Online Appendix for *Honor and War*

This document contains the online appendix for the paper *Honor and War*. Section A explains how presidents were coded as Southern/non-Southern. Section B provides further statistical details, with a link to an external webpage containing comprehensive balance statistics for the matched datasets.

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A Coding Appendix

The coding of presidents as Southern or non-Southern was designed to capture the degree to which they were socialized into the Southern culture of honor. Since the impact of family and community socialization peaks in childhood and declines throughout the life span (e.g., Sears and Levy, 2003), we place greatest weight on the cultural milieu in which presidents were born and raised. We therefore coded as Southern any president born and raised in the South. For presidents born or raised in the South but not both, we used where they spent their pre-presidential career to break the tie, on the logic that their choice of where to settle revealed whether they identified more closely with Southern or non-Southern culture.

Our original coding scheme was derived from Nisbett and Cohen (1996), who define as "Southern" all states with a score of 25 or more on the Gastil Index (Gastil, 1971). This index is a standard measure of "southerness" that runs from 5 to 30 and is based on the predominance of emigrants from the core South among the state's initial settlers. Eleven states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia—receive a Gastil Index score of 30. Five others—Arizona, Florida, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas—have a score of 25. At the time of the Civil War, all of these states permitted slavery, and all but Arizona, Kentucky, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and West Virginia were among those states that seceded from the Union in 1861 (Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma were still territories at that time). Kentucky is the only non-Confederate Southern state in which any presidents were born or raised or spent their political career. Despite the fact that it did not join the Confederacy, Kentucky is generally considered to be culturally Southern (in Merton Coulter's memorable phrase, Kentucky "waited until after the war was over to secede from the Union"; Coulter, 1966, 439).

Based on the above coding rules, the following presidents were coded as Southern (presidents marked with an asterisk either were not covered in the dates of the MID dataset or did not experience a MID):

1. George Washington*
2. Thomas Jefferson*

3. James Madison
4. James Monroe
5. Andrew Jackson
6. William Henry Harrison*
7. John Tyler
8. James Polk
9. Zachary Taylor*
10. Andrew Johnson
11. Woodrow Wilson
12. Lyndon Johnson
13. James Carter
14. William Clinton
15. George W. Bush

To evaluate the accuracy of our preferred coding scheme, we examined its robustness on three dimensions (a) the inclusion of additional states in "the South"; (b) where presidents were educated; and (c) presidents' ethno-cultural heritage. The coding of two presidents proved sensitive to consideration of these factors.

The first is Harry Truman of Missouri, who is categorized as non-Southern under our original scheme. Although it scores only a 20 on the Gastil Index, many sources (e.g, Cohen et al., 1996) consider Missouri to be strongly influenced by Southern culture. On the eve of the Civil War, slaves constituted about ten percent of the Missouri population, and the question of whether to join the South in secession violently divided the state (Cooper and Terrill, 1990, 343). The ancestors of Harry Truman, the only president from Missouri, sided with the Confederacy, and there is a good deal of evidence that Truman considered himself at least partly Southern (he was the first Southern Baptist president, for example; see Leuchtenburg, 2005, 147–228 for an extended discussion of Truman's ambiguous regional identity). Moreover, according to Fischer (1989, 834–9), all of Truman's ancestors were Scotch-Irish, again suggesting that he may have been influenced by the culture of honor.

The second ambiguous president is George W. Bush. Born in Connecticut, Bush spent his childhood in Texas. He attended boarding school, college, and graduate school in New England before eventually settling back in Texas. Bush is coded as Southern under our original scheme, which is consistent with some scholars' characterization of him as exemplifying the Southern culture of honor (e.g., Lind, 2003; Wyatt-Brown, 2004, 2005). Although Bush's father, George H. W. Bush, settled in Texas, neither of the younger Bush's parents had any Southern background (George H. W. is coded as non-Southern in our dataset). Furthermore, George W. Bush's ancestry is only 25% Scotch-Irish and 75% Puritan.

Given the ambiguity of the cultural backgrounds of both Truman and Bush, we created three alternative coding schemes that, together with the original scheme, account for all possible categorizations of these two presidents. The cultural backgrounds of all other presidents were fairly unambiguously Southern or non-Southern. Below we provide the regional background of each president as well as his ethnocultural background. As Fischer (1989, 834–9) details, 38 of the first 40 presidents were descended predominantly from one or more of four waves of pre-Revolution British

immigration: Puritan, Quaker, Border (Scotch-Irish), and Tidewater (Cavalier). These four ethnocultural groups exhibited very different attitudes ("folkways") regarding the notion of honor (Fischer, 1989, 188, 396, 582–3, 667–8, 720). White Southern culture is derived almost entirely from the Scotch-Irish and Cavalier traditions, both of which have been characterized as prototypical examples of cultures of honor (Ayers, 1989; Nisbett and Cohen, 1996; James, 1986; McWhiney, 1988).

The list below summarizes the regional and cultural background of every president, indicating the degree to which each aspect of their background did (H) or did not (¬ H) emphasize honor:

George Washington

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Virginia (H)
Career State: Virginia (H)
Ancestry: 100% Cavalier (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

James Monroe

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Virginia (H)
Career State: Virginia (H)
Ancestry: 100% Cavalier (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

John Adams

Birth State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Childhood State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Career State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

John Quincy Adams

Birth State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Childhood State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Career State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Thomas Jefferson

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Virginia (H)
Career State: Virginia (H)
Ancestry: 100% Cavalier (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Andrew Jackson

Birth State: South Carolina (H)
Childhood State: North Carolina (H)
Career State: Tennessee (H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

James Madison

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Virginia (H)
Career State: Virginia (H)
Ancestry: 100% Cavalier (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Martin Van Buren

Birth State: New York (¬ H)
Childhood State: New York (¬ H)
Career State: New York (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Dutch (NA)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: NA

William Henry Harrison

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Virginia (H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Cavalier (H)
Southernness: 2/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

John Tyler

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Virginia (H)
Career State: Virginia (H)
Ancestry: 75% Cavalier (H), 25% ?
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 75%

James Polk

Birth State: North Carolina (H)
Childhood State: Tennessee (H)
Career State: Tennessee (H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Zachary Taylor

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Kentucky (H)
Career State: Kentucky (H)
Ancestry: 25% Cavalier (H), 75% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Millard Fillmore

Birth State: New York (¬ H)
Childhood State: New York (¬ H)
Career State: New York (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Franklin Pierce

Birth State: New Hampshire (¬ H)
Childhood State: New Hampshire (¬ H)
Career State: New Hampshire (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

James Buchanan

Birth State: Pennsylvania (¬ H)
Childhood State: Pennsylvania (¬ H)
Career State: Pennsylvania (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Abraham Lincoln

Birth State: Kentucky (H)
Childhood State: Indiana (¬ H)
Career State: Illinois (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Puritan (¬ H), 50% Quaker (¬ H)
Southernness: 1/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Andrew Johnson

Birth State: North Carolina (H)
Childhood State: South Carolina (H)
Career State: Tennessee (H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Ulysses Grant

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Puritan (¬ H),
50% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 50%

Rutherford Hayes

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 75% Puritan (¬ H), 25% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 25%

James Garfield

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Chester Arthur

Birth State: Vermont (¬ H)
Childhood State: New York (¬ H)
Career State: New York (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Puritan (¬ H), 50% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 50%

Grover Cleveland

Birth State: New Jersey (¬ H)
Childhood State: New York (¬ H)
Career State: New York (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Puritan (¬ H), 25% Quaker (¬ H), 25% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 25%

Benjamin Harrison

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Indiana (¬ H)
Ancestry: 25% Puritan (¬ H), 25% Cavalier (H), 50% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 75%

William McKinley

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 25% Quaker (¬ H), 75% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 75%

Theodore Roosevelt

Birth State: New York (¬ H)
Childhood State: New York (¬ H)
Career State: New York (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Dutch (NA), 50% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 50%

William Taft

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Woodrow Wilson

Birth State: Virginia (H)
Childhood State: Georgia (H)
Career State: New Jersey (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 2/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Warren Harding

Birth State: Ohio (¬ H)
Childhood State: Ohio (¬ H)
Career State: Ohio (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Puritan (¬ H), 50% Quaker (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Calvin Coolidge

Birth State: Vermont (¬ H)
Childhood State: Vermont (¬ H)
Career State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Herbert Hoover

Birth State: Iowa (¬ H)
Childhood State: Oregon (¬ H)
Career State: Oregon (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Quaker (¬ H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Franklin Roosevelt

Birth State: New York (¬ H)
Childhood State: New York (¬ H)
Career State: New York (¬ H)
Ancestry: 75% Puritan (¬ H), 25% Dutch (NA)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Harry Truman

Birth State: Missouri (¬ H)
Childhood State: Missouri (¬ H)
Career State: Missouri (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Dwight Eisenhower

Birth State: Texas (H)
Childhood State: Kansas (¬ H)
Career State: Kansas (¬ H)
Ancestry: 75% Quaker (¬ H), 25% Swiss-German (NA)
Southernness: 1/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

John Kennedy

Birth State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Childhood State: Connecticut (¬ H)
Career State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Ancestry: 100% Irish Catholic (NA)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

Lyndon Johnson

Birth State: Texas (H)
Childhood State: Texas (H)
Career State: Texas (H)
Ancestry: 100% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

Richard Nixon

Birth State: California (¬ H)
Childhood State: California (¬ H)
Career State: California (¬ H)
Ancestry: 75% Quaker (¬ H), 25% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 25%

Gerald Ford

Birth State: Nebraska (¬ H)
Childhood State: Michigan (¬ H)
Career State: Michigan (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Puritan (¬ H), 50% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 50%

James Carter

Birth State: Georgia (H)
Childhood State: Georgia (H)
Career State: Georgia (H)
Ancestry: 25% Puritan (¬ H), 75% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 75%

Ronald Reagan

Birth State: Illinois (¬ H)
Childhood State: Illinois (¬ H)
Career State: California (¬ H)
Ancestry: 75% Scotch-Irish (H), 25% ?
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: 75%

George H. W. Bush

Birth State: Massachusetts (¬ H)
Childhood State: Connecticut (¬ H)
Career State: Texas (H)
Ancestry: 100% Puritan (¬ H)
Southernness: 1/3
Honor Folkways: 0%

William Clinton

Birth State: Arkansas (H)
Childhood State: Arkansas (H)
Career State: Arkansas (H)
Ancestry: 25% Cavalier (H), 75% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 3/3
Honor Folkways: 100%

George W. Bush

Birth State: Connecticut (¬ H)
Childhood State: Texas (H)
Career State: Texas (H)
Ancestry: 75% Puritan (¬ H), 25% Scotch-Irish (H)
Southernness: 2/3
Honor Folkways: 25%

Barack Obama

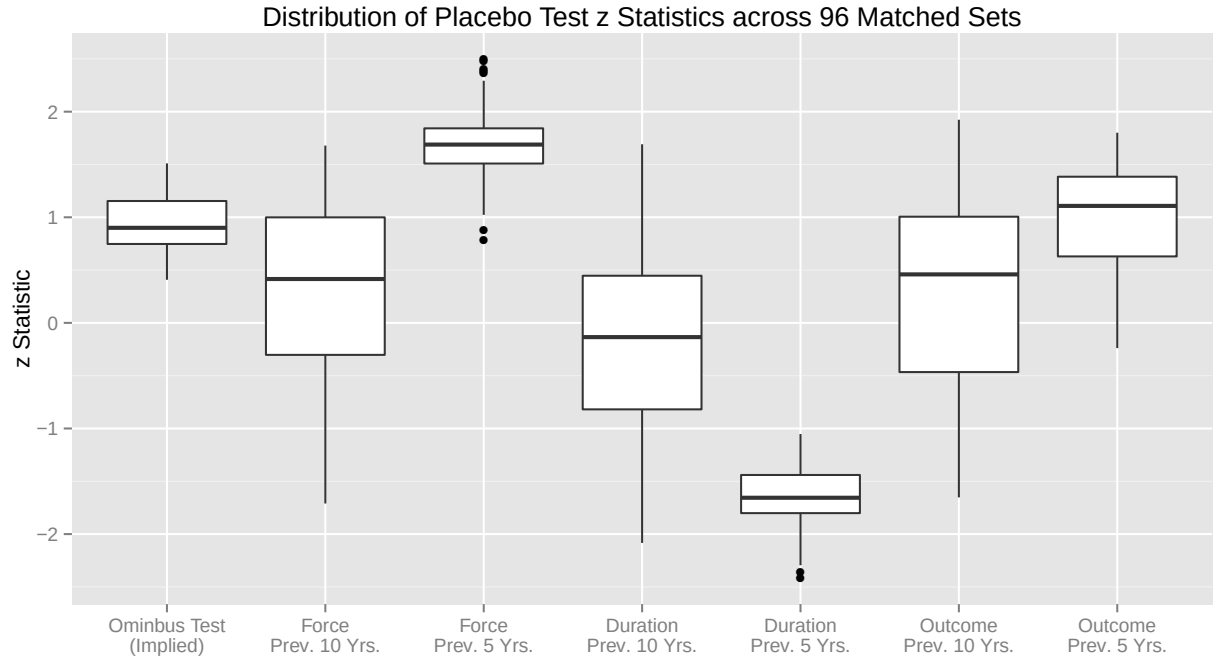
Birth State: Hawaii (¬ H)
Childhood State: Hawaii (¬ H)
Career State: Illinois (¬ H)
Ancestry: 50% Kenyan (NA), 50% Irish, English, Dutch, etc. (NA)
Southernness: 0/3
Honor Folkways: NA

B Statistical Appendix

This appendix provides additional information about our data.

B.1 Results of Placebo Tests

Figure 1: This figure summarizes the placebo test results for each of the 6 lagged dependent variables over 96 different matched datasets. The placebo balance tests were conducted using the R function `xBalance` from the package **RItools**, which implements individual and omnibus balance tests for stratified clustered data (Hansen and Bowers, 2008; Bowers, Fredrickson and Hansen, 2010). The test statistic used in `xBalance` is a weighted sum of the stratum-specific differences of means, where the weights are proportional to the harmonic mean of the number of observations (MIDs) in each presidency. Each box plot shows the distribution of placebo-test z-scores across the 96 matched datasets. The leftmost box plot displays the results for the omnibus balance test (whose χ^2 statistic has been transformed into the z-statistic with the equivalent p-value). Scores above 1.96 are (asymptotically) significant at $\alpha = 0.05$, a threshold exceeded in some matched datasets by the 5-year lagged averages of *US Force* (which was higher preceding Southern presidencies) and logged *Duration* (which was lower preceding Southern presidencies). For the 10-year lags, there is very little evidence of imbalance between Southern and non-Southern presidents.



B.2 Matching Information and Balance Statistics

For comprehensive (and very lengthy) matching balance statistics for all covariates, please see "balance.pdf" at https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/96AJMC

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