

A Data Appendix (For Online Publication Only)

Pension Variables: Sources

Multiple States

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Alabama

Pension Application Records

- Ancestry.com (2010). *Alabama, Texas and Virginia, Confederate Pensions, 1884-1958* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc. [Original data from *Confederate Pension Applications*, 1880-1940. Montgomery, Alabama: Alabama Department of Archives and History.]

Pension Legislation

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- Alabama (1891). *Acts of the General Assembly of Alabama Passed at the Session of 1890-1891, Held in the City of Montgomery, Commencing November 11, 1890*. Montgomery: Smith, Allred & Co., State Printers and Binders, pp 624-627 [Google Book].
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- Ancestry.com (2010). [cited above - individual pension forms used to observe important legislative dates].

Pension Expenditures

- *Annual Report of the Auditor of the State of Alabama to the Governor*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1877, 1885-1891, 1893, 1897, 1901, 1902, 1904-1922.

Arkansas

Pension Application Records

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Pension Legislation

- Arkansas (1891). *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas*. Morrilton: Pilot Printing Company, State Printers, pp 160-166 [Google Book].
- Arkansas History Commission (2014) [cited above].

Pension Expenditures

- *Biennial Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts of the State of Alabama*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1905-1916.

Florida

Pension Application Records

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Pension Legislation

- Green, Elna C. “Protecting confederate soldiers and mothers: Pensions, gender, and the welfare state in the US south, a case study from Florida.” *Journal of Social History*. 39(4): 1079-1104.

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- Florida Memory (2014) [cited above].

Pension Expenditures

- *Report of the State Treasurer of the State of Florida*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1907-1914, 1917, 1918, 1920, 1921.

Georgia

Pension Application Records

- Ancestry.com (2009). *Georgia, Confederate Pension Applications, 1879-1960*. [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc. [Original data: *Confederate Pension Applications*, Georgia Confederate Pension Office, RG 58-1-1, Georgia Archives.]

Pension Legislation

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- Georgia (1887). *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1886-7*. Volume 2, pp 27-28. [Digital Library of Georgia, Legislative document collection, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/CollectionsA-Z/zlgl_information.html?Welcome]
- Ancestry.com (2009) [cited above].

Pension Expenditures

- *Annual Report of the Treasurer and State Bank Examiner of the State of Georgia*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1897, 1904, 1912-1916, 1918-1922.

Kentucky

Pension Application Records

- Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives (2012). “Department of Confederate Pensions (1912-1946).” <https://dspace.kdla.ky.gov/xmlui/handle/10602/2375>

Pension Legislation

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Louisiana

Pension Legislation

- FamilySearch (2014). “Louisiana, Confederate Pensions, 1898-1950.” Images. State Archives, Baton Rouge. <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1838535>

Pension Expenditures

- *Biennial Report of the Treasurer to the Governor of the State of Louisiana*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1875, 1878-1881, 1884, 1885, 1888, 1889, 1894, 1895, 1898-1915, 1920, 1921.

Mississippi

Pension Legislation

- Mississippi Department of Archives and History (2014). “Mississippi Office of the State Auditor Series 1201: Confederate Pension Applications, 1889-1932.” http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/pensions/desc
- FamilySearch (2014). “Mississippi, Confederate Veterans and Widows Pension Applications, 1900-1974.” Images. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson. <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1936413>

Pension Expenditures

- *Biennial Report of the Treasurer of the State of Mississippi*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1880, 1881, 1886-1901, 1904-1911.

North Carolina

Pension Legislation

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Pension Expenditures

- *Biennial Report of the Treasurer of North Carolina*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1879-1886, 1889-1896, 1899-1922.

South Carolina

Pension Legislation

- South Carolina (1888). *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina Passed at the Regular Session of 1887*. Columbia: Charles A. Calvo, State Printer, pp 826-829 [Google Book].
- South Carolina Department of Archives and History (2014). “Series Description: Confederate Pension Applications, 1919-1938.” <http://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/onlinearchives/Terms/Series/SeriesDescriptions/s126088.html>

Pension Expenditures

- *Report of the State Treasurer of South Carolina*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1879, 1884-1900, 1902-1920, 1922.

Tennessee

Pension Application Records

- Tennessee State Library and Archives (2014). “Tennessee Confederate Pension Applications: Soldiers & Widows.” <http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/history/military/pension.htm>

Pension Legislation

- Tennessee (1891). *Acts of State of Tennessee Passed by the Forty-Seventh General Assembly*. Nashville: Albert B. Tavel, Printer to the State, pp 150-152 [Google Book].

- Tennessee State Library Archives (2014) [cited above].

Pension Expenditures

- *State of Tennessee, Biennial Report of the Comptroller of the Treasury*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1875-1878, 1883, 1884, 1893-1896, 1900-1922.

Texas

Pension Application Records

- Ancestry.com (2010). *Alabama, Texas and Virginia, Confederate Pensions, 1884-1958* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc. [Original data: *Texas, Confederate Pension Applications, 1899-1975*. Vol. 1-646 & 1-283. Austin, Texas: Texas State Library and Archives Commission.]
- Texas State Library and Archives Commission (2014). “Confederate Pensions.” <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/apps/arc/pensions/>

Pension Legislation

- Ancestry.com (2010) [cited above].

Pension Expenditures

- *Annual Report of the Treasurer of the State of Texas to the Governor*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1902, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1922.

Virginia

Pension Application Records

- Ancestry.com (2010). *Alabama, Texas and Virginia, Confederate Pensions, 1884-1958* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc. [Original data: *Confederate Pension Rolls, Veterans and Widows*. Richmond, Virginia: Library of Virginia.]

Pension Legislation

- Rodgers, Mark E. (1999). *Tracing the Civil War Veteran Pension System in the State of Virginia: Entitlement or Privilege*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.

- Library of Virginia (2014). “About the Confederate Pension Rolls, Veterans and Widows Database.” <http://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/guides/opac/conpenabout.htm>
- Ancestry.com (2010) [cited above].

Pension Expenditures

- *Annual Report of the Treasurer of Virginia*, accessed at hathitrust.org. Years available: 1875-1880, 1888-1895, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1904-1908, 1910-1917, 1919-1922.

County Characteristics: Constructed Variable Definitions

Percent engaged in agriculture. Acres employed in agriculture, divided by 640 to convert to square miles, then divided by county area (1880, 1900, 1920, acres disaggregated by tenancy status in 1910); Number of families employed in agriculture divided by total number of families (1890).

Percent farm owner. Number of owned farms divided by total number of farms (1880, 1910, 1920, farms disaggregated by race in 1900); Number of farm owning families divided by total number of farm families (1890).

Crop value per acre. Value per acre of output of certain key crops for which we have data on both price and quantity of output for the entire period. These crops are: cotton, tobacco, wheat, rice, corn, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, hay, potatoes. Total value of crop output is the quantity of each crop produced at the county level [from the Census of Agriculture, Haines and ICPSR 2010] multiplied by the per unit price [from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition*]. Value per acre is the total value divided by the number of acres in the county employed in agriculture.

Farm Land Inequality. Follows Nunn (2008). Calculated as gini coefficient for farm size, using the following formula:

$$1 + (1/n) - \frac{2 \sum_{i=1}^n (n - i + 1) a_i}{n \sum_{i=1}^n a_i}$$

Here, n is the total number of farms, i is the farm’s rank (in ascending order), a_i is farm size. Because the data are reported as the number of farms that fall into discrete size “bins”, a_i is calculated as the median value within a given bin. The bins are: 0-2 acres, 3-9 acres, 10-19 acres,

20-49 acres, 50-99 acres, 100-499 acres, 500-999 acres, 1000 or more acres in 1880; 0-9 acres, 10-19 acres, 20-49 acres, 50-99 acres, 100-499 acres, 500-999 acres, 1000 or more acres in 1890; 0-2 acres, 3-9 acres, 10-19 acres, 20-49 acres, 50-99 acres, 100-174 acres, 175-259 acres, 260-499 acres, 500-999 acres, 1000 or more acres in 1900, 1910 and 1920.

Appendix Tables and Figures

Table A1: Summary Statistics: Gubernatorial Election Returns, 1876-1930

	Mean Democratic vote share	Mean Republican vote share	Mean Other vote share	% Counties < 50% Democrat	% States with Democratic governor
By state:					
Virginia	0.647	0.264	0.089	0.207	0.917
Alabama	0.766	0.134	0.100	0.098	1.000
Arkansas	0.677	0.242	0.081	0.093	1.000
Florida	0.701	0.267	0.032	0.079	0.923
Georgia	0.799	0.024	0.177	0.085	1.000
Louisiana	0.767	0.189	0.044	0.147	1.000
Mississippi	0.920	0.034	0.047	0.018	1.000
North Carolina	0.553	0.411	0.035	0.339	0.929
South Carolina	0.959	0.020	0.021	0.022	1.000
Texas	0.710	0.179	0.111	0.122	1.000
Kentucky	0.508	0.463	0.028	0.447	0.692
Tennessee	0.550	0.413	0.037	0.410	0.857
By time period:					
1876-1889	0.686	0.252	0.062	0.199	0.964
1890-1899	0.646	0.190	0.164	0.260	0.927
1900-1909	0.741	0.230	0.029	0.123	0.976
1910-1919	0.763	0.185	0.053	0.138	0.919
1920-1930	0.750	0.233	0.017	0.123	0.951

Table A2: Summary Statistics: Pension Application Indexes

State	Number of applications by type			Number of applications by decade				
	Total	Veteran	Widow	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920 and later
Alabama	40,324	20,294	20,030	2,571	12,495	11,656	6,848	6,715
Arkansas	27,012	12,889	13,696	348	2,147	11,521	8,441	4,457
Florida	12,856	-	-	0	1,042	7,118	1,116	1,214
Georgia	63,151	36,515	26,636	2,524	15,069	17,849	14,392	12,441
Kentucky	4,675	2,411	2,264	0	0	0	3,997	671
Louisiana	18,477	9,366	9,111	-	-	-	-	-
Tennessee	27,516	16,228	10,942	-	-	-	-	-
Texas	58,642	29,441	29,201	3	6,188	12,227	17,761	14,893
Virginia	47,229	28,513	18,716	3,579	2,106	23,724	7,907	9,913
Total	299,882	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table A3: Classification of Parties in Election Returns Data

Party Name	% elections on ballot	Party Name	% elections on ballot
<i>DEMOCRAT OR EQUIVALENT</i>		<i>POPULIST</i>	
DEMOCRAT	99.2%	SOCIALIST	41.0%
INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT	5.3%	PROHIBITION	37.4%
GOLD DEMOCRAT	1.3%	POPULIST	20.0%
LOW TAX DEMOCRAT	0.8%	PROGRESSIVE	13.5%
STATE CREDIT DEMOCRAT	0.8%	GREENBACK	11.1%
ANTI-SMITH	0.6%	SOCIALIST LABOR	11.0%
GREENBACK DEMOCRAT	0.5%	PEOPLE'S	10.4%
BOLTING DEMOCRAT	0.3%	COMMUNIST	5.2%
CONSERVATIVE	0.3%	AMERICAN	1.6%
ANTI-LOTTERY DEMOCRAT	0.3%	SOCIAL DEMOCRAT	1.5%
PEOPLE'S AND DEMOCRAT	0.3%	NATIONAL GREENBACK	1.1%
NATIONAL (GOLD) DEMOCRAT	0.2%	PROHIBITION AND FARMERS' ALLIANCE	1.1%
<i>REPUBLICAN OR EQUIVALENT</i>		POPULITE	1.0%
MODERN REPUBLICAN	88.8%	FARMER-LABOR	1.0%
INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN	3.9%	LABOR	0.9%
LILY-WHITE REPUBLICAN	1.3%	UNION LABOR	0.8%
BLACK AND TAN REPUBLICAN	1.1%	READJUSTER	0.8%
REFORMING REPUBLICAN	1.1%	AGRICULTURAL WHEELER	0.6%
REPUBLICAN-GREENBACK-FUSION	1.1%	INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE	0.6%
LIBERAL REPUBLICAN	0.9%	LIBERTY	0.6%
GREENBACK AND REPUBLICAN	0.8%	INSURGENT REFERENDUM	0.6%
LILY BLACK REPUBLICAN	0.7%	COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY	0.5%
HAMBRIGHT REPUBLICAN	0.6%	TEMPERANCE	0.5%
TOLBERT REPUBLICAN	0.6%	RKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA	0.5%
TAFT REPUBLICAN	0.5%	PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN	0.4%
PEOPLES AND REPUBLICAN	0.3%	NATIONAL PARTY	0.3%
REPUBLICAN GREENBACK	0.3%	FLORIDA PEOPLE'S PARTY	0.3%
COLORED REPUBLICAN	0.3%	LA FOLLETTE WHEELER	0.3%
REPUBLICAN FUSION	0.3%	NATIONAL PROHIBITION	0.3%
REPUBLICAN POPULIST FUSION	0.3%	<i>OTHER</i>	
WHITE REPUBLICAN	0.3%	SCATTERING	30.3%
<i>UNIDENTIFIED</i>		INDEPENDENT	9.0%
UNIDENTIFIED	27.9%	NEGRO INDEPENDENT	2.2%
NO NAME	7.6%	ELECTOR LIGON	0.7%
		ELECTOR ROGERS	0.7%
		NATIONS PICKETT	0.6%
		STATE RIGHTS	0.5%
		INDEPENDENT CONSERVATIVE	0.4%

Note: Percent of elections is calculated by dividing the number of times each party appears in the election returns data by the number of unique elections in our data.

Table A4: Effect of Vote Shares on the Distribution of Pension Applications at the County Level: Sensitivity Analysis

Dependent variable:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	<i>Number of applications filed (election year)</i>					
<i>Panel A. Alternate Specifications</i>						
Third party vote share	5.921*** (1.024)	2.303*** (0.875)	0.254*** (0.068)			5.178*** (1.119)
Republican vote share	1.135 (0.802)	1.118** (0.551)	-0.007 (0.053)	1.179 (0.805)		1.161 (0.998)
Third party vote share, disaggregated						
Populist, named				6.389*** (1.040)		
Other, named				-4.539 (4.982)		
Other, not named				-30.025 (25.609)		
Non-democratic vote share					2.865*** (0.673)	
Observations	10,239	12,299	10,239	10,239	5,125	5,114
R-squared	0.529	0.510	0.712	0.529	0.583	0.394
Number of unique counties	858	868	858	858	685	853
Mean dependent variable	7.463	6.919	1.517	7.463	7.463	8.601
Specification	Baseline	Congress	Log dependent variable	Disaggregated third party	Aggregated non-democrat	Sample ends in 1922
<i>Panel B. Individual States</i>						
Third party vote share	-3.158 (4.339)	11.483*** (2.497)	-2.573 (2.792)	2.010 (5.423)	3.671 (2.572)	7.453*** (1.682)
Republican vote share	5.746** (2.269)	-1.752 (2.198)	-1.433 (2.023)	2.011 (2.829)	-	0.751 (1.172)
Observations	1,303	1,184	1,575	548	966	4,064
R-squared	0.386	0.747	0.682	0.602	0.351	0.325
Number of unique counties	123	67	75	67	152	254
Mean dependent variable	7.998	11.550	8.316	4.680	12.450	5.776
State	Virginia	Alabama	Arkansas	Florida	Georgia	Texas

Note: Panel regressions of the average annual number of pension applications filed in counties between consecutive election years on the share of the gubernatorial vote going to third party and Republican candidates in the most recent election. The unit of observation is the county-year, and the sample period is 1876-1930. States included in the sample are those with both application year and county data available: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Texas, Virginia. States do not enter sample until they have passed an initial piece of pension legislation. All regressions contain county and state-year fixed effects. Each column replicates the specification in column (1) of table (3), with changes to this specification indicated in the table.