctoral Research
David Escamilla-Guerrero, University of St. Andrews
Selina Hofstetter, Stanford University
Meiping Sun, Fordham University
Luis Baldomero-Quintana, College of William and Mary

Sokoloff Dissertation Fellowship
Mallory Hope, Yale University
Hannah Postel, Princeton University

Economic History Association Dissertation Fellowships
Pawel Charasz, Duke University
Sharbani Bhattacharjee, Auburn University

Cambridge University Press Dissertation Fellowship
Guillaume Blanc, Brown University

Cambridge University Press Pre-Dissertation Exploratory Grants
Auriane Terki-Mignot, University of Cambridge
Marco Lecci, Monash University

Economic History Association Pre-Dissertation Exploratory Grants
Brendon Andrews, Northwestern University
Madison Arnsbarger, University of Pittsburgh
Katherine Hauck, University of Arizona
Mario Cannella, Northwestern University
Amy Cross, American University
Boxiao Zhang, University of California, Los Angeles
Hillary Vipond, London School of Economics
Maja Uhre Pedersen, University of Southern Denmark
Matthew Suandi, University of California, Berkeley
2021 Contributors to the Graduate Student Fund
(As of October 1, 2021)

Lee Alston
Vellore Arthi
Jeremy Atack
Daniel Bogart
Joyce Burnette
Kara Dimitruk
Jari Eloranta
William Hanlon
Eric Hilt
Sumner La Croix
Naomi Lamoreaux
Jonathan Liebowitz

Peter Lindert
David Mitch
Larry Neal
Martha Olney
Mary Rodgers
Jean Rosenthal
Elyce Rotella
Melissa Thomasson
Marlous van Waijenburg
Warren Whatley
Ariell Zimran

Thank You!
The Cost of the Erie Canal
in today’s dollars was:

a. $187 Million  b. $2.3 Billion  c. $4.7 Billion  d. $178 Billion

In Your Classes

1. When you explain why the Model T Ford was one of the most significant innovations of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century what do you say was the change in its real cost in today’s dollars between 1908 and 1925?
   a. $24,700 to $4,280  b. $55,200 to $9,250  c. $122,000 to $16,900  d. $170,000 to $18,800*

2. Do you then talk about the “real price” of gasoline? In the last 90 years was its highest level in 1933 or 2011?

3. When you are explaining why the South fought to protect their wealth in slaves, do you explain that in today’s dollars the average “price” of a slave in 1850 was:
   a. $13,500  b. $114,000  c. $240,000

4. In his day, was Babe Ruth’s relative wage better, the same, or worse than today’s stars?

5. When you read in the New York Times last May that “The financial toll of the (1922 Tulsa Race) massacre is evident in the $1.8 million in property loss claims — $27 million in today’s dollars —” did you say that does not sound like much, or that is was more like $534 million?

For answers visit us in the Turquoise III room. While there pick-up a handout for using MeasuringWorth in your classes.

MeasuringWorth.Com

MeasuringWorth is a website concerned with both the generation and dissemination of knowledge in relation to the measurement of worth. We are particularly interested in how to make meaningful comparisons between different time periods. This site has nine comparators plus data sets, tutorials, and essays. It averages about 100,000 pageviews a month.

There are over 100 data sets that are updated regularly when new observations become available. They can be graphed against any one of the other variables and are easily downloaded for your use. There are annual data for the United Kingdom from 1700, the United States from 1790, Australia from 1789, and Spain from 1850. There are also the price of gold from 1257, three stock indices from 1871, interest rates from 1790, and 41 exchange rates from 1913 or later.

The relative value comparators for the four countries are the most popular tool on the site accounting for well over half the traffic. They each use five to seven methods to compare the relative value of a monetary amount between any two years for all the years we have data.

*Go to www.mswth.org for a great tutorial.
Call for Papers: Recovery

The Economic and Business History Society annual conference will be held in Salt Lake City, Utah, on May 18-22, 2022, and invites submissions to the conference committee on the theme of Recoveries in Economic and Business History. The capitalist system has long been acknowledged to have periods of prosperity as well as hardship, and all economic systems are exposed to external shocks over which market actors have no control. Our responses to crises eventually lead to business and economic recoveries; the past shows us many instances of businesses and the people who ran them recovering from depressions, recessions, natural or man-made disasters, and other kinds of disruptions that required dramatic adjustments by businesspeople to keep their companies alive and moving forward. Yet regardless of the cause of the disruption, recovery always comes. The conference committee wishes to use the first in-person conference since the COVID-19 pandemic to explore the phenomenon of business and economic recovery after disruptive events. Such disruptions could be narrow, such as those arising from examples of Schumpeter’s concept of ‘creative destruction’ within the business world, or more widespread types of crisis... Therefore, we hope that conference participants will consider the broad theme of recovery when composing their proposals for the annual meeting. The conference committee will also consider papers that do not address this theme for the conference but that engage topics concerned with economic and business history widely construed.

Continuing from the success of the virtual conference in 2021, and the particular success of the mentorship workshops, EBHS will again be organizing workshop mentorship opportunities. These will be available for both early-career scholars and also mid-career scholars. Furthermore, EBHS will also be re-launching an innovative mentor matching program, for select scholars who would like to receive guidance in a sustained way beyond the actual conference. This will also be available for those who attended and used this option at virtual conference in 2021. Please indicate in your proposal whether you would like to participate in the mentoring program either to provide or receive mentoring.

The conference hotel is the Salt Lake City Marriott at University Park, which is located at 480 Wakara Way, Salt Lake City, Utah 84108. The conference presentations will be held at the conference hotel. There will be a plenary lecture on the evening of Friday, May 20, 2022, where Professor Susie Porter from the Department of History at the University of Utah will give a talk on her latest book, From Angel to Office Worker: Middle-Class Identity and Female Consciousness in Mexico, 1890-1950. The talk will be accompanied by the conference banquet dinner. Both the lecture and the banquet dinner will be held at Child Hall in the David Eccles Business School, University of Utah. See the website for more: https://www.ebhsoc.org/conference/index.php?conference=ebhs&schedConf=ebhs2022&page=schedConf&op=cfp

Proposals should include an abstract of no more than 500 words and contact details. The deadline for submissions is February 1, 2022. The Program Chair intends to send notifications of acceptance by February 20, 2022.

If you have further questions about the meeting or organization please contact EBHS 2022 President Dr. Mark J. Crowley (mark.crowley@eccles.utah.edu), or Program Chair Dr. Mitch Larson (conference@ebhsoc.org).
Call for Papers: EHA 2022: Hidden Figures

Annual Meeting of the Economic History Association in La Crosse, Wisconsin, September 16-18, 2022

The theme for EHA 2022 is “Hidden Figures.” Economic history is a broad field spanning time and space using methodologies that range from broad synthetic histories to more narrowly focused examinations of a particular event, place, or period. Yet, our work often excludes the activities, agency or contribution of particular groups or societies due to the challenges of finding evidence, particularly quantitative evidence. To give two examples. Women are often invisible due in part to name change on marriage or being seen as legally passive actors. Indigenous societies are considered as distinct and separate from the societies or economies in which they reside. Our focus on the most visible may not matter, but it may lead to a distortion of the historical reality we seek to understand. The program committee calls for papers that seek to integrate such groups into the economic histories of the societies they share and inhabit. Of course, proposed papers on all areas of economic history are welcome and graduate students are encouraged to attend.

The Program Committee, chaired by Taylor Jaworski (University of Colorado), welcomes submissions on all subjects in economic history, though some preference will be given to papers that fit the theme of the conference. Papers should be submitted individually, but authors may suggest to the Committee that three particular papers fit well together in a panel. Papers should in all cases be works in progress rather than accepted or published work. Submitters should let the program committee know at the time of application if the paper they are proposing has already been submitted for publication. Individuals who presented or co-authored a paper given at the 2021 meeting are not eligible for inclusion in the 2022 program. Papers and session proposals should be submitted online, with the following submission form: https://eh.net/eha/2022-eha-meeting-proposal/. The submission system will be available from November 1, 2021 onward. Paper proposals should include a 3–5-page proposal and a 150–word abstract suitable for publication in the Journal of Economic History. Paper proposals should be submitted by January 31, 2022, to ensure consideration. Please note that at least one of the authors needs to be a member of EHA.

Graduate students are encouraged to attend the meeting. The association offers subsidies for travel, hotel, registration, and meals, including a special graduate student dinner. A poster session welcomes work from dissertations in progress. The poster submission system will open on March 1, 2022. Applications for the poster session are due no later than May 21, 2022, online on the meetings website. The dissertation session, convened by Joshua Lewis (Université de Montréal) and Caroline Fohlin (Emory University), will honor six dissertations completed during the 2021-2022 academic year. The submission deadline is May 15, 2022. The Allan Nevins and Alexander Gerschenkron prizes will be awarded to the best dissertations on North American and non-North American topics respectively. Dissertations must be submitted as a single PDF file. Files of less than 5 MB in size may be sent directly to the conveners as an email attachment. To submit a file over 5 MB, please supply a download link in an email message. The Nevins prize submissions should be sent to: Joshua.lewis@umontreal.ca and the Gerschenkron prize submissions to: caroline.fohlin@emory.edu. All submissions will be acknowledged by return email.