Online Appendix – Not intended for publication

# **Assessing market integration** in the early modern period

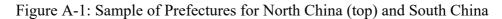
Daniel M. Bernhofen Markus Eberhardt Jianan Li Stephen L. Morgan

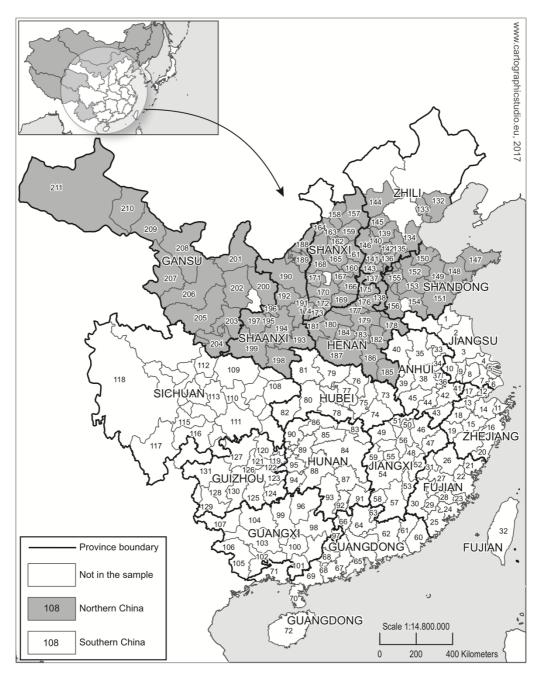
August 4, 2022

Table of Contents:

| (A)    | Sample (Chinese data)                                     | 2  |
|--------|---|----|
| (B)    | Spatial Classification (Chinese data)                     | 3  |
| (C)    | Data Quality (Chinese data)                               | 7  |
| (D)    | Price Evolution (Chinese data)                            | 11 |
| (E)    | Western European Markets: Data Description and Background | 12 |
| (F)    | Pairwise integration analysis (Chinese data)              | 16 |
| (G)    | Illustration: ESTAR and random walk processes             | 17 |
| Refere | ences cited   | 19 |

### (A) Sample (Chinese data)





*Notes*: The prefectures included in our samples are those numbered. Those without data are unnumbered and blank. The North China sample is shaded. The thick black lines are the provincial borders and the thin grey lines the prefectural borders. All borders are for 1820.

Source: GIS Boundary Data from the China Historical GIS project (CHGIS, Harvard), Ver 4.

#### (B) Spatial classification (Chinese data)

China's geography in this article is split into broad zones south and north based on widely accepted agricultural and climatic differences (Buck, 1937) or into eight trans-provincial macro-regions based on river drainage systems (Skinner, 1977). The south-north division reflects the staple grains grown, rice in the south and wheat, millet and coarse grains in the north. Skinner's macro-regions has strongly influenced the writing of cultural, economic, regional and social history. His scheme was derived from nineteenth century data on urban and trading hierarchies and personal observations in China in the late 1940s. Despite the many criticisms (see Cartier 2002), we and Shiue and Keller (2007) – among others – have found the classification useful for organising data on grain markets into regional economies at a time when water transport was the most efficient way to move baulk commodities like grain across long distances. There were eight macro-regions in the 18 provinces of China proper, and another, the Northeast or Manchuria. These are shown below.

| ID | Macro-region                | Chinese Name | Geographical Area       |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 10 | Northeast China (Manchuria) | 东北区          | not reported            |
| 20 | North China                 | 华北区          | 746,460 km <sup>2</sup> |
| 30 | Northwest China             | 西北区          | 771,300 km <sup>2</sup> |
|    | 31 Wei-Fen Basins           | 渭汾流域分区       |                         |
|    | 32 Upper Huang Basin        | 黄河上游分区       |                         |
|    | 33 Gansu (Hexi) Corridor    | 河西(甘肃)走廊分区   |                         |
| 40 | Upper Yangtze               | 长江上游区        | 423,950 km <sup>2</sup> |
| 50 | Middle Yangtze              | 长江中游区        | 699,700 km <sup>2</sup> |
|    | 51 Middle Yangtze proper    | 长江中游分区       |                         |
|    | 52 Gan Basin                | 赣江流域分区       |                         |
|    | 53 Yuan Basin               | 沅江流域分区       |                         |
|    | 54 Upper Han Basin          | 汉江上游分区       |                         |
| 60 | Lower Yangtze               | 长江下游区        | 192,740 km <sup>2</sup> |
| 70 | Southeast Coast             | 东南沿海区        | 226,670 km <sup>2</sup> |
|    | 71 Ou-Ling Basins           | 瓯灵流域分区       |                         |
|    | 72 Min Basin                | 闽江流域分区       |                         |
|    | 73 Zhang-Quan               | 漳泉分区         |                         |
|    | 74 Han Basin                | 韩江流域分区       |                         |
|    | 75 Taiwan                   | 台湾分区         |                         |
| 80 | Lingnan                     | 岭南区          | 424,900 km <sup>2</sup> |
| 90 | Yungui                      | 云贵区          | 470,570 km <sup>2</sup> |

#### **Table A-1 Macro-regions of China**

Source: Skinner, G. W., Henderson, M. and Yue, Z. (2013). "A note regarding the Physiographic and Socioeconomic Macroregions of China" (<u>http://tinyurl.com/qexyu96</u>); the geographical areas, Skinner, 1977: 213.



Figure A-1: Skinner Macro-Regions of China

Source: Skinner, G. W., Henderson, M. and Yue, Z. (2013). "A note regarding the Physiographic and Socioeconomic Macroregions of China" (<u>http://tinyurl.com/qexyu96</u>).

| Prefecture                                     | Pref       | Pro      | Province           | ID       | Prefecture   | Pref     | Pro      | Province               | ID       |
|--|------------|----------|--------------------|----------|--|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| Sizhou *#                                      | 33         | 1        | Anhui              | 20       | Taiping *#   | 36       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Chuzhou *                                      | 34         | 1        | Anhui              | 20       | Hezhou *#  | 37       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Fengyang                                       | 35         | 1        | Anhui              | 20       | Luzhou *#  | 38       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Liu'an   | 39         | 1        | Anhui              | 20       | Guangde *#   | 41       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Yingzhou                                       | 40         | 1        | Anhui              | 20       | Ningguo *  | 42       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Haizhou *#                                     | 1          | 2        | Jiangsu            | 20       | Huizhou *  | 43       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Huai'an  | 2          | 2        | Jiangsu            | 20       | Chizhou * <sup>#</sup>                               | 44       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Kuizhou  | 108        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Anqing *#  | 45       | 1        | Anhui                  | 60       |
| Baoning  | 109        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Yangzhou *#  | 3        | 2        | Jiangsu                | 60       |
| Shunqing                                       | 110        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Tongzhou *#  | 4        | 2        | Jiangsu                | 60       |
| Zhongqing                                      | 111        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Taicang * <sup>#</sup>                               | 5        | 2        | Jiangsu                | 60       |
| Long'an<br>Tangahuan                           | 112        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Songjiang * <sup>#</sup>                             | 6        | 2        | Jiangsu                | 60       |
| Tongchuan                                      | 113        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Suzhou *#  | 7<br>8   | 2        | Jiangsu                | 60       |
| Chengdu  | 114        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40       | Changzhou * <sup>#</sup><br>Zhenjiang * <sup>#</sup> | 8<br>9   | 2<br>2   | Jiangsu                | 60       |
| Jiading<br>Xuzhou                              | 115<br>116 | 10<br>10 | Sichuan<br>Sichuan | 40<br>40 | Jiangning * <sup>#</sup>                             | 10       | 2        | Jiangsu                | 60<br>60 |
|  | 117        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40<br>40 |  | 10       | 11       | Jiangsu<br>Zhaiiana    | 60       |
| Mingyuan<br>Yazhou                             | 117        | 10       | Sichuan            | 40<br>40 | Ningbo<br>Jiaxing * <sup>#</sup>                     | 11       | 11       | Zhejiang<br>Zhejiang   | 60       |
|  | 73         | 8        | Hubei              | 51       | -  |          |          |                        |          |
| Huangzhou <sup>#</sup><br>Wuchang <sup>#</sup> | 73<br>74   | 8<br>8   | Hubei              | 51       | Hangzhou *<br>Shaoxing                               | 13<br>14 | 11<br>11 | Zhejiang               | 60<br>60 |
|  | 74<br>75   | 8<br>8   | Hubei              | 51       | Jinhua   | 14<br>15 | 11       | Zhejiang               | 60<br>60 |
| Hanyang <sup>#</sup><br>De'an                  | 75<br>76   | 8<br>8   | Hubei              | 51       | Jinnua<br>Huzhou *                                   | 15<br>17 | 11       | Zhejiang               | 60<br>60 |
| Anlu   | 70         | 8        | Hubei              | 51       | Yanzhou  | 17       | 11       | Zhejiang<br>Zhejiang   | 60       |
| Jingzhou fu                                    | 78         | 8        | Hubei              | 51       | Quzhou #   | 18       | 11       |                        | 60<br>60 |
| U  |            | 8        |                    | 51       | · · ·  | 19       | 11       | Zhejiang               |          |
| Xiangyang<br>Viahana #                         | 79<br>80   | 8        | Hubei<br>Hubei     | 51       | Taizhou<br>Wenzhou                                   | 20       | 11       | Zhejiang<br>Zhaiian a  | 71<br>71 |
| Yichang #                                      |            | 8        |                    | 51       |  | 20       | 4        | Zhejiang<br>Fujian     | 72       |
| Yunyang  | 81         | 8        | Hubei<br>Hubei     | 51       | Funing   | 21       | 4        | 5                      | 72<br>72 |
| Shinan<br>Yuezhou <sup>#</sup>                 | 82<br>83   | 8        | Hubel<br>Hunan     | 51       | Fuzhou   | 22       | 4        | Fujian<br>Fujian       | 72       |
| Changsha <sup>#</sup>                          | 83<br>84   | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Jianning<br>Vonning                                  | 20<br>27 | 4        | Fujian                 | 72       |
| Changde #                                      | 84<br>85   | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Yanping<br>Shaowu                                    | 31       | 4        | Fujian                 | 72       |
| Lizhou   | 85<br>86   | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Xinghua  | 23       | 4        | Fujian                 | 72       |
| Hengzhou                                       | 80<br>87   | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Quanzhou   | 23<br>24 | 4        | Fujian                 | 73       |
| Baoqing  | 88         | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Zhangzhou  | 24       | 4        | Fujian                 | 73       |
| Chenzhou                                       | 91         | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Yongchun   | 23       | 4        | Fujian                 | 73       |
| Guiyang  | 92         | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Longyan  | 28<br>29 | 4        | Fujian                 | 73       |
| Yongzhou                                       | 92         | 9        | Hunan              | 51       | Tingzhou   | 30       | 4        | Fujian                 | 73       |
| Raozhou  | 46         | 3        | Jiangxi            | 52       | Chaozhou   | 50<br>60 | 5        | Guangdong              | 74       |
| Guangxin                                       | 40         | 3        | Jiangxi            | 52<br>52 | Jiayingzhou  | 61       | 5        | Guangdong              | 74       |
| Fuzhou   | 47         | 3        | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 |  | 32       | 4        | Fujian                 | 75       |
|  |            |          | U                  |          | Taiwan   | 62       | 5        |                        | 80       |
| Nanchang                                       | 49         | 3        | Jiangxi            | 52       | Huizhou  |          |          | Guangdong              |          |
| Nankang  | 50         | 3        | Jiangxi            | 52<br>52 | Hanxiong   | 63       | 5<br>5   | Guangdong              | 80       |
| Jiujiang                                       | 51<br>52   | 3<br>3   | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Shaozhou   | 64<br>65 | 5<br>5   | Guangdong              | 80<br>80 |
| Jianchang<br>Ningdu                            |            |          | U                  |          | Guangzhou  |          |          | Guangdong              | 80<br>80 |
| Ningdu<br>Ji'an                                | 53<br>54   | 3<br>3   | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Lianzhou<br>Zhaoqing                                 | 66<br>67 | 5<br>5   | Guangdong<br>Guangdong | 80<br>80 |
| Linjiang                                       | 54<br>55   | 3        | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Luoding  | 67<br>68 | 5        | 0.0                    | 80<br>80 |
| Ruizhou  | 55<br>56   | 3        | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Gaozhou  | 69       | 5        | Guangdong<br>Guangdong | 80<br>80 |
| Ganzhou  | 50<br>57   | 3        | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Leizhou  | 69<br>70 | 5<br>5   | Guangdong<br>Guangdong | 80<br>80 |
| Nan'an   | 57         | 3        | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Leizhoù<br>Lianzhoù fu                               | 70<br>71 | 5<br>5   | Guangdong              | 80<br>80 |
| Yuanzhou                                       | 58<br>59   | 3        | Jiangxi<br>Jiangxi | 52<br>52 | Qiongzhou  | 71       | 5        | Guangdong              | 80<br>80 |
| Tongren  | 119        | 6        | Guizhou            | 53       | Guilin   | 96       | 3<br>7   | Guanguong<br>Guangxi   | 80<br>80 |
| Sizhou   | 119        | 6        | Guizhou<br>Guizhou | 53       | Wuzhou   | 96<br>97 | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Zhenyuan                                       | 122        | 6        | Guizhou<br>Guizhou | 53       | Pingle   | 97<br>98 | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Liping   | 123        | 6        | Guizhou<br>Guizhou | 53       | Liuzhou  | 98<br>99 | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Duyun  | 124        | 6        | Guizhou<br>Guizhou | 53       | Xunzhou  | 100      | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Pingyue  | 125        | 6        | Guizhou<br>Guizhou | 53       | Yulin  | 100      | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Chenzhou fu                                    | 89         | 9        | Hunan              | 53       | Y ulin<br>Nanning                                    | 101      | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Yongshun                                       | 89<br>90   | 9        | Hunan<br>Hunan     | 53       | Si'en  | 102      | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| 0  | 90<br>94   | 9        | Hunan<br>Hunan     | 53       | Qingyuan   | 103      | 7        | Guangxi<br>Guangxi     | 80<br>80 |
| Jingzhou<br>Yuanzhou                           | 94<br>95   | 9        |                    | 53       |  |          | 7        |                        | 80<br>80 |
| r uanzhoù                                      | 93         | 9        | Hunan              | 33       | Taiping fu   | 105      | /        | Guangxi                | 00       |

## Table A-1 Prefectural Makeup of Skinner Macro-Regions (South China)

Table continued overleaf

| Prefecture | Pref | Pro | Province | ID | Prefecture | Pref | Pro | Province | ID |
|------------|------|-----|----------|----|------------|------|-----|----------|----|
| Zhen'an    | 106  | 7   | Guangxi  | 80 | Anshun     | 128  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 |
| Sicheng    | 107  | 7   | Guangxi  | 80 | Xingyi     | 129  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 |
| Sinan      | 120  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 | Guiyang    | 130  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 |
| Shiqian    | 121  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 | Dading     | 131  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 |
| Zunyi      | 127  | 6   | Guizhou  | 90 | -          |      |     |          |    |

*Notes*: South China prefectures by Skinner macro-region (final column, marked ID; source: see Figure A-1) and province (Pro), in order of prefecture identifier (Pref). The latter is the numbering maintained in the map of our sample in Figure 1 of the main text. \* marks prefectures in the Yangzi Delta and # prefectures in the Yangzi River sample, following the classification used by Shiue and Keller (2007).

| Prefecture   | Pref | Pro | Province | ID | Prefecture | Pref |     | Pro | Province | ID |
|--------------|------|-----|----------|----|------------|------|-----|-----|----------|----|
| Zhangde      | 175  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Daming     |      | 138 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Weihui       | 176  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Baoding    |      | 139 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Huaiqing     | 177  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Dingzhou   |      | 140 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Guide        | 178  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Zhaozhou   |      | 141 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Kaifeng      | 179  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Shenzhou   |      | 142 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Henan fu     | 180  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Shunde     |      | 143 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Shanzhou     | 181  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Xuanhua    |      | 144 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Chenzhou     | 182  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Yizhou     |      | 145 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Xuzhou       | 183  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Zhengding  |      | 146 | 16  | Zhili    | 20 |
| Ruzhou       | 184  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Qingyang   |      | 200 | 11  | Gansu    | 31 |
| Guangzhou    | 185  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Pingliang  |      | 202 | 11  | Gansu    | 31 |
| Runing       | 186  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Qinzhou    |      | 203 | 11  | Gansu    | 31 |
| Nanyang      | 187  | 12  | Henan    | 20 | Gongchang  |      | 205 | 11  | Gansu    | 31 |
| Shangzhou    | 193  | 13  | Shaanxi  | 20 | Yulin      |      | 188 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Xing'an      | 198  | 13  | Shaanxi  | 20 | Suide      |      | 189 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Dengzhou     | 147  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Yan'an     |      | 190 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Laizhou      | 148  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Tongzhou   |      | 191 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Qingzhou     | 149  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Fuzhou     |      | 192 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Wuding       | 150  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Xi'an      |      | 194 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Yizhou       | 151  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Qianzhou   |      | 195 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Jinan        | 152  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Binzhou    |      | 196 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Tai'an       | 153  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Fengxiang  |      | 197 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 31 |
| Yanzhou      | 154  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Taiyuan    |      | 165 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Dongchang    | 155  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Fenzhou    |      | 168 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Caozhou      | 156  | 14  | Shandong | 20 | Pingyang   |      | 170 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Datong       | 157  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Xizhou     |      | 171 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Daizhou      | 159  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Jiangzhou  |      | 172 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Liaozhou     | 160  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Jiezhou    |      | 173 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Pingding     | 161  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Puzhou     |      | 174 | 15  | Shanxi   | 31 |
| Xinzhou      | 162  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Ningxia    |      | 201 | 11  | Gansu    | 32 |
| Ningwu       | 163  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Lanzhou    |      | 206 | 11  | Gansu    | 32 |
| Lu'an        | 166  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Xining     |      | 207 | 11  | Gansu    | 32 |
| Qinzhou      | 167  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Shuoping   |      | 158 | 15  | Shanxi   | 32 |
| Zezhou       | 169  | 15  | Shanxi   | 20 | Baode      |      | 164 | 15  | Shanxi   | 32 |
| Yongping     | 132  | 16  | Zhili    | 20 | Liangzhou  |      | 208 | 11  | Gansu    | 33 |
| Zunhuazhou   | 133  | 16  | Zhili    | 20 | Ganzhou    |      | 209 | 11  | Gansu    | 33 |
| Tianjin      | 134  | 16  | Zhili    | 20 | Suzhou     |      | 210 | 11  | Gansu    | 33 |
| Hejian       | 135  | 16  | Zhili    | 20 | Anxi       |      | 211 | 11  | Gansu    | 33 |
| Jizhou       | 136  | 16  | Zhili    | 20 | Jiezhou*   |      | 204 | 11  | Gansu    | 40 |
| Guangping fu | 130  | 16  | Zhili    | 20 | Hanzhong*  |      | 199 | 13  | Shaanxi  | 54 |

 Table A-2 Prefectural Makeup of Skinner Macro-Regions (North China)

*Notes*: North China prefectures by Skinner macro region (final column, marked ID; source: see Figure A-1) and province (Pro), in order of prefecture identifier (Pref). Prefecture numbering corresponds with the map of our sample in Figure 1 of the main paper. \* Not included in the analysis in the main section of the paper (isolated prefectures in terms of Skinner macro-region) but included in additional analysis (e.g. convergence adopting cross-section averages for the entire crop-region of North China, results available on request).

#### (C) Data Quality (Chinese data)

Historians widely agree the Qing period grain data are high quality and comparable across China (Chuan and Kraus, 1975; Marks, 1998; Shiue and Keller, 2007; Wang 1978 [2003]). Errors, omissions, and misreporting from incompetence, laxness or even manipulation of prefecture officials cannot be ruled out on occasions. This is evident in prices that remain unchanged for several months. In most markets prices for grain would change from month to month through the year. The share of prices in any month that had changed compared with the previous month is reported in Tables B-1 for South China and B-2 for North China.

Over the full sample period 1740-1820, the average month-to-month change (column 1 of both tables) was the lowest in the winter months December to February, in the range 55-62 percent. The most frequent change in South China occurs over the summer and early autumn, with September averaging 79 percent. In North China, the most frequent change occurs mid-summer in which July averaged 81 percent. The frequency of change in any particular month was higher in the earlier years of the sample – 66-86 percent for rice and 77-93 percent for wheat – compared with the late eighteenth century, from 47-77 percent and 44-75 percent respectively.

We have selected 1820 as our sample end-year since we have reasons to believe the valid concerns over data quality are *much less significant before this date*. Looking at periods of unchanged grain prices in the Southern (Northern) data, in 1740-79 there are only 5 (8) occasions of *periods without changes longer than 12 months* with the longest lasting 25 (18) months, and for 1781-1820 there are 17 (28) occasions, with a maximum period of 21 (23) months. In contrast, for 1821-1860 there are 202 (158) occasions (53 of 25 months or more), with a maximum period of 72 (105) months.

Table B-3 provides detailed statistics for the distribution of periods without price changes for South and North China over three time spans (to reiterate, 1821-1860 is <u>not</u> part of our sample). These figures highlight the clear step-change in the data from 1820. Around 95% of all Southern Chinese rice prices would have changed in 1 to 4 months in 1740-80 and 1 to 5 months in 1781-1820, but in 1 to 9 months in 1821-1860. For Northern Chinese wheat prices, the equivalent figures are 1 to 5 months, 1 to 7 months, and 1 to 12 months.

|     |            | (1)<br><b>1740-1820</b> | (2)<br><b>1740-1759</b> | (3)<br><b>1760-1779</b> | (4)<br><b>1780-1799</b> | (5)<br><b>1800-1820</b> |
|-----|------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Jan | MC<br>Obs. | 0.554<br>7,465          | 0.662<br>1,973          | 0.573<br>2,174          | 0.488<br>1,743          | 0.468 1,575             |
| Feb | MC         | 0. <i>546</i>           | 0.688                   | 0.549                   | <i>0.472</i>            | 0. <i>443</i>           |
|     | Obs.       | 7,418                   | 1,955                   | 2,208                   | 1,660                   | 1,595                   |
| Mar | MC         | 0.647                   | 0.760                   | 0.683                   | 0.548                   | 0.562                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,574                   | 1,998                   | 2,262                   | 1,641                   | 1,673                   |
| Apr | MC         | 0.741                   | 0.822                   | 0.767                   | 0.670                   | 0.669                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,453                   | 2,015                   | 2,266                   | 1,499                   | 1,673                   |
| May | MC         | 0.751                   | 0.829                   | 0.770                   | 0.712                   | 0.682                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,375                   | 1,982                   | 2,222                   | 1,512                   | 1,659                   |
| Jun | MC         | 0.721                   | 0.811                   | 0.725                   | 0.625                   | <b>0.692</b>            |
|     | Obs.       | 7,311                   | 2,013                   | 2,187                   | 1,527                   | 1,584                   |
| Jul | MC         | 0.699                   | 0.782                   | 0.723                   | 0.587                   | 0.658                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,263                   | 2,041                   | 2,207                   | 1,410                   | 1,605                   |
| Aug | MC         | 0.762                   | 0.842                   | 0.816                   | 0.725                   | 0.619                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,160                   | 2,028                   | 2,212                   | 1,322                   | 1,598                   |
| Sep | MC<br>Obs. | <b>0.794</b><br>7,226   | <b>0.857</b><br>1,997   | <b>0.836</b> 2,180      | <b>0.773</b><br>1,434   | 0.676<br>1,615          |
| Oct | MC         | 0.751                   | 0.831                   | 0.786                   | 0.709                   | 0.649                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,341                   | 2,045                   | 2,106                   | 1,494                   | 1,696                   |
| Nov | MC         | 0.684                   | 0.788                   | 0.734                   | 0.583                   | 0.591                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,479                   | 2,104                   | 2,088                   | 1,648                   | 1,639                   |
| Dec | MC         | 0.618                   | 0.732                   | 0.635                   | 0.524                   | 0.547                   |
|     | Obs.       | 7,639                   | 2,128                   | 2,164                   | 1,810                   | 1,537                   |

Table C-1 Price Change Frequency (South China)

*Notes*: MC is the percentage of prefectures that experienced a price change in a given month; Obs is the number of monthly observations. Column (1) presents the results for the full 81 -ear time period, columns (2) to (5) for 20/21-year subsample periods. The month with the highest proportion of price changes over the previous month is in bold.

|     |      | (1)<br><b>1740-1820</b> | (2)<br><b>1740-1759</b> | (3)<br><b>1760-1779</b> | (4)<br><b>1780-1799</b> | (5)<br><b>1800-1820</b> |
|-----|------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Jan | MC   | 0.597                   | 0.789                   | 0.670                   | 0.445                   | 0.471                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,774                   | 1,111                   | 1,426                   | 1,218                   | 939                     |
| Feb | MC   | 0.605                   | 0.766                   | 0.630                   | 0.539                   | 0.493                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,909                   | 1,122                   | 1,414                   | 1,227                   | 1,066                   |
| Mar | MC   | 0.671                   | 0.805                   | 0.714                   | 0.570                   | 0.608                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,957                   | 1,141                   | 1,432                   | 1,225                   | 1,079                   |
| Apr | MC   | 0.704                   | 0.815                   | 0.737                   | 0.626                   | 0.644                   |
|     | Obs. | 5,090                   | 1,211                   | 1,436                   | 1,197                   | 1,166                   |
| May | MC   | 0.695                   | 0.829                   | 0.713                   | 0.624                   | 0.615                   |
|     | Obs. | 5,047                   | 1,187                   | 1,483                   | 1,124                   | 1,173                   |
| Jun | MC   | 0.772                   | 0.886                   | 0.803                   | 0.687                   | 0.724                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,852                   | 1,123                   | 1,480                   | 1,098                   | 1,071                   |
| Jul | MC   | <b>0.806</b>            | <b>0.934</b>            | <b>0.868</b>            | <b>0.750</b>            | <b>0.669</b>            |
|     | Obs. | 4,750                   | 1,101                   | 1,456                   | 1,019                   | 1,094                   |
| Aug | MC   | 0.749                   | 0.905                   | 0.822                   | 0.610                   | 0.621                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,679                   | 1,145                   | 1,459                   | 934                     | 1,061                   |
| Sep | MC   | 0.668                   | 0.812                   | 0.754                   | 0.514                   | 0.554                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,730                   | 1,148                   | 1,470                   | 945                     | 1,087                   |
| Oct | MC   | 0.627                   | 0.830                   | 0.701                   | 0.496                   | 0.469                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,826                   | 1,130                   | 1,436                   | 1,012                   | 1,168                   |
| Nov | MC   | 0.612                   | 0.789                   | 0.687                   | 0.433                   | 0.522                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,868                   | 1,123                   | 1,465                   | 1,068                   | 1,132                   |
| Dec | MC   | 0.595                   | 0.788                   | 0.657                   | 0.444                   | 0.485                   |
|     | Obs. | 4,981                   | 1,191                   | 1,452                   | 1,183                   | 1,075                   |

Table C-2 Price Change Frequency (North China)

*Notes*: MC is the percentage of prefectures that experienced a price change in a given month; Obs is the number of monthly observations. Column (1) presents the results for the full 81-year time period, columns (2) to (5) for 20/21-year subsample periods. The month with the highest proportion of price changes over the previous month is in bold.

#### Table C-3 Length of Periods without Price Changes

#### Panel (a) South China

|                              |       | 1740-1780 |       |       | 1781-1820 |       |       | 1821-1860 |       |
|------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Period<br>length<br>(months) | Count | Share     | Cum   | Count | Share     | Cum   | Count | Share     | Cum   |
| 1                            | 3,841 | 57.2%     | 57.2% | 4,496 | 54.0%     | 54.0% | 3,462 | 45.1%     | 45.1% |
| 2                            | 1,450 | 21.6%     | 78.8% | 1,780 | 21.4%     | 75.4% | 1,539 | 20.1%     | 65.2% |
| 3                            | 715   | 10.6%     | 89.4% | 963   | 11.6%     | 87.0% | 796   | 10.4%     | 75.6% |
| 4                            | 324   | 4.8%      | 94.2% | 477   | 5.7%      | 92.7% | 449   | 5.9%      | 81.4% |
| 5                            | 201   | 3.0%      | 97.2% | 290   | 3.5%      | 96.2% | 336   | 4.4%      | 85.8% |
| 6                            | 79    | 1.2%      | 98.4% | 146   | 1.8%      | 97.9% | 249   | 3.2%      | 89.1% |

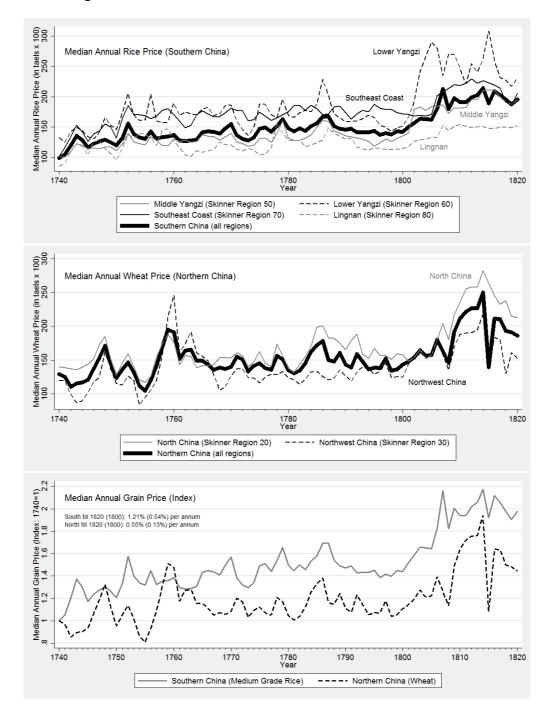
Panel (b) North China

|                              |       | 1740-1780 |       |       | 1781-1820 |       |       | 1821-1860 |       |
|------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Period<br>length<br>(months) | Count | Share     | Cum   | Count | Share     | Cum   | Count | Share     | Cum   |
| 1                            | 1,919 | 58.1%     | 58.1% | 1,926 | 46.4%     | 46.4% | 1,144 | 34.9%     | 34.9% |
| 2                            | 641   | 19.4%     | 77.5% | 849   | 20.5%     | 66.9% | 590   | 18.0%     | 52.9% |
| 3                            | 309   | 9.4%      | 86.8% | 425   | 10.2%     | 77.2% | 415   | 12.7%     | 65.6% |
| 4                            | 166   | 5.0%      | 91.9% | 313   | 7.5%      | 84.7% | 261   | 8.0%      | 73.6% |
| 5                            | 98    | 3.0%      | 94.8% | 186   | 4.5%      | 89.2% | 191   | 5.8%      | 79.4% |
| 6                            | 66    | 2.0%      | 96.8% | 163   | 3.9%      | 93.1% | 142   | 4.3%      | 83.7% |

*Notes*: The table reports the frequency distribution of periods or incidences without price changes in three 40-year time spans. The period length shows how long a price stayed the same, e.g. for South China in 1740-80 3,841 prices changed from one month to the next (around 57% of all price observations in that 40-year period), 1,450 prices changed within two months (22%), and so on. Cumulatively, 90% of prices changed within 1 to 3 months during the 1740-80 and 1780-1820 periods, whereas the same cumulative share was only reached for price changes within 1 to 6 months in the 1820-60 period.

#### (D) Price Evolution (Chinese data)

Figure D-1: Median Price Movement for South and North China



*Notes*: A. The medium prices in the top and middle panels are taels x 100. B. The bottom panel presents the indices for the median grain price with a base year 1740=1.

#### (E) Western European Markets: Data Description, Background and Results

#### The English Corn Returns

The analysis of market integration in England used the *English Corn Returns* (published in the *London Gazette*, the official government newspaper, between 1700 and 1914), specifically the weekly wheat prices from 1770 to 1820 collected and digitized by Liam Brunt and Edmund Cannon (henceforth BC). These are available from the History Data division of the UK Data Service. A detailed discussion of the *Returns* is in Brunt and Cannon (2013, 2014, and the respective supplementary appendices). Below we provide a brief overview of this resource.<sup>1</sup>

The British government compiled the English Corn Returns to monitor grain trade in England, Wales and Scotland to give effect to the Corn Laws, designed to regulate domestic grain prices from the 1690s until 1846. In the first 20 years of the Returns local Justices of the Peace (JPs) collected prices from between two and six market towns in their jurisdictions and each week sent these to the Treasury in London. The identity of market towns from which these prices were drawn was not stipulated and most likely differed between weekly Returns. From 1789 onwards a system in place for London since 1781 was extended across the nation whereby Inspectors of Corn Returns were appointed in each designated market town to collect sworn records of 'all sales' of domestic produce (including wholesale and re-sale of grain which had already been traded in the market) and each week to forward (weighted) averages of these prices to the Receiver of Corn Returns in London. The identity of the monitored market towns was now fixed<sup>2</sup> and their number by county varied between two in Rutland and 12 in Norfolk. The Treasury-based Receiver calculated the county averages that were published in the London Gazette. This feature of the English grain price data is similar to our Chinese price series: spatial aggregation leads to an average price being recorded that we use in our empirical analysis. For English counties, the average is computed from a number of market towns, for Chinese prefectures from the highest and lowest price recorded at the prefecture level.

The recorded data for the 1770-1820 period are county average prices per (Winchester) bushel of grain in shillings and pence (converted to pence for analysis). We exclude London prices. Wheat was the staple food grain for the majority of English and Welsh consumers at the time. Although grain trade volumes are widely thought to have been under-reported in the *Returns*, BC argue that monitored and non-monitored grains were identical (in terms of quality

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Unless indicated, all of the statements below are based on the discussion in these articles and supplements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For instance, in Nottinghamshire prices were collected in Mansfield, Newark-on-Trent, Nottingham, Retford and Worksop.

and other attributes) and likely traded at the same price. Due to a high level of on-farm storage trade *volumes* for wheat – and hence prices – varied little throughout the year.<sup>3</sup>

Data coverage for wheat prices in the 1770-1820 subsample is 99.7% (i.e. only 0.3% of county averages are missing). Potential causes for missing records are discussed in the Supplemental Appendix of BC (2013) and issues of data accuracy in BC (2013).

BC (2013) conclude the *Returns* constitute high quality data, despite several concerns about the level, trend and fluctuation of the price series covered. Two of these concerns, the underestimation of price fluctuations over time due to quality heterogeneity, and the absence of imported grain prices (again, related to grain quality), are relevant for but unlikely to impact our analysis of price convergence significantly. Changes in grain quality are not isolated to individual markets but are common across wider regions, so our empirical approach that accounts for cross-section dependence will capture the common shocks regardless of their magnitudes. The latter concern is relevant for the study of grain consumption but not the analysis of market integration.

In contrast to what we have argued for China, the period 1770-1820 witnessed substantial infrastructure improvements in English counties, including the expansion of the canal network and improvements to the road network (BC, 2013: 112). The counties in the sample are listed in Table E-1 below. The average distance between market pairs for the English counties is 202km. This compares with 213km in the Lower Yangzi, 429km in the Middle Yangzi, 260km in the Southeast Coast and 366km in the Lingnan macroregions.

#### Wheat prices in the Austrian Low Countries

From the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onward the central government of the Austrian Low Countries implemented a program to closely monitor local grain prices. Like in the Chinese and English cases, this effort was intended to organize an efficient food supply and move away from the past *ad hoc* management of food crises (Buyst, Dercon and Van Campenhout, 2006). Between 1765 and 1794, customs officials recorded the prevailing market prices for various agricultural products in a standardized fashion, which were reported weekly to specialized civil servants who oversaw the data collation process and compared the figures with those obtained from city governments. Although data collection was standardized, different cities used

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In our empirical implementation we include time (monthly) dummies to capture seasonal patterns.

different measurement systems, so the specialized civil servants converted the data to a common unit – Brabantine *stuivers* per *razier* from Brussels (49 litres).

The wheat prices used in our analysis are those observed on the first market day of the month for all markets considered, as collated and recorded in Vandenbroeke (1973). The dataset comprises 20 markets with data available for almost all of the 360 months between 1765 and 1794. Buyst et al (2006: 188) report the markets covered "compose a representative sample of all large and medium-sized grain markets in the Austrian Low Countries" at the time. The markets are listed in Table E-2 below. Following Buyst et al, we prefer wheat over rye prices, which are also available in 18 markets for the same time period, due to wheat's higher value-to-weight ratio and thus higher incentives to profit from trade and arbitrage across markets. Road infrastructure during the sample period was improved between major towns from the mid-1750s onwards such that the Austrian Low Countries had "the highest paved road density in Europe" by the early 1790s (Buyst et al, 2006: 193).

| Bedfordshire    | Lincolnshire          |  |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--|
| Berkshire       | Middlesex             |  |
| Buckinghamshire | Monmouthshire (Wales) |  |
| Cambridgeshire  | Norfolk               |  |
| Cheshire        | Northampton           |  |
| Cornwall        | Northumberland        |  |
| Cumberland      | Nottingham            |  |
| Derbyshire      | Oxford                |  |
| Devon           | Rutland               |  |
| Dorsetshire     | Salop (Shropshire)    |  |
| Durham          | Somerset              |  |
| Essex           | Stafford              |  |
| Gloucestershire | Suffolk               |  |
| Hampshire       | Surrey                |  |
| Herefordshire   | Sussex                |  |
| Hertfordshire   | Warwick               |  |
| Huntingdonshire | Westmorland           |  |
| Kent            | Wilts                 |  |
| Lancashire      | Worcester             |  |
| Leicestershire  | York                  |  |

Table E-1 List of English and (one) Welsh Counties in the English Corn Returns

*Notes:* These are the 39 English and 1 Welsh counties for which data covers 1770-1820. Our sample excludes London.

*Source:* Note to 'History Data Service, SN 4383 Weekly British Grain Prices from the London Gazette, 1770-1820'.

| Antwerp       | Lier              |
|---------------|-------------------|
| Ath           | Mechelen          |
| Binche        | Mons (Bergen)     |
| Bruges        | Namur (Namen)     |
| Brussels      | Nieuwpoort        |
| Charleroi     | Oostende          |
| Ghent         | St. Niklaas       |
| Ieper (Ypres) | Tienen            |
| Kortrijk      | Tournai (Doornik) |
| Leuven        | Veurne            |

Table E-2 List of Markets in the Austrian Low Countries data

*Notes*: The 20 market locations covered in the analysis of the Austrian Low Countries. This sample includes the 18 markets analysed in Buyst, Dercon and Van Campenhout (2006) and additionally Oostende and Nieuwpoort.

Source: Vandenbroeke (1973).

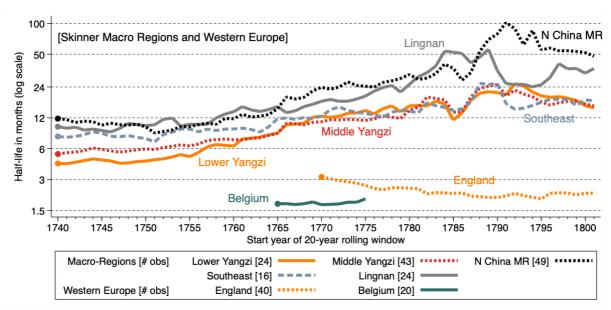


Figure E-1 Market Integration in China and Western Europe

*Notes*: The European data start later than our Chinese data. There are no comparable monthly price data for the 1740s to the mid-1760s. The half-lives are on a logarithmic scale, hence the they doubles between each consecutive horizontal line.

(F) Pairwise integration analysis (Chinese data)

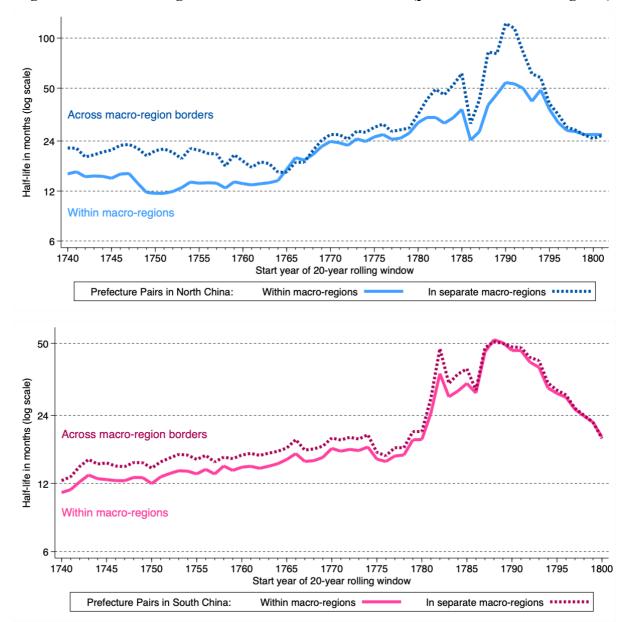


Figure F-2 Market Integration in South and North China (pairwise linear convergence)

*Notes*: Pairwise panel convergence estimates are expressed in half-lives and presented on a logarithmic scale, hence the half-life *doubles* between each consecutive horizontal line. The top panel presents the averages for the Northern wheat staple crop region (following Buck, 1932), the bottom panel for the rice staple crop region of China. In each plot we distinguish robust mean market integration (based on pairwise estimates) for pairs *within* a macro-region (solid lines) and for pairs in different macro regions (dashed lines). The year along the x-axis indicates the start of a twenty-year rolling estimation window (which moves one year at the time).

Files: PairPanelCovergence\_SChina.png and PairPanelCovergence\_NChina.png

#### (G) Illustration: ESTAR and random walk processes

Recall the generic ESTAR process we introduced in the maintext:

$$\Delta y_{it} = \phi_i y_{i,t-1} + v_i y_{i,t-1} \left[ 1 - \exp(-\theta_i y_{i,t-1}^2) \right] + \lambda_i f_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
(D-4)

for  $\phi_i = \beta_i - 1 = -(1 - \beta_i)$ . The graphs in Figure G-1 provide four simulated time series (we ignore the heterogeneous panel and common factor structure) to illustrate the generic ESTAR process; in all four cases we set  $\phi_i = 0$ , i.e. each y is *nominally* a random walk process.<sup>4</sup> The graph in the upper panel is for a sub-period (240 observations) to aid illustration; the lower panel graph is for the full 900 observations sample.

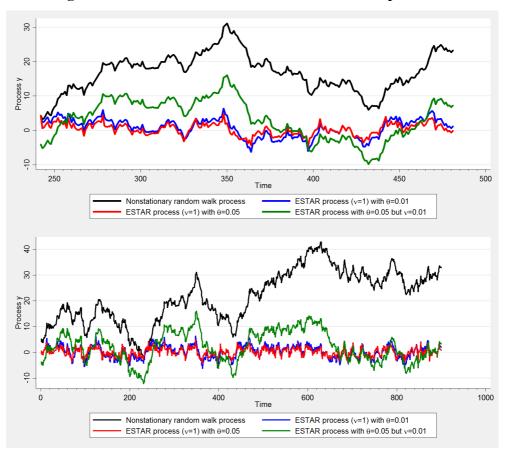


Figure G-1 Simulated ESTAR and random walk processes

Note: We present nonlinear adjustment dynamics in an ESTAR model using simulated data (see text). The upper panel limits the time series to a subsample of around 240 observations (equivalent to 20 years if data were monthly), in the lower panel the entire 900 observations (equivalent to around 75 years) are presented.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  We simulate 1,800 time series observations and discard the first 900. The choice of the window presented (window length: 240 periods = 20 years times 12 months) starting at time period 240 is arbitrary. These numbers match our rolling window length and total sample size of our Qing grain price data.

The black line is a simple random walk, i.e.  $\Delta y_t = \varepsilon_t$ , the red and blue lines are ESTAR processes for  $v_i = -1$  and  $\theta_i = \{0.01, 0.05\}$ , and the green line is an ESTAR process for  $v_i = -0.01$  and  $\theta_i = 0.05$ . In Figure G-1, we can easily see for the red and blue lines the notion of a 'band of inaction' within which the *y* process is a random walk but to which the process returns/converges quickly once it strays beyond the band's edge. Their position relative to that of the green line (also an ESTAR process) indicates how  $v_i$  determines the *width* of the band as well as the *speed* at which the process returns to it, namely much more slowly for the green than the red and blue processes. Note the difference in the evolution of the black line (random walk): this process *never* returns to any band. This is not obvious from the top-panel graph, but can be observed in the bottom-panel plot for the full-simulated time series (900 observations).

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