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Robert C. Allen  
Global Distinguished Professor of Economic History

New York University  
Abu Dhabi  
United Arab Emirates

office phone: +97126285457  
mobile: +971561005717  
email: bob.allen@nyu.edu

Personal

Born: January 10, 1947, Salem, Massachusetts  
citizenship: U.S.A, Canada, and U.K., UAE residence permit

Research Areas

economic history, economic development, technological change, public policy

Education

1969 B.A. Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota  
1972 M.A. Harvard University  
1975 Ph.D. Harvard University

Professional Appointments

1973-75 Assistant Professor of Economics  
Hamilton College  
1975-80 Assistant Professor of Economics  
University of British Columbia  
1980-81 Senior Associate Member  
St. Antony's College, University of Oxford  
1980-85 Associate Professor of Economics  
University of British Columbia  
1985-86 Senior Associate Member  
St. Antony's College, University of Oxford  
1985-2000 Professor of Economics  
University of British Columbia  
1987-88 Research Fellow, Research School for Social  
Sciences, Australian National University  
1993-4 Visiting Professor of Economics  
Harvard University  
1994 Chercheur, Institut national de la recherche  
agronomique, Ivry-sur-Seine, France  
1999-2000 Visiting Professor of Economics  
Harvard University  
2000 Visiting Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford  
2001-2 Reader in Recent Social and Economic History, Oxford University  
2002-13 Professor of Economic History, Oxford University  
2014- Global Distinguished Professor of Economic History, NYU Abu Dhabi  
2015- Senior Research Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford University

### Honours, Awards, and Honorific Offices

B. A. degree, magna cum laude, distinction in economics  
 Phi Beta Kappa  
 Woodrow Wilson Fellow  
 Harvard Graduate Prize Fellowship  
 American Iron and Steel Institute Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship  
 Teacher of the Year, U.B.C. Economic Student Association, 1990-1 and 1991-2  
 U.B.C. Killam Research Prize, 1993  
 U.B.C. Excellence in Teaching Award, 1993  
 Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, 1994  
 Fellow of the British Academy, 2003  
 President, Economic History Association, 2012-13  
 Carleton College, Alumni Achievement Award, 2014

### Prizes

Arthur H. Cole Prize for the best article ("International Competition in Iron and Steel") in the Journal of Economic History, September, 1979 - June, 1980

Fritz Redlich Prize for the best economic history article ("The Growth of Labor Productivity in Early Modern English Agriculture"), 1987-8

Ranki Prize for the best book on European Economic History (Enclosure and the Yeoman), 1992-3

Explorations Prize for the best article ("The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War") in Explorations in Economic History, 2001-3

Ranki Prize for the best book on European Economic History (Farm to Factory), 2003-4

Book of the Year (British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective) in the *Economist* and *Times Literary Supplement*, 2009

Explorations Prize for the best article ("Engel's Pause: Technical Change, Capital Accumulation, and Inequality in the British Industrial Revolution") in Explorations in Economic History, 2009.

### Invited Lectures

'Russian Capitalism the First Time 'round: Economic Development and Income Distribution under the Tsars,' Sir John Hicks Lecture, Oxford University, 2000.

'The Rise and Decline of the Soviet Economy,' Harold Innis Memorial Lecture, Canadian Economics Association, 2001.

'Progress and Poverty in Early Modern Europe,' K.H. Connell Memorial Lecture, Irish Economic and Social History Society, 2001.

'Revolution in the Fields: The Reinterpretation of English Agricultural History,' invited address, Spanish Agricultural History Society, Barcelona, 2002.

'Why Some Countries are Rich and Others Poor? The Industrial Revolution and the Rise of the West,' John F. Graham Lecture, Dalhousie University, 2008.

'Why was the Industrial Revolution British?' Tawney lecture, Economic History Society, 2009.

'The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective,' Keynes lecture, British Academy, 2009.

"Why are some countries rich and others poor?" invited lecture, European Historical Economics Society, Dublin, 2011.

"Why are some countries rich and others poor?" Angus Maddison memorial lecture, University of Groningen, 2011.

"Why are some countries rich and others poor?" invited lecture, South African Economic History Society, Johannesburg, 2011.

"Why are some countries rich and others poor?" Cologne Lecture in Economic History, 2011.

"Why are some countries rich and others poor?" Gideon Rosenbluth Memorial Lecture, Vancouver, 2012.

"Absolute Poverty: When Necessity displaces Desire," Keynote Address, European Historical Economics Society, Pisa, 2015.

## Publications

### Books

Restraining the Economy: Social Credit Economic Policies for B.C. in the Eighties, edited (with G. Rosenbluth), Vancouver, New Star Books, 1986. (My contributions to the volume are detailed below.)

False Promises: The Failure of Conservative Economics, ed. with G. Rosenbluth, Vancouver, New Star Books, 1992. (My contributions to the volume are detailed below.)

Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450-1850, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992.

Farm to Factory: A Reassessment of the Soviet Industrial Revolution, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2003. Translated into Russian.

Revolución en los campos. La reinterpretación de la revolución agrícola inglesa, Monografías de Historia Rural No. 3, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2004.

Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe, edited (with Tommy Bengtsson and Martin Dribe), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.

The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009. Translated into Russian, Chinese, Italian, Japanese.

Global Economic History: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. Translated or to be translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Thai, Turkish, Korean, Basque.

The Industrial Revolution: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford, Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2017.

### Ph.D. Thesis

International Competition and the Growth of the British Iron and Steel Industry, 1830-1913, Harvard University, Ph.D. thesis, 1975.

### Articles, Chapters, and Other Short Pieces

"The Peculiar Productivity History of American Blast Furnaces, 1840-1913," Journal of Economic History, Vol. 37, No. 3, September, 1977, pp. 605-633.

"International Competition in Iron and Steel, 1850-1913," Journal of Economic History, Vol. 39, No. 4, December, 1979, pp. 911-937.

"Entrepreneurship and Technical Progress in the Northeast Coast Pig Iron Industry, 1850-1913," Research in Economic History, Vol. 6, 1981, pp. 35-71.

"Accounting for Price Changes: American Steel Rails, 1870-1913," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 89, No. 3, 1981, pp. 512-528.

"Direct Versus Implicit Superlative Index Number Formulae," (with W.E. Diewert), The Review of Economics and Statistics, Vol. 53, No. 3, August, 1981, pp. 430-435.

"The Efficiency and Distributional Consequences of Eighteenth Century Enclosures," Economic Journal, Vol. 92, December, 1982, pp. 937-953.

"Recent Developments in Production, Cost and Index Number Theory, with an Application to International Differences in the Cost and Efficiency of Steelmaking, 1907/09," in Productivity in the Economies of Europe, ed. by R. Fremdling and P.K. O'Brien, Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1983, pp. 90-99.

"Collective Invention," Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1983, pp. 1-24.

"The Impact of Technological Change on Employment, Wages, and the Distribution of Skills: A Historical Perspective," in C. Riddell, ed., Adapting to Change: Labour Market Adjustment in Canada, Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, Research Volume 18, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1986, pp. 71-110.

"Arthur Young and the Measurement of Agricultural Productivity during the Industrial Revolution," (with Cormac O Grada), in P.K. O'Brien, ed., International Productivity Comparisons and Problems of Measurement, 1750-1939, Bern, Ninth International Economic History Congress, 1986, pp. 6-15.

"The B.C. Economy: Past, Present, Future," in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds., Restraining the Economy, 1986, chapter 1.

"Investment and Education in British Columbia," in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds., Restraining the Economy, 1986, chapter 10.

"Trade Unions and the B.C. Economy," in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds., Restraining the Economy, 1986, chapter 12.

"The Price of Freehold Land and the Interest Rate in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth

Centuries," Economic History Review, 2nd series, 1988, vol. 41, pp. 33-50.

"On the Road Again with Arthur Young: English, Irish, and French Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution," (with Cormac O Grada) Journal of Economic History, vol. 38, 1988, pp. 93-116.

"Inferring Yields from Probate Inventories," Journal of Economic History, vol. 38, 1988, pp. 117-125.

"The Growth of Labour Productivity in Early Modern English Agriculture," Explorations in Economic History, 1988, vol. 25, pp. 117-146.

"Enclosure, Farming Methods, and the Growth of Productivity in the South Midlands," in Agrarian Organization in the Century of Industrialization: Europe, Russia and North America, ed. by George Grantham and Carol S. Leonard, Research in Economic History, Supplement 5, 1989, pp. 69-88.

"Le due rivoluzioni agrarie inglesi, 1450-1850," Rivista di Storia Economica, new series, Vol. vi, 1989, pp. 257-282.

"Agrarian Fundamentalism and English Agricultural Development," in Erik Aerts, Maurice Aymard, Juhan Kakh, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Richard Sutch, eds., Structures and Dynamics of Agricultural Exploitations: Ownership, Occupation, Investment, Credit, Markets, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1990, pp. 57-66.

"The Breadth and the Depth of the Market for Polish Grain, 1500-1800" (with R.W. Unger) in J.Ph.S. Lemmink and J.S.A.M. van Koningsbrugge, eds., Relations Between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe, 1500-1800, Baltic Affairs, Vol. I, Nijmegen, Nijmegen University Press, 1990, pp. 1-18.

"The Two English Agricultural Revolutions, 1450-1850," in B. Campbell and M. Overton, eds., Productivity Change and Agricultural Development, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991, pp. 236-254.

"Entrepreneurship, Total Factor Productivity, and Economic Efficiency: Landes, Solow, and Farrel Thirty Years Later," in Patrice Higonnet, David S. Landes, Henry Rosovsky, eds., Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth, and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1991, pp. 203-220.

"Agrarian Fundamentalism and English Agricultural Development," Rivista di Storia Economica, new series, Vol. vii, 1991, pp. 153-161.

"Labour Productivity and Farm Size in English Agriculture Before Mechanization: Reply to Clark," Explorations in Economic History, Vol. 28, 1991, pp. 478-92.

"The Conservative Revolution in Economic Policy," in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds.,

False Promises, 1992, chapter 1.

"The Performance of the B.C. Economy in the 1980s" (with G. Rosenbluth), in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds., False Promises, 1992, chapter 4.

"The Fall of Communism and the Future of Socialism," in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds., False Promises, 1992, chapter 8.

"Conclusion: It's Time for a Change," in Allen and Rosenbluth, eds., False Promises, 1992, chapter 15.

"Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution," in R. Floud and D.N. McCloskey, eds., The New Economic History of Britain, Vol. I: 1700-1860, second edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 96-122.

"Real Incomes in the English-Speaking World, 1879-1913," in George Grantham and Mary MacKinnon, eds., Labour Market Evolution: The Economic History of Market Integration, Wage Flexibility and the Employment Relation, London, Routledge, 1994, pp. 107-138.

"Agriculture and the Origins of the State in Ancient Egypt," Explorations in Economic History, Vol. 34, 1997, pp. 134-54.

"Agricultural Marketings and the Prospects for Industrialization in the Soviet Union in the 1930s," Explorations in Economic History, Vol. 34, 1997, pp. 387-410.

"Imposition et mobilisation du surplus agricole a l'époque stalinienne," Annales: histoire et science sociale, Vol. 53, 1998, pp. 569-595.

"Capital Accumulation, the Soft Budget Constraint, and Soviet Industrialization," European Review of Economic History, Vol. 2, 1998, pp. 1-24.

"Landlords and English Economic Development," Proceedings of the 12th International Economic History Congress, Madrid, 1998.

"Les deux révolutions agricoles anglaises, 1450-1850," in La terre et les hommes: France et Grande-Bretagne, xviiie-xviiiè siècles, ed. by Gerard Béaur, Paris, Hachette Littératures, 1998, pp. 129-146.

"The Standard of Living in the Soviet Union, 1928-40," Journal of Economic History, Vol. 58, 1998, pp. 1063-89.

"Tracking the Agricultural Revolution," Economic History Review, 2nd series, Vol. 52, 1999, pp. 209-235.

"Economic Structure and Agricultural Productivity in Europe, 1300-1800,"

European Review of Economic History, Vol. 3, 2000, pp. 1-25.

"Community and Market in England: Open Fields and Enclosures Revisited," in M. Aoki and Y. Hayami, eds., Communities and Markets in Economic Development, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 42-69.

"The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War," Explorations in Economic History, Vol. 38, October, 2001, pp. 411-447.

"The First Great Whale Extinction: The End of the Bowhead Whale in the Eastern Arctic," (with Ian Keay), Explorations in Economic History, Vol. 38, 2001, pp. 448-477.

'The Rise and Decline of the Soviet Economy,' (Innis Memorial Lecture), Canadian Journal of Economics, Vol. 34, 2001, pp. 859-81.

"Revolucion en los campos: La reinterpretacion de la Revolucion Agricola Inglesa," Historia Agraria, Vol. 26, 2002, pp. 13-32.

"Was there a Timber Crisis in Early Modern Europe?" Economia e energia secc. Xiii-xviii, Serie 'II-Atti delle "Settimane di Studi" e altri Convegni, 34, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", Prato, 2003, pp. 469-82.

"Οι δύο αγγλικές αγροτικές επαναστάσεις, 1450-1850," in Gerard Béaur, ed., Η Γη και οι Ανθρωποι, Athens, ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΔΑΡΔΑΝΟΣ, 2003, pp. 175-196.

"Finance and Capital Accumulation in a Planned Economy: The Agricultural Surplus Hypothesis and Soviet Economic Development, 1928-39," in Finance, Intermediaries, and Economic Development, ed. by Stanley L. Engerman, Philip T. Hoffman, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 272-87.

"Poverty and Progress in Early Modern Europe," Economic History Review, Vol. LVI, No. 3, August, 2003, pp. 403-443.

"Campos, explotaciones y sistemas de innovación en la agricultura preindustrial inglesa," Información Comercial Española. Revista de Economía, No. 812, 2004, pp. 189-197.

"Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution, 1700-1850," in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol. I: 1700-1860, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 96-116.

"Britain's Economic Ascendancy in a European Context," in Exceptionalism and Industrialisation: Britain and its European Rivals, 1688-1815, ed. By Leandro Prados



de la Escosura, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 15-34.

“Education and Technological Revolutions: The Role of the Social Sciences and the Humanities in the Knowledge Based Economy,” in Jane Gaskell and Kjell Rubenson, eds., Educational Outcomes for the Canadian Workplace: New Frameworks for Policy and Research, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp. 54-85.

“Saving the Whales: Lessons from the Extinction of the Eastern Arctic Bowhead,” (with Ian Keay), Journal of Economic History, Vol. 64, No. 2, June, 2004, pp. 400-432.

“Introduction,” (with Tommy Bengtsson, and Martin Dribe), in Robert C. Allen, Tommy Bengtsson, and Martin Dribe eds., Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 1-21.

“Real Wages in Europe and Asia: A First Look at the Long-Term Patterns,” in Robert C. Allen, Tommy Bengtsson, and Martin Dribe, eds., Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 111-130.

“Farm to Factory: A Reassessment of the Soviet Industrial Revolution,” Comparative Economic Studies, Vol. 47, Number 2, 2005, pp. 315-332.

"Landlords and Economic Development in England, 1450-1800," in Paul Janssens and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, eds., European Aristocracies and Colonial Elites: Patrimonial Management Strategies and Economic Development, 15th–18th Centuries, Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005, pp. 25-36.

“Bowhead Whales in the Eastern Arctic, 1611-1911: Population Reconstruction with Historical Whaling Records,” (with Ian Keay) Environment and History, 2006, Vol. 12, pp. 89-113.

“India in the Great Divergence,” Timothy J. Hatton, Kevin H. O’Rourke, and Alan M. Taylor, eds., The New Comparative Economic History: Essays in Honor of Jeffery G. Williamson, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2007, pp. 9-32.

“The Nitrogen Hypothesis and the English Agriculture Revolution: A Biological Analysis,” Journal of Economic History, 2008, Vol. 68, pp. 182-210.

“Real Wage Rates (Historical Trends),” New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics, second edition, ed. by Steven N. Durlauf and Lawrence E. Blume, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

“A Review of Gregory Clark’s A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World,” Journal of Economic Literature, 2008, Vol. 46:4, pp.

946-73.

“Agricultural Productivity and Rural Incomes in England and the Yangtze Delta, c. 1620 - c. 1820,” Economic History Review, 2009., Vol. 62, pp. 525-50.

“How Prosperous were the Romans? Evidence from Diocletian’s Price Edict (AD 301)” in Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson, eds., Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 327-345.

“Engel’s Pause: Technical Change, Capital Accumulation, and Inequality in the British Industrial Revolution,” Explorations in Economic History, Vol. 46, Number 4, October, 2009, pp. 418-35.

“The Industrial Revolution in Miniature: The Spinning Jenny in Britain, France, and India,” Journal of Economic History, Vol. 69, no. 4, December, 2009, pp. 901-27.

“The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective,” (Keynes Lecture in Economics), Proceedings of the British Academy, 2010, Vol. 167, pp. 199-224.

“Wages, Prices, and Living Standards in China, 1739-1925: in comparison with Europe, Japan, and India” (with Jean-Pascal Bassino, Debin Ma, Christine Moll-Murata, and Jan Luiten van Zanden), Economic History Review, 2011, Vol. 64, pp. 8-38.

“Why the Industrial Revolution was British: Commerce, Induced Innovation, and the Scientific Revolution,” Economic History Review, 2011, Vol. 64, pp. 357-84.

“Was there an ‘Industrious Revolution’ before the Industrial Revolution? An Empirical Exercise for England, c. 1300-1830” (with Jacob Weisdorf), Economic History Review, 2011, Vol. 64, pp. 715-29.

“The Spinning Jenny: A Fresh Look,” Journal of Economic History, 2011, Vol. 71, pp. 461-464.

“Technology and the Great Divergence: Global Economic Inequality since 1820,” Explorations in Economic History, 2012, Vol. 40, pp. 1-16.

“Backward into the future: The shift to coal and implications for the next energy transition,” Energy Policy, 2012, vol. 50, issue C, pages 17-23.

“The Colonial Origins of Divergence in the Americas: A Labour Market Approach,” (with Tommy Murphy and Eric Schneider), Journal of Economic History, 2012, Vol. 72, no. 4, pp. 863-894.

“Woran liegt es, dass manche Länder reich und andere arm sind?” Kölner Vortrag, *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 2013, Vol. 54, Issue 1, pp. 183-214.

“The Spread of Manufacturing,” *Cambridge History of Capitalism*, ed. by Larry Neal and Jeffrey G. Williamson, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014. Vol. II, pp. 22-46.

“Technology,” *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, ed. by Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries, and Paul Johnson, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, Vol. 1, pp. 292-320.

“American Exceptionalism as a Problem in Global History,” EHA Presidential Address, *Journal of Economic History*, 2014, Vol. 74, No. 2, pp. 309-350.

“The High Wage Economy and the Industrial Revolution: A Restatement,” *Economic History Review*, 2015, Vol. 68, No. 1, pp. 1-22.

“Una de Cal y Otra de Arena: Building Comparable Real Wages in a Global Perspective,” (with Tommy Murphy and Eric Schneider), *Revista De Historia Economica, Journal of Iberian and Latin American History*, 2015, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 61-7.

“Lessons from History for the Future of Work,” *Nature*, Vol. 550, Issue No. 7676, 19 October, 2017, pp. 321-4.

“Absolute Poverty: When Necessity Displaces Desire,” *American Economic Review*, Vol 107, No. 12, 2017, pp. 2690-3721.

“Class Structure and Inequality during the Industrial Revolution: Lessons from England’s Social Tables, 1688-1867,” *Economic History Review*, forthcoming.

“Real Wages Once More: A Response to Judy Stephenson,” *Economic History Review*, forthcoming.

“The Hand-Loom Weaver and the Power Loom: A Schumpeterian Perspective,” *European Review of Economic History*, forthcoming.

### Policy Publications

The False Dilemma: The Impact of Tobacco Control Policies on Employment in Canada, Ottawa, National Campaign for Action on Tobacco, 1993.

"The Economic Benefits of Post-Secondary Education and Training in B.C.: An Outcomes Assessment," UBC Department of Economics Discussion Paper 96-13, 1996.

Standing Room Only: The Case for Expanding B.C.'s Universities, Vancouver, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1998.

Paid in Full Who Pays for University Education in B.C? Vancouver, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1998.

The Employability of University Graduates in the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Education: Recent Statistical Evidence, Ottawa, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1998.

The Education Dividend: Why Education Spending is a Good Investment for B.C., Vancouver, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1999.

Education and Technological Revolutions: The Role of the Social Sciences and the Humanities in the Knowledge Based Economy, Ottawa, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1999.

Why Kosovo? The Anatomy of an Unnecessary War, Vancouver, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1999.

The publications of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council or the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives are available on their websites--[www.sshrc.ca](http://www.sshrc.ca) and [www.policyalternatives.ca](http://www.policyalternatives.ca).

#### Submitted and Under Review

“The Financial Crisis of the Abbasidian Caliphate and the Collapse of Civilization in Southern Iraq: an Essay on the Economics of the Hydraulic State,” (With Leander Heldring), *Journal of Economic History*, submitted.

“Why didn’t the Middle East Industrialize Before the First World War? Lessons from the Cotton Mills,” *Economic History Review*, revise and resubmit.

“Russian Real Wages before and after 1917: in Global Perspective,” (with Katya Khaustova) *Explorations in Economic History*.

#### In Progress or Unpublished

“Mr. Lockyer meets the Index Number Problem: The Standard of Living of Unskilled Workers in Canton and London in 1704.”

“English and Welsh Agriculture, 1300-1850: Output, Inputs, and Income”

“Pessimism Preserved: Real Wages in the British Industrial Revolution,”

Oxford University, Department of Economics, Working Paper 314, 2007.

“Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Egypt from Ptolemy to Mubarak”  
(with Sevket Pamuk)

“Nineteenth Century Russian Economic Development in the Perspective of  
World Wage and Price History” (with Katya Khaustova)

“Poverty Lines in History, Theory, and Current International Practice,”  
Oxford University, Department of Economics, Working Paper 685, 2013

