



## INTRODUCTION

48

49

50 The debate over market/individual regulation and freedom dates as far back as religious  
51 Holy documents, such as The Holy Bible. The Old Testament of The Holy Bible tells of Moses  
52 detailing the Ten Commandments, in Exodus 20:2-17. The Ten Commandments are God's basic  
53 instruction to his people. The Ten Commandments are seen as the paraphrased *controls* of individuals  
54 in markets and society, for those moved by Old Testament Biblical doctrine. One might interpret the  
55 New Testament of The Holy Bible as expressing a more *free* form of living, for instance, in passages  
56 such as Philippians 4:6-7<sup>1</sup> and Philippians 4:13: I am capable of doing "all things" through Christ Jesus  
57 who strengthens me (KJV The Holy Bible, p. 263).

58

59 Similarly, the debate of more regulation or relative freedom of immigrants has moved backed into  
60 the spotlight of America, at the start of 21<sup>st</sup> century, with large masses of Latino/Latina Americans  
61 migrating from Central America and South America to North America. Joseph Ferrie (1999)  
62 thoroughly documented the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century wave of immigrants to the United States of America  
63 from Europe. But before the Latino/Latina American immigration discussion commenced and  
64 before the European American immigration wave of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, the regulation and  
65 freedom of black Americans was central to the governance issue of the United States of America. In  
66 many ways, a clear understanding of the freedoms (or the lack of freedoms) and their economic  
67 consequences on early black Americans provides an understanding to the freedoms  
68 (or the lack of freedoms), and their economic consequences on other, modern ethnic groups.

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<sup>1</sup> "Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God. And the peace of God which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus" (KJV The Holy Bible, p. 263)

70

71 The experience of blacks in America can be divided into three separate discussions, the experience  
72 of: (i) free blacks prior to the Civil War, (ii) slaves prior to emancipation and (iii) the experiences of  
73 all blacks after the Civil War. But the socioeconomic experiences of the latter two are linked to that  
74 of the former:

75 “In learning to deal with free blacks before the Civil War, ...whites developed institutions, standards of  
76 personal relations, and patterns of thought which they applied to all blacks after Emancipation. Segregation,  
77 black codes, the convict-lease system, and the various forms of peonage usually associated with post-bellum  
78 South all victimized the antebellum free Negro caste. When the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth  
79 Amendment freed all blacks, whites applied the panoply of attitudes and institutions they had long used to  
80 control the free Negro caste. In many instances, the magnitude of the Emancipation and the libertarian spirit  
81 that accompanied it forbade immediate reinstatement of the forms of white domination. But within a  
82 generation the web of constraints that had dominated the lives of antebellum free Negroes had been imposed  
83 on all Negroes. In many ways, freedom—not slavery—was the taproot of postwar...race relations”  
84 (Berlin, p. xiv)  
85  
86

87 In other words, the day after a slave is emancipated from an intergenerational experience of  
88 enslavement, what does that ex-slave do? What are his or her goals? Does the slave have a  
89 contemporaneous objective to supply labor and consume necessary commodities in a manner that  
90 highly discounts the future in order to survive on a day to day basis at the expense of future  
91 consumption, or does the slave have an intertemporal objective to store material possessions in a  
92 manner that minimizes current consumption, possibly below subsistence, in order to provide a  
93 better experience for his or her children? Prior to southern emancipation, some blacks were able to  
94 ponder on the same decisions.

95

96 Therefore, this paper focuses on the plight of the average antebellum free black American, which, in  
97 hindsight, illuminated the path of the average black American, after emancipation, as well as  
98 Americans of other ethnicities over time.

99

100

101 **Outline**

102

103 The structure of the paper is as follows:

104

105 In the first section, I analyze *the legal structure in the United States of America* and its impact on the  
106 progression of free black rights and protections under the United States Constitution and the  
107 multiple levels of government dating back to the Colonial period.

108

109 In the second section, I analyze *the demographic dispersion of the free black population*.

110

111 In the third section, I present *the methods of economic analysis, results, and conclusions* from comparing the  
112 economic experiences of white Americans and ex-slaves to free black Americans.

113

114 Through these analyses, I intend to uncover the portion of the ethnic experience explained by  
115 institutional barriers and the portion of their experience explained by available socioeconomic  
116 choices. While a previous paper that I wrote provides a decomposition of these aggregate  
117 differences, this paper will provide one of the first comprehensive, synthesized analyses of the legal,  
118 demographic, and economic experiences of free Black Americans, most who are ex-slaves,  
119 compared to whites in the United States of America.

120

121 **THE FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS IN THE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES OF**  
122 **AMERICA, COLONIAL THROUGH THE CONSTITUTIONAL ERAS**  
123

124 **The Definition of a Free Black Citizen before the Emancipation Proclamation**

125

126 The free black was legally defined by his or her physical traits and source of social freedoms.

127 Foremost, several states took the time and effort to write laws that provided a definition of a free

128 black based on their family tree and physical traits, which were informally adopted nationally:

129 "Who was a Negro? During the Colonial era, only Virginia and North Carolina had bothered to define legally  
130 what made a person black. Both colonies carried the search for African ancestry back three generations, and at  
131 times, North Carolina legislators pecked into the fourth generation removed. Any free person with African  
132 parent, grandparent, greatgrandparent, and sometimes a great-great grandparent—that is, up to one-eighth or  
133 onesixteenth Negro—was deemed black and subject to laws regulating free Negroes. In rummaging through  
134 family trees to the third and fourth generation, Virginia and North Carolina gave legal force to the  
135 commonplace colonial notion that anyone who displayed the physical attributes of an African past...was to be  
136 considered black as a full-blooded Negro. Other colonies seemed to follow this rule, although none chose to  
137 write it into law" (Berlin, 1974, pp.97-98)  
138

139 The source of social freedoms for free blacks was quite different than that of whites. Whites

140 functioned in American society based on natural rights protected by clauses in the Constitution.

141 However, the free black existed based on manumission:

142 "Manumission, or some related form of legal declaration of freedom, was conferred on favored individuals of  
143 meritorious services or because of sentimental or moral reason.... Slaves who were permitted to hire themselves  
144 out as laborers were sometimes able to save sufficient money to purchase their freedom from their masters. A  
145 significant number gained their freedom by escaping their owners and isolating themselves in remote localities  
146 in the South or by fleeing to free soil in the North or in Canada.... Free Negroes...were immigrants from foreign  
147 lands.... Offspring not only of members of the free Negro community but also from unions between free  
148 Negroes and non-Negroes (expanded the free Negro community)" (Zelinsky, 1950, pp.386-87).  
149

150 The controversy on the citizenship status of free blacks in America can be traced back to the

151 formation of America. Many federal and states decisions often conflicted on the protections of the

152 free black American under the laws of governments. The legal turmoil around the status of free

153 blacks can be best understood by dividing up the discussion into the early Colonial period and the

154 Constitutional era. The latter can be further partitioned into an analysis of federal and state laws on

155 free black citizenship.

156

## 157 **The Colonial Era of Free Black Citizenship in the United States of America**

158

159 The experiences of free blacks in America date back to the Colonial Period. The initial absence of  
160 early Colonial laws that limited the rights of free blacks produced a temporary environment that  
161 welcomed free black social gains:

162 “Between the arrival of the first free blacks and the codification of slavery in 1660’s, colonial lawmakers hardly  
163 recognized them all. During these first forty years, some free Negroes enjoyed the full fruit of the new rich land.  
164 They earned money, accumulated property, and occasionally held minor offices....But as whites secured the  
165 bonds of racial slavery, the status of those blacks who remained free suffered. In the 1660’s, when slavery was  
166 given legal sanction, (for instance) Virginia legislators made a lasting judgment: free Negroes ‘ought not in all  
167 respects...be admitted to a full fruition of the exemptions and impunities of the English’ ” (Berlin, pp.4-5)  
168

169 Upon the inception of Colonial state laws that articulated free black protections, levels of freedom  
170 differed depending on what state free blacks resided in:

171 “Colonial blacks codes were laced with inconsistencies. Although they (whites) often treated free blacks roughly,  
172 they left large areas where blacks enjoyed legal equalities with whites. For example, Virginia barred free  
173 Negroes from holding office, yet no other colony so acted. Maryland prohibited free Negroes from mustering  
174 with the militia, but no other Southern colony issued a similar ban, and some actually required Negro freemen  
175 to attend. South Carolina and Virginia sought to ensure white dominance by whipping blacks, ‘free or bond,’  
176 who dared to raise a hand to strike a white, but they remained alone in this action....The black codes were a  
177 jumble whose haphazard construction reflected refusal, inability, or disinclination of whites to fix the free  
178 Negro’s status. This confusion gave free Negroes room to maneuver in a society that often was hostile to their  
179 very existence” (Berlin, pp.8-9).  
180

## 181 **The Era of the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights**

182

183 The status of free blacks in America, as with any American, is directly linked to his or her rights and  
184 protections as articulated in the Constitution, as interpreted by the courts, and as enforced by agents  
185 of federal, state and local governments. Article four, Section two and Paragraph one of the  
186 Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1787, provided the basis for citizenship of an  
187 American: “The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in  
188 the several states” (McKee, 1934, p.2). However, the literal interpretation of this

189 clause could only be articulated, with sufficient enforcement powers, when individuals contested the  
190 actions of others based on this clause. McKee reports that such contests did occur and led to  
191 essentially two different interpretations, one based on property rights and another based on state-  
192 defined laws.

193

194 Foremost, the judge (Chase) in the 1797 Maryland case of *Campbell vs. Morris* first articulated the  
195 property-holding definition of citizenship:

196

197 “One of the great objects must occur to every person, which was enabling the citizens of several states to  
198 acquire and hold real property in any of the states, and deemed necessary, as each state was a sovereign,  
199 independent state, and the state had confederated only for the purpose of general defense and security, and to  
200 the general welfare....The court of the opinion it means that citizens have the peculiar advantage of acquiring  
201 and holding real as well as personal property, and that such property shall be protected and secured by the laws  
202 of the state is protected” (McKee, p.4).

203

204 Since free blacks were not denied the right to own property, this interpretation led to an inclusion of  
205 free blacks in the rights and protections of US citizens: “The free Negro’s only right that escaped  
206 unscathed was his ability to hold property—a striking commentary on the American idea of liberty”  
207 (Berlin, p.97). But “the words of Judge Chase are rarely encountered in judicial opinions and his  
208 concepts even less frequently in the arguments upon the operation of the clause of free Negroes in  
209 the period prior to 1860” (McKee, p.3). Instead, the state-defined laws on citizenship became  
210 dominant during this period. The judge (Washington) in the Federal Case, *Corfield vs. Coryell*, first  
211 articulated this definition of citizenship.

212

213 The judge states that citizenship rights “belong, of right, to the citizens of all free governments; and which have,  
214 at all times, been enjoyed by the citizens of the several states which compose this Union, from the time of their  
215 becoming free, independent, and sovereign...tedious...the enumerate...all comprehended under the following  
216 general heads: Protection by the government; the enjoyment of life and liberty, with right to acquire and  
217 possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety; subject nevertheless to such  
218 restraints as government may justly prescribe for the general purpose of the whole. The right of one citizen of  
219 one state to pass through, or to reside in any other state, for purposes of trade, agriculture, professional  
220 pursuits, or otherwise; to claim the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; to institute and maintain actions of any  
221 kind in the courts of the state; to take, hold and dispose of property, either real or personal; and an exemption  
222 from higher taxes or impositions than are paid by the other citizens of the state; may be mentioned as of the  
particular privileges and immunities of citizens, which are clearly embraced by the general description of

223 privileges deemed to be fundamental; to which may be added the elective franchise, as regulated and  
224 established by the laws or constitution of the state in which it is exercised” (McKee, p.5).  
225

226 Essentially, “it only admitted those men who were citizens of right” (McKee, p.6). Therefore, it was  
227 left up to each state to define the citizenship status of free blacks.

228

## 229 **The Era of the Federal Government in United States of America**

230

231 The federal government also weighed in on the issue of free black citizenship and their rights and  
232 privileges under the Constitution. The following summarizes key federal legislation, federal executive  
233 branch decisions and Supreme Court decisions.

234

235 Foremost, the United States Congress was actively involved in questions about the legal status of  
236 free blacks. Table 1a shows that Congress presented legislation often restricted or debated the  
237 restriction of free black citizenship rights on military and public service.

238

239

240 **Table 1a. Congressional Deliberations over the Status of Free Blacks in the US, 1790-1870**

241

Year	US Congressional Actions
1790	Restricted naturalization to whites
1792	Restricted participation in military to white males
1803	Allowed free blacks to serve as seamen
1810	Restricted postal mail carriers to whites
1820	Restricted new authorization of local control in Washington, DC to whites
1821-	Debated legal rights of free blacks
1840-	Debated reports of high 'idiot and insane' rates among Northern free blacks
1840-	Debated the expansion of slavery
1841	Deleted provisions that excluded free blacks from the federal land policies
1850-	Attached amendments to federal land policies the restricted free blacks from participation
1870	Adopted the 14th Amendment which recognized the rights of free blacks

248 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from Litwick (1958, pp. 261-75)

249

250 The only exception of significance was that free blacks were allowed to serve as seamen in 1803. But  
 251 federal legislation, such as the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act which “provided more severe penalties for  
 252 those abetting fugitive slaves than the previous act of 1793 and made government officials  
 253 responsible for the arrest of suspected slaves" (Wilkie, 1976, p.318), consistently inhibited free black  
 254 rights as US citizens and led many to migrate to Canada, Africa and Central America. But Congress  
 255 also displayed glimpses of opportunity for free black rights. For instance, the federal executive  
 256 branch, through the Attorney General and Secretary of State offices, also participated in the debate  
 257 over the rights of free blacks. For instance, early Attorney Generals contributed to the debate on the  
 258 rights of free blacks to citizenship. Table 1b shows the varying opinions of Attorney Generals with  
 259 regard to free black citizenship.

260

261

262 **Table 1b. Opinions on the Legal Status of Free Blacks by US Attorney Generals, 1821-1862**

Year	US Attorney General Opinions
1821	No free black rights to citizenship under the US Constitution Free black rights to citizenship were defined by state of residence
1822	SC state police powers that imprisoned foreign black seaman violated Constitution
1823	Free blacks were entitled to receive land payments for service in 1812 war No free black rights to serve in military
1829	SC state police powers that imprisoned foreign black seaman were lawful
1831	No free black rights to citizenship under the US Constitution
1843	Free black rights to citizenship were between the definition of alien and citizen Free blacks were entitled to benefit from federal land policies
1856	No free blacks entitlements to benefit from federal land policies No free black rights to citizenship under the US Constitution
1862	Free black rights to citizenship, vote and hold office

263  
264 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from Litwick (1958, pp. 273-75)

265  
266 At a minimum, free blacks were citizens of their states throughout the period. In 1821, the Attorney  
267 General stated that the "free Negroes 'cannot be regarded, when beyond the Jurisdiction of the  
268 Government, as entitled to full rights of citizens'" (p.272). However, citizenship was defined as  
269 "'those who enjoyed the full and equal privileges of white citizens in the State of their residence,'  
270 (which) implied that Negroes could be so considered" (p.273). The ability of the free blacks to  
271 access federal land programs also commented on the citizenship status of free blacks. The decisions  
272 of Attorney Generals tended vary on land grant opportunities for free blacks until the  
273 interpretations of the Dred Scott decision close the door:

274 "Attorney-General H. S. Legare replied to an interrogation from the Secretary of the Treasury that free  
275 Negroes were qualified to secure land under the preemption law in 1841. That enactment provided that only  
276 citizens of the United States or aliens who had filed their declarations of intention to become a citizen could  
277 take land...He then proceeded to show that free Negroes were not aliens, and ended by proving them to be  
278 citizens. To avoid giving them full protection of the Constitution he classified them as denizens...Later Galeb  
279 Cushing, Attorney-General under President Pierce...allowed 'that the better option is the colored persons are  
280 not' citizens of the United State...(Furthermore) the general land office, after the Scott decision, cancelled  
281 some of the claims of free Negroes to the public land under the preemption law of 1841. It maintained that as  
282 free Negroes had been adjusted not to be citizens of the United States, they could legally acquire title under the  
283 1841 set" (McKee, pp. 211-13)  
284

285 The debate continued across federal administration among Secretaries of State over the passport  
286 eligibility of free blacks. Passports were symbolic of citizenship and protections from the US  
287 government. Table 2 shows that early United States Secretaries of State took different positions on  
288 the rights of free blacks to own passports.

289

290 **Table 2. Free Black Passport Policies by US Secretaries of State , 1839-1861**

Year	US Secretaries of State Passport Policies
1839	Rejected passport application from Philadelphia free black
1847	Allowed free blacks to attain alternative certificates to passports
1849	Allowed free blacks who served as foreign diplomats to attain passports
1856	Rejected passports to eleven free blacks Allowed free blacks to attain alternative certificates to passports
1857	Declared no foundation for passports to free blacks
1861	Allowed free blacks to obtain passports

291

292 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from Litwick (1958, pp. 271-73)

293

294 There is evidence, threaded throughout the different tenures of the United States Secretaries of  
295 States, that free blacks received passports in 1834, 1836, 1849 and 1854 (p. 271). At a minimum,  
296 most Secretaries allowed free blacks to receive some documentation of birth and residence in the  
297 United States. These documents stated that free blacks "were born in the United States, are free, and  
298 that the government thereof would regard it to be its duty to protect them if wronged by a foreign  
299 service government, while within its jurisdiction for a legal and proper purpose" (p.272).

300

301 The federal courts made the final statement of the rights of free blacks before the Civil War. The  
302 majority opinion of the famous 1857 US Supreme Court decision, *Dred Scott vs. Sanford*, known as the  
303 Dred Scott decision, stated that there were no rights of free blacks that whites had to honor.

304 Paraphrasing what Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote: "'The African race in the United States even when free,' he  
305 wrote, 'are everywhere a degraded class, and exercise no political influence. The privileges they are allowed to

306 enjoy, are accorded to them as a matter of kindness and benevolence rather than right...And where they are  
307 normally admitted by law to privileges of citizenship, they have no effectual power to defend them, and are  
308 permitted to be citizens by the sufferance of the white population and hold whatever rights they enjoy at their  
309 mercy.' Negroes are 'a separate and degraded people to whom the sovereignty of each state might accord or  
310 withhold such privileges as they deemed proper.' Consequently, the framers of the Constitution had not  
311 regarded them as citizens and they 'were evidently not supposed to be included by the term citizens'" (p.274).  
312

313 The dissent argued that at the time the founding documents were be written, several states gave free  
314 blacks the right the vote and, thus, were included in the interpretation of the 'people of the United  
315 States' who had certain protections under the law.

316 Paraphrasing what dissenting Justice Benjamin R. Curtis wrote: "At the time of the ratification of the Articles  
317 of Confederation, he pointed out, free Negroes were not only citizens in five states--New Hampshire,  
318 Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina--but actually exercised the right of suffrage on  
319 equal terms with whites...Negroes, he concluded, 'were not only included in the body of *the people of the United*  
320 *States*, by whom the Constitution was ordained and established, but in at least five of the States they had the  
321 power to act, and doubtless did act, by their suffrages, upon the question of its adoption'" (p.277)  
322

323 Nevertheless, the majority opinion led to immediate action by slaveholding states:

324 "The United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision had eliminated the slender protection of  
325 constitutional guarantees by stripping free Negroes of their citizenship. Dred Scott new life into the expulsion  
326 movement...Under pressure from governor, the state's leading newspaper, white workingmen, and petitions  
327 from various public meetings, the legislature hastily ordered Negro freemen to leave the state by 1 January  
328 1860...News from Arkansas shot through the South and sparked still another wave of assaults on the  
329 freemen's liberty" (Berlin, pp. 372-84).  
330

331

### 332 **State Laws in the United States of America**

333

334 Litwick (1958) found that "in the absence of any clear constitutional or judicial directive, the federal  
335 government and the individual states separately defined the legal status of ante-bellum free Negroes"  
336 (p.261). Restrictive federal decisions often had to be executed with resistance from northern states.

337 This most evident in a case in Massachusetts where the state defied the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law:

338

339 "Shadrack, a Negro employee in a Boston coffee house, was arrested in February 15, 1851, on the charge of  
340 having escaped from slavery in the previous May. As the commissioner before whom he was brought was not  
341 ready to proceed, the case was adjourned for three days. As Massachusetts had forbidden the use of her jails in  
342 fugitive cases Shadrack was detained in the United States courtroom at the courthouse. A mob of people broke

343 into the building, rescued the prisoner and he escaped to Canada. The rescue caused great excitement in  
344 Washington and five of the rescuers were restricted and tried but the jury disagreed. The incident showed that  
345 the new law would be enforced with difficulty in Massachusetts" (Landon, pp.29-30).  
346

347 Additionally, after the Dred Scott decision in 1857 and reciprocal to the actions of Arkansas,  
348 Massachusetts took the opportunity to enhance free black passport rights. "The Massachusetts  
349 Legislature decided that since the Dred Scott decision 'virtually denationalized' the state's Negro  
350 citizens, it would authorize its own Secretary of State to grant passports to any citizen of the  
351 Commonwealth 'what ever the color may be'" (Litwick, 1958, p.273).

352  
353 Since the dominant interpretation of the United States Constitution left free black citizenship rights  
354 up to the individual states, it would be informative to measure the degree to which free black rights  
355 and privileges were protected. As a measure of citizenship rights, researchers often analyzed the  
356 voting rights of and entrance restrictions legally placed on free blacks.

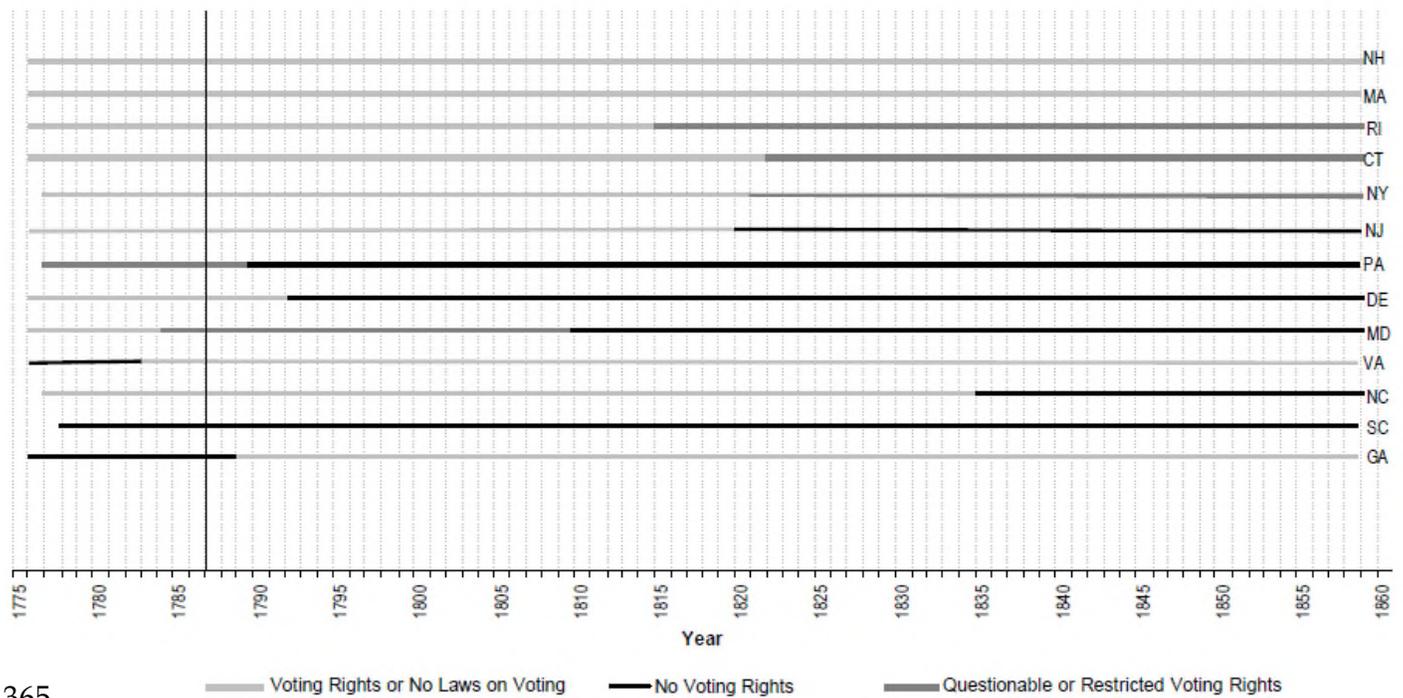
357  
358 Foremost, upon the adoption of the Constitution, the right to vote was not guaranteed in all states  
359 for free blacks. Figure 1a shows that much of the northeast never adopted laws that prohibited the  
360 right of free blacks to vote.

361

362

363  
364

**Figure 1a. State Voting Rights as a Measure of US Citizenship for Free Blacks in the Original Thirteen States, 1776-1858**



365

— Voting Rights or No Laws on Voting    — No Voting Rights    — Questionable or Restricted Voting Rights

366

**Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from McKee (1934)

367

368 However, Connecticut (1814) and Rhode Island (1822) restricted the rights of free blacks to vote in  
369 manner that was reciprocal to northeastern gradual emancipation laws: free black adult exemptions  
370 from restrictions on voting rights did not carry over to their children. The mid-Atlantic states of  
371 New York (1777), New Jersey (1776) and Pennsylvania (1776) unanimously agreed to extend free  
372 black voting privileges prior to the adoption of the constitution. But a few years later, Pennsylvania  
373 (1790) and New Jersey (1820) reversed their laws while New York added documentation of freedom  
374 requirements in 1814 and additional property holding requirements in 1822 (McKee, p.4). The  
375 restrictions on voting privileges in the south varied near the adoption of the Constitution and  
376 become almost uniform directly before the Civil War. Georgia (1723), South Carolina (1778),  
377 Virginia (1723), and Delaware (1792) all prohibited free black suffrage. Figure 1a shows that Georgia

378 (1789 and 1798) was the only one of these states to change their mind. North Carolina, which  
379 allowed free blacks the right to vote in 1776, later reversed their law in 1835.

380

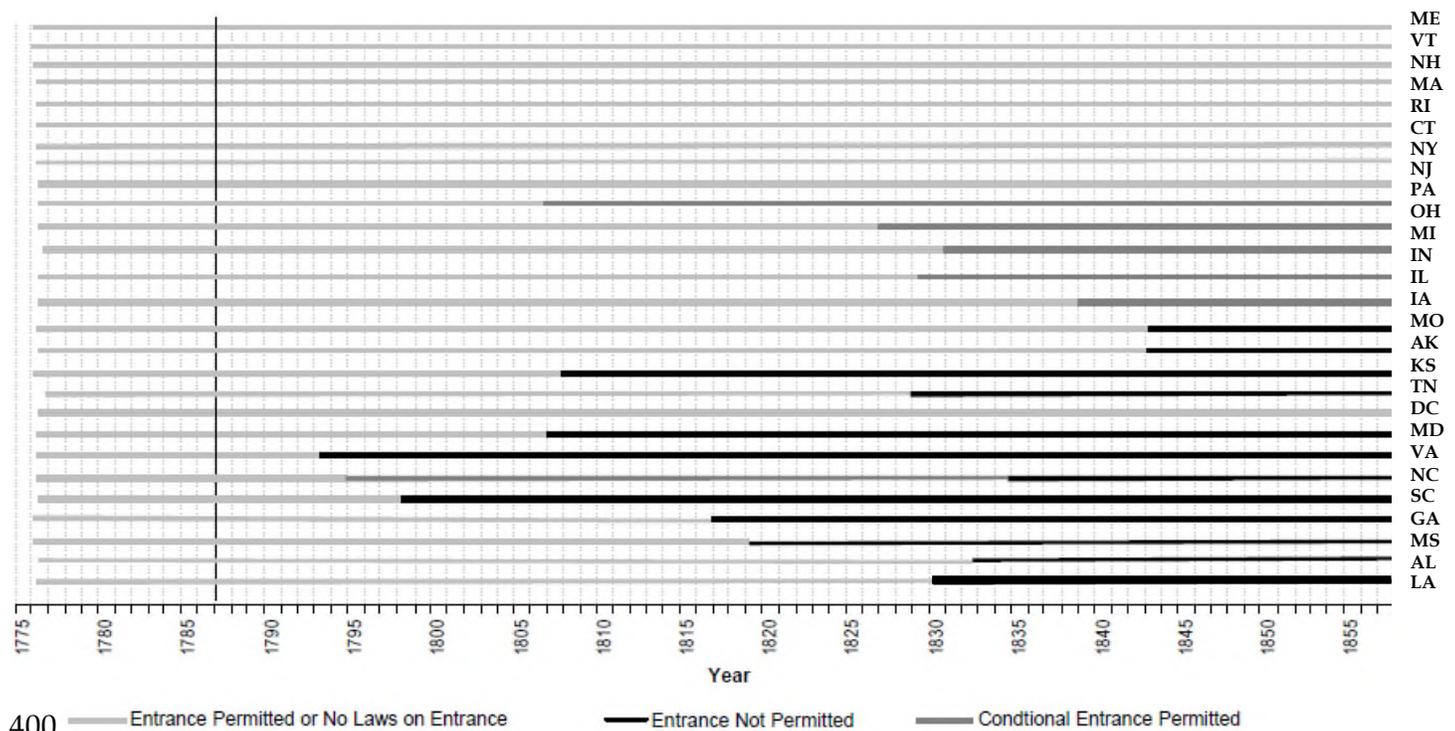
381 Similarly, Maryland, which allowed free blacks to vote in 1776, initiated a gradual suffrage law in  
382 1783 that allowed free black adults to maintain their voting rights but prohibited their children from  
383 doing the same. But by 1810, any remaining free black voting rights in Maryland were completely  
384 eliminated. McKee argued that this was evidence of contradictions between Constitutional  
385 entitlements and state legislation on free black privileges as citizens: "Vermont (1790), Kentucky  
386 (1792) and Tennessee (1796) made no provision in their constitutions excluding Negroes from the  
387 suffrage. With Maine (1819), they were the only states which entered the Union, prior to Nebraska  
388 in 1867, which did not restrict the suffrage to whites...Kentucky and Tennessee subsequently  
389 enacted such a restriction" (Litwick, 1958, p262).

390

391 McKee (1934) argued that an examination of entrance laws was more compelling. He suggested that  
392 there exists a conflict between the dominant court interpretation of the United States Constitution  
393 and the state laws on free black restrictions to migrate or enter into other states. No northeastern  
394 states enacted entrance laws except Massachusetts (1788) and Connecticut (1833), which required  
395 some form of documentation of freedom. Similarly, in the mid-Atlantic, New Jersey (1798) also  
396 required some form of documentation; otherwise free blacks from any state free enter the region.  
397 But Figure 1b shows that the situation changed slightly for the Midwest.

398

Figure 1b. State Entrance Laws as a Measure of US Citizenship for Free Blacks, 1776-1858



400 Source: Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from McKee (1934)

401

402

403 Ohio (1807), Illinois (1829), Michigan (1827), Indiana (1831) and Iowa (1839) required bonds for

404 free blacks born in other states to enter their state. But Delaware (1807), which required some proof

405 of freedom, was the only southern state that admitted free blacks from other states. North Carolina

406 (1798), which initially allowed free blacks to enter with a bond, prohibited entrance in 1826, along

407 with South Carolina (1800), Maryland (1807), Kentucky (1808), Georgia (1818), Mississippi (1819),

408 Louisiana (1830), Tennessee (1831), Alabama (1832), Arkansas (1843) and Missouri (1843).

409

410

411

412 **Summary of the Federal and State Laws in the United States of America**

413

414 Federal-level decisions tended to vary based upon the individuals in office, but state government, as  
415 the dominant interpretation of the Constitution uplifted, tended to have control over the degree to  
416 which free blacks had legally enforceable freedoms. Ultimately, the degree of restrictions on free  
417 blacks citizenship depended on the location and distance of a state from the least restrictive upper  
418 Northeast to the often most restrictive southern-most part of the south. Yet, citizenship restrictions  
419 tended not to interfere the property-holding rights of free blacks in any state.

420

421

422 **THE DEMOGRAPHY OF FREE BLACK AMERICANS, COMPARED TO EX-SLAVES**  
423 **AND WHITE AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND**  
424 **FREE BLACKS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES THROUGH 1870**  
425

426 After accounting for the relatively exogenous legal factors, we can more clearly analyze the relatively  
427 endogenous factors that impact the demography and economy of antebellum free blacks. The  
428 following analysis of the free black demography is partitioned into a discussion of the free black  
429 population, geography, and the local density of Free Blacks. The discussion of the geography of Free  
430 Blacks includes a discussion of the aggregate density of Free Blacks; the migration of Free Blacks in  
431 the United States of America; the emigration of Free Blacks from the United States of America to  
432 Canada, Central America, and Africa, including Liberia; the geography of non-US Free Blacks with  
433 international citizenship in Europe, Central and South America (including the organization of the  
434 migration of Free Blacks to Liberia, and the organization of the state of Liberia), and the urban-rural  
435 ‘choices’ of non-US Free Black residencies.

436

437 **The Population of Free Blacks in the United States of America and Foreign Countries**

438

439 Foremost, the enumerated free black population was smaller than the enumerated slave and white  
440 population in the US census. Table 4 shows that there was approximately one free black for every  
441 ten slaves and one free black for every fifty whites enumerated between 1790 and 1860. But the  
442 enumerated population of free blacks in the United States still grew eight fold from the adoption of  
443 the Constitution to the Civil War: Table 4 shows that approximately 60,000 free blacks were  
444 enumerated in 1790—which constituted fewer than two percent of the enumerated population—  
445 and this figure grew to just under 500,000 by 1860— which was still fewer than two percent of the  
446 population.

447

448 While proportion of enumerated free blacks remained constant between 1790 and 1860, the  
449 proportion of slaves enumerated fell while the proportion of whites enumerated grew. Foremost, the  
450 enumerated slave population grew approximately six fold during this period: Table 4 shows that  
451 approximately 700,000 slaves were enumerated in 1790—which was about 18 percent of the  
452 population—and this figure grew to just under four million slaves in 1860—which was fewer than  
453 13 percent of the population. Second, the enumerated white population grew nine fold during this  
454 time period: Table 3 shows that the census enumerated approximately three million whites in  
455 1790—which was 80 percent of the population—and these figures grew to approximately 27 million  
456 whites and 86 percent of the total population by 1860.

457

Table 3. US Population by Racial and Freedom Status, 1790-1870

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870
<b>Free Blacks</b>	<b>59,466</b>	<b>108,395</b>	<b>186,446</b>	<b>233,524</b>	<b>319,599</b>	<b>386,303</b>	<b>434,495</b>	<b>488,070</b>	-
<i>Percent of Total</i>	1.5%	2.0%	2.6%	2.4%	2.5%	2.3%	1.9%	1.6%	-
<u>Changes over the Decade</u>									
Change in Number of Free Blacks		48,929	78,051	47,078	86,075	66,704	48,192	53,575	
<i>Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>		82.3%	72.0%	25.3%	36.9%	20.9%	12.5%	12.3%	
<i>Change in Percent of Total</i>		0.5%	0.5%	-0.2%	0.1%	-0.2%	-0.4%	-0.3%	
<u>Annualized Changes over the Decade</u>									
Change in Number of Free Blacks		4,893	7,805	4,708	8,608	6,670	4,819	5,358	
<i>Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>		8.2%	7.2%	2.5%	3.7%	2.1%	1.2%	1.2%	
<b>Slaves</b>	<b>697,897</b>	<b>893,041</b>	<b>1,191,364</b>	<b>1,538,038</b>	<b>2,009,043</b>	<b>2,487,455</b>	<b>3,204,313</b>	<b>3,953,760</b>	-
<i>Percent of Total</i>	17.8%	16.8%	16.5%	16.0%	15.6%	14.6%	13.8%	12.6%	-
Change in Number of Slaves		195,144	298,323	346,674	471,005	478,412	716,858	749,447	
<i>Change in Percent of Slaves</i>		28.0%	33.4%	29.1%	30.6%	23.8%	28.8%	23.4%	
<i>Change in Percent of Total</i>		-0.9%	-0.4%	-0.5%	-0.3%	-1.0%	-0.8%	-1.2%	
<u>Annualized Changes over the Decade</u>									
Change in Number of Slaves		19,514	29,832	34,667	47,101	47,841	71,686	74,945	
<i>Change in Percent of Slaves</i>		2.8%	3.3%	2.9%	3.1%	2.4%	2.9%	2.3%	
<b>Tota Blacks</b>	<b>757,363</b>	<b>1,001,436</b>	<b>1,377,810</b>	<b>1,771,562</b>	<b>2,328,642</b>	<b>2,873,758</b>	<b>3,638,808</b>	<b>4,441,830</b>	<b>4,835,562</b>
<i>Percent of Total</i>	19.3%	18.9%	19.0%	18.4%	18.1%	16.8%	15.7%	14.1%	12.7%
<b>Whites</b>	<b>3,172,464</b>	<b>4,304,489</b>	<b>5,862,004</b>	<b>7,861,931</b>	<b>10,537,378</b>	<b>14,195,695</b>	<b>19,553,068</b>	<b>26,957,471</b>	<b>33,242,349</b>
<i>Percent of Total</i>	80.7%	81.1%	81.0%	81.6%	81.9%	83.2%	84.3%	85.7%	87.1%
<u>Changes over the Decade</u>									
Change in Number of Slaves		1,132,025	1,557,515	1,999,927	2,675,447	3,658,317	5,357,373	7,404,403	
<i>Change in Percent of Whites</i>		35.7%	36.2%	34.1%	34.0%	34.7%	37.7%	37.9%	
<i>Change in Percent of Total</i>		0.4%	-0.2%	0.6%	0.3%	1.3%	1.1%	1.4%	
<u>Annualized Changes over the Decade</u>									
Change in Number of Slaves		113,203	155,752	199,993	267,545	365,832	535,737	740,440	
<i>Change in Percent of Whites</i>		3.6%	3.6%	3.4%	3.4%	3.5%	3.8%	3.8%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,929,827</b>	<b>5,305,925</b>	<b>7,239,814</b>	<b>9,638,131</b>	<b>12,866,020</b>	<b>17,069,453</b>	<b>23,191,876</b>	<b>31,443,321</b>	<b>38,155,505</b>
<i>Ratio of free blacks to slaves</i>	7.9%	10.8%	13.5%	13.2%	13.7%	13.4%	11.9%	11.0%	-

462 This analysis confirms the findings of Berlin (1974): “ The rapid growth of the free Negro  
463 population which followed the Revolution abruptly ended during the early years of the nineteenth  
464 century....The proportion of free Negroes in the black and free population slowly slipped  
465 backward” (p. 135).

466

467 Berlin (1974) presents an informative list of the levels and changes in the state population by decade  
468 (pp. 136-37) but we can further speculate on the fertility, mortality, and emigration patterns of these  
469 populations by observing the annual growth rates of these populations. Note that since the source of  
470 the free black population was slaves, then changes in the laws on slavery also led to changes in the  
471 free black population. Table 3 shows that the annualized growth rates of the enumerated free black  
472 population fell from approximate 8 percent in 1790 to about 1 percent in 1860 while the annualized  
473 growth rates of the enumerated slave and white population remained constant between 2-3 percent,  
474 and 3-4 percent, respectively. Holding fertility and mortality (momentarily) constant, the declining  
475 annual growth rate in the free black population is likely due to the reduction in state laws that  
476 abolished slavery, emigration flows and the unstable localized legal environment in which the  
477 average free black attempted to socially and economically function.

478

479 **The Geographic ‘Choices’ of Free Blacks in of United States of America and Foreign**  
480 **Countries**

481

482 Geographic ‘choices’, which were unbounded by the dominant constitutional interpretation yet  
483 constrained by Midwestern and southern state entrance laws, have potential implications on how  
484 free blacks, on average, were socially received by whites and their available set of employment  
485 opportunities. To fully dissect the discussion, it will be divided into following sections: the aggregate  
486 density, migration, emigration, and local density of free blacks.

487 *The Aggregate Density of Free Blacks in the United States of America, 1790 through 1860*

488

489 Foremost, the location of most free blacks was quite different than the location of most ex-slaves.

490 Table 3 shows that ninety percent of the 1870 ex-slave population resided in the south but Tables 4a

491 and 4b show that only 50-55 percent of free black population resided in the south during the

492 antebellum period.

493

494

Table 4a. Southeastern Population of Free Blacks, 1790-1860

Year:	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
<b>Alabama</b>	-	-	-	571	1,572	2,039	2,265	2,690
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	0.2%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	17.5%	3.0%	1.1%	1.9%
<b>District of Columbia</b>	-	783	2,549	4,048	6,152	8,361	10,059	11,131
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	0.7%	1.4%	1.7%	1.9%	2.2%	2.3%	2.3%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	22.6%	5.9%	5.2%	3.6%	2.0%	1.1%
<b>Delaware</b>	3,899	8,268	13,136	12,958	15,855	16,919	18,073	19,829
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	6.6%	7.6%	7.0%	5.5%	5.0%	4.4%	4.2%	4.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	11.2%	5.9%	-0.1%	2.2%	0.7%	0.7%	1.0%
<b>Florida</b>	-	-	-	-	844	817	932	932
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-0.3%	1.4%	0.0%
<b>Georgia</b>	398	1,019	1,801	1,763	2,486	2,753	2,931	3,500
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	0.7%	0.9%	1.0%	0.8%	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	15.6%	7.7%	-0.2%	4.1%	1.1%	0.6%	1.9%
<b>Kentucky</b>	114	741	1,713	2,759	4,917	7,317	10,011	10,684
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	0.2%	0.7%	0.9%	1.2%	1.5%	1.9%	2.3%	2.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	55.0%	13.1%	6.1%	7.8%	4.9%	3.7%	0.7%
<b>Maryland</b>	8,043	19,587	33,927	39,730	52,938	62,078	74,723	83,942
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	13.5%	18.1%	18.2%	17.0%	16.6%	16.1%	17.2%	17.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	14.4%	7.3%	1.7%	3.3%	1.7%	2.0%	1.2%
<b>Mississippi</b>	-	182	240	458	519	1,366	930	773
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	3.2%	9.1%	1.3%	16.3%	-3.2%	-1.7%
<b>North Carolina</b>	4,975	7,043	10,266	14,612	19,543	22,732	27,463	30,463
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	8.4%	6.5%	5.5%	6.3%	6.1%	5.9%	6.3%	6.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	4.2%	4.6%	4.2%	3.4%	1.6%	2.1%	1.1%
<b>South Carolina</b>	1,801	3,185	4,554	6,826	7,921	8,276	8,960	9,914
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	3.0%	2.9%	2.4%	2.9%	2.5%	2.1%	2.1%	2.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	7.7%	4.3%	5.0%	1.6%	0.4%	0.8%	1.1%
<b>Tennessee</b>	361	309	1,317	2,727	4,555	5,524	6,422	7,300
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	0.6%	0.3%	0.7%	1.2%	1.4%	1.4%	1.5%	1.5%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-1.4%	32.6%	10.7%	6.7%	2.1%	1.6%	1.4%
<b>Virginia</b>	12,766	20,124	30,570	36,889	47,348	49,852	54,333	58,042
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	21.5%	18.6%	16.4%	15.8%	14.8%	12.9%	12.5%	11.9%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	5.8%	5.2%	2.1%	2.8%	0.5%	0.9%	0.7%
<b>Southeast Total</b>	32,357	61,241	100,073	123,341	164,650	188,034	217,102	239,200
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	54.4%	56.5%	53.7%	52.8%	51.5%	48.7%	50.0%	49.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	8.9%	6.3%	2.3%	3.3%	1.4%	1.5%	1.0%

496 **Source:** Level statistics from Cramer (1997), ICPSR; and change statistics calculations by James Curtis Jr (2002)

497

498

499

Table 4b. Midwestern and Southwestern Population of Free Blacks, 1790-1860

Year:	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
<b>Iowa</b>	-	-	-	-	-	172	333	1,069
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.4%	22.1%
<b>Illinois</b>	-	-	613	457	1,637	3,598	5,436	7,628
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	0.3%	0.2%	0.5%	0.9%	1.3%	1.6%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-2.5%	25.8%	12.0%	5.1%	4.0%
<b>Indiana</b>	-	163	393	1,230	3,629	7,165	11,262	11,428
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	0.2%	0.2%	0.5%	1.1%	1.9%	2.6%	2.3%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	14.1%	21.3%	19.5%	9.7%	5.7%	0.1%
<b>Michigan</b>	-	-	120	174	261	707	2,583	6,799
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.6%	1.4%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	4.5%	5.0%	17.1%	26.5%	16.3%
<b>Minnesota</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	259
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	0.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56.4%
<b>Ohio</b>	-	337	1,899	4,723	9,568	17,342	25,279	36,673
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	0.3%	1.0%	2.0%	3.0%	4.5%	5.8%	7.5%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	46.4%	14.9%	10.3%	8.1%	4.6%	4.5%
<b>Wisconsin</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	635	1,171
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%	0.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.4%
<b>MidwestTotal</b>	-	500	3,025	6,584	15,095	28,984	45,567	65,027
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	0.5%	1.6%	2.8%	4.7%	7.5%	10.5%	13.3%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	50.5%	11.8%	12.9%	9.2%	5.7%	4.3%
<b>Arkansas</b>	-	-	-	59	141	465	608	144
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	13.9%	23.0%	3.1%	-7.6%
<b>Louisiana</b>	-	-	7,585	10,476	16,710	25,502	17,462	18,647
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	4.1%	4.5%	5.2%	6.6%	4.0%	3.8%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	3.8%	6.0%	5.3%	-3.2%	0.7%
<b>Texas</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	397	355
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%	0.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1.1%
<b>SouthwestTotal</b>	-	-	7,585	10,535	16,851	25,967	18,467	19,146
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	4.1%	4.5%	5.3%	6.7%	4.3%	3.9%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	3.9%	6.0%	5.4%	-2.9%	0.4%

501

502

Source: Level statistics from Cramer (1997), ICPSR; and change statistics calculations by James Curtis Jr (2002)

503

504

Zelinsky (1950) mapped out the geographic distribution of free blacks using US census data and

505

found that free blacks were concentrated along the east coast. "The steady position (of free blacks

506 was) maintained (in) states along the Atlantic Slope, which led the principal concentrations, is plainly  
507 demonstrated; these were areas that never lost their supremacy, and stand in sharp contrast to the  
508 great dwindling off in New England. Of the inland areas, only the Ohio Valley matured into a major  
509 population region" (Zelinsky, 1950, pp. 394-95).

510

511 Cramer (1997) and Steckel (2000) confirm the findings of Zelinsky and found that two out of three  
512 free blacks between New York and North Carolina. Zelinsky suggested that (i) economic push  
513 factors, such as agricultural depression led to lower demand for slave labor, led to higher rates of  
514 manumission and led to the large density of free blacks in upper south and (ii) economic pull factors,  
515 such as mining and manufacturing labor opportunities, led to the large population of free blacks in  
516 Pennsylvania.

517 "Large numbers of slaves obtained their freedom by means of manumission in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia  
518 and portions of North Carolina, but it was exceptional for a slave to be liberated voluntarily in the newer areas  
519 of the south. An economic explanation is obvious: the former regions were those which experienced a  
520 protracted agricultural depression after the American Revolution, and the period of the most rapid  
521 manumission coincided with the time of maximum economic distress. Slaves were a liability on the worn-out  
522 farms of the Upper South, but where they were in great demand, as in Arkansas, Mississippi, or western  
523 Tennessee, the prospects for manumission was dim, and the same can said for Louisiana" (Zelinsky, 1950,  
524 p.396).  
525

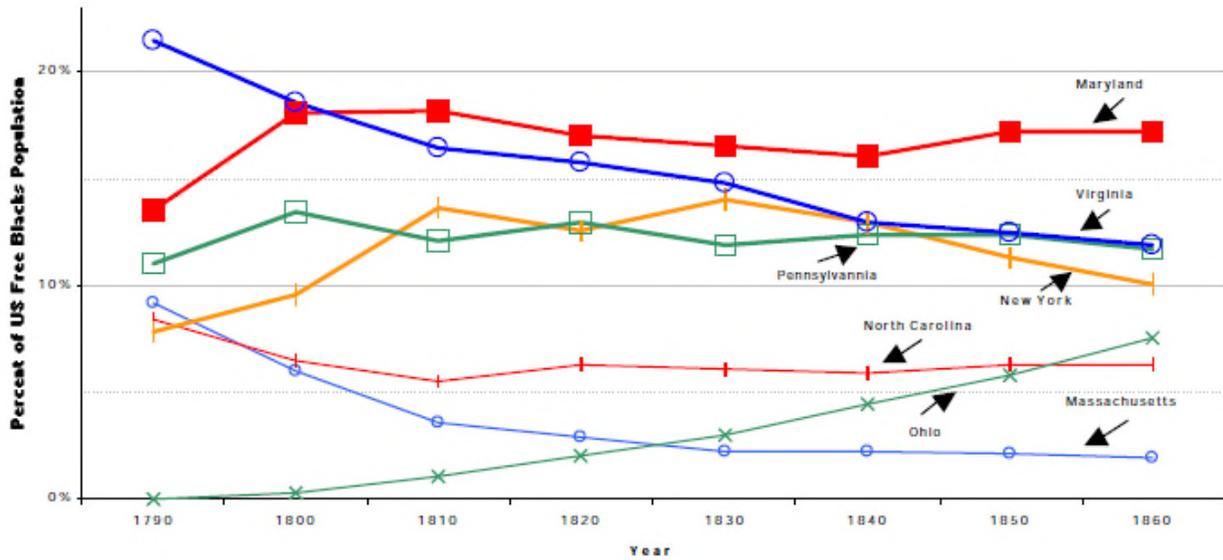
526 But census data shows that free blacks were even more concentrated than the findings above. Figure  
527 2a shows that, throughout the entire antebellum period, over fifty percent of the US free black  
528 population lived in the (modern) Mid-Atlantic region, which (today) includes New York,  
529 Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

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532  
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Figure 2a. States with the Largest Percentage of Free Black Population as a Percentage of US Free Black Population, 1790 - 1860



534

535

Source: Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002)

536

537 Figure 2b also shows that the region produced the states with highest percentage of free blacks in

538 the state population: free blacks in Delaware, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia all

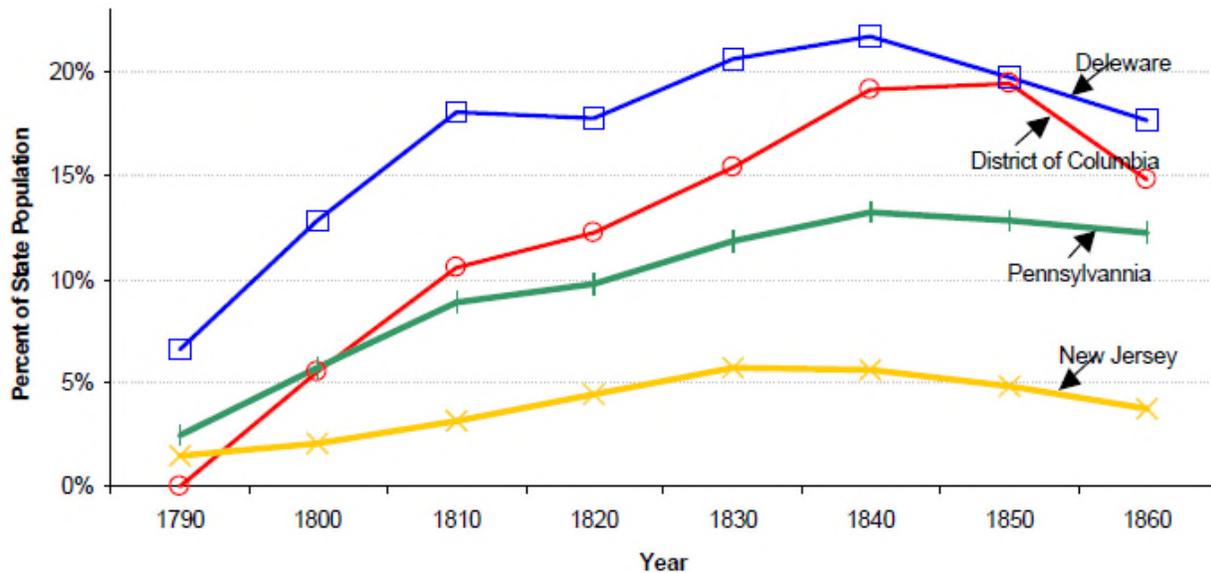
539 exceeded ten percent of the state population throughout much of this period.

540

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Figure 2b. States with Largest Percentage of Free Black Population as a Percent of State Population, 1790-1860



544  
545  
546

Source: Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002)

547 The presence of the federal government in this region during politically favorable administrations  
548 was an additional economic pull factor potentially causing this concentration of free blacks.

549

550 *The Migration of Free Blacks in the United States of America, 1790 through 1860*

551

552 Furthermore, the aggregate growth of the free black population differed from the growth of free  
553 blacks in several developing regions. Table 3 shows that the free back population 8.4 percent grew  
554 annually in 1790 and fell continuously to 1.2 percent in 1860. This was quite consistent with the  
555 annual growth rates of free blacks in the Mid-Atlantic in Table 4c, which fell from 11.0 percent in  
556 1800 to 0.4 percent in 1860, and the Southeast in Table 4a, which fell from 8.9 percent in 1800 to  
557 1.0 percent in 1860.

558

Table 4c. Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic Population of Free Blacks, 1790-1860

Year:	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
<b>Connecticut</b>	<b>2,801</b>	<b>5,330</b>	<b>6,453</b>	<b>7,844</b>	<b>8,047</b>	<b>8,105</b>	<b>7,693</b>	<b>8,627</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	4.7%	4.9%	3.5%	3.4%	2.5%	2.1%	1.8%	1.8%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	9.0%	2.1%	2.2%	0.3%	0.1%	-0.5%	1.2%
<b>Massachusetts</b>	<b>5,463</b>	<b>6,452</b>	<b>6,737</b>	<b>6,740</b>	<b>7,048</b>	<b>8,669</b>	<b>9,064</b>	<b>9,602</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	9.2%	6.0%	3.6%	2.9%	2.2%	2.2%	2.1%	2.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	1.8%	0.4%	0.0%	0.5%	2.3%	0.5%	0.6%
<b>Maine</b>	<b>538</b>	<b>818</b>	<b>969</b>	<b>929</b>	<b>1,190</b>	<b>1,355</b>	<b>1,356</b>	<b>1,327</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	0.9%	0.8%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	5.2%	1.8%	-0.4%	2.8%	1.4%	0.0%	-0.2%
<b>New Hampshire</b>	<b>630</b>	<b>856</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>786</b>	<b>604</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>494</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	1.1%	0.8%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	3.6%	1.3%	-1.9%	-2.3%	-1.1%	-0.3%	-0.5%
<b>Rhode Island</b>	<b>3,469</b>	<b>3,304</b>	<b>3,609</b>	<b>3,554</b>	<b>3,561</b>	<b>3,238</b>	<b>3,670</b>	<b>3,952</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	5.8%	3.0%	1.9%	1.5%	1.1%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-0.5%	0.9%	-0.2%	0.0%	-0.9%	1.3%	0.8%
<b>Vermont</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>557</b>	<b>750</b>	<b>903</b>	<b>881</b>	<b>730</b>	<b>718</b>	<b>709</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	11.8%	3.5%	2.0%	-0.2%	-1.7%	-0.2%	-0.1%
<b>NortheastTotal</b>	<b>13,156</b>	<b>17,317</b>	<b>19,488</b>	<b>20,756</b>	<b>21,331</b>	<b>22,634</b>	<b>23,021</b>	<b>24,711</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	22.1%	16.0%	10.5%	8.9%	6.7%	5.9%	5.3%	5.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	3.2%	1.3%	0.7%	0.3%	0.6%	0.2%	0.7%
<b>New Jersey</b>	<b>2,762</b>	<b>4,402</b>	<b>7,813</b>	<b>12,460</b>	<b>18,303</b>	<b>21,044</b>	<b>23,810</b>	<b>25,318</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	4.6%	4.1%	4.2%	5.3%	5.7%	5.4%	5.5%	5.2%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	5.9%	7.7%	5.9%	4.7%	1.5%	1.3%	0.6%
<b>New York</b>	<b>4,654</b>	<b>10,374</b>	<b>25,333</b>	<b>29,279</b>	<b>44,870</b>	<b>50,027</b>	<b>49,069</b>	<b>49,005</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	7.8%	9.6%	13.6%	12.5%	14.0%	13.0%	11.3%	10.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	12.3%	14.4%	1.6%	5.3%	1.1%	-0.2%	0.0%
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	<b>6,537</b>	<b>14,561</b>	<b>22,492</b>	<b>30,202</b>	<b>37,930</b>	<b>47,854</b>	<b>53,626</b>	<b>56,949</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	11.0%	13.4%	12.1%	12.9%	11.9%	12.4%	12.3%	11.7%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	12.3%	5.4%	3.4%	2.6%	2.6%	1.2%	0.6%
<b>MidAtlanticTotal</b>	<b>13,953</b>	<b>29,337</b>	<b>55,638</b>	<b>71,941</b>	<b>101,103</b>	<b>118,925</b>	<b>126,505</b>	<b>131,272</b>
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	23.5%	27.1%	29.8%	30.8%	31.6%	30.8%	29.1%	26.9%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	11.0%	9.0%	2.9%	4.1%	1.8%	0.6%	0.4%

560

561 Source: Level statistics from Cramer (1997), ICPSR; and change statistics calculations by James Curtis Jr (2002)

562

563 Furthermore, Table 5a shows the more established free black population in the Northeast

564 experienced a less dramatic decline in annual growth, which fell from 3.2 percent in 1800 to 0.7

565 percent in 1860. However, Table 5c shows that the developing population of free blacks in the  
566 Midwest experienced a more dramatic change in growth, which fell from 50.5 percent in 1810 to 4.3  
567 percent in 1860, which was still above the national average. These patterns were consistent with the  
568 west: Table 4d shows that the developing western population of free blacks also grew at an even  
569 higher rate of 13-18 percent between 1840 and 1860.

570

571

Table 4d. Western Population of Free Blacks, 1790-1860

Year:	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
<b>California</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	962	4,086
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2%	0.8%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32.5%
<b>Colorado</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Dakota</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Kansas</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	625
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Nebraska</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Missouri</b>	-	-	607	347	569	1,574	2,618	3,572
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.7%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-4.3%	6.4%	17.7%	6.6%	3.6%
<b>New Mexico</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Nevada</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Oregon</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	207	128
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-3.8%
<b>Utah</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Washington</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>WestTotal</b>	-	-	607	347	569	1,574	3,787	8,714
<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	-	-	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.9%	1.8%
<i>Annualized Change in Percent of Free Blacks</i>	-	-	-	-4.3%	6.4%	17.7%	14.1%	13.0%

573

574 Source: Level statistics from Cramer (1997), ICPSR; and change statistics calculations by James Curtis Jr (2002)

575

576 Landon (1920) found that population increases in the Midwest and decreases in the parts of  
577 Northeast were consistent with intensified activities of the Underground Railroad under the new  
578 fugitive slave laws: "While the free Negro population of the North increased by nearly 30,000 in the  
579 decade after 1850, the gain was chiefly in three States, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois"(Landon, p.22).  
580 Zelinsky (1950), confirming much of the findings by Landon, suggests that the "strength of the  
581 abolition movement" enticed free blacks to move to Midwestern and Western states: "Migration,  
582 both legal and illegal, must have been especially vigorous in those areas where slave territory  
583 adjoined free soil" (Zelinsky, p.397). Conversely, enhanced enforcement of fugitive slaves laws in  
584 1850 led to rapid changes in the population of Southwestern free blacks between 1840 and 1860,  
585 which grew annually 4-6 percent between 1820 and 1840 (see Table 4b), but led to a 2.9 percent  
586 annual decline of free blacks in the Southwest in 1850.

587

588 This analysis documents earlier evidence of an east-west current of free blacks prior to 1860 yet a  
589 strong antebellum eastern presence of free blacks that replicates much of the regional distribution of  
590 modern blacks. However, hostile federal and state laws limited their residential choices: "Nineteenth  
591 century Americans were on the move, pushing their way across the continent, building towns and  
592 cities at every junction. Free Negroes too shared this urge to travel, but immigration restrictions  
593 often stood in their way" (Berlin, p165).

594

595 *The Emigration of Free Blacks from the United States of America through 1860*

596

597 The analysis of the geography of free blacks in the United States would be incomplete without  
598 investigating the number and characteristics of free blacks that chose to migrate abroad:

599  
600

"Many blacks saw little to distinguish the racism of the North from that of the South. Wealth blacks who sent their children north for an education often discovered that their wellqualified off-spring could not find

601 employment in the free states. Without steady work, the benefits of Northern freedom dissolved into empty  
602 bitterness....After having seen 'the legal slavery of the South and the social savery of the North' observed a  
603 Liberia-bound black, he knew he could 'never be a free man in this country'" (Berlin, p168).  
604

605 The characteristics of free black emigrants, if different from those who did not emigrate, also  
606 directly impact the analysis of the domestic free black experiences. Therefore, the following analysis  
607 will be divided up into free blacks that emigrated to Canada, Central America, and Africa. See  
608 Appendix A for a complete analysis of the geographic choices of free blacks within countries abroad.

609

610 Canada. The signing of the Fugitive Slave Act alone sent about 3,000 of the new black population to  
611 Canada in the first three months. "The Liberator of December 13, 1850, says: 'Probably not less  
612 than 3,000 have taken refuge in this country since the first of September. Only for the attitude of the  
613 north there would have been thousands more' (p.23).

614

615 Canada experienced a 25-50 percent growth in its black population during this period. "It is  
616 estimated that fifteen to twenty thousand Negroes entered Canada between 1850 and 1860,  
617 increasing the Negro population of the British provinces from about 40,000 to nearly 60,000. The  
618 greater part of the refugee population settled in southwestern part of the present province of  
619 Ontario" (Landon, p.22).

620

621 Free black migration patterns to the Midwest were consistent with the lines of the Underground  
622 Railroad that ended in Canada (Zelinsky, 1950). "States showing gains were bordering on Canada  
623 where the runaway slave or the free man of color in danger could flee when threatened" (Landon,  
624 p.22). Qualitative evidence shows that a large portion of free black emigrants to Canada previously  
625 resided in the north and Mid-Atlantic. On June 17, 1852, Henry Bibb, owner of The Voice of the

626 Fugitive, reported "Numbers of free persons of color are arriving from Pennsylvania and the  
627 District of Columbia, Ohio and Indiana" (pp.23-24).

628

629 The economic experiences of the free black Canadian immigrants were diverse: Some were unskilled  
630 and poor while others were wealthy. "Two weeks after President Fillmore had signed the Fugitive  
631 Slave Bill a Pittsburgh dispatch to The Liberator stated that 'nearly all the waiters in the hotels have  
632 fled to Canada"(p.24). Then, on July 1, 1852, The Voice of the Fugitive reported "twenty-two from  
633 Indiana passed through to Amherstburg, with four fine covered wagons and eight horses. A few  
634 weeks ago six or eight such teams came from the same state into Canada. The Fugitive Slave Law is  
635 driving out brains and money" (p.28).

636

637 Central America. There is evidence that free blacks may have emigrated to Puerto Rico. Table 5  
638 shows a large portion of the foreign-born population in Puerto Rico was black.

639

640 **Table 5. Slave and Free Black Population in Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1774-1899**

Year	Slave and Free Black Population	Percent of Total	Percent of Total Foreign Born
1774	74,088	42.9	
1792	139,133	33.8	
1817	313,204	56.6	
1827	393,434	55.8	
1841	593,419	58.8	
1856	?	50.7	
1877	480,116	33.4	
1899	479,843	34.6	
1860	282,775	48.5	52.8
1877	319,936	43.7	56.2
1887	323,623	40.5	44.4
1899	363,817	38.2	17.7

641

642 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from Zelinsky (1949, pp.210-11)

643

644 This could be due to a small foreign-born white population, a large foreign-born slave population, or  
645 large foreign-born free black population. The previous analysis described the impact of the Fugitive  
646 Slave Act on Canada but an unanswered puzzle is the impact of the Fugitive Slave Act on the free  
647 black population on Puerto Rico.

648

649 Africa. Some free blacks opted to return to the birth land of their ancestors. Mechlinger (1916)  
650 reported that only 7,836, or less than two percent of the free black population in 1850, migrated to  
651 Africa up through 1852. The report of the Colonization Society shows that from 1820 to 1833 only  
652 2,885 colored persons had been sent out by the Society. Of the 7,836 sent out of the United States  
653 up to 1852, 2,720 were born free, 204 purchased their freedom, 3,868 were emancipated in view of  
654 removing them to Liberia, and 1,044 were liberated Africans sent out by the United States  
655 Government (p.301). McPherson (1891) studied the organization of Liberia, a nation in Africa  
656 founded by free blacks in the United States.

657

658 Liberia. But by 1867, almost 19,000 US free blacks became citizens of Liberia. This accounts for less  
659 than four percent of the US black population in 1850. "11,909 emigrants had been sent over, 147  
660 vessels; of these 4,541 were born free, 344 purchased freedom, and 5,957 were emancipated for the  
661 purpose of going to Liberia. Besides these 1,227 had been settled by the Maryland (Colonization)  
662 Society, and 5,722 recaptured Africans had been sent back by the United States Government" (p.44).

663

664 *The Geography of non-US Free Blacks with International Citizenship*

665

666 The geographical 'choices' of free blacks in the United States were consistent with free blacks  
667 abroad. Zelinsky (1949) found that slaves and free blacks were mainly located in the Antilles and

668 Brazil. "The two most prominent clusters of Negro population have been in the American  
669 Mediterranean area and in Brazil; less obvious but still of great importance has been the  
670 concentration along the western side of South America which merges with former somewhere in  
671 Columbia. In the Guianas, Mexico, and around the Rio de la Plata we have lesser centers which have  
672 fluctuated in importance" (p.191). Zelinsky (1949) observed a concentration of blacks in Latin  
673 America similar to patterns plotted for US free blacks in Zelinsky (1950). Zelinsky (1949) finds  
674 evidence of a free black population in Latin America, though its magnitude was difficult to measure  
675 with precision.

676 He combined strong and weak datasets from port records, commercial accounts, bills of lading and plantation  
677 records to plot maps of the black slave and free population in Latin America from 1570 to 1940. "The data have  
678 been grouped, in order of preference, into five categories: good censuses, good estimates, poor censuses and  
679 estimates, informed guesses, and pure conjecture....The value of these maps has been vitiated by the necessity  
680 of ignoring the distinctions between Negro and mulatto or zambo and between slaves and freeman" (pp.186-87)  
681 The only extensive reports that distinguishes free blacks from slaves were from Cuba and Puerto Rico.

682  
683 A key problem when observe data on race from the western hemisphere is that the definition of black is  
684 different in the northern and southern parts of the hemisphere. Being a descendent of black person is defined  
685 as black in the US while being a descendent of white person can be defined as white in places like Brazil:  
686 "Popular practice varies from the United States where one drop of Negro blood places an individual  
687 irrevocably in the Negro community to the Brazilian custom of allowing anyone with the extreme difficulty--  
688 even for the physical anthropologist--in the detection of Negro ancestry in a large proportion of cases, argues  
689 the acceptability of defining the Negro as a person considered by his society as belonging to a distinctly  
690 Negroid group. Although the physical criteria upon which this purely social formulation is base varies radically  
691 from one country to another, it is the social concept with which we wish to reckon rather than anthropometric  
692 category, and the universal adoption by census-takers of the social definition leaves but little choice" (p. 173).  
693

694 Europe. He suggested that black Africans in the western hemisphere date back to the slave trade  
695 beginning with Portugal and Spain.

696 "The great involuntary movement of Negroes westward across the Atlantic to a labor market was begun by  
697 Portuguese traders supplying their own and the Spanish colonies and was continued by the French, Dutch,  
698 English, Bretons, Basques, Prussians, Danes, Swedes (and) New Englanders....By the time the transfer was  
699 concluded in the 19th Century the number involved made it easily the second largest of all recorded migrations,  
700 the first being, of course, the movement from Europe to Anglo-America. Two characteristics make this  
701 migration quite singular among important movements of population: (1) the fact that it was involuntary and  
702 almost wholly irreversible, and (2) the purely economic motivation of the movement. The exceptions to the  
703 phenomenon of irreversibility are quite minor and practically all included in the few thousands of people who  
704 were resettled in Liberia, the Bahian Negroes who returned to West Africa, and the Jamaica Maroons shipped  
705 back to Africa by the British via Nova Scotia" (p.157-158).  
706

707 Central and South America. Additionally, since the enslavement of the native population failed,  
708 except in Mexico, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, Zelinsky (1949) used spatial, population and human  
709 capital arguments to suggest that Africa was the next best choice. "Africans were the most obvious  
710 source of labor: the trip to America was relatively short, the numbers of Negroes were apparently  
711 inexhaustible and the Negro slave had already demonstrated his proficiency in Portugal and Spain"  
712 (p.157).

713

714 He found that blacks in Central and South America were the concentrated on the east, diluted and  
715 moved west.

716 "The routes by which the Negroes arrived can be easily inferred from the maps. The Antilles, and secondarily  
717 the Mexican, Columbian, and Venezuelan ports were the receiving points for shipment of slaves. Each of the  
718 major Brazilian ports saw a large influx of slave many of whom were sent directly into the back country after  
719 coastal sections had been filled up. The west coast population represents contributions from two sources: first  
720 and undoubtedly more important was the transport of slaves across the Isthmus and down the coast from the  
721 Caribbean and secondly, those who came down from the Rio de la Plata and across the continent to the coast,  
722 along which they traveled generally northward" (pp.195-96).

723  
724 "The asymmetrical distribution of Negroes, with a vast preponderance on the Atlantic side of the  
725 region and relatively small number on the Pacific side, is only partly to be explained by an inequality  
726 in the natural endowments of these two divisions" (Zelinsky, 1949, p.205). However, free blacks  
727 were concentrated in the southwest and southeastern parts of Puerto Rico.

728 "The mystery of southwestern Puerto Rico becomes even more interesting, for it appears that the  
729 municipalities of this segment of the country contained what was by far the largest concentration of free  
730 colored persons in the land. Evidently there was some factor in the land tenure system or in the economic  
731 complexion of this area that made it particularly attractive for freed slaves" (p.211). "In addition to the great  
732 cluster in the Southwest, we find notable numbers of these people in the Cagus Valley and along the  
733 southeastern coast and the coast to the west of San Juan, which city, incidentally, seems to have been a primary  
734 goal of colored migrants even in this early date (p. 214).

735  
736 Overall, the distribution of slaves and free blacks differed in Cuba and Puerto Rico. He suggested an  
737 economic motivation the migration pattern of blacks, where blacks voluntarily and involuntarily  
738 moved in the direction of economic opportunity.

739 "The distribution of Negroes would appear to be nothing more occult than the product of a forced transfer in  
740 response to certain economic situations plus the demographic career of the Negroes so introduced. The  
741 movement of slaves and free Negroes might be compared to the flow of a system of a stream down the slopes  
742 of an economic terrain" (p.197).  
743

744 The motivations, which influenced migratory patterns of whites, also influenced the decisions made  
745 by free blacks.

746 "In Puerto Rico the discrepancy between the distributional pattern of slaves and that of free colored individuals  
747 was even more pronounced than in Cuba. The slaves were quite neatly concentrated around five major urban  
748 centers which were the capitals of the principal areas of plantation agriculture. There was also a distinctly minor  
749 cluster in the Caguas Valley, and the bulk of the remainder lived along the coast. The free colored population,  
750 on the other hand, shows little inclination to remain in the areas of former servitude...The set of factors--  
751 usually economic--determining the location of free colored persons was entirely different from that used in  
752 deciding where to employ slaves....These factors were much the same as those affecting white persons of  
753 similar economic status except insofar as they were modified by somewhat different social and legal status of  
754 former slaves" (p.214).  
755

756 The Organization of the Migration to Liberia. Mechlinger (1916) found evidence that a few free  
757 blacks favored migration to Africa while many opposed such plans. "The Colonization movement  
758 was a failure. Although it did interest finally interest a number of free Negroes their concern in it did  
759 not materialize on account of the outbreak of the Civil War occurring soon thereafter. On the whole,  
760 the movement never appealed to a large number of intelligent free people of color" (p.301).

761

762 Table 6a shows that free blacks organized many efforts to support and oppose migration to Africa.

763 Free blacks, who supported migration to Africa, suggested that it was a better alternative to the lack  
764 of rights in the United States.

765

766

767 **Table 6a. Free Blacks Organization For and Against the African Colonization Movement,**  
 768 **1826 through 1856**  
 769

			Against		
Year	Organizer(s)	Locality/State	Year	Organizer(s)	Locality/State
-1826	Group meeting	Baltimore, MD	1830	1st Annual Convention	Philadelphia PA?
1832	Individual	Savannah, GA	1831	2nd Annual Convention	Philadelphia PA?
	Individual	Charleston, SC		group meeting	Baltimore, MD
	Individual	Tuscaloosa, AL		group meeting	Washington, DC
1834	Individual	New York City, NY		group meeting	Wilmington, DE
1848	Individual	New York City, NY		group meeting	Boston, MA
	group meeting	Dayton, OH		group meeting	Brooklyn, NY
1850	group meeting	Cincinnati, OH		group meeting	Hartford, CT
	Emigration Society	New York, NY		group meeting	New Haven, CT
1852	group meeting	Baltimore, MD		group meeting	Lyme, CT
1853	Individual	Hartford, CT		group meeting	Columbia, PA
	National Council			group meeting	Nantucket, RI
1854	Convention	Cleveland, OH	1832	group meeting	Lewiston, PA
1856	Convention	Chatham, Canada	1833	3rd Annual Convention	Philadelphia PA
			1839	group meeting	New York City, NY
				? group meeting	Cincinnati, OH
			1845-46	group meeting	Cleveland, OH
			1847	group meeting	Boston, MA
			1849	group meeting	Columbus, OH
			1851	group meeting	Columbus, OH
				State Convention	Albany, NY
			1852	group meeting	Albany, NY
				State Convention	Cincinnati, OH
				group meeting	Rochester, NY
				group meeting	New Bedford, MA
				group meeting	Providence, RI
			1853	State Convention	Cincinnati, OH
				group meeting	Rochester, NY

770

771 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from Mechlinger (1916, pp. 276-300)

772

773 Organizers in Baltimore in the 1820's suggested that "they were strangers, not citizens and that  
 774 because of the difference in color and servitude of most of their race, they could not hope to enjoy  
 775 the immunities of freemen" (p.279). Supporters saw migration to African as a solution to the  
 776 hostility free blacks experienced from state laws that threatened the few state rights they possessed.

777

778 Augustus Washington of Hartford "urged the free colored people to emigrate from the crowded  
 779 cities to less populous parts of the United States, the Great West or to Africa, or to any place where

780 they might secure an equality of rights and liberties with a mind unfettered and space in which to  
781 rise" (p.297). Organizers of the National Council in 1853 also supported mass migration of free  
782 blacks, but were also divided on the final destination.

783 "In (the convention) appeared three parties, one led by Doctor Delaney who desired to go  
784 to the Niger Valley in Africa, another by Whitfield, who interests seemed to be in Central  
785 America, and a third by Holly who showed a preference for Haiti...Delaney proceeded on his  
786 mission to Niger Valley in Africa. There he concluded a treaty with eight African kings,  
787 offering inducements to Negroes to emigrate. In the meantime James Redpath had gone to  
788 Haiti and accomplished some things that Holly failed to achieve...They (Redpath and Holly)  
789 succeeded in sending to Haiti as many as two thousand emigrants, the first sailing in 1861"  
790 (pp.300-01).  
791

792 Note that Tables 6a and 6b shows that individual efforts changed to group efforts to organize black  
793 migration to Africa after the signing of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850.

794

795

**Table 6b. The First Five Presidents of Liberia, 1848 through 1870**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name of President</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>
1848	Joseph Jenkins Roberts	Norfolk, VA	1809
1856	Steven A. Benson	(raised in Liberia)	
1864	Daniel B. Warner	Baltimore, MD	1812
1868	James S. Payne	Richmond, VA	1819
1870	Edward James Roye	Newark, OH	1815

796

797 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from McPherson (1891, pp. 29-45)

798

799 Free blacks opposed migration to Africa due to their historical attachment to the land, lack of  
800 accountability for slavery by slaveholders, and inconsistencies with the founding documents of the  
801 country.

802 "Because their ancestors not of their own accord were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America,  
803 they felt themselves entitled to participate in the blessings of its 'luxuriant soil,' which their blood and sweat had  
804 moistened. They viewed with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation  
805 of the free people of color, 'that they are dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of  
806 disfranchisement in which they lived, in the hour of danger, they 'ceased to remember their wrongs and rallied  
807 around the standard of their country.' They were determined never to separate themselves from the population  
808 of this country as they were brethren by 'ties of consanguinity of suffering, and of wrong'" (pp.277-78)

809

810 Several free blacks were skeptical of the goals of the philanthropists associated with efforts such  
811 American Colonization Society.

812 The meeting in Columbia, Pennsylvania, the leaders of which were Stephen Smith and James Richard,  
813 expressed the opinion that African colonization was a scheme of the Southern planters and wicked device of  
814 slaveholders who was desirous of riveting more firmly, and perpetuating more certainly, the fetters of slavery  
815 by ridding themselves of a population whose presence, influence and example had a tendency (as they  
816 supposed) to produce discontent among the slaves, and to furnish them with inducements to rebellion" (p287).  
817

818 The efforts of free black groups to inform free blacks in America of their opposition to migration to  
819 Africa led minimal voluntary participation.

820

821 Organization of the State of Liberia. Liberia was organized with the assistance of the Colonization  
822 Society in America. Their efforts were similar to the first of such efforts in 1787 to relocate early  
823 blacks in England to Sierra Leone.

824 "After the celebrated decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset (1772), many slaves escaped to England,  
825 where they congregated in the dens of London....A movement in behalf of the oppressed race asserted itself at  
826 the University of Cambridge, in which Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharp and others took part. As a result  
827 of these efforts some four hundred Negroes sixty whites were landed at Sierra Leone in May, 1787 (p.15).  
828

829 Other efforts were made transport free blacks from Massachusetts and Rhode Island to Sierra Leone  
830 in 1787 and 1815, respectively (pp.15-16). Liberia was successfully organized after efforts were led  
831 by the Colonization Society. The Colonization Society was organized on January 1, 1817 under the  
832 leadership of Dr. Robert Finley, a Presbyterian minister from New Jersey, and Col. Charles Marsh.  
833 Members of the Society traveled to Africa to locate a place to colonize free blacks. During this  
834 period, important legislation was passed in the US that barred illegal slave smuggling.

835 "The importation of slaves had been strictly prohibited by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1807." However,  
836 after discovery of advertisements of "recaptured Africans" in Georgia, additional federal legislation, which  
837 barred such activities, was passed on March 3, 1819. "Provision was made for more stringent suppression of  
838 the slave trade: new cruisers were ordered and bounties awarded for captures; but the clause which proved so  
839 important to the embryo colony was that dealing with the captured cargoes: "The President of the United States  
840 is hereby authorized to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping,  
841 support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color  
842 as may be so delivered and brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons residing

843 upon the coast of Africa as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, delivered  
844 from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of the United States armed  
845 vessels'....for years the resources of the Government were employed 'to colonize recaptured Africans, to build  
846 homes for them, to furnish them with farming utensils, to pay instructors to teach them, to purchase ships for  
847 their convenience, to build forts for their protection, to supply them with arms and munitions of war, to enlist  
848 troops to guard them, and to employ the army and navy in their defense'" (pp.22-23)  
849

850 While members of the Society were tapped to lead efforts to locate places to transport illegally  
851 imported slaves back to Africa, they took advantage of this opportunity to locate places for potential  
852 free black colonization. "It is true...that the Government agency was separate from the colony....yet  
853 as a matter of fact the agency and colony were practically identical" (p.22).

854

855 The first trip to comply with the new act of Congress and, simultaneously, initiate the colonization  
856 activities of the Society took place in February of 1820.

857

858 US President James Monroe "proceeded to appoint two agents, the Rev. Samuel Bacon, already in the service  
859 of the Colonization Society, and John P. Bankson, as assistant and to charter the ship Elizabeth....For the  
860 expenses of the expedition \$33,000 was placed in the hands of Mr. Bacon. Dr. Samuel A. Crozier was  
861 appointed by the Society as its agent and representative; and eighty-six negroes from various states --thirty-  
862 three men, eighteen women, and the rest children, were embarked. On the 6th of February, 1820, the  
863 Mayflower of Liberia weighed anchor in New York harbor." They arrived in Sierra Leone on March 9, 1820  
864 (pp.22-23).  
865

866 Liberia declared itself as an independent nation in 1847. Prior to its independence, it was organized  
867 as the Commonwealth of Liberia, made up of several united settlements initiated by state  
868 colonization societies.

869 "The decade after 1832 is marked by the independent action of different State colonization societies....The  
870 Maryland Society first started an important settlement at Cape Palmas....Bassa Cove was settled by the joint  
871 action of the New York and Pennsylvania Societies; Greenville, on the Sinou river, by emigrants from  
872 Mississippi; and the Louisiana Society engaged in a similar enterprise...A plan was at length agreed upon by all  
873 except Maryland, by which colonies were united into the Commonwealth of Liberia whose government was  
874 controlled by a Board of Directors composed of Delegates from the State societies." Thomas Buchanan, a  
875 white man, and Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a black man, were the first Governors, respectively. (pp.28-29).  
876

877 However, international trade laws made by Liberia were not enforceable until Liberia was either  
878 under the control of the US or itself. The latter occurred in 1847:

879 "Declaration of their full sovereignty...was adopted in Liberia by a popular vote, and a convention met on July  
880 26, 1847, adopted a Declaration of Independence and new Constitution, closely modeled on the corresponding  
881 documents of the United States. In September the Constitution was ratified by vote of the people. Governor  
882 Roberts was elected to the office of President, upon which he entered January 3, 1848" (p.30).

883  
884 "The form of government was, as has been seen, closely copied from that of the United States. There is the  
885 same tripartite division--executive, legislative and judicial. The President is elected every two years, on the first  
886 Tuesday in May. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy; makes treaties with concurrence of two-  
887 thirds of the Senate, with whose advice he also appoints al public offers not otherwise provided by law. The  
888 legislative authority consists of a Senate and two members from each county, elected four years, and a House  
889 of Representatives holding office for two years; four members being apportioned to Montserado county, three  
890 to Bassa, one to each other county, with one additional representative for each 10,000 inhabitants. The judicial  
891 powers was vested in a Supreme Court with original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors and consuls  
892 and where the Republic is a party, and appellate jurisdiction in all other cases; and in subordinate courts to be  
893 established by the legislature (pp.37-38).

894

895 Note that the settlement initiated by the Maryland Society was annexed in 1857. "The Liberian  
896 Legislature by an Act of April 1857, formally received the colony into the Republic as 'Maryland  
897 County" (p.36).

898

899 The sovereignty of Liberia was recognized by England, France Belgium, Prussia, Brazil, US, Holland,  
900 Sweden, Norway, Hayti, Portugal, Denmark and Austria. Table 6b lists the first five presidents of  
901 Liberia. They faced numerous challenges as former free blacks in America converted to heads of  
902 state in Africa. For instance, they could not control their population since it was created for  
903 exported 'recaptured Africans,' they had border disputes, and the fifth President, Roye, face financial  
904 difficulty and was impeached.

905

906 McPherson acknowledged the different views on the creation of Liberia, including those who  
907 opposed it, as discussed by Mechlinger (1916).

908

909 Free blacks often opposed migration to Africa because they thought it was a way to remove free blacks who  
910 challenged the institution of slavery. These views confirmed by some members of Maryland and Virginia  
911 delegations. "John Randolph and of Roanoke (Virginia) and Robert Wright of Maryland, dwelt upon the  
912 desirability of removing the turbulent free-negro element and enhancing the value of property in slaves" (p.19).

913

914 But he supported the creation of Liberia as a better alternative to America for free blacks. "It is  
915 absurd to declaim about 'expatriation' and to declare such a movement. The whole course history  
916 reveals men leaving their homes under pressure of one cause or another, and striking out into new  
917 fields. The western course of migration has reached its uttermost limit, and the tide must turn in  
918 other directions" (p.60). He suggested the free blacks should "follow the line of least resistance and  
919 turn their steps to the home of their forefathers" (p.61).

920

921 The Local Residency 'Choices' of Free Blacks. A significant difference between the United States of  
922 America and South America was that South American blacks were more urban than US blacks: "The  
923 evidence...favors the belief that they are perhaps less rural than their cousins in the United States"  
924 (Zelinsky, 1949, p.207). The study of Cuba and Puerto Rico was complicated by "the British seizure  
925 of Habana in 1763, the civil wars that devastated Cuba in the 1860's and various hurricanes" (p.218).  
926 He found that slaves and free blacks in Cuba were more urban than other blacks in Central and  
927 South America.

928 Although the largest agglomerations of Negroes have been in and around Habanna and Santiago de Cuba,  
929 there does not appear to be that strikingly littoral distributional pattern that obtains for Latin America as a  
930 whole....There has been a strikingly irregularity in the distribution of free as compared with slave Negroes in the  
931 19th Century: there were relatively few free individuals in the Occidente, a moderate number in the Centro, and  
932 an excessively large number in the Oriente, especially in the Manzanillo area, which is difficult to account for"  
933 (pp.208-09).  
934

935 He also suggests that the relatively smaller size of Puerto Rico may have resulted in a distribution of  
936 the black population where black Puerto Ricans were not quite as urban as black Cubans.

937 "Negroes and mulattoes do not appear to participate to any usual extent in the notable cityward migrations.  
938 Because of the small size of the island it is difficult to find significant regional variations in its racial  
939 composition...there is one region where the change is particularly striking. In the southwestern corner of the  
940 Island, especially in the municipalities of San German and Sabana, the colored population has decreased both  
941 absolutely and relatively from its condition in 1867, or as early as 1828, when it was dominant in this area and  
942 when this was one of the principal concentrations of colored population" (pp.210-211).  
943

944

945

946

947 *Summary of the Emigration of Free Blacks in the United States of America*

948

949 In sum, approximately one in ten 1850 US free blacks emigrated between 1850 and 1860: About  
950 four to five percent emigrated to Canada, another four percent of free blacks emigrated to Africa,  
951 and some even emigrated to Central America. The economic position of free blacks that emigrated  
952 to Canada varied as much as those that did not emigrate. If the Canadian experience is consistent  
953 with free blacks emigrants to other countries, concerns about selection bias in the study of domestic  
954 free backs should be minimized and the role of federal and state laws on emigration patterns should  
955 be examined more closely.

956

#### 957 **The Local Residency ‘Choices’ of Free Blacks**

958

959 The local residency decisions tended to differ for blacks and whites. Wilkie (1972a, 1976b) combines  
960 slaves and free blacks for a comparison local residential ‘choices’ among blacks and whites: In 1790,  
961 blacks were more urban than whites in all regions except the southeast, but by 1860, whites had  
962 become three times more urban than blacks. She suggested that increased competition from  
963 immigrants in labor markets and the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act led to a decline of  
964 (northern) urban blacks. However, the black population can be disaggregated in order to compare  
965 urban-rural ‘choices’ *(i)* among free blacks and slaves, and *(ii)* among free blacks and whites.  
966 Foremost, Wilkie (1972a; 1976b) found that slaves tended to live in the rural south while free blacks  
967 tended to live in the urban north—as intuition might suggest. Zelinsky (1950) found that significant  
968 populations of rural free blacks only existed in Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland.

969

970 Second, Wilkie (1972a, 1976b), Berlin (1974), Curry (1981), and Steckel (2000b) confirmed the  
971 findings of Zelinsky (1950): Free blacks were more urban than whites.

972 "Throughout the pre-Civil War period, the free black population in both the North and the South was more  
973 urban than either the white or slave population. In 1790, 12 percent of the free black population was urban  
974 which was twice as high a percentage as that for the white population and over four times as high as that for  
975 slaves. By 1860, over one-third of the free black population lived in urban areas, compared to one-fifth of the  
976 white population and only 4 percent of the slave population" (Wilkie 1976b; p.314).  
977

978 In fact, "urban freeman also tended to congregate in the large cities for the same reasons they  
979 preferred urban to rural life" (Berlin, p.175). Economic pull factors such as "economic (and  
980 manumission) opportunities (which) were much superior for landless and ownerless Negroes in  
981 cities than they were in the countryside," and economic push factors such as "social isolation" which  
982 pushed free blacks out of rural areas led to the relative urbanization of free blacks (p.388).

983

984

985 **Summary of the Demography of Free Blacks**

986

987 The demographic choices of free black population were limited because they awkwardly operated

988 under some of the freedoms of whites and, yet, many of the constraints of slaves:

989           “The line between slavery and freedom was not imaginary....No matter how hard whites squeezed black liberty,  
990           the irreducible difference between freedom and slavery remained. Freedom allowed blacks to reap the rewards  
991           of their own labor, to develop a far richer social life, and enjoy the many intangible benefits of liberty. With  
992           hard work, skill, and luck, some free Negroes climbed off the floor of Southern society, acquired wealth and  
993           social standing....Yet neither were they free....Free Negroes balanced precariously between abject slavery,  
994           which they rejected, and full freedom, which was denied them. Their world straddled one of hell’s elusive  
995           boundaries: (Berlin, pp. xiii-xiv).

996

997 The asymmetrical enforcement of hostile and favorable federal laws by states that were respectively

998 hostile to or in favor of free black rights and protections under the Constitution directly impacted

999 the demographic choices of free blacks. Since federal decisions about the rights of free blacks had to

1000 be filtered through the preference of states in which a free black resided, areas that chose to enforce

1001 federal decisions which reduced the rights of free blacks (i.e., the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act)

1002 experienced large declines in the free black population, such as Louisiana in the Southwestern.

1003 Conversely, areas that chose to defy such laws (i.e., via the Underground Railroad) experienced

1004 growth in the area’s free black population, such as Ohio in the Midwest and Canada. Overall, while

1005 the legal and social status of free blacks was significantly better than slaves but not quite equal to

1006 that of whites, free blacks attempted to overcome asymmetrical enforcement of federal laws by

1007 structuring the location of their households to provide a basic foundation for *the pursuit of happiness*.

1008

1009           **THE ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE CONDITION OF FREE BLACKS IN THE**  
1010           **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA COMPARED TO EX-SLAVES AND WHITE**  
1011           **AMERICANS IN THE MID 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**  
1012

1013       Several anecdotal studies on free blacks in the labor market show that the poor legal and social  
1014       conditions made it difficult for free blacks to be economically competitive. For instance, free blacks  
1015       had to compete with slaves, whites and immigrants for employment.

1016                 “The preference of employers for white or slave labor forced free Negroes to underbid whites and work on  
1017                 the same terms as slaves. By accepting lower wages and longer hours, many free Negroes found employment,  
1018                 but they aroused the ire of white workingmen, who complained that free Negroes depressed their standard of  
1019                 living” (Berlin, p.229). Immigration put free Negroes in the same position: “The influx of Irish and German  
1020                 workers...speeded the exclusion of Negro freeman from many occupations. The competition free Negro  
1021                 workers faced from newly arrived immigrants in Baltimore was a typical example of how white immigrants  
1022                 limited the free Negro’s opportunities” (p.231).  
1023

1024       They tended to earn wages and income that were much less than whites. One local study shows that:  
1025       “Racial prejudice relegated many free Negro workers to the meanest drudgery at the lowest  
1026       pay...Even at these low levels of employment, free Negroes were often paid less than whites. The  
1027       standard wage for day laborers in the Norfolk shipyards (for example) was one dollar, but free  
1028       Negro workers rarely earned more than seventy-five cents a day” (Berlin, p.227).

1029  
1030       But studying racial differences in factor market supply decisions and prices, as reflected in the  
1031       literature on labor supply, wages and income, presents only a subset of the factors that determine the  
1032       accumulation and storage of assets over the lifetime of black and white households. Therefore, this  
1033       study will focus on differences in wealth between blacks and whites in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

1034

1035       **Related Studies: A Review of the Literature on the Study of Free Blacks**

1036

1037       The source of antebellum free black-white wealth differences has not studied. Researchers (e.g.,  
1038       Bodenhorn (1999), Eggert (1997), Hershberg (1997), Berlin (1974), Litwick (1961), Jackson (1939),

1039 and DuBois (1899)) and Philadelphia abolitionist society studies in 1849 and 1838 attempted to  
1040 address free black-white wealth differences often using a piece-mill approach. Foremost, Leon  
1041 Litwick (1961) and Ira Berlin (1979) provided a historical account for experience of northern and  
1042 southern free blacks, respectively. After surveying past research efforts, compiling county records  
1043 and compiling census manuscripts, Berlin found that free blacks in several states possessed more  
1044 property over time. But these results are obscured by the aggregate measures of wealth. For instance,  
1045 he found that the aggregate wealth of free blacks living in fifteen counties in Georgia nearly doubled  
1046 between 1850 and 1860. But we do not know why their wealth increased because correlations with  
1047 explanatory variables were not calculated.

1048

1049 Luther Jackson (1939) also analyzed the property and real estate wealth of free blacks in the South.  
1050 He used tax books, deeds, orders, legislative petitions, agricultural manuscripts and census  
1051 manuscripts from Virginia to show that the amount of property held by free blacks in 1830 tripled  
1052 by 1860. Even though Jackson provided a brief statistical analysis, the inference of his study is  
1053 limited to Virginia and he did not employ methods to explain what drove his observations.

1054

1055 Bodenhorn (1999a) used 1860 US census data to analyze southern wealth differences among darker  
1056 and lighter free blacks. Based on censored quantile regression results using data from Maryland,  
1057 Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Louisiana, mulattos had wealth advantage to darker free  
1058 blacks. Similarly, Bodenhorn (1999b) employs data stature of darker and lighter free blacks. He also  
1059 found that mulattos had an advantage to darker free blacks when analyzing stature data from  
1060 Virginia. While Bodenhorn did employed modern statistical analyses, inference from this study is  
1061 limited to several states.

1062

1063 Some research has also been conducted on free black wealth in localities within Pennsylvania.  
1064 Gerald Eggert (1997) linked US Census records of blacks in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania from 1850-60  
1065 to estimate property values of free blacks. He found stagnant wealth among a large percentage of the  
1066 population but growth among those who did not migrate. However, his study did not compare  
1067 results to migrants and was limited to one locality. Theodore Hershberg (1997) employed abolition  
1068 society data on the socioeconomic conditions of free blacks in Philadelphia to show that real and  
1069 personal wealth fell ten percent between 1838 and 1847.

1070

1071 Similarly, W. E. B. Dubois (1899) used these records and tax receipts to show that free blacks in  
1072 Philadelphia often held less property than whites. However, Hershberg and Dubois do not use the  
1073 analytical tools needed to fully explain their results. Their studies lack a full description of the data  
1074 collection procedures in their research. To analyze the link between these social conditions and  
1075 economic outcomes of free blacks, I employ wealth and cross-sectional variables from the 1850,  
1076 1860 and 1870 Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples (IPUMS).

1077

1078 **Descriptive Statistics: An Analysis of the IPUMS Data Employed for the Study of the**  
1079 **Economic Condition of Free Blacks in United States of America, Compared to Ex-slaves**  
1080 **and White Americans**

1081

1082

1083 This study uses data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS). IPUMS data are  
1084 based on national representative samples and supplemental over-samples of minorities from the  
1085 population schedules of the US census manuscripts. The US conducted its first census in 1790 and  
1086 its first modern census in 1850. By 1850, the census had improved such that we can now investigate  
1087 the past with new insights. Modern census data is a rich set of cross-sectional, individual-level data  
1088 on American families and individuals.

1089 Magnuson (1995a) and Steckel (1991) recommend that researchers pay careful attention to enumeration the  
1090 procedures before investigating this data. Magnuson reports that the U.S. Census is not a “pure reflection of  
1091 general societal trends”(p. 11). The census is composed of questions, which have and have not persisted over  
1092 time. Between 1790 and 1840, the unit of enumeration was the household, based on given set of characteristics,  
1093 i.e. Colored-Male-Over Age 16. The 1850 U.S. Census was considered the first modern Census when the unit  
1094 was changed to the individual. Magnuson also noted that a proposed slave schedule would have collected  
1095 extensive information on the ancestors of modern-day African Americas. In 1840, Congress formed the Census  
1096 Board that unsuccessfully recommended a slave schedule for the 1850 U.S. Census--which would have included  
1097 the names of slaves, birthplace of slaves and number of children (Magnuson 1995a, p.19).

1098  
1099 Steckel reminds us that the original purpose of the US census was for taxation and US House of  
1100 Representatives appropriations. However, a “growing desire for statistical information, curiosity about society,  
1101 and heightened interest in international and regional comparisons led to expanded collection by the federal  
1102 census” (Steckel 1991, pp.582-83). Steckel suggested that the likelihood of error increases as early census data is  
1103 more disaggregated. He noted that under-enumeration, over-enumeration and misreporting are errors that  
1104 affect the quality of census data and led to the creation of the Census Bureau. Some of these errors may be  
1105 attributed to the poor training of early enumerators and lower quality of early census administration. He found  
1106 that larger households, lower-educated persons and persons with poor English-language skills tended to be  
1107 omitted from the census. Steckel (1991) provided several examples of underenumeration in census data  
1108 collected on blacks. He recommended using census comparisons, census matching, and consistency checks to  
1109 evaluate errors and improve the quality of samples from the early census.  
1110

1111 This study analyzes US census samples from the 1850-70. These census manuscripts contain  
1112 responses to important socioeconomic inquiries including age, sex, color, marriage status, literacy,  
1113 whether the individual attended school during the year, occupation, state or country of birth, value  
1114 of real estate, and value of personal estate (1860 and 1870 only).

1115 Real estate value was enumerated based on guidelines specified in the Circular to Marshals. It specified that  
1116 "under heading 8 insert the value of real estate owned by each individual enumerated. You are to obtain the  
1117 value of real estate by inquiry of each individual who was supposed to own real estate, be the same located  
1118 where it may, and insert the amount in dollars. No abatement of the value is to be made on account of any lien  
1119 or encumbrance thereon in the nature of debt" (Magnuson 1995b, p347) Personal estate value was also  
1120 enumerated based on guidelines that specified "Personal estate is to be inclusive of all bonds, stocks, mortgages,  
1121 notes, live stock, plate, jewels, or furniture, but exclusive of wearing apparel" (p.349)  
1122

1123 Economists have conducted an extensive amount of research based on national samples from the  
1124 early US census manuscripts (see e.g. Ferrie 1999, 1994; Steckel 1990; Becker and Tomes 1986 and  
1125 Soltow 1975, 1972). The sample studied in this paper was restricted to heads of households.  
1126 Investigating the wealth from a random sample of household heads is more productive than  
1127 investigating a random sample of individuals. Wealth is often used to purchase durable goods and  
1128 durables are more likely to benefit the entire household rather than one individual in a household.

1129 Furthermore, census enumerators tended to sum up the wealth of a household and report it under  
1130 the head of household. The final sample includes a 1-in-100 random sample from the 1850-70  
1131 censuses and supplemental samples of 1-in-50 blacks in 1860 and 1870. The racial breakdown of the  
1132 pooled sample is 21,416 blacks and 154,569 whites.

1133 Prior to 1865, blacks were not only stratified by skin color--black and mulatto--but they also functioned based  
1134 on heterogeneous legal rights. Blacks were either bounded in slavery or free, contingent on appropriate  
1135 documentation. The 1850 and 1860 IPUMS samples only include free blacks. As reported earlier, no detailed  
1136 individual-level data is available on slaves. Thus, averages of wealth and property holding in the descriptive  
1137 statistics were weighted based on (i) the size of the free black population relative to slave population in 1850  
1138 and 1860 and (ii) the assumption that slaves had no personal and real estate. Blacks were 15.7 percent of the US  
1139 population in 1850 and 14.2 percent of the population in 1860 (Cramer 1997). But free blacks represented 11.9  
1140 percent and 11.0 percent of the black population, respectively. The unweighted averages in 1850 and 1860  
1141 represent the experience of (i) the average free black and (ii) the average black if slaves were freed earlier.  
1142

1143 The decade before the Civil War was a ripe environment for economic prosperity. Thomas Weiss (1992) found  
1144 that Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 1.96 percent between 1850 and 1860--higher than any other  
1145 decade in the pre-war era. He suggested that although perishable output and shelter were the primary  
1146 components of the gain, residual output also increased significantly. The residual was "the portion of output  
1147 beyond apparent basic necessities...this was the output needed for industrialization, and of course provided as  
1148 well the discretionary items that are the fruits of economic progress. In this light, Americans were advancing in  
1149 style" (Gallman, p.30).  
1150

#### 1151 *Macroeconomic Factors Impacting the Experience of Free Blacks in the United States of America*

1152

1153 The decade immediately before the Civil War was a ripe environment for economic prosperity among  
1154 free blacks.

1155 "The industrial revolution in the United States was well underway by the 1850's but the end points of the time  
1156 period were not marked by unusual prosperity or depression. Gold discoveries and growing agricultural exports  
1157 to Europe contributed to economic growth from the late 1840's to the middle of the decade. The upswing  
1158 was halted by the Panic of 1857, a financial convulsion from which recovery was substantially complete by  
1159 1860" (Steckel 1990, p.374).  
1160

1161 After making state-level adjustments to agricultural labor force, Weiss (1992) found the growth of  
1162 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was higher in the decade before the Civil War than any other  
1163 decade in the period. Table 7b shows that perishable output and shelter were the primary  
1164 components of the gain. But the residual increased significantly. The residual was "the portion  
1165 output beyond apparent basic necessities...this was the output needed for industrialization, and of

1166 course provided as well the discretionary items that are the fruits of economic progress. In this light,  
1167 Americans were advancing in style” (Galman, p.30).

1168

1169 **Table 7a. Average Annualized Rates of Growth of Per Capita Gross Domestic Product and**  
1170 **Components (1840 Prices)**

Decade	Growth in GDP	Perishable Output	Non-Perishable Output			
			Shelter	Home Manufacturing	Farm Improvements	Residual
1800-10	0.52	0.24	0.53	-0.03	1.80	1.16
1810-20	0.27	0.00	0.83	-0.01	-0.63	0.85
1820-30	0.72	0.23	2.16	-0.16	-1.01	1.65
1830-40	1.15	0.22	2.20	-0.46	-0.70	2.74
1840-50	0.93	0.44	-0.75	0.42	0.81	2.02
1850-60	1.96	1.58	0.96	-0.41	-2.12	3.10

1171

1172 **Source:** Information collected and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002) from Gallman (p. 31)

1173

1174 *The Descriptive Statistics of the IPUMS Data Employed to Study Free Blacks in the United States of America*

1175

1176 Tables 7b-1, 7c-2 and 7d-3 describe the means of the variables in the IPUMS sample:

1177

1178

1179  
1180

Table 7b-1. The Sample Means of the IPUMS Data, 1850 through 1870

Race:	Black					White			Overall		
	1850		1860		1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Year:	Free	All	Free	All	All						
<b>Wealth Variables</b>											
Personal Estate			208	(23)	53		1,404	1,112		1,363	880
Real Estate	171	(20)	277	(30)	71	1,336	1,975	2,436	1,311	1,916	1,919
Total Estate			484	(53)	124		3,379	3,548		3,280	2,799
Price-Adjusted Personal Estate			215	(24)	34		1,506	741		1,462	586
Price-Adjusted Real Estate	189	(22)	286	(31)	47	1,486	2,050	1,643	1,458	1,990	1,294
Price-Adjusted Total Estate			501	(55)	81		3,556	2,384		3,452	1,880
Personal Estate > 0			0.551	(0.061)	0.211		0.811	0.703		0.801	0.595
Real Estate > 0	0.194	(0.023)	0.245	(0.027)	0.067	0.531	0.557	0.546	0.524	0.546	0.441
Total Estate > 0			0.585	(0.064)	0.235		0.838	0.758		0.829	0.643
Farm ownership	0.114	(0.014)	0.119	(0.013)	0.194	0.506	0.445	0.410	0.498	0.434	0.363
<b>Wealth Ratio (to Whites)</b>											
Personal Estate			0.148	(0.016)	0.048					0.97	0.79
Real Estate	0.128	(0.015)	0.140	(0.015)	0.029				0.98	0.97	0.79
Total Estate			0.143	(0.016)	0.035					0.97	0.79
Price-Adjusted Personal Estate			0.143	(0.016)	0.046					0.97	0.79
Price-Adjusted Real Estate	0.127	(0.015)	0.139	(0.015)	0.029				0.98	0.97	0.79
Price-Adjusted Total Estate			0.141	(0.015)	0.034					0.97	0.79
Personal Estate > 0			0.679	(0.075)	0.300					0.99	0.85
Real Estate > 0	0.366	(0.043)	0.440	(0.048)	0.122				0.99	0.98	0.81
Total Estate > 0			0.698	(0.077)	0.310					0.99	0.85
Farm ownership	0.225	(0.027)	0.267	(0.029)	0.473				0.98	0.98	0.88
<b>Race Variables</b>											
Black	1.000		1.000		1.000	-	-	-	0.022	0.032	0.217
Black	0.677		0.635		0.881	-	-	-	0.015	0.020	0.191
Mulatto	0.323		0.365		0.119	-	-	-	0.007	0.012	0.026
White	-		-		-	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.978	0.966	0.781
Other	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	0.002	0.002
Chinese	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	0.001	0.001
Indian	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	0.001	0.001
<b>Schooling Variables</b>											
Literacy	0.527		0.583		0.146	0.903	0.913	0.885	0.895	0.902	0.724
<b>Occupation Variables</b>											
Labor Force Participation	0.656		0.823		0.890	0.873	0.910	0.887	0.868	0.907	0.888
Unskilled	0.371		0.509		0.705	0.100	0.146	0.230	0.106	0.158	0.333
Skilled	0.166		0.191		0.071	0.218	0.233	0.227	0.217	0.232	0.193
White-Collar	0.018		0.019		0.009	0.085	0.107	0.119	0.083	0.104	0.095
Farmer	0.107		0.112		0.187	0.475	0.431	0.395	0.467	0.420	0.349
Student or Retired	-		0.001		0.000	0.000	0.002	0.009	0.000	0.002	0.007
Other	0.338		0.167		0.027	0.122	0.082	0.020	0.127	0.085	0.022

1181

1182 Source: Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

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Table 7b-2. The Sample Means of the IPUMS Data, 1850 through 1870

Race:	Free Blacks			Whites			Overall		
Year:	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<b>Demographic Variables</b>									
Male	0.750	0.727	0.820	0.910	0.908	0.893	0.907	0.902	0.877
Number of persons in the household	4.581	4.684	4.705	5.532	5.267	5.166	5.511	5.247	5.064
Number of families in the household	1.295	1.263	1.194	1.382	1.354	1.371	1.380	1.352	1.335
Married	0.639	0.613	0.716	0.830	0.822	0.818	0.826	0.814	0.794
Number of children > 0	0.688	0.715	0.746	0.818	0.810	0.804	0.815	0.806	0.790
Number of children	2.023	2.117	2.233	2.819	2.619	2.504	2.802	2.600	2.442
Number of children under 5 years old	0.589	0.553	0.682	0.752	0.750	0.662	0.748	0.742	0.665
Youngest child	4.916	5.675	4.413	5.239	5.173	5.750	5.232	5.187	5.452
Oldest child	9.366	10.521	9.462	11.372	10.852	11.317	11.328	10.834	10.899
Age	42.450	42.890	39.839	41.525	41.384	42.806	41.546	41.424	42.146
< 20 years old	0.009	0.007	0.018	0.003	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.004	0.007
20-29 years old	0.182	0.176	0.258	0.197	0.195	0.172	0.197	0.194	0.191
30-39 years old	0.274	0.254	0.248	0.301	0.304	0.276	0.300	0.302	0.270
40-49 years old	0.225	0.244	0.214	0.231	0.233	0.243	0.231	0.233	0.236
50-59 years old	0.171	0.170	0.146	0.149	0.151	0.172	0.149	0.151	0.166
60-69 years old	0.085	0.093	0.080	0.082	0.080	0.093	0.082	0.080	0.090
70-79 years old	0.035	0.035	0.026	0.029	0.027	0.033	0.029	0.028	0.032
80-89 years old	0.009	0.018	0.007	0.007	0.006	0.006	0.007	0.006	0.006
90+ years old	0.009	0.004	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001
<b>Region Variables</b>									
Rural	0.621	0.615	0.863	0.802	0.753	0.718	0.798	0.749	0.749
Metropolitan area	0.224	0.258	0.066	0.122	0.172	0.196	0.125	0.175	0.168
Slave state	0.528	0.525	0.908	0.286	0.255	0.249	0.291	0.263	0.391
Northeast	0.054	0.050	0.006	0.145	0.121	0.106	0.143	0.118	0.084
Mid-Atlantic	0.304	0.253	0.033	0.293	0.276	0.252	0.293	0.275	0.204
Midwest	0.113	0.153	0.052	0.263	0.320	0.361	0.260	0.314	0.294
Southeast	0.493	0.474	0.747	0.256	0.215	0.208	0.261	0.223	0.324
Southwest	0.035	0.050	0.161	0.031	0.040	0.041	0.031	0.040	0.067
West	0.001	0.019	0.002	0.012	0.028	0.032	0.012	0.030	0.027
Moved to Northeast	0.023	0.023	0.003	0.023	0.029	0.031	0.023	0.029	0.025
Moved to Mid-Atlantic	0.097	0.079	0.012	0.106	0.117	0.109	0.106	0.116	0.088
Moved to Midwest	0.102	0.118	0.037	0.210	0.244	0.251	0.208	0.239	0.204
Moved to Southwest	0.010	0.013	0.102	0.026	0.033	0.033	0.026	0.033	0.048
Moved to Southeast	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.025	0.026	0.027	0.025	0.025	0.023
Moved to West	0.001	0.016	0.002	0.009	0.025	0.029	0.009	0.025	0.024
Stayed in Northeast	0.031	0.028	0.003	0.123	0.092	0.075	0.121	0.089	0.059
Stayed in Mid-Atlantic	0.207	0.174	0.021	0.187	0.158	0.144	0.188	0.158	0.117
Stayed in Midwest	0.010	0.035	0.015	0.053	0.076	0.110	0.052	0.075	0.090
Stayed in Southwest	0.025	0.038	0.058	0.005	0.006	0.008	0.005	0.007	0.019
Stayed in Southeast	0.486	0.469	0.741	0.230	0.190	0.180	0.236	0.198	0.302
Stayed in West	-	0.002	0.000	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.004	0.005	0.003

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1187  
1188

Source: Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

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1190

**Table 7b-3. The Sample Means of the IPUMS Data, 1850 through 1870**

Race:	Free Blacks			Whites			Overall		
Year:	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<b>Region Variables (continued)</b>									
Migrated to a different state	0.340	0.343	0.359	0.545	0.594	0.597	0.540	0.586	0.546
Migrated to a different region	0.241	0.255	0.162	0.398	0.474	0.479	0.395	0.467	0.411
Born in Northeast	0.035	0.038	0.004	0.174	0.134	0.108	0.171	0.130	0.085
Born in Mid-Atlantic	0.225	0.197	0.024	0.266	0.242	0.223	0.265	0.240	0.179
Born in Midwest	0.012	0.037	0.020	0.058	0.084	0.120	0.057	0.083	0.099
Born in Southeast	0.682	0.689	0.886	0.325	0.274	0.254	0.333	0.286	0.391
Born in Southwest	0.026	0.041	0.063	0.005	0.007	0.009	0.006	0.008	0.021
Born in West	-	0.002	0.000	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.004	0.005	0.003
Born in other US Territory	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000
Born in foreign country	0.019	0.015	0.002	0.168	0.256	0.282	0.165	0.248	0.222
<b>Price Index</b>									
Regional Price Index	88.45	93.53	158.32	90.15	97.46	149.86	90.11	97.34	151.69
Number of Observations	773	1,703	18,940	34,671	51,776	68,122	35,444	53,594	87,227

1191

1192 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1193

1194 Five years after emancipation, blacks made gains in the total wealth. Total wealth includes the value

1195 of personal and other wealth. The value of southern total estate was inflated by the value of slaves.

1196 Slave owners included the value of slaves in their personal estate.

1197

1198 On average, the value of black total wealth, adjusted by regional prices, was \$124 in 1870 while

1199 whites held \$3,548 in total estate. Total estate wealth grew by 47 percent between 1860 and 1870

1200 among blacks while white total estate wealth fell 33 percent between 1860 and 1870. See the

1201 empirical results section for a complete discussion of black-white wealth differences.

1202

1203 Black-white differences in schooling and employment were also quite large in 1870. 14.6 percent of

1204 the black population was literate while 88.5 percent of the white population could read and write.

1205 While 89 percent of both, blacks and whites, were employed, occupation concentrations were  
1206 different. In 1870, 70.5 percent of blacks had unskilled jobs, compared to 23 percent of whites. In  
1207 contrast, 18.8 percent of blacks were either white-collar workers or farmers, compared to 53.8  
1208 percent of whites.

1209           White occupational concentrations changed quite dramatically between 1850 and 1870. The portion of white  
1210 unskilled workers grew 46.2 percent between 1850 and 1860 and 57.3 percent between 1860 and 1870 while the  
1211 portion of white-collar worker grew less dramatically during this period. The portion of white-collar workers  
1212 grew 25.8 percent between 1850 and 1860 and 12.1 percent between 1860 and 1870. Simultaneously, the  
1213 portion of white farmers fell 9.3 percent between 1850 and 1860 and 8.4 percent between 1860 and 1870.  
1214 Naturally, this coincided with a continual decline in farm ownership among whites over the twenty-year period.  
1215

1216 Blacks and whites were also different demographically in 1870. 18 percent of black households had  
1217 female heads while only 10.7 percent of white households had female heads. Similarly, only 71.6  
1218 percent of black household heads were married while 81.8 percent of white household heads were  
1219 married. White households also had more residents, including children. Furthermore, the average  
1220 age of the white household head, youngest child and oldest child is older than the average ages of  
1221 the black household head, youngest child and oldest child, respectively. White demographics  
1222 gradually changed over the twenty-year period. The number of persons in a household, number  
1223 households with children and number of children all fell. Simultaneously, the number of white male  
1224 and white married household heads fell. Among free blacks, the proportion that was male and  
1225 married also fell between 1850 and 1860.

1226  
1227 Regional differences were also quite large in 1870. The only dramatic regional differences among  
1228 whites prior to 1870 were changes in the western and foreign-born population. 12 percent of whites  
1229 lived in west in 1850. This portion of the population grew by 129 percent between 1850 and 1860  
1230 and 12 percent between 1860 and 1870. Additionally, Joseph Ferrie reports that the portion of white  
1231 foreign-born population grew by 52 percent between 1850 and 1860 and 10 percent between 1860  
1232 and 1870 (1999). 1850 and 1860 free blacks were regionally different than whites and all blacks in

1233 1870. Only one-in-two free blacks lived in slave states, with the remaining plurality living in the Mid-  
1234 Atlantic. More than one-in-three free blacks lived in urban areas between 1850 and 1860—  
1235 significantly larger than whites and all blacks in 1870. One-in-three free blacks were also born  
1236 outside of the southeast region in 1850 and 1860. Furthermore, 34 percent of free blacks migrated  
1237 to a different state in 1850 and 1860 and over seventy percent of these migrants migrated to a new  
1238 region. Only one-in-four whites lived in former slave states while nine out of ten blacks lived in  
1239 former slave states. As a result blacks were more likely to live in rural areas than blacks (86.3 percent  
1240 of blacks to 71.8 percent of whites). This occurred because whites were more regionally mobile than  
1241 blacks. 35.9 percent of blacks migrated from their birth state and 45 percent these migrants reside in  
1242 a new region. However, 59.7 percent of whites migrated from their birth state and 80 percent of  
1243 these migrants changed regions. The key regional difference may be that only 11.4 percent of blacks  
1244 were born outside the Southeast while the largest birth segment among whites was foreign-born  
1245 (28.2 percent). Joseph Ferrie conducts a thorough analysis of the immigrant experience during this  
1246 period (1999).

1247

1248 Five years after emancipation, blacks, on average, held \$71 in real estate wealth while whites held  
1249 \$2,437. These estimates are consistent with the estimates of Soltow (1972; 1975). Although Soltow  
1250 (1972) only collected a sample of 393 non-whites in 1870, he found their average wealth was \$73,  
1251 compared to \$2,661 among whites. Soltow (1975) found similar differences in free black and white  
1252 wealth using a sample of 151 blacks. He conducted one of the first in-depth studies of mid-  
1253 nineteenth century wealth accumulation patterns using the census population schedules. Note that  
1254 these schedules were originally are stored on microfilms. He spun the microfilm half-turns to collect  
1255 random, cross-sectional samples from 1850-1870. He found that average black wealth in 1870 was  
1256 \$74 while average white wealth in \$2,691.

1257

1258 Given that blacks held only 2.9 percent of the average white real estate wealth in 1870--up from the  
1259 1.5 percent in 1850 and 1860, the fact that the growth of real estate wealth favored blacks over this  
1260 time period may not be surprising. Among blacks, average real estate wealth, adjusted by regional  
1261 prices, grew by 28 percent between 1850 and 1860 and 33 percent between 1860 and 1870. Among  
1262 whites, price adjusted real estate wealth also grew by 28 percent between 1850 and 1860 but fell by  
1263 25 percent between 1860 and 1870. This white wealth recession was primarily due to the losses  
1264 incurred by the southern whites after the Civil War.

1265

1266 Property-holding patterns were similar to real estate wealth patterns. Only 6.7 percent of blacks in  
1267 1870 held property (or a positive value of real estate wealth) while 54.6 percent of whites held  
1268 property in 1870. The growth in black property-holders outpaced the growth of black real estate  
1269 wealth. Blacks property holders grew 17 percent between 1850 and 1860 and 148 percent between  
1270 1860 and 1870. Among whites, property holders grew by five percent between 1850 and 1860 and  
1271 fell two percent between 1860 and 1870. Overall, the ratio of black to white property holders was  
1272 12.2 percent in 1870, up from 4.3 percent in 1850 and 4.8 percent in 1860.

1273

1274 Blacks made similar gains in the total estate. Total estate includes the value of personal estate and  
1275 real estate. The value of southern total estate was inflated by the value of slaves. Slave owners  
1276 included the value of slaves in their personal estate. On average, the value of black total estate wealth,  
1277 adjusted by regional prices, was \$124 in 1870 while whites held \$3,548 in total estate. Total estate  
1278 wealth grew by 47 percent between 1860 and 1870 among blacks while white total estate wealth fell  
1279 33 percent between 1860 and 1870. Black total estate holders (or blacks possessing a positive value  
1280 of total estate wealth) grew by 265 percent to 23.5 percent in 1870 while white total estate holders

1281 fell by 9.6 percent to 75.8 percent in 1870. Overall, the ratio of black to white total estate wealth was  
1282 3.5 percent while the ratio of black to white total estate holders was 31 percent in 1870.

1283

1284 These descriptive statistics document the general improvements in the condition of the average  
1285 black relative to the average white after the abolition of slavery.

1286

1287 **Economic Theory: The Economic Expectations before Investigating Evidence in the Data**  
1288

1289 The Study of Wealth. Wealth is the accumulation of material resources that have market value for  
1290 current or future consumption. Furthermore, savings, initial wealth and the compounded rate of  
1291 return on the invested savings and initial wealth determine wealth. The following section describes  
1292 universal and group-based expectations, based on economic theory, in the areas of economic growth  
1293 (including wealth, property and savings), economic inequality, and comparative economic outcomes.  
1294 Wealth, property, and measures of classical economic choice characteristic will be employed to  
1295 measure outcomes, compared to expectations.

1296

1297 Economic Growth and the Parabolic Property Ownership Expectations. To analyze the relationship  
1298 between age and property, I employ methods developed by Lee Soltow (1975). He expected the old  
1299 to hold more property than the young : He found that plots of individuals holding property across  
1300 age groups shows a "very rapid rise in the probability of ownership in the first 10 years of adulthood  
1301 with a tapering affect appearing thereafter" (Soltow, p.28). He suggests that this concavity was  
1302 affected by the income and savings decisions and distribution of the population.

1303

1304 Soltow used estimates of non-property-holders to develop a parabolic model of property holding  
1305 over different age rages. This theoretical parabolic behavior is based on an assumption that

1306 proportion of non-property-holders is fixed across age groups. Soltow expects that 79.3 percent of  
1307 thirty year-olds who did not hold property in their twenties will not hold property for the same  
1308 reason as the 79.3 percent who did not hold property when they were in their twenties:

1309 "The .793 is a quantification of the importance of all those characteristics inhibiting ownership, such as lack of  
1310 knowledge of available land or credit, inability to speak or write English or possibly read any other language,  
1311 unwillingness to accept the obligations of ownership, inability to save because of low income or high  
1312 consumption, legarthy because of sickness or poor health, and so on. If quantification of .79 were to operate  
1313 for the group from age 30 to 39, one would expect the .793 of the property-less at age 30 to remain property-  
1314 less. Thus,  $1-(.793)^2$  would own property in the 30-39 group" (Soltow, 1972, p.30).

1315  
1316 "The strength of America's system, as seen by nineteenth century writer, was that an individual had the  
1317 opportunity to improve his position over time. This opportunity meant that he was not placed in a fixed  
1318 position in society. He might have had to work hard, but he could expect betterment in his wealth status. We  
1319 can capture this phenomenon by studying the participation rate (proportion of men who held property) of  
1320 peoples of different ages in a given year. Sure this rate, as measured by (real estate holding) or (total estate  
1321 holding) must be higher for the old than for the young...If the majority of individuals in the economy are to  
1322 experience betterment in economic position during their lifetimes, more and more should rise above the level  
1323 of being poor, above some minimum wealth amount" (p.27).  
1324

1325 Economic Growth and the Linear Growth in Wealth Expectations. To analyze the relationship  
1326 between age and wealth, I employ additional methods that were first employed by Soltow (1975). He  
1327 plotted age-wealth coordinates and expected a positive relationship: "Material betterment dominated  
1328 the economic thinking men. Those with wealth expected to have more each year as they grew older;  
1329 accumulation was a sign or index of recognition of an individual's past economic activities. Wealth  
1330 mirrors the past better than income since the pleasures of past consumption may be forgotten. It is  
1331 only saving from past income that is now reflected in one's wealth" (Soltow, 1975, p.69).

1332  
1333 Soltow did, in fact, observe a linear relationship between estate values and age. The parabolic effect  
1334 of age on property holding was not present when observing average wealth at different ages. "The  
1335 group average rises strongly from 20-29 to 30-39 and then has its greatest thrust in going from 30-39  
1336 to the 40-49 group. The average tapers off but continues to rise rather surprisingly into old age.  
1337 There is certainly no strong parabolic effect, as can be seen in...the proportion of men with  
1338 property" (p.70). He also suggested that the stability of the 1850 pattern was "proof that the age

1339 patterns were established decades before the 1850 and the concepts of economic betterment must  
1340 have been pervasive" (Soltow, 1975, pp.74-75).

1341

1342 Economic Growth and the Savings Rate Expectations. Finally, I use the method proposed by  
1343 Soltow (1975) to analyze savings using wealth annualized at each age. Soltow used the differences in  
1344 wealth at each age to observe the continuity of savings that continued through old ages. Furthermore,  
1345 Soltow found the average annual savings rate was about 5 percent. This was obtained by [1]  
1346 averaging the increase in wealth per age groups 20-69 or 90 percent of the adult male population  
1347  $\{(582+804+311+303)/4 = 500\}$ , [2] annualizing the average increase per age group or decade  
1348  $\{500/10=50\}$ , and [3] dividing the average annual increase in wealth by the average wealth in 1850  
1349  $\{50/1001=.05\}$ . Note that this finding of 5 percent is the average for individuals. Since households  
1350 possess more wealth than individuals, this rate is expected to much be smaller in the forthcoming  
1351 empirical analysis. "The difference between in wealth levels from one year to the next gives an index  
1352 of saving for a year" (pp.71-72).

1353

1354 Classical Characteristic Premium Expectations. *Schooling*. Jacob Mincer (1974) described a direct  
1355 relationship between schooling and earnings:

1356 "it is equally correct to say that the distribution of earnings is determined by the distribution of accumulated  
1357 human capital and of rates of return to human capital investment or that the distribution of earnings is  
1358 determined by the distribution of ability and opportunity. Or, putting it in a causal hierarchy, the distribution of  
1359 accumulated human capital is a proximate determinant of the distribution of earnings, and is treated that way in  
1360 this study. In turn, ability and opportunity determine the distribution of human capital. (Mincer 1974, p.138)"  
1361

1362 *Skill*. Classical economic theory suggests workers are paid their additions to production. This  
1363 produces an expectation of higher wages for higher skilled workers and lower wages for lower  
1364 skilled workers. Holding constant the intertemporal rate of return to saved wages, holding constant

1365 differences in initial wealth, and holding constant the number of working hours (see James Curtis Jr,  
1366 December 2002), it is reasonable expect higher wealth among higher skilled employees.

1367

1368 *Economic Geography*. Johann Heinrich Von Thünen (1966, Wikimedia 2004) was the first to describe

1369 the reasoning behind local residency decisions in the book entitled, “The Isolated State”:

1370 In his theory of "The Isolated State", he started out from Adam Smith's idea of "economic man": that the  
1371 farmer is expected to maximize his profit ("economic rent") from his farmland. Von Thünen, as a landlord,  
1372 knew that such returns depend on an optimal use of the land surfaces and the transport costs. In concentrating  
1373 on the effects of these two variables on profits, removal of other factors results in a homogeneous - and  
1374 isolated – state.

1375

1376 Transport cost depends on the distance from the market and different kind of products. The gain from farming  
1377 per unit area (locational rent) decreases with increasing distance from the market. The minimum price of a  
1378 commodity is calculated by locational rent, transport costs and fixed production costs - the profit is then the  
1379 difference between the costs and the fixed market price. Idealized pattern of agricultural land use zones in von  
1380 Thünen's model. Locational rent, a term used by von Thünen in his argument, is to be understood as the  
1381 equivalent to land value. It corresponds to the maximum amount a farmer could pay for using the land, without  
1382 making losses. It can be defined as the equation below:

1383

1384  $L = Y ((P - C) - DF)$  (such that) L: Locational rent, Y: Yield, P: Market price of the crop, C: Production cost  
1385 of the crop, D: Distance from the market, and F: Transport cost.

1386

1387 ...since locational rent falls with increasing distance from the market, the amount each farmer is willing to pay  
1388 for agricultural land will shrink and the price of land will eventually decline. Von Thünen concluded that the  
1389 cultivation of a crop is only worthwhile within certain distances from the city: beyond that, either the cost of  
1390 the land becomes too high, with increasing distances transport costs also increase, or, if there is another  
1391 product having greater yield or lower transport costs. After a distance from the market (the city) the production  
1392 of a crop becomes unprofitable, either because its profits drop to zero or the profits earned by other crops are  
1393 higher, as von Thünen calculated them for products having different intensities...: For each product there is a  
1394 certain distance from the city where its production would be worthwhile. Locational rent is the highest possible  
1395 amount one will pay for the use of the land for a certain cultivation, and is a relative indicator of  
1396 competitiveness of it in the market.

1397

1398 **Weaknesses & Criticism:** The model was developed in an isolated state and did not take into consideration  
1399 differences in sites (local physical conditions). It can be modified by relaxing some of the conditions set forth  
1400 by Von Thunen: differential transportation costs... Like many other models in geography, von Thünen's model  
1401 was criticized frequently due to its restrictive nature. The basic conditions of the model, however, could be  
1402 approximated by slight modifications of the respective reality” (Wikimedia 2004).

1403

1404 Ultimately, the location of residence depended on the return from the trade of the head of

1405 household, conditional on the cost of transportation. Hypothetically, those enslaved, or once

1406 enslaved, received the lowest concurrent return from their trade and sought the best opportunity

1407 [and earliest opportunity] to enhance their returns. Among those that were not able to secure

1408 immediate, sustainable property and wealth, this likely required long distance travel and residence to  
1409 more socially receptive, locally dense communities, away from the physically, psychologically and  
1410 economic suppressive spatial areas. This produces the likelihood of group-specific expectations if  
1411 groups had different mean professions and different ranges in professional opportunities. This  
1412 analysis likely applies for slave state-free state residency decisions, regional residency decisions, and  
1413 migration decisions described in the results.

1414

1415 Convergence to Equality Expectations. To measure economic inequality and compare differences in  
1416 economic outcomes, I analyze differences in differences in mean wealth between blacks and whites,  
1417 and property ownership between blacks and whites. The following ratios measure differences in  
1418 wealth and differences in property ownership among two comparison groups to obtain comparative  
1419 returns to classical characteristic choices. Foremost, the **comparative wealth ratio** is

1420

1421 [Equation 1.1] 
$$[W_{XJ T} / W_{XJ' T}] / [W_{X'J T} / W_{X'J' T}]$$

1422

1423 where  $W_{XJ T}$  is the mean wealth of the members of group J who made investment X at time T.

1424

1425 The comparative wealth ratio ignores differences in wealth levels and measures the return to classical  
1426 characteristic choices among groups. For instance, the ratio measures the schooling premium for  
1427 blacks relative to the schooling premium for whites. If the ratio is less than one, then blacks with  
1428 many years of schooling may have lower levels of wealth relative to whites with proportional years  
1429 of schooling, and, thus, the returns to schooling among whites outpace the returns to schooling  
1430 among blacks, in terms of wealth.

1431

1432 Similarly, the **comparative property ownership ratio** is

1433

1434 [Equation 1.2] 
$$[Q_{XJT}/Q_{XJ^*T}] / [Q_{X^*JT}/Q_{X^*J^*T}]$$

1435

1436 where  $Q_{XJT}$  is the percentage of the members of group J who own property and made investment

1437 X at time T.

1438

1439 The comparative property ownership ratio can be interpreted the same as the comparative wealth

1440 ratio. The comparative property ownership ratio measures the impact of classical characteristics on

1441 property ownership of group J to the impact of classical characteristics of property ownership of

1442 group J'. For instance, the ratio measures the schooling premium of blacks relative to the whites. If

1443 the ratio is less than one, then blacks with many years of schooling may own less property relative to

1444 whites with proportional years of property, and, thus, the returns to schooling among whites with

1445 many years of schooling outpace the returns to schooling among blacks with proportional years of

1446 schooling, in terms of property ownership.

1447

1448 Motivations for Multivariate Analysis. To observe of combined effect of laws, demography and

1449 economic geography of the economic outcomes of whites and blacks, I employed standard

1450 minimization of the sum of squared errors and conducted non-linear multivariate analysis on the

1451 logarithmic total wealth of whites and blacks in 1860 and 1870. Previous papers provide theoretical

1452 motivation for econometric modeling choices, which are similar to this presentation. Logarithmic

1453 wealth is regressed against proxy variables for earnings and savings, proxy variables for initial wealth,

1454 and household formation variables. Including slave state-free state residency variables and regional  
1455 residency variables could lead to multicollinearity, due to possible endogeneity. The directions of the  
1456 predictions of estimated coefficients, which are statistically significant at a 95 percent level of  
1457 significance, were summarized in the results section.

1458

1459

1460

## RESULTS

1461

### 1462 The Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century Age and Property Profiles of Whites and Free Blacks in the United 1463 States of America

1464

1465 In 1850, Table 8ab-1 shows that between 35.8 – 67.1 percent of whites were real estate property

1466 holders across different age groups while only 14.3 - 28.0 percent of free blacks were real estate

1467 property holders across age groups.

1468

1469 **Table 8ab-1. Real Estate Property-Holding Patterns by Age Group and Race, 1850-1860**

Age Group	1850 Real Estate Holders						White-Free Black Difference	1860-1850 Difference
	Whites			Free Blacks				
	Actual	Theoretical	Difference	Actual	Theoretical	Difference		
20-29	0.358	0.358	-	0.163	0.163	-		
30-39	0.512	0.588	(0.076)	0.151	0.300	(0.149)	0.073 (0.009)	
40-49	0.586	0.735	(0.149)	0.195	0.414	(0.218)	0.070 (0.046)	
50-59	0.630	0.830	(0.200)	0.280	0.509	(0.229)	0.029 0.014	
60-69	0.671	0.891	(0.220)	0.258	0.589	(0.332)	0.112 (0.044)	
70-79	0.609	0.930	(0.321)	0.222	0.656	(0.434)	0.113 0.066	
80-89	0.460	0.955	(0.495)	0.143	0.712	(0.570)	0.075 0.055	
<b>1860 Real Estate Holders</b>								
Age Group	Whites			Free Blacks			White-Free Black Difference	
	Actual	Theoretical	Difference	Actual	Theoretical	Difference		
20-29	0.369	0.369	-	0.175	0.175	-		
30-39	0.531	0.602	(0.071)	0.185	0.319	(0.134)	0.064	
40-49	0.632	0.749	(0.117)	0.297	0.438	(0.141)	0.024	
50-59	0.696	0.842	(0.146)	0.347	0.536	(0.190)	0.044	
60-69	0.725	0.900	(0.175)	0.375	0.617	(0.242)	0.068	
70-79	0.681	0.937	(0.256)	0.250	0.684	(0.434)	0.179	
80-89	0.684	0.960	(0.276)	0.333	0.739	(0.406)	0.130	

1470

1471 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1472

1473 The proportion grew to 36.9 - 72.5 percent for whites and 17.5-37.5 percent for free blacks in 1860.

1474 Furthermore, when comparing actual to fixed proportions among free blacks and whites, the actual

1475 white proportion of property-holders across age groups was closer to the white fixed or theoretical  
1476 proportions in 1850 and 1860. This suggests that the events which prevent holding property across  
1477 age groups were relatively more fixed for whites than free blacks. Instead, enforcement of laws that  
1478 reduced the rights of free blacks, such as the Fugitive Slave Act, had a direct impact on the capacity  
1479 of the average free black to hold property, producing relatively more random patterns of holding  
1480 property across all ages. When comparing white-free black differences in 1850 and 1860, Table 7a  
1481 shows that white-free black differences fell for younger members of the age distribution but grew  
1482 for the older members of the distribution.

1483

1484 **The Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century Age and Wealth Profiles of Whites and Blacks in the United States of**  
1485 **America**  
1486

1487 Figures 3a-f are plots of the age-wealth profiles by race, year and cross section. Figure 3b plots total  
1488 wealth and shows the least amount of dissaving occurring among whites.

1489



1514 However, when comparing to blacks and the real estate wealth of whites and blacks, dissaving is  
1515 definite reality at older ages<sup>20</sup>.<sup>20</sup> Masson (1986), Mirer (1979) and Shorrocks (1975) found cross-  
1516 sectional age-wealth profiles that were concave only when they did not control for factors such as  
1517 cohort and mortality differences.

1518

1519 Furthermore, the difference between black and white age-wealth profiles is quite dramatic: The  
1520 distance between black and white profiles tends to peak in the fifties. Finally, Figures 3c-f show that  
1521 the dominant wealth possession of whites remained across time, education and region.

1522

1523 These profiles are preliminary evidence that making choices to improve education and social  
1524 surrounding did not provide a clear wealth reward. The local definition of free black rights had  
1525 diluted any attempts to make individual economic gains.

1526

### 1527 **The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Savings of Whites and Free Blacks in the United States of America**

1528

1529 Table 8c shows that white households (3.6 percent) saved less real estate wealth, annually, than free  
1530 black households (3.8 percent) in 1850.

1531

1532

Table 8c-1. Wealth Accumulation Patterns by Age Group and Race, 1850-1860

Age Group	1850 Real Estate Wealth				1860 Real Estate Wealth				1860 Total Wealth			
	Whites		Free Blacks		Whites		Free Blacks		Whites		Free Blacks	
	Average	Change	Average	Change	Average	Change	Average	Change	Average	Change	Average	Change
20-29	515		49		726		90		1,476		169	
30-39	1,043	528	79	30	1,480	754	146	56	2,619	1,144	275	105
40-49	1,792	750	134	55	2,519	1,039	312	166	4,430	1,811	449	175
50-59	2,273	480	370	236	3,417	897	416	104	5,625	1,194	581	132
60-69	2,675	402	336	(34)	3,432	15	342	(74)	5,475	(150)	1,165	583
70-79	2,403	(272)	1,021	685	3,600	168	158	(184)	6,178	704	236	(929)
80-89	3,228	825	498	(523)	3,718	118	360	203	6,612	434	392	156
20-69 Average		540		72		676		63		1,000		249
Overall Average		1,486		189		2,050		286		3,556		501
Savings Rate		3.6%		3.8%		3.3%		2.2%		2.8%		5.0%

1534

1535

Source: Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1536

1537 But by 1860, free black households (2.2 percent) saved less real estate wealth than white households

1538 (3.3 percent). This result is picking up the economic push effects of enhanced enforcement of

1539 controversial fugitive slave laws. But, in terms of total wealth, free black households (5.0 percent)

1540 were saving more than whites in 1860 (2.8). This is both attributed to the low level of wealth in free

1541 blacks started from and possibly the desire for descendants to have an enriched economic

1542 experience.

1543

#### 1544 **The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Wealth of Whites and Blacks in the United States of**

#### 1545 **America**

1546

1547 Jacob Mincer (1974) described a direct relationship between schooling and earnings. When

1548 comparing the real estate wealth of literate and illiterate free blacks, literate free blacks outperformed

1549 illiterate free blacks. These results held when comparing differences in other and total forms of

1550 wealth among literate and illiterate free blacks. Table 8a-2 shows that literate free blacks possessed

1551 \$520 in nominal total wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation.

1552

1553

**Table 8a-2. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
Literate	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Estate Wealth	1,030	1,568	1,872	133	316	206	1,042	1,597	1,953			
Other Wealth		1,001	753		204	98		1,019	785			
Total Wealth		2,569	2,625		520	304		2,616	2,737			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,142	1,616	1,265	149	325	135	1,155	1,646	1,320			
Other Wealth		1,062	504		209	64		1,081	525			
Total Wealth		2,678	1,769		534	199		2,727	1,845			
Sample	31,393	47,808	62,284	406	992	2,761	30,987	46,745	59,401			
Illiterate	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870			
Real Estate Wealth	263	412	212	93	151	31	282	458	586			
Other Wealth		295	105		121	41		324	236			
Total Wealth		708	317		273	72		782	823			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	296	436	143	105	160	20	317	483	398			
Other Wealth		320	70		133	26		352	159			
Total Wealth		756	213		293	46		836	556			
Sample	3,709	5,251	24,073	365	710	16,175	3,344	4,497	7,855			

1554

1555

**Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1556

1557

This was higher than the \$273 possessed by illiterate free blacks. Note that literate free blacks were

1558

equally likely as illiterate free blacks to hold real estate or other forms of property. However, literate

1559

blacks had 19.9 percent (520/2616) of literate white total wealth while illiterate free blacks had 34.9

1560

percent (273/782) of illiterate white wealth in 1860. These results may imply that the penalty for

1561

illiteracy was so severe that the wealth of illiterate whites was relatively closer to wealth of illiterate

1562

free blacks than wealth among literate free blacks and whites. This is accredited to a nineteenth

1563

century racial asymmetrical skill-bias in favor literate whites: Free blacks and whites were

1564

proportionately penalized but not proportionately rewarded for education. Furthermore, when we

1565 ignore differences in wealth levels among free blacks and whites, literacy did not provide free blacks  
1566 an advantage relative to whites.

1567

1568 Overall, investing time and resources in education does not guarantee economic equality if factors  
1569 such as initial resources vastly differ. These results also imply that illiteracy penalized free blacks in  
1570 manner similar to whites more than literacy benefited free blacks relative to whites. This analysis  
1571 directly links the asymmetrical enforcement of federal statutes by states, which affect the rights of  
1572 free blacks, to asymmetrical wealth returns to the optimal wealth generating characteristics, such as  
1573 literacy.

1574

1575 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Real Estate of Blacks: A Comparison of Black Americans over Time*

1576

1577 Real estate wealth differences favored literate blacks before and after emancipation. Table 8a-2  
1578 shows that literate free blacks possessed nominal real estate wealth amounts of \$133 in 1850 and  
1579 \$316 in 1860. This was higher than the \$93 possessed by illiterate free blacks in 1850 and \$151  
1580 possessed by illiterate free blacks in 1860. Table 8a also shows that the literate-illiterate ratio of  
1581 average real estate wealth among free blacks grew from 1.3 in 1850 and 2.0 in 1860. This may be  
1582 preliminary evidence of a growing penalty for illiteracy. Literate free blacks were also more likely to  
1583 hold real estate property than illiterate free blacks even then proportion of literate free black  
1584 property holders remained constant. Table 8b-2 shows that 20 percent of literate free blacks in 1850  
1585 and 25 percent of literate free blacks in 1860 owned positive amounts of real estate wealth.

1586

1587

1588  
1589

**Table 8b-2. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Mean Property Ownership of Whites and Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
Literate	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Property Holders	0.54	0.56	0.54	0.20	0.25	0.15	0.54	0.57	0.56			
Other Property Holders		0.81	0.70		0.54	0.28		0.81	0.72			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.84	0.75		0.58	0.32		0.84	0.77			
Sample	31,393	47,808	62,284	406	992	2,761	30,987	46,745	59,401			
Illiterate	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Property Holders	0.36	0.36	0.17	0.18	0.23	0.05	0.38	0.39	0.41			
Other Property Holders		0.72	0.31		0.56	0.20		0.75	0.55			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.75	0.35		0.60	0.22		0.77	0.62			
Sample	3,709	5,251	24,073	365	710	16,175	3,344	4,497	7,855			

1590

**Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1591

1592

1593

This was greater than the 18 percent of illiterate free blacks in 1850 and 23 percent of illiterate free

1594

blacks in 1860 that possessed positive amounts of real estate wealth. Table 8c shows that the ratio of

1595

literate free black real estate holders (per hundred literate free blacks) to the number of illiterate free

1596

black real estate holders (per hundred illiterate free blacks) remained constant at 1.1 in 1850 and

1597

1860.

1598

1599

By 1870, the return to literacy among blacks grew dramatically. Table 8c-2 shows that the ratio of

1600

literate to illiterate average real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little

1601

or no real estate property—grew to 6.8.

1602

1603

1604  
1605  
1606

**Table 8c-2. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Comparative Wealth Ratios and Comparative Property Ownership Ratios of Whites and Blacks, Based on Schooling**

	All Blacks			Whites			Black-White Ratio		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<u>i) Literate/Illiterate Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	1.4	2.0	6.8	3.6	3.4	3.3	0.4	0.6	2.0
Other		1.6	2.4		3.1	3.3		0.5	0.7
Total		1.8	4.3		3.3	3.3		0.6	1.3
<u>ii) Literate/Illiterate Mean Property-Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	1.1	1.1	2.7	1.4	1.5	1.4	0.8	0.7	2.0
Other		1.0	1.4		1.1	1.3		0.9	1.1
Total		1.0	1.5		1.1	1.3		0.9	1.2

1607  
1608  
1609

**Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1610 This implies that, on average, literate ex-slaves possessed seven dollars for every dollar of real estate  
1611 wealth owned by an illiterate ex-slave. Yet the relative sample sizes suggest that approximately one in  
1612 seven (2761/18936) blacks were able to take advantage of the large literacy premium in 1870. Slave  
1613 owner discouragement of educating slaves caused illiterate ex-slaves to be severely handicapped in  
1614 the wealth accumulation process.

1615  
1616  
1617  
1618  
1619  
1620  
1621

Similarly, Table 8c-2 shows that the ratio of literate black real estate holders (per hundred literate blacks) to illiterate blacks real estate property holders (per hundred illiterate blacks) was 2.7—for every illiterate black real estate holder (per hundred illiterate blacks), there were three literate black real estate holders (per hundred literate blacks).

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1623

1624 When comparing average real estate wealth of free blacks to the average real estate wealth of whites  
1625 by literacy before emancipation, illiterate white wealth was closer to illiterate free black wealth than  
1626 literate black wealth to literate white wealth. Using wealth means in Table 8a-2, literate free blacks  
1627 had 12.8 percent (133/1042) of the average real estate wealth among literate whites in 1850 and grew  
1628 to 19.8 percent (316/1597) of the average real estate wealth among literate whites in 1860. But  
1629 illiterate free blacks had 33.0 percent (93/282) of the average real estate wealth among illiterate  
1630 whites in 1850 and 1860 (151/458). The penalty for illiteracy in the nineteenth century caused  
1631 illiterate whites and blacks to have a relatively closer economic experience than literates. This is quite  
1632 similar to a skill-biased economy that rewards college education and penalizes high school drop-outs  
1633 discussed in the 1980's by Juhn, Murphy and Pierce (1991) but with a caveat: the nineteenth century  
1634 skill bias was racially asymmetrical in favor of whites.

1635

1636 The relatively closer economic experience of free black and white illiterates was observed when  
1637 analyzing the proportion of free black real estate holders relative to white real estate holders. The  
1638 ratio of literate free black real estate holders (per hundred literate free blacks) to literate white real  
1639 estate holders (per hundred literate whites) was approximately 1:3 (0.20 : 0.54) in 1850 and 2:5 (0.25 :  
1640 0.57) in 1860. Among illiterates, the ratio rose to approximately 1:2 (0.18 : 0.38) in 1850 and 6:10  
1641 (0.23 : 0.39) in 1860.

1642

1643 By 1870, the ratio of black to white average real estate wealth and property holders fell significantly  
1644 with the inclusion of ex-slaves in the sample but a distinct literacy advantage emerged. Using wealth  
1645 means from Table 8a-2, 1870 literate blacks held 10.5 percent (206/1953) of the real estate wealth of

1646 literate whites while illiterate blacks held 5.3 percent (31/586) of the real estate wealth of illiterate  
1647 whites. Similarly, using the percentage of property holders in Table 8b-2, the ratio of literate black  
1648 real estate property holders (per hundred literate blacks) to literate white property holders (per  
1649 hundred literate whites) was approximately 1:4 (0.15 : 0.56). Among illiterates, the ratio was  
1650 approximately 1:8 (0.05 : 0.41) in 1870. A relative racially symmetrical literacy advantage was after  
1651 emancipation even though literate blacks still possessed real estate wealth that was significantly  
1652 below literate whites.

1653

1654 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black  
1655 and white real estate wealth and ascertain the literacy advantages in the presence of wealth  
1656 constraints. Since the ratio in Table 8c was less than one in 1850 (0.4) and 1860 (0.6), whites  
1657 obtained higher return to literacy than free blacks. In 1870, the ratio in Table 8c-2 grew to 2.0 which  
1658 implies that blacks receive a higher return literacy in the presence wealth constraints than whites.  
1659 This may suggest that (i) higher skilled occupations that pay higher wages and (ii) higher yield  
1660 investment opportunities that are normally available to more educated individuals were not made  
1661 available to blacks until their rights were more fully enforced, such as those provided by federal  
1662 government after 1865.

1663

1664 Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in  
1665 Table 8c-2. Since the statistic was below one in 1850 (0.8) and 1860 (0.7), whites obtained higher  
1666 return to literacy than free blacks. The statistic grew to 2.0 in 1870, again, suggesting a dramatic  
1667 growth in the literacy premium for blacks once individual rights were protected under the force of  
1668 law.

1669

1670

1671 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Other Wealth of Blacks: A Comparison of Black Americans over Time*

1672

1673 Literate blacks also had nominal advantages but relative disadvantages in terms of other measures of  
1674 wealth before and after emancipation. Table 8a-2 shows that literate free blacks possessed \$204 in  
1675 nominal other wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation. This was higher than the \$121 possessed by  
1676 illiterate free blacks. Thus, free blacks in free states possessed 160 percent of other forms of wealth  
1677 owned by illiterate free blacks. However, literate free blacks were approximately equally as likely as  
1678 illiterate free blacks to hold other forms of property. Table 8b-2 shows that 54 percent of literate  
1679 free blacks that possessed positive amounts of other wealth in 1860. This was only slightly lower  
1680 than the 56 percent of illiterate free blacks that possessed positive amounts of other wealth in 1860.

1681

1682 The combinations of these results suggests illiterate free blacks per hundred are equally as likely to  
1683 hold other forms property but the literate free blacks use their enhanced knowledge to grow the  
1684 value of their property larger than the value of illiterate property. By 1870, the return to literacy grew  
1685 dramatically. Table 8c-2 shows that the ratio of literate to illiterate other forms of wealth for all  
1686 blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no real estate property—grew to 2.4. This  
1687 implies that literate ex-slaves possessed two dollars for every dollar of wealth owned by an illiterate  
1688 ex-slave. Similarly, Table 8c shows that the ratio of literate black property holders (per hundred  
1689 literate blacks) to illiterate property holders (per hundred illiterate blacks) was 1.4.

1690

1691 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Real Estate: A Comparison of White and Black Americans over Time*

1692

1693 The closer economic experiences of illiterate blacks and whites persisted when comparing other  
1694 wealth of blacks to the other wealth of whites before and after emancipation. Using wealth means in

1695 Table 8a-2, literate blacks had 20.0 percent (204/1019) of literate white other wealth in 1860 and  
1696 12.5 percent (98/785) of literate white wealth in 1870. However, illiterate free blacks had 37.3  
1697 percent (121/324) of illiterate white wealth in 1860 and 17.6 percent (41/236) of illiterate white  
1698 wealth in 1870.

1699

1700 These results confirm a penalty for illiteracy was so severe that the other forms of wealth of illiterate  
1701 whites was relatively closer to wealth of illiterate blacks than blacks and whites who could read and  
1702 write. This may also explain the closer experience of illiterate property holders when analyzing the  
1703 proportion of blacks holding other forms of property relative to whites holding other forms of  
1704 property. The ratio of literate blacks (per hundred literate blacks) to literate whites (per hundred  
1705 literate whites) with other forms of property was approximately 2:3 (0.54 : 0.81) in 1860 and 1:3  
1706 (0.28 : 0.72) and 1870. Among illiterates the ratio rose to approximately 3:4 (0.56 : 0.75) in 1860 and  
1707 1:3 (0.20 : 0.55) in 1870.

1708

1709 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for other forms of wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in  
1710 black and white wealth and ascertain the literacy advantages in the presence of wealth constraints.  
1711 Since the ratio in Table 8c-2 was less than one in 1860 (0.5) and 1870 (0.7), whites obtained higher  
1712 returns to literacy than blacks. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership*  
1713 *ratio* for other forms of property. Since the ratio reported in Table 8c-2 was less than one in 1860  
1714 (0.9) and approximately equal to one in 1870 (1.1), whites obtained higher or equal returns to literacy  
1715 than blacks before and after emancipation.

1716

1717

1718 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Total Wealth of Blacks: A Comparison of Black Americans over Time*

1719

1720 When summing up real estate and other forms of wealth, empirical results show that literate blacks  
1721 were better off before and after emancipation. Table 8a-2 shows that literate free blacks possessed  
1722 \$520 in nominal total wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation. This was higher than the \$273 possessed  
1723 by illiterate free blacks. However, literate free blacks were equally likely as illiterate free blacks to  
1724 hold real estate or other forms of property. Table 8b-2 shows that 58 percent of literate free blacks  
1725 that possessed positive amounts of total wealth in 1860. This was only slightly lower than the 60  
1726 percent of illiterate free blacks that possessed positive amounts of total wealth in 1860. The  
1727 combination of these results suggests illiterate free blacks are about equally as likely to hold property  
1728 but the literate free blacks use their knowledge to grow the value of their property larger than  
1729 illiterate property. By 1870, the return to literacy grew dramatically. Table 8c-2 shows that the ratio  
1730 of literate to illiterate real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no  
1731 real estate property—grew to 4.3. This implies that literate ex-slaves possessed four dollars for every  
1732 dollar of total wealth owned by an illiterate ex-slave. Similarly, Table 8c-2 shows that the ratio of  
1733 literate black total property holders (per hundred literate blacks) to illiterate black total property  
1734 holders (per hundred illiterate blacks) was 1.5—for every literate free black real estate holder, there  
1735 were two illiterate free black real estate holders.

1736

1737 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Schooling and Total Wealth: A Comparison of White and Black Americans over Time*

1738

1739 The closer economic experiences of illiterate blacks and whites persisted even when comparing total  
1740 wealth of blacks to the total wealth of whites before, but reversed after emancipation. Using wealth  
1741 means in Table 8a-2, literate blacks had 19.9 percent (520/2616) of literate white total wealth while

1742 illiterate free blacks had 34.9 percent (273/782) of illiterate white wealth in 1860. By 1870, things  
1743 had reversed such that literate free blacks had 11.1 percent (304/2737) of literate white wealth while  
1744 illiterate free blacks had 8.7 percent (72/832) of illiterate white wealth. These results may imply that  
1745 the penalty for illiteracy was so severe that the wealth of illiterate whites was relatively closer to  
1746 wealth of illiterate blacks than blacks and whites who could read and write before emancipation, but  
1747 legal enforcement of rights improved the returns to literacy after emancipation.

1748

1749 Similarly, this illiteracy penalty was observed when analyzing the proportion of blacks holding  
1750 property relative to whites. The ratio of literate blacks (per hundred literate blacks) to literate whites  
1751 (per hundred literate whites) with property was approximately 2:3 (0.58 : 0.84) the ratio rose to  
1752 approximately 3:4 (0.60 : 0.77) among illiterates in 1860. By 1870, the literate ratio of 2:5 (0.32 : 0.77)  
1753 exceeded the illiterate ratio of 1:3 (0.22 : 0.62) in 1870.

1754

1755 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for other forms of wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in  
1756 black and white wealth and ascertain the literacy advantages in the presence of wealth constraints.  
1757 Since the ratio in Table 8c-2 was less than one in 1860 (0.6) and 1870 (1.3), whites obtained higher  
1758 returns to literacy than free blacks before emancipation and literate ex-slave obtained a higher return  
1759 to literacy than ex-slaves. Again, the penalty for illiteracy was so severe that the wealth of illiterate  
1760 whites was relatively closer to wealth of illiterate blacks than blacks and whites who could read and  
1761 write before emancipation, but legal enforcement rights improved the returns to literacy after  
1762 emancipation. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for other  
1763 forms of property. Since the ratio reported in Table 8c-2 was less than one in 1860 (0.9) and greater  
1764 than one in 1870 (1.2), whites obtained higher returns to literacy than blacks before emancipation  
1765 and reversed after emancipation.

1766

1767 Once the equal enforcement of laws began to converge more rapidly, with the mass emancipation of  
1768 Southern slaves, some blacks, with schooling advantages, observed returns to schooling, in the black  
1769 community, that were greater than the returns to schooling of whites, with schooling advantages in  
1770 the white community. This schooling premium advantage observed after the emancipation of slaves  
1771 was, in part, due to combining blacks with longer histories of emancipation, and with maximum free  
1772 market experiences, and the plurality of blacks with shorter histories of emancipation, and with  
1773 minimum free market experiences. This uncompensated change in social standing may be  
1774 preliminary evidence of the sources of greater inequality and skewed media documentations of social  
1775 unrest observed among disenfranchised groups throughout history.

1776

1777 **The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Wealth of Whites and Blacks in the United States of America**

1778

1779 Table 9a shows that white-collar free black possessed nominal total wealth amounts of \$2,278 in  
1780 1860--largest among any skill category.

1781

1782

Table 9a. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks

Type of Wealth	1850				1860				1870			
	Unskilled	Skilled	W. Collar	Farmers	Unskilled	Skilled	W. Collar	Farmers	Unskilled	Skilled	W. Collar	Farmers
<b>BLACKS</b>												
Real Estate	57	137		725	85	360	1,091	1,015	29	133	1,236	102
Other					79	106	1,187	1,025	25	57	632	128
Total					164	467	2,278	2,040	54	190	1,868	230
<u>Adjusted for Regional Prices</u>												
Real Estate	63	155		802	89	377	1,074	1,042	19	86	795	67
Other					83	115	1,192	1,054	16	37	409	81
Total					172	492	2,266	2,096	35	122	1,204	148
Sample Size	315	100	14	83	917	276	33	191	13489	1211	173	3547
<b>WHITES</b>												
Real Estate	174	583	3,020	1,704	268	857	3,736	2,768	871	1,152	5,150	3,022
Other					196	455	3,451	1,888	381	490	3,590	1,014
Total					464	1,313	7,187	4,656	1,252	1,642	8,740	4,035
<u>Adjusted for Regional Prices</u>												
Real Estate	191	644	3,357	1,900	275	875	3,853	2,893	582	771	3,451	2,053
Other					207	473	3,643	2,051	252	326	2,383	681
Total					481	1,348	7,496	4,944	834	1,097	5,834	2,734
Sample Size	3,534	7,497	2,936	16,468	7,717	11,928	5,517	22,301	15,932	15,184	8,137	26,886
<b>BLACK TO WHITE RATIO</b>												
Real Estate	0.33	0.24		0.43	0.32	0.42	0.29	0.37	0.03	0.12	0.24	0.03
Other					0.40	0.23	0.34	0.54	0.07	0.12	0.18	0.13
Total					0.35	0.36	0.32	0.44	0.04	0.12	0.21	0.06

1785 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1787 Using the 1860 wealth ratios in Tables 9a, total wealth among white-collar free blacks was

1788 approximately the same as the total wealth of free black farmers (or \$2,040) in 1860. But skilled

1789 blacks had twenty percent (or \$467) and unskilled free blacks only had ten percent (or \$164) of the

1790 total wealth held by free black farmers in 1860.

1792 Tables 9a through 9c show that the relative total wealth advantage of white-collar free blacks was  
1793 also observed using real estate and other forms of wealth for measuring differences among  
1794 occupational skill groups within the free black community in 1860. However, free black farmers held  
1795 a higher proportion of white wealth and property than free blacks in any other occupations.

1796

1797 When ignoring differences in levels, free blacks earned a higher premium to farming than whites.

1798 Overall, the agricultural economy forced free black farmers to own some amount of wealth and  
1799 property that ultimately exceeded the average wealth of most other professions except white-collar  
1800 workers. But, since farming land was in rural areas, more free blacks could not realize these  
1801 economic benefits due to *social isolation* and vigorous enforcement of fugitive slave laws that often  
1802 occurred in these areas<sup>21</sup>. <sup>21</sup> See note 11. See Appendix G for complete analysis.

1803

1804 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Wealth of Blacks: A Comparison among Black Americans over Time*

1805

1806 Wealth differences favored white-collar blacks before and after emancipation. Table 9a shows that  
1807 white-collar free black possessed nominal total wealth amounts of \$2,278 in 1860--largest among any  
1808 skill category. Using the 1860 wealth ratios in Table 9a, total estate wealth among white-collar free  
1809 blacks was approximately the same as the real estate wealth of free black farmers (\$2,040) in 1860  
1810 while skilled blacks had twenty percent (\$467) and unskilled free blacks only had ten percent (\$164)  
1811 of the total wealth held by free black farmers in 1860. Tables 9a through 9c shows that the relative  
1812 total wealth advantage of white-collar free blacks was also observed using real estate and other forms  
1813 of wealth for measuring differences among occupational skill groups within the free black  
1814 community in 1860.

1815

1816 As might be expected, however, Table 9b shows that free black farmers held more real estate  
 1817 property than free blacks in other occupational skill groups in 1860.

1818

1819 **Table 9b. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Mean Property Ownership of Whites and Blacks**

Type of Property	1850				1860				1870			
	Unskilled	Skilled	W. Collar	Farmers	Unskilled	Skilled	W. Collar	Farmers	Unskilled	Skilled	W. Collar	Farmers
<b>BLACKS</b>												
Real Estate	0.14	0.25		0.54	0.17	0.28	0.27	0.60	0.04	0.16	0.29	0.14
Other					0.53	0.57	0.70	0.89	0.14	0.23	0.45	0.48
Real Estate or Other					0.55	0.62	0.73	0.91	0.16	0.31	0.51	0.51
Sample Size	315	100	14	83	917	276	33	191	13489	1211	173	3547
<b>WHITES</b>												
Real Estate	0.19	0.40	0.50	0.71	0.24	0.40	0.55	0.78	0.33	0.40	0.54	0.76
Other					0.64	0.74	0.84	0.94	0.48	0.60	0.78	0.89
Real Estate or Other					0.68	0.77	0.87	0.96	0.56	0.67	0.82	0.92
Sample Size	3,534	7,497	2,936	16,468	7,717	11,928	5,517	22,301	15,932	15,184	8,137	26,886
<b>BLACK TO WHITE RATIO</b>												
Real Estate	0.76	0.63		0.76	0.71	0.71	0.50	0.77	0.11	0.41	0.53	0.18
Other					0.82	0.78	0.83	0.95	0.29	0.39	0.57	0.54
Real Estate or Other					0.82	0.80	0.84	0.95	0.28	0.46	0.63	0.55

1820

1821 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1822

1823 Table 9b shows that unskilled free blacks held approximately 30 percent of real estate property held  
 1824 by free black farmers (per hundred free black framers and unskilled workers). Skilled and white-  
 1825 collar workers held 50 percent of the real estate property held by free black farmers (per hundred  
 1826 free blacks framers, skilled workers and white-collar workers). Table 9b shows that the relative real  
 1827 estate wealth advantage of free black farmers was also observed using other forms of wealth and  
 1828 total wealth for measuring differences among occupational skill groups within the free black  
 1829 community in 1860.

1830

1831 By 1870, white-collar free blacks made significant advances relative other free blacks with other  
1832 occupational skills. Table 8f shows that white-collar free black possessed nominal real estate wealth  
1833 amounts of \$1236 in 1870--largest among any skill category. Using the 1870 wealth ratios in Table 9c,  
1834 real estate wealth among white-collar free blacks was significantly greater than the real estate wealth  
1835 of free black farmers (\$102) in 1870. Additionally, skilled blacks held 130 percent (\$133) while  
1836 unskilled free blacks only had thirty percent (\$29) of the real estate wealth held by free black farmers  
1837 in 1860. Table 9c shows that the relative real estate wealth advantage of white-collar blacks was also  
1838 observed using other forms of wealth and total wealth for measuring differences among  
1839 occupational skill groups within the ex-slave community in 1870.

1840

1841 Similarly, white-collar blacks often held more real estate property than blacks in other occupational  
1842 skill groups in 1870. Table 9c shows that the ratio of unskilled blacks to black farmers who held real  
1843 estate property was 0.3 (per hundred black farmers and unskilled workers).

1844

1845

1846  
1847  
1848

**Table 9c. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Comparative Wealth Ratios and Comparative Property Ownership Ratios of Whites and Blacks, Based on Skill**

	All Blacks			Whites			Black-White Ratio		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<u>i) Unskilled/Farmer Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.9	1.0
Other		0.1	0.2		0.1	0.4		0.8	0.5
Total		0.1	0.2		0.1	0.3		0.8	0.8
<u>ii) Skilled/Farmer Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.2	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	1.2	3.4
Other		0.1	0.5		0.2	0.5		0.5	0.9
Total		0.2	0.8		0.3	0.4		0.9	2.1
<u>iii) White-Collar/Farmer Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate		1.0	11.9	1.8	1.3	1.7		0.8	7.1
Other		1.1	5.0		1.8	3.5		0.6	1.4
Total		1.1	8.1		1.5	2.1		0.7	3.8
<u>iv) Unskilled/Farmer Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.6
Other		0.6	0.3		0.7	0.5		0.9	0.5
Total		0.6	0.3		0.7	0.6		0.9	0.5
<u>v) Skilled/Farmer Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.9	2.2
Other		0.6	0.5		0.8	0.7		0.8	0.7
Total		0.7	0.6		0.8	0.7		0.8	0.8
<u>vi) White-Collar/Farmer Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate		0.5	2.1	0.7	0.7	0.7		0.7	2.9
Other		0.8	0.9		0.9	0.9		0.9	1.1
Total		0.8	1.0		0.9	0.9		0.9	1.1

1849

**Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1850

1851

1852 However, the ratio of skilled blacks to black farmers who held real estate property was 1.2 (per  
1853 hundred blacks farmers and skilled workers), and the ratio of white-collar blacks to black farmers  
1854 who held real estate property was 2.1 (per hundred blacks farmers and white-collar workers). Table  
1855 9c shows that the relative real estate wealth advantage of free black farmers was also diluted to

1856 approximately that of black farmers using other forms of wealth and total wealth for measuring  
1857 differences among occupational skill groups within the black community in 1870.

1858

1859 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Wealth: A Comparison of White and Black Americans over Time*

1860

1861 A black farmer premium was observed when comparing average wealth of free blacks to average  
1862 wealth of whites by occupational skill before emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 9a, free  
1863 black farmers had 37 percent of the average white farmer real estate wealth, 54 percent of the  
1864 average white farmer other wealth, and 44 percent of the average white farmer total wealth in  
1865 1860—approximately equal or higher proportions than any other free black occupation. The free  
1866 black farmer advantage relative to white farmers was observed when analyzing other and total  
1867 measures of wealth.

1868

1869 The free black farmer premium was even clearer when observing the ratio of free black to white  
1870 property holders by occupational skill. The ratio of free black farmer property holders (per hundred  
1871 free black farmers) to white farmer property holders (per hundred white farmers) was 0.77 for real  
1872 estate wealth holders, and 0.95 for other and total wealth holders in 1860. Even though white-collar  
1873 free blacks had nominal advantages it was diminished when comparing their wealth to whites,  
1874 possibly due to the lack of opportunity to serve white clients and limits to serve lower income free  
1875 blacks, causing a reduced wealth potential of white-collar free blacks relative to white-collar whites.

1876

1877 By 1870, black white-collar workers had a wealth advantage when observing the ratio of black to  
1878 white average real estate wealth and property holders. Using wealth means from Table 9a, 1870  
1879 white-collar blacks held 24 percent of the real estate wealth, 18 percent of other wealth and 21

1880 percent of total wealth held by white-collar whites. This was larger than the black proportion of  
1881 white wealth held by unskilled workers, skilled workers and farmers.

1882

1883 Similarly, using the percentage of property holders in Table 9b, the ratio of white-collar black  
1884 property holders (per hundred white-collar blacks) to white-collar white property holders (per  
1885 hundred white-collar whites) was 0.53 for real estate property holders, and 0.57 for other property  
1886 holders and 0.63 for total property holders in 1860.

1887

1888 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black  
1889 and white real estate wealth and ascertain the occupational skill advantages in the presence of wealth  
1890 constraints. In 1860, since the ratio in Table 9c was less than one when comparing unskilled, skilled  
1891 and white and white-collar workers to farmers, for all measures of wealth, whites had a higher return  
1892 to unskilled, skilled and white-collar occupations relative to farming than blacks. By 1870, since the  
1893 ratio was near equal or greater than one for all measures of wealth, black skilled and white-collar  
1894 workers had a higher to farming than whites.

1895

1896 Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in  
1897 Table 9b. In 1860, since the ratio was less than one when comparing unskilled, skilled and white-  
1898 collar workers to farmers, for all measures of property holding, whites had a higher return to these  
1899 occupations relative to farming than blacks. By 1870, since the ratio was greater than one for all  
1900 measures of wealth, black white-collar workers had a higher to farming than whites.

1901

1902 As the mode of production in the United States of America evolved away from overt slavery, the  
1903 question many economists still seek an answer to is: how to grow the economy, in a manner that

1904 stabilizes sovereignty and seemingly comparative advantage in social standards, for the maximum  
1905 amount of time, with minimum exploitation of labor. The answer is hypothetically in the technology  
1906 sector, although I speculate that the questionable security of complex, minimally-investigated,  
1907 modern technology, with language comprehension restricted to a sub-set of skilled programmers,  
1908 has bolstered 21<sup>st</sup> century investments in security labor among firms, governments and citizenry.  
1909

1910 **The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Economic Geography of Whites and Blacks in the United States of**  
1911 **America**  
1912

1913 Johann Heinrich Von Thünen (1966, Wikimedia 2004) was the first to describe the reasoning behind  
1914 local residency decisions in the book entitled, “The Isolated State’. Ultimately, the location of  
1915 residence depended on the return from the trade of the head of household, conditional on the cost  
1916 of transportation. Hypothetically, those enslaved, or once enslaved, received the lowest concurrent  
1917 return from their trade and sought the best opportunity [and earliest opportunity] to enhance their  
1918 returns. Among those that were not able to secure immediate, sustainable property and wealth, this  
1919 likely required long distance travel and residence to more socially receptive, locally dense  
1920 communities, away from the physically, psychologically and economic suppressive spatial areas. This  
1921 produces the likelihood of group-specific expectations if groups had different mean professions and  
1922 different ranges in professional opportunities. This analysis likely applies for slave state-free state  
1923 residency decisions, regional residency decisions, and migration decisions described below.  
1924  
1925

1926 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slavery Laws and Wealth of Whites and Blacks in the United*  
 1927 *States of America*  
 1928

1929

1930 Free blacks in free states had nominal real estate wealth and property advantages relative to free

1931 blacks in slave states. Table 10a shows that free blacks, living in slave states, possessed \$380 in

1932 nominal total wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation.

1933 **Table 10a. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slave Laws and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
Slave States	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Estate Wealth	839	1,373	651	83	189	33	870	1,456	1,282			
Other Wealth		1,784	317		191	42		1,895	598			
Total Wealth		3,157	967		380	75		3,351	1,880			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	973	1,545	406	95	206	20	1,010	1,639	800			
Other Wealth		2,011	198		205	26		2,137	374			
Total Wealth		3,556	604		411	47		3,776	1,173			
Sample	10,174	13,732	33,991	408	893	17,188	9,766	12,834	16,798			
Free States	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Estate Wealth	994	1,482	1,902	150	312	288	1,007	1,511	1,963			
Other Wealth		633	738		146	121		645	761			
Total Wealth		2,115	2,640		458	408		2,156	2,725			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,085	1,483	1,307	165	313	197	1,099	1,512	1,349			
Other Wealth		631	503		146	83		643	519			
Total Wealth		2,114	1,810		458	280		2,155	1,868			
Sample	24,928	39,327	52,366	363	809	1,748	24,565	38,408	50,458			

1934

1935 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1936

1937 This was lower than the \$458 possessed by free black in free states. Using wealth means in Table

1938 10a, free blacks in slave states had 11.3 percent (380/3351) of white total wealth in slave states in

1939 1860 while free blacks had 21.2 percent (458/2156) of white total wealth in free states. Even when

1940 ignoring differences in total wealth levels among blacks and whites, blacks earned a higher premium  
1941 for living in free states than whites. Note that free blacks in Louisiana, which engaged in  
1942 philanthropic slave-owning activities in order to buy free slaves, caused other measures of average  
1943 wealth in slave states to exceed average other wealth in free states in 1860.

1944

1945 Overall, these results confirm that reduced legal barriers, greater social receptiveness and enhanced  
1946 economic opportunities contributed to the wealth advantages of free blacks in free states.

1947

1948 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slave Laws and Real Estate Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison*  
1949 *among Black Americans over Time*  
1950

1951 First consider real estate wealth differences of blacks living in free states versus blacks living in slave  
1952 states before and after emancipation. Table 8b shows that free blacks living in slave states possessed  
1953 nominal real estate wealth amounts of \$83 in 1850 and \$189 in 1860. This was substantially lower  
1954 than the \$150 (1850) and \$312 (1860) possessed by free blacks in free states. Additionally, the ratio  
1955 of free state-slave state wealth among free blacks did not change much prior to emancipation: Table  
1956 10b also shows that the free state-slave state ratio of average real estate wealth among free blacks  
1957 remained relatively constant at 1.7 in 1850 and 1.5 in 1860. When adjusted for regional prices, the  
1958 differences here are not significant. Free blacks in slave states held \$95 and \$206 in 1850 and 1860,  
1959 respectively, while free blacks in free states held \$165 and \$313 in price-adjusted real estate wealth.  
1960 Free blacks in free states were also more likely to hold real estate than free blacks in slave states.  
1961 Table 9b shows that 22 percent of free blacks in 1850 and 29 percent of free blacks in 1860, who  
1962 lived in free states, owned positive amounts of real estate wealth.

1963

1964

1965

**Table 10b. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Mean Property Ownership of Whites and Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
<b>Slave</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>1860</b>	<b>1870</b>									
Real Property Holders	0.51	0.53	0.28	0.17	0.21	0.05	0.52	0.55	0.51			
Other Property Holders		0.84	0.44		0.56	0.20		0.86	0.69			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.86	0.47		0.59	0.21		0.88	0.73			
Sample	10,174	13,732	33,991	408	893	17,188	9,766	12,834	16,798			
<b>Free</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>1860</b>	<b>1870</b>									
Real Property Holders	0.52	0.55	0.54	0.22	0.29	0.24	0.53	0.55	0.55			
Other Property Holders		0.79	0.69		0.54	0.36		0.79	0.70			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.82	0.75		0.58	0.45		0.82	0.76			
Sample	24,928	39,327	52,366	363	809	1,748	24,565	38,408	50,458			

1966

1967

**Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1968

1969

This was greater than the 17 percent of free blacks in 1850 and 21 percent of free blacks in 1860 that

1970

lived in slave states and possessed positive amounts of real estate wealth. Table 11b shows that the

1971

ratio of free black real estate holders (per hundred free blacks in free states) to the number of real

1972

estate holders (per hundred free blacks in slave states) also remained relatively constant at 1.3 in

1973

1850 and 1.4 in 1860. By 1870, the return to living in free states grew dramatically. Table 10c shows

1974

that the ratio of free state to slave state average real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-

1975

slaves who held little or no real estate property—grew to 9.6.

1976

1977

1978

1979  
1980

**Table 10c. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Comparative Wealth Ratios and Comparative Property Ownership Ratios of Whites and Blacks, Based on State Slave Laws**

	All Blacks			Whites			Black-White Ratio		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<b>i) Free/Slave Mean Wealth Ratio</b>									
Real Estate	1.7	1.5	9.6	1.1	0.9	1.7	1.6	1.6	5.7
Other		0.7	3.1		0.3	1.4		2.4	2.3
Total		1.1	6.0		0.6	1.6		2.0	3.8
<b>ii) Free/Slave Mean Property-Holding Ratio</b>									
Real Estate	1.3	1.4	4.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.4	4.5
Other		1.0	1.9		0.9	1.0		1.1	1.8
Total		1.0	2.1		0.9	1.0		1.1	2.0

1981

1982

**Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

1983

1984 This implies that, on average, ex-slaves living in free states possessed ten dollars for every dollar of  
 1985 real estate wealth owned by an ex-slave living in a slave state. Yet the relative sample sizes suggest  
 1986 that approximately one in ten (1748/17188) blacks took advantage of the large free state premium in  
 1987 1870. Similarly, Table 10c shows that the ratio of black property holders per hundred in free states  
 1988 to property holders per hundred in slave states was 4.9—for every free black real estate holder (per  
 1989 hundred free blacks) in a slave state, there were five (per hundred free blacks) who owned real estate  
 1990 in free states.

1991

1992 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slavery Laws and Real Estate Wealth in the United States of America: A*  
 1993 *Comparison of White and Black Americans over Time*  
 1994

1995 The real estate wealth advantage of blacks in free states was observed when comparing the average  
 1996 real estate wealth of blacks to average real estate wealth of whites before and after emancipation.  
 1997 Using wealth means in Table 10a, free blacks in slave states had 9.5 percent (83/870) of white real  
 1998 estate wealth in 1850 and 13.0 percent (189/1456) of white real estate wealth in 1860. The situation  
 1999 was better for free blacks living in free states: Free blacks had 9.8 percent (150/1007) of white real

2000 estate wealth in 1850 and 20.6 percent (312/1511) of white real estate wealth in 1860. White nominal  
2001 real estate wealth was larger in free states than slave states in 1850 and 1860. However, 1860 whites  
2002 in slave states (\$1639) had slightly more price-adjusted real estate wealth whites in free states (\$1512).  
2003 Unpaid labor in the south began to provide macroeconomic advantages in 1860 to southern real  
2004 estate holders due to the lower price environment.

2005

2006 The proportion of free black property holders, living in free states, relative to white property holders,  
2007 living in free states exceeded the same proportion for slave states. Using results in Table 10b the  
2008 ratio of free black property holders (per hundred free blacks} to white property holders (per  
2009 hundred whites) in slave states was approximately 1:3 (0.17:0.52) in 1850 and 2:5 (0.21 : 0.55) in  
2010 1860. In free states, the ratios rose to approximately 2:5 (0.22 : 0.53) in 1850 and 1:2 (0.29 : 0.55) in  
2011 1860.

2012

2013 By 1870, the ratio of black to white average real estate wealth and property holders fell significantly  
2014 with the inclusion of ex-slaves in the sample but the advantage of free states remained. Using wealth  
2015 means from Table 10a, 1870 blacks living in slave states held 2.6 percent (33/1282) of the real estate  
2016 wealth of whites while blacks living in free states held 14.7 percent (288/1963) of the real estate  
2017 wealth of whites. Similarly, using the percentage of property holders, the ratio of black real estate  
2018 property holders (per hundred free blacks) to white property holders (per hundred whites) was  
2019 approximately 1:10 (0.05:0.51) in slave states and approximately 2:5 (0.24:0.55) in free states in 1870.

2020

2021 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black  
2022 and white real estate wealth and ascertain the advantages to living in free states in the presence of  
2023 wealth constraints. Since the ratio in Table 10b exceeds one in 1850 (1.6) and 1860 (1.6), free blacks

2024 obtained higher return to living in free states versus living in slave states than whites living in free  
2025 states. The ratio in Table 10c grew to 5.7 in 1870 suggesting a dramatic growth in the premium to  
2026 living in free states after emancipation. This interesting result may suggest that federal-level  
2027 emancipation guidelines were not fully executed in the former slave states causing higher returns to  
2028 living in free states, which were already complying with state-level emancipation guidelines. Similar  
2029 results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in Table 10c.  
2030 Since the ratio exceeds one in 1850 (1.3) and 1860 (1.4), free blacks obtained higher return to living  
2031 in free states vs. slave states than whites living in free states. The ratio grew to 4.5 in 1870, again,  
2032 suggesting a dramatic growth in the premium to living in free states after emancipation.

2033

2034 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slave Laws and Other Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison among*  
2035 *Black Americans over Time*  
2036

2037 A surprising empirical result was that blacks in slave states had advantages in other measures of  
2038 wealth before emancipation. However, these advantages were reversed after emancipation. Table  
2039 10a shows that free blacks, living in slave states, possessed \$189 in nominal other wealth in 1860  
2040 prior to emancipation. This was slightly higher than the \$146 possessed by free blacks in free states.  
2041 Thus, free blacks in free states possessed 70 percent of the wealth of free blacks in slave states in  
2042 1860. When adjusted for regional prices, the differences here are not significant. Free blacks in slave  
2043 states held \$191 in 1860 while free blacks in free states held \$146 in price-adjusted real estate wealth.

2044

2045 Free blacks in slave states were also more likely to hold other property than free blacks in free states.  
2046 Table 10b shows that 56 percent of free blacks, living in slave states, possessed positive amounts of  
2047 other wealth in 1860. This was slightly greater than 54 percent of free blacks who lived in slave states  
2048 in 1860 and possessed positive amounts of other wealth.

2049

2050 These surprising results were driven by large free black wealth in the southwest. A majority of blacks  
2051 resided in the south in 1860 and 1870 and a large number of 1860 free blacks in the southwestern  
2052 sample were mulatto ‘owners’ of slaves. Free black ‘ownership’ of slaves was not uncommon. “The  
2053 census records show that the majority of the Negro slaves were such from the point of view of  
2054 philanthropy. In many instances, the husband purchased the wife or vice versa.... Most of such  
2055 Negro proprietors lived in Louisiana, South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia” (Woodson 1924, pp.v-  
2056 viii).

2057

2058 However, by 1870, the return to living in free states grew dramatically. Table 10c shows that the  
2059 ratio of free state to slave state real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held  
2060 little or no real estate property—grew to 3.1. This implies that ex-slaves, living in free states,  
2061 possessed three dollars for every dollar of wealth owned by an ex-slave living in a slave state.  
2062 Similarly, Table 11b shows that the ratio of black property holders (per hundred free blacks) in free  
2063 states to property holders (per hundred free blacks) in slave states was 1.9—for every free black real  
2064 estate holder (per hundred free blacks) in a slave state, there were two free black real estate holders  
2065 (per hundred free blacks) in free states.

2066

2067 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slavery Laws and Other Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison of*  
2068 *White and Black Americans over Time*  
2069

2070 The free state advantage was observed when comparing other wealth of blacks to other wealth of  
2071 whites before and after emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 10a, free blacks in slave states  
2072 had 10.1 percent (191/1895) of white real estate wealth in 1860 and 7.0 percent (42/598) of white  
2073 real estate wealth in 1870. The situation was better for free blacks living in free states: Free blacks

2074 had 22.6 percent (146/645) of white real estate wealth in 1860 and 15.9 percent (121/761) of white  
2075 real estate wealth in 1870.

2076

2077 The proportion of free blacks holding other forms of property and living in free states relative to  
2078 whites holding other forms of property and living in free states exceeded the same proportion for  
2079 slave states. The ratio of free blacks (per hundred free blacks) to whites (per hundred whites) with  
2080 other forms of property in slave states was approximately 2:3 (0.56 : 0.86) in 1860 and 1:3 (0.20 :  
2081 0.69) and 1870. In free states, the ratio rose to approximately 2:3 (0.54 : 0.79) in 1860 and 1:2 (0.36 :  
2082 0.70) in 1870.

2083

2084 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for other forms of wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in  
2085 black and white wealth and ascertain the advantages to living in free states in the presence of wealth  
2086 constraints. Since the ratio in Table 10c exceeds one in 1860 (2.4) and 1870 (2.3), free blacks  
2087 obtained higher returns to living in free states versus living slave states than whites living in free  
2088 states. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for other forms of  
2089 property. Since the ratio reported in Table 10c exceeds one in 1860 (1.1) and 1870 (1.8), free blacks  
2090 obtained higher returns to living in free states versus living in slave states than whites living in free  
2091 states.

2092

2093 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slave Laws and Total Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison among*  
2094 *Black Americans over Time*  
2095

2096 When summing up real estate and other forms of wealth, empirical results show that blacks in free  
2097 states were better off before and after emancipation. Table 10a shows that free blacks, living in slave  
2098 states, possessed \$380 in nominal total wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation. This was lower than

2099 the \$458 possessed by free black in free states. This produces 1.1 to 1.0 ratio of free black wealth in  
2100 free states to free black wealth in slave states in 1860. Note that free blacks in free states were  
2101 equally likely to hold total property as free blacks in slave states. Table 10b shows that 59 percent of  
2102 free blacks, living in slave states, possessed positive amounts of total wealth in 1860. This was  
2103 approximately the same as the 58 percent of free blacks that lived in slave states in 1860 and  
2104 possessed positive amounts of total wealth. Again, the results were driven by large free black wealth  
2105 in the southwest where a large number of 1860 free blacks in the southwestern sample were mulatto  
2106 'owners' of slaves.

2107

2108 By 1870, the return to living in free states grew dramatically. Table 10c shows that the ratio of free  
2109 state to slave state real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no  
2110 real estate property—grew to 6.0. This implies that ex-slaves, living in free states, possessed six  
2111 dollars for every dollar of total wealth owned by an ex-slave living in a slave state. Similarly, Table  
2112 10c shows that the ratio of black total property holders (per hundred blacks) in free states to total  
2113 property holders (per hundred blacks) in slave states was 2.1—for every free black real estate holder  
2114 in a slave state, there were two free black real estate holders in free states.

2115

2116 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century State Slavery Laws and Total Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison of*  
2117 *White and Black Americans over Time*  
2118

2119 The free state advantage was observed when comparing total wealth of blacks to total wealth of  
2120 whites before and after emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 10a, free blacks in slave states  
2121 had 11.3 percent (380/3351) of white total wealth in 1860 and 4.0 percent (75/1880) of white total  
2122 wealth in 1870. The situation was better for free blacks living in free states: Free blacks had 21.2

2123 percent (458/2156) of white total wealth in 1860 and 15.0 percent (408/2725) of white real estate  
2124 wealth in 1870.

2125

2126 The proportion of free black total property holders, living in free states, relative to white total  
2127 property holders, living in free states exceeded the same proportion for slave states. The ratio of free  
2128 black total property holders (per hundred free blacks) to white total property holders (per hundred  
2129 whites) in slave states was approximately 2:3 (0.59 : 0.88) in 1860 and 1:4 (0.21 : 0.73) in 1870. In  
2130 free states, the ratio rose to approximately 7:10 (0.58 : 0.82) in 1860 and 6:10 (0.45 : 0.76) in 1870.

2131

2132 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for total wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black and  
2133 white wealth and ascertain the advantages to living in free states in the presence of wealth  
2134 constraints. Since the ratio in Table 10a exceeds one in 1860 (2.0) and 1870 (3.8), free blacks  
2135 obtained higher returns to living in free states versus living in slave states than whites living in free  
2136 states. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for total property.  
2137 Since the ratio reported in Table 10c exceeds one in 1860 (1.1) and 1870 (2.0), free blacks obtained  
2138 higher return to living in free states versus living in slave states than whites living in free states. *This*  
2139 *is initial evidence of symmetry between the socio-economic environment and socio-economic outcomes.*

2140

2141 ***The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Regions and Wealth of Whites and Blacks in the United States of***  
2142 ***America***

2143

2144

2145 Underground railroad activities sparked average real estate wealth advantages for mid-western free  
2146 blacks in 1850. Table 11a shows that mid-western free blacks possessed \$500 in average real estate  
2147 wealth.

2148

Table 11a. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Regions and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks

Type of Wealth	1850					1860						1870					
	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	West	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	West
<b>BLACKS</b>																	
Real Estate	494	146	500	59	411	378	219	453	125	1,364	245	737	404	400	37	26	465
Other						202	111	172	103	1,772	248	278	146	141	42	48	208
Total						579	331	625	229	3,137	493	1,015	551	541	79	74	673
<u>Adjusted for Regional Prices</u>																	
Real Estate	520	162	543	69	467	347	226	453	144	1,364	245	455	266	290	23	17	312
Other						185	115	172	119	1,772	248	172	96	102	26	32	140
Total						532	341	625	263	3,137	493	627	362	392	49	50	452
Sample Size	42	235	87	381	27	86	431	260	808	86	32	116	622	983	14,149	3,040	30
<b>WHITES</b>																	
Real Estate	1,296	1,595	1,011	1,283	2,627	1,532	2,062	1,782	2,284	3,539	645	2,307	2,915	2,615	1,760	1,619	2,513
Other						869	874	630	3,198	3,664	789	1,746	1,351	950	794	754	1,474
Total						2,401	2,936	2,413	5,482	7,203	1,434	4,052	4,266	3,565	2,554	2,373	3,987
<u>Adjusted for Regional Prices</u>																	
Real Estate	1,364	1,772	1,099	1,492	2,985	1,406	2,126	1,782	2,625	3,539	645	1,424	1,918	1,895	1,086	1,087	1,687
Other						797	902	630	3,676	3,664	789	1,078	889	688	490	506	989
Total						2,203	3,027	2,413	6,301	7,203	1,434	2,501	2,807	2,583	1,576	1,593	2,676
Sample Size	5,041	10,153	9,128	8,859	1,059	6,256	14,281	16,561	11,153	2,051	1,474	7,214	17,192	24,597	14,146	2,794	2,179
<b>BLACK TO WHITE RATIO</b>																	
Real Estate	0.38	0.09	0.49	0.05	0.16	0.25	0.11	0.25	0.05	0.39	0.38	0.32	0.14	0.15	0.02	0.02	0.19
Other						0.23	0.13	0.27	0.03	0.48	0.31	0.16	0.11	0.15	0.05	0.06	0.14
Total						0.24	0.11	0.26	0.04	0.44	0.34	0.25	0.13	0.15	0.03	0.03	0.17

2150

2151 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2152

2153 The average real estate wealth of free blacks in other regions was \$494 in the northeast, \$411 in the

2154 southwest, \$146 in the mid-Atlantic, and \$59 in the southeast. When comparing free blacks to

2155 whites, Table 11b shows that Midwestern free blacks owned 49 percent of mid-western white real

2156 estate wealth—the highest proportion among all regions.

2157

Table 11b. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Skill and Mean Property Ownership of Whites and Blacks

Type of Property	1850					1860						1870					
	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	West	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	West
<b>BLACKS</b>																	
Real Estate	0.19	0.17	0.38	0.16	0.30	0.29	0.23	0.38	0.20	0.34	0.31	0.34	0.22	0.24	0.05	0.04	0.30
Other						0.51	0.50	0.65	0.56	0.52	0.38	0.32	0.30	0.41	0.18	0.25	0.40
Real Estate or Other						0.59	0.53	0.68	0.59	0.60	0.44	0.47	0.39	0.48	0.20	0.26	0.47
Sample Size	42	235	87	381	27	86	431	260	808	86	32	116	622	983	14,149	3,040	30
<b>WHITES</b>																	
Real Estate	0.53	0.47	0.61	0.54	0.45	0.55	0.48	0.64	0.56	0.55	0.36	0.54	0.47	0.63	0.52	0.48	0.49
Other						0.74	0.75	0.86	0.87	0.82	0.60	0.62	0.65	0.77	0.70	0.67	0.61
Real Estate or Other						0.79	0.78	0.89	0.89	0.85	0.64	0.70	0.71	0.83	0.74	0.71	0.68
Sample Size	5,041	10,153	9,128	8,859	1,059	6,256	14,281	16,561	11,153	2,051	1,474	7,214	17,192	24,597	14,146	2,794	2,179
<b>BLACK TO WHITE RATIO</b>																	
Real Estate	0.36	0.37	0.62	0.29	0.66	0.52	0.47	0.59	0.35	0.61	0.86	0.62	0.46	0.39	0.10	0.08	0.62
Other						0.69	0.66	0.75	0.64	0.64	0.63	0.51	0.45	0.53	0.26	0.37	0.65
Real Estate or Other						0.75	0.68	0.77	0.66	0.71	0.69	0.67	0.55	0.58	0.27	0.37	0.68

2159

2160 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2161

2162 The other 1850 free black-white wealth proportions were 38 percent in the northeast, 19 percent in  
 2163 the southwest, nine percent in the mid-Atlantic, and five percent in the southeastern. Furthermore,  
 2164 when ignoring differences in levels, mid-western and western free blacks higher premiums for living  
 2165 those regions than whites. In 1860, Southwestern free blacks, that were philanthropic owners of  
 2166 slaves, temporarily surpassed the wealth free blacks in other regions. By 1870, Table 11a shows that  
 2167 northeastern blacks possessed the largest amount of average wealth. Throughout the analysis,  
 2168 southeastern blacks persisted with the lowest amounts of wealth.

2169

2170

2171 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Regions and Total Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison among Black*  
2172 *Americans over Time*  
2173

2174 While free blacks in multiple regions were somewhat successful in accumulating wealth prior to  
2175 emancipation, northeastern blacks had the largest amount of wealth after emancipation. Table 11a  
2176 shows that northeastern free black possessed nominal real estate wealth amounts of \$494 in 1850,  
2177 which was approximately the same as the real estate wealth possessed by Midwestern free blacks  
2178 (\$500) and slightly greater than the average wealth held by Southwestern free blacks. The average  
2179 real estate wealth in these regions was significantly greater than that obtained by Southeastern free blacks  
2180 (\$59). Real estate property holding patterns by region followed similar patterns. 19 percent of  
2181 Northeastern free blacks held positive amounts of real estate wealth in 1850. But this was  
2182 significantly lower than the 38 percent of Midwestern free blacks that owned real estate property.  
2183 Note that southwestern free blacks (30 percent) were also relatively successful in owning property.

2184  
2185 By 1860, the wealth differences remained the same except for growth in wealth among Southwest  
2186 free blacks, possessing \$3,137 in total wealth. Using the 1860 wealth means in Table 11a,  
2187 Northeastern free blacks had \$378 in real estate wealth, which was slightly lower than the real estate  
2188 wealth of Midwestern free blacks (\$453). Again, Southeastern free blacks accumulated the lowest  
2189 amount of wealth at \$125. Note that a significant number of free blacks moved to the west by 1860  
2190 and they possessed approximately ninety percent of the total wealth (\$493) owned by Northeastern  
2191 free blacks.

2192  
2193 Other and total forms of wealth followed similar patterns. Real estate property holding patterns in  
2194 1860 were consistent with 1850. Additionally, free blacks living in regions that were successful in  
2195 accumulating real estate property in 1860, such as the Midwest (38 percent), the Southwest (34

2196 percent) and the Northeast (29 percent), were also successful in accumulating other and total forms  
2197 of property.

2198

2199 All forms of wealth among Southwestern free blacks grew dramatically between 1850 and 1860.

2200 Stricter enforcement of discriminatory refugee slave laws, as required under the controversial 1850

2201 Fugitive Slave Act, may have invigorated philanthropic efforts of free black slave owners in the

2202 Southwest. A large number of 1860 free blacks in the southwestern sample were mulatto ‘owners’ of

2203 slaves. Free black ‘ownership’ of slaves was not uncommon. “The census records show that the

2204 majority of the Negro slaves were such from the point of view of philanthropy. In many instances,

2205 the husband purchased the wife or vice versa.... Most of such Negro proprietors lived in Louisiana,

2206 South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia” (Woodson 1924, pp.v-viii).

2207

2208 By 1870, the average wealth of Northeastern free blacks was significantly greater than the average

2209 wealth of free blacks in other regions. Table 11a shows that the average nominal real estate wealth of

2210 Northeastern free blacks was \$737 in 1870. Using the 1870 wealth ratios in Table 10d-f, average real

2211 estate wealth among Mid-Atlantic (\$404), Midwestern (\$400) and Western (\$466) free blacks was 60-

2212 70 percent of the average wealth of Northeastern free blacks. The average real estate wealth of

2213 Southeastern (\$37) and Southwestern (\$26) fell to less than ten percent of Northeastern free black

2214 wealth. These patterns held for other and total forms of wealth: Blacks living in former slaves states

2215 had fewer opportunities to accumulate wealth than blacks living in free states.

2216

2217 Similarly, northeastern blacks held more real estate property than free blacks in other regions groups

2218 in 1870. When comparing other and total wealth Northeastern blacks (47 percent), along with

2219 Midwestern blacks (48 percent) and Western blacks (47 percent), were more likely to hold total  
2220 property in 1870. Again, Southeastern blacks (20 percent)  
2221 and Southwestern blacks (26 percent) were least likely to own any forms of property.

2222  
2223 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Regions and Total Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison of White and*  
2224 *Black Americans over Time*  
2225

2226 The poverty of Southeastern blacks, compare to blacks in other regions, was observed when  
2227 comparing average wealth of free blacks to average wealth of whites by region before and after  
2228 emancipation. Using 1850 wealth means in Table 11a, Northeastern free blacks possessed 38 percent  
2229 of Northeastern white real estate wealth while Midwestern free blacks owned 49 percent of  
2230 Midwestern white real estate wealth.

2231  
2232 However, Southeastern free blacks held only 5 percent of Southeastern white real estate wealth. By  
2233 1860, Southwestern free blacks held 39 percent of Southeastern white real estate wealth possibly due  
2234 to abolition activities of free black slave owners and Western free blacks possessed 38 percent  
2235 Western white real estate wealth possibly due to property gains from westward expansion.  
2236 Northeastern and Midwestern free blacks trailed behind Western free blacks, holding only 25  
2237 percent of the average real estate wealth among whites. Other and total forms of wealth followed  
2238 similar patterns: Westward blacks held higher proportion of white wealth than eastern free blacks.

2239  
2240 Property-holding followed similar patterns. Table 11b shows that the 1850 ratio of Southwestern  
2241 free black real estate property owners (per hundred Southwestern free blacks) to Southwestern white  
2242 real estate property owners (per hundred Southwestern whites) was 0.66—for every two free black  
2243 real estate property owners (per hundred free blacks), there are three white real estate property  
2244 owners (per hundred whites) in the Southwest. The Midwestern ratio was similar in 1850 at 0.62

2245 while the Southeastern ratio was 0.29. By 1860, the ratio grew to 0.61 in the Southwest and 0.59 in  
2246 the Midwest.

2247

2248 Note that westward migration allowed Western free blacks to achieve nearly proportional property-  
2249 holding patterns to Western whites. When observing other and total forms of wealth, the ratios  
2250 differed by less than ten percentage points across regions in 1860. By 1870, Northeastern blacks had  
2251 a clear advantage when observing the ratio of black to white average real estate wealth and property  
2252 holders. Using wealth means from Table 11a, 1870 Northeastern blacks held 32 percent of the real  
2253 estate wealth, 16 percent of other wealth and 25 percent of total wealth held by Northeastern whites.  
2254 This was larger than the free black proportion of white total wealth held by Western blacks (17  
2255 percent) and Midwestern (blacks 15 percent). Southeastern blacks (3 percent) persisted as the region  
2256 with the lowest wealth opportunities for blacks. Similarly, the large Southwestern free black  
2257 advantage in 1860 fell to the low wealth levels of Southeastern blacks after emancipation. This large  
2258 change may be further evidence that Southwestern free black wealth was bolstered by the value of  
2259 slaves held for philanthropic purposes.

2260

2261 Similarly, using the percentage of property holders in Table 11b, the ratio of Northeastern free black  
2262 property holders (per hundred Northeastern free blacks) to Northeastern white property holders  
2263 (per hundred Northeastern whites) was 0.62 for real estate property holders, and 0.51 for other  
2264 property holders and 0.67 for total property holders in 1870. These ratios were approximately the  
2265 same as the proportion of Western black to white property holders.

2266

2267 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black  
2268 and white real estate wealth and ascertain the advantages of urban residence in the presence of

2269 wealth constraints. Since the statistic in Table 11c was less than one for all forms of wealth in 1850  
2270 and 1860 when comparing Southeastern wealth and Mid-Atlantic wealth to Northeastern wealth,  
2271 whites had advantages to living in the Northeast relative free blacks.  
2272

2273  
2274

Table 10c. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Comparative Wealth Ratios and Comparative Property Ownership Ratios of Whites and Blacks, Based on Regions

	All Blacks			Whites			Black-White Ratio		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<u>i) Mid-Atlantic/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.3	0.7	0.6	1.3	1.5	1.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
Other		0.6	0.6		1.1	0.8		0.5	0.7
Total		0.6	0.6		1.4	1.1		0.5	0.5
<u>ii) Midwest/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	1.0	1.3	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.0	0.5
Other		0.9	0.6		0.8	0.6		1.2	0.9
Total		1.2	0.6		1.1	1.0		1.1	0.6
<u>iii) Southeast/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.1	0.4	0.1	1.1	1.9	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.1
Other		0.6	0.2		4.6	0.5		0.1	0.3
Total		0.5	0.1		2.9	0.6		0.2	0.1
<u>iv) Southwest/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.9	3.9	0.0	2.2	2.5	0.8	0.4	1.6	0.0
Other		9.6	0.2		4.6	0.5		2.1	0.4
Total		5.9	0.1		3.3	0.6		1.8	0.1
<u>v) West/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	-	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.5	1.2	-	1.5	0.6
Other	-	1.3	0.8		1.0	0.9		1.4	0.9
Total	-	0.9	0.7		0.7	1.1		1.4	0.7
<u>vi) Mid-Atlantic/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.7
Other		1.0	0.9		1.0	1.1		1.0	0.9
Real or Other		0.9	0.8		1.0	1.0		0.9	0.8
<u>vii) Midwest/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	2.0	1.3	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.1	0.6
Other		1.3	1.3		1.2	1.2		1.1	1.0
Real or Other		1.1	1.0		1.1	1.2		1.0	0.9
<u>viii) Southeast/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	0.8	0.7	0.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.2
Other		1.1	0.6		1.2	1.1		0.9	0.5
Real or Other		1.0	0.4		1.1	1.1		0.9	0.4
<u>ix) Southwest/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	1.6	1.2	0.1	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.9	1.2	0.1
Other		1.0	0.8		1.1	1.1		0.9	0.7
Real or Other		1.0	0.6		1.1	1.0		1.0	0.6
<u>x) West/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	-	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.9	-	1.6	1.0
Other		0.7	1.3		0.8	1.0		0.9	1.3
Real or Other		0.7	1.0		0.8	1.0		0.9	1.0

Source: Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2300 However, since the statistic was greater than one for all forms of wealth when comparing  
2301 Midwestern wealth and Western wealth to Northeastern wealth in 1850 and 1860, free blacks had  
2302 advantages to living in the Midwest and West relative to whites. Note that the 1860 Southwestern  
2303 free black advantage was driven by free black slave owners who resided in Louisiana. By 1870, the  
2304 statistic was less than one for all measures of wealth and all regions relative to the Northeast. Thus,  
2305 not only whites have advantages to living in other regions but blacks had wealth advantages to living  
2306 in the Northeast.

2307

2308 Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in  
2309 Table 11c. Since the statistic was near equal or greater than one in 1850 and 1860 when comparing  
2310 the wealth of all regions but the Southeast relative to Northeastern wealth, blacks had near equal  
2311 advantages of holding property in all regions except in the Southeast. Since the statistic was greater  
2312 than one in the west and less than one in all regions in 1870, blacks had advantages to living in West  
2313 and Northeast relative to whites in most instances.

2314

2315 *This is further evidence of the symmetry between the socio-economic environment and socio-economic outcomes. Overall,*  
2316 *a negative correlation between free black wealth and regions with present or past legalized slavery emerged: Regions*  
2317 *with no history of slavery had the wealthiest free blacks (such as the Midwest and West); free blacks in regions that*  
2318 *once legalized slavery but abolished these practices had slightly lower levels of wealth (such as the Northeast and Mid-*  
2319 *Atlantic); and free blacks residing in regions where slavery was still legal had the lowest amounts of wealth (such as the*  
2320 *Southeast), with the unusual phenomenon of 'very successful' Southwest free black farmers and, likely, owners of free*  
2321 *black slaves. Furthermore, we can ignore the selection bias in the Midwest: only free blacks with significant resources*  
2322 *could establish citizenship their states due to hefty bond requirements.*

2323

2324 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Wealth of Whites and Blacks in the United States of*  
2325 *America*  
2326

2327 Free blacks that migrated out their state of birth (migrants) consistently had wealth advantages when  
2328 analyzing all forms of wealth. Free black migrants possessed more wealth and property than free  
2329 blacks that stayed (stayers). Free black migrants also had a higher proportion of white migrant  
2330 wealth and property relative to the proportion possessed by free black stayers. Additionally, when  
2331 ignoring differences in wealth levels, free blacks earned higher premium to migrating than whites.  
2332 Overall, changing regions, before and after emancipation, was crucial for blacks to accumulate  
2333 significant amounts of wealth. To the contrary, whites that stayed in their state of birth possessed  
2334 higher wealth returns than migrants. This may further imply whites with longer histories of legal  
2335 enforced citizenship and larger intergenerational transfers were more successful growing their wealth  
2336 by staying. But blacks grew wealth by migrating to places with the smallest legal barriers, that were  
2337 more social receptive and possessed the greatest economic opportunities.

2338

2339 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Real Estate Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison among*  
2340 *Black Americans over Time*  
2341

2342 Real estate wealth differences favored blacks that migrated from their state of birth across regions  
2343 before and after emancipation. Table 12a-1 shows that free black migrants (individuals who migrated  
2344 from their state of birth across regions) possessed nominal real estate wealth amounts of \$184 in  
2345 1850 and \$348 in 1860.

2346

2347  
2348

Table 12a-1. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Between-Region Migration and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks

Between Region Migrants	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Estate Wealth	1,099	1,637	2,172	445	385	192	1,108	1,662	2,366			
Other Wealth		905	916		241	101		919	995			
Total Wealth		2,542	3,088		627	293		2,581	3,361			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,217	1,659	1,510	483	384	133	1,227	1,685	1,645			
Other Wealth		924	632		241	69		937	687			
Total Wealth		2,583	2,142		626	201		2,622	2,332			
Sample	14,000	25,020	35,849	186	435	3,069	13,814	24,540	32,653			
<u>Stayers</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,448	2,161	1,742	84	239	48	1,487	2,256	2,501			
Other Wealth		1,765	855		196	44		1,842	1,219			
Total Wealth		3,926	2,597		436	92		4,098	3,720			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,615	2,279	1,142	96	252	30	1,658	2,379	1,641			
Other Wealth		1,933	555		206	28		2,018	791			
Total Wealth		4,213	1,697		458	58		4,398	2,432			
Sample	21,444	28,574	51,378	587	1,268	15,871	20,857	27,236	35,469			

2349

2350 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2351

2352

2353  
2354

**Table 12a-2. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Between-State Migration and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
Between State Migrants	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Estate Wealth	815	1,288	1,433	184	348	86	824	1,308	1,666			
Other Wealth		809	569		238	67		821	656			
Total Wealth		2,097	2,003		587	153		2,129	2,322			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	904	1,318	994	204	353	57	914	1,339	1,156			
Other Wealth		850	391		246	44		862	450			
Total Wealth		2,168	1,385		599	101		2,201	1,606			
Sample	19,004	31,127	47,131	261	584	6,805	18,743	30,496	40,193			
<u>Stayers</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,107	1,690	1,380	79	195	39	1,141	1,776	1,983			
Other Wealth		1,104	576		134	40		1,160	817			
Total Wealth		2,794	1,956		329	79		2,936	2,799			
<u>Price-Adjusted (1860=100)</u>												
Real Estate Wealth	1,228	1,755	902	89	206	25	1,265	1,845	1,296			
Other Wealth		1,185	373		141	25		1,245	530			
Total Wealth		2,941	1,275		347	50		3,090	1,826			
Sample	16,098	21,932	39,226	510	1,118	12,131	15,588	20,746	27,063			

2356 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2357

2358 This was higher than the \$79 possessed by free black who did not migrate from their state of birth  
 2359 across regions (stayers) in 1850 and \$195 possessed by free black stayers in 1860. Table 12c also  
 2360 shows that the migrant-stayer ratio of average real estate wealth among free blacks grew was 5.0 in  
 2361 1850 and 1.5 in 1860.

2362

2363 Free black migrants were also more likely to hold real estate than free black stayers. Table 12b-1  
 2364 shows that 26 percent of free black migrants in 1850 and 32 percent of free black migrants in 1860  
 2365 owned positive amounts of real estate wealth.

2366 **Table 12b-1. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Between-Region and Mean Property Ownership of Whites**  
 2367 **and Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<b>Between Region Migrants</b>	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Property Holders	0.49	0.50	0.49	0.26	0.32	0.12	0.49	0.51	0.52			
Other Property Holders		0.76	0.63		0.59	0.32		0.77	0.66			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.79	0.69		0.63	0.36		0.80	0.73			
 Sample	14,000	25,020	35,849	186	435	3,069	13,814	24,540	32,653			
<b>Stayers</b>	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Property Holders	0.55	0.59	0.41	0.17	0.22	0.06	0.56	0.60	0.57			
Other Property Holders		0.84	0.57		0.54	0.19		0.85	0.74			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.86	0.61		0.57	0.21		0.88	0.79			
 Sample	21,444	28,574	51,378	587	1,268	15,871	20,857	27,236	35,469			

2369 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2370

2371 **Table 12b-2. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Between-State Migration & Mean Property Ownership of**  
 2372 **Whites & Blacks**

	Overall			Free Blacks			All Blacks			Whites		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<b>Between State Migrants</b>	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Property Holders	0.50	0.52	0.46	0.24	0.29	0.09	0.50	0.52	0.53			
Other Property Holders		0.78	0.62		0.57	0.27		0.79	0.68			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.81	0.67		0.61	0.30		0.81	0.74			
 Sample	19,004	31,127	47,131	261	584	6,805	18,743	30,496	40,193			
<b>Stayers</b>	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
Real Property Holders	0.54	0.58	0.41	0.17	0.22	0.06	0.55	0.60	0.56			
Other Property Holders		0.82	0.56		0.54	0.18		0.84	0.73			
Real or Other Property Holders		0.85	0.60		0.57	0.20		0.87	0.78			
 Sample	16,098	21,932	39,226	510	1,118	12,131	15,588	20,746	27,063			

2374 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2375

2376 This was greater than the 17 percent of free black stayers in 1850 and 22 percent of free black

2377 stayers in 1860 that possessed positive amounts of real estate wealth. Table 12c shows that the ratio

2378 of migrant free black real estate holders (per hundred free black migrants) to the number of stayer  
 2379 free black real estate holders (per hundred free black stayers) remained constant at 1.5 in 1850 and  
 2380 1860.

2381 **Table 12c. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Comparative Wealth Ratios and Comparative Property**  
 2382 **Ownership Ratios of Whites and Blacks, Based on Migration**  
 2383

	All Blacks			Whites			Black-White Ratio		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
<u>i) Regional Migrant/Non-Migrant Mean Wealth Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	5.0	1.5	4.4	0.7	0.7	1.0	6.8	2.2	4.4
Other		1.2	2.5		0.5	0.9		2.5	2.9
Total		1.4	3.5		0.6	1.0		2.3	3.6
<u>ii) Regional Migrant/Non-Migrant Mean Property-Holding Ratio</u>									
Real Estate	1.5	1.5	2.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.8	1.7	2.2
Other		1.1	1.7		0.9	0.9		1.2	1.9
Total		1.1	1.7		0.9	0.9		1.2	1.8

2384

2385 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); IPUMS

2386

2387 Between 1860 and 1870, the return to migration among blacks grew dramatically. Table 12c shows  
 2388 that the ratio of migrant to stayer average real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves  
 2389 who held little or no real estate property—grew to 4.4. This implies that, on average, ex-slave  
 2390 migrants possessed four dollars for every dollar of real estate wealth owned by ex-slave stayers. Yet  
 2391 the relative sample sizes suggest that approximately one in six (3069/18936) took advantage of the  
 2392 large migration premium in 1870. Pessimistic calculations of the expected gains, due to negative  
 2393 experiences from enslavement, may have contributed to the low level of migration.

2394

2395 Similarly, Table 12c shows that the ratio of migrant black real estate holders (per hundred black  
2396 migrants) to stayer black property holders (per hundred black stayers) was 2.0—for every stayer  
2397 black real estate holder (per hundred black stayers), were two migrant black real estate holders (per  
2398 hundred black migrants).

2399

2400 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Real Estate Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison of*  
2401 *White and Black Americans over Time*  
2402

2403 The migration premium was observed when comparing average real estate wealth of free blacks to  
2404 average real estate wealth of whites by migratory status before emancipation. Using wealth means in  
2405 Table 12a-1, free black migrants had 40.2 percent (445/1108) of the average real estate wealth  
2406 among white migrants in 1850 and 23.2 percent (385/1662) of the average real estate wealth among  
2407 white migrants in 1860. But free black stayers had 5.6 percent (84/1487) of the average real estate  
2408 wealth among white stayers in 1850 and 10.6 percent (239/2256) of the average real estate wealth  
2409 among white stayers in 1860.

2410

2411 The migration premium was also observed when analyzing the proportion of free black real estate  
2412 holders relative to white real estate holders. The ratio of migrant free black real estate holders (per  
2413 hundred free black migrants) to migrant white real estate holders (per hundred white migrants) was  
2414 approximately 1:2 (0.26 : 0.49) in 1850 and 6:10 (0.32 : 0.51) in 1860. Among stayers the ratio fell to  
2415 approximately 3:10 (0.17 : 0.56) in 1850 and 1:3 (0.22 : 0.60) in 1860.

2416

2417 By 1870, the ratio of black to white average real estate wealth and property holders fell significantly  
2418 with the inclusion of ex-slaves in the sample but the migration premium remained. Using wealth  
2419 means from Table 12a-1, 1870 black migrants held 8.1 percent (192/2366) of the real estate wealth

2420 of white migrants while black stayers held 1.9 percent (48/2501) of the real estate wealth of white  
2421 stayers. Similarly, using the percentage of property holders in Table 9e, the ratio of migrant black  
2422 real estate property holders (per hundred black migrants) to migrant white property holders (per  
2423 hundred white migrants) was approximately 1:4 (0.12 : 0.52). Among stayers, the ratio was  
2424 approximately 1:9 (0.06 : 0.57) in 1870.

2425

2426 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black  
2427 and white real estate wealth and ascertain the advantages of migration in the presence of wealth  
2428 constraints. Since the ratio in Table 12c was greater than one in 1850 (6.8) and 1860 (2.2), free blacks  
2429 obtained higher return to migrating than whites. The ratio in Table 10c rose to 4.4 in 1870. Similar  
2430 results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in Table 12c.  
2431 Since the ratio was greater than one in 1850 (1.8) and 1860 (1.7), blacks obtained higher return to  
2432 migration than free blacks. The ratio grew to 2.2 in 1870, again, suggesting a dramatic growth in the  
2433 migration premium for blacks that live where his basic rights are protected.

2434

2435 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Other Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison among Black*  
2436 *Americans over Time*  
2437

2438 Blacks that migrated also experienced a premium in terms of other measures of wealth before and  
2439 after emancipation. Table 12a-1 shows that free black migrants possessed \$241 in nominal other  
2440 wealth in 1860. This was higher than the \$196 possessed by free black stayers. Free black migrants  
2441 were also more likely to hold other forms of property. Table 12a-1 shows that 59 percent of free  
2442 black migrants that possessed positive amounts of other wealth in 1860. This was only slightly  
2443 higher than the 54 percent of free black stayers that possessed positive amounts of other wealth in  
2444 1860.

2445 Similarly, Table 12b shows that the ratio of migrant black property holders (per hundred black  
2446 migrants) to stayer black property holders (per hundred black stayers) was 1.7 (up from 1.1 in 1860).

2447

2448 By 1870, the return to migration grew dramatically. Table 12c shows that the ratio of migrant to  
2449 stayer other forms of wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no real estate  
2450 property—grew (from 1.2 in 1860) to 2.5. This implies that migrant ex-slaves possessed three dollars  
2451 for every dollar of wealth owned by an ex-slave stayers.

2452

2453 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Other Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison of White and*  
2454 *Black Americans over Time*  
2455

2456 The migration premium existed even when comparing other wealth of blacks to whites before and  
2457 after emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 12a-1, black migrants had 26.2 percent (241/919)  
2458 of white migrant other wealth in 1860 and 10.2 percent (101/995) of white migrant wealth in 1870.  
2459 However, free blacks stayers had 6.6 percent (121/1842) of white stayers' wealth in 1860 and 3.6  
2460 percent (44/1219) of white stayers' wealth in 1870.

2461

2462 This migration penalty was observed when analyzing the proportion of blacks holding other forms  
2463 of property relative to whites holding other forms of property. The ratio of black migrants (per  
2464 hundred black migrants) to white migrants (per hundred white stayers) with other forms of property  
2465 was approximately 2:3 (0.59 : 0.77) in 1860 and 1:2 (0.32 : 0.66) and 1870. Among stayers, the ratio  
2466 fell to approximately 2:3 (0.54 : 0.85) in 1860 and 1:4 (0.19 : 0.74) in 1870.

2467

2468 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for other forms of wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in  
2469 black and white wealth and ascertain the advantages to migration in the presence of wealth

2470 constraints. Since the ratio in Table 12c was greater than one in 1860 (2.5) and 1870 (2.9), blacks  
2471 obtained higher returns to migration than whites. Again, migrating to places with the smallest legal  
2472 barriers, that were more social friendly and possessed the greatest economic opportunities. Similar  
2473 results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for other forms of property. Since  
2474 the ratio reported in Table 12c was greater than one in 1860 (1.2) and greater than one in 1870 (1.9),  
2475 blacks obtained higher returns to migration than blacks before and after emancipation.

2476

2477 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Total Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison among Black*  
2478 *Americans over Time*  
2479

2480 When summing up real estate and other forms of wealth, empirical results show that migrant blacks  
2481 were better off before and after emancipation. Table 12a-1 shows that free black migrants possessed  
2482 \$627 in nominal total wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation. This was higher than the \$436 possessed  
2483 by free black stayers. This produces 1.4 to 1.0 ratio of migrant free black wealth to stayer free black  
2484 wealth in 1860. Free black migrants were also more likely to hold real estate or other (total) forms of  
2485 property. Table 12a-1 shows that 63 percent of free black migrants that possessed positive amounts  
2486 of total wealth in 1860. This was higher than the 57 percent of free black stayers that possessed  
2487 positive amounts of total wealth in 1860.

2488

2489 By 1870, the return to migration grew dramatically. Table 12c shows that the ratio of migrant to  
2490 stayer real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no real estate  
2491 property—grew to 3.5. This implies that ex-slave migrants possessed four dollars for every dollar of  
2492 total wealth owned by an ex-slave stayer. Similarly, Table 12c shows that the ratio of migrant black  
2493 total property holders (per hundred black migrants) to stayer black total property holders (per

2494 hundred black stayers) was 1.7—for every migrant free black real estate holder, there were two  
2495 stayer free black real estate holders.

2496

2497 *The Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century Migration and Total Wealth in the United States of America: A Comparison of White and*  
2498 *Black Americans over Time*  
2499

2500 The migration premium persisted even when comparing total wealth of blacks to the total wealth of  
2501 whites before and after emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 12a-1, black migrants had 23.9  
2502 percent (626/2622) of white migrant total wealth in 1860 and 10.6 percent (436/4098) of white  
2503 stayer wealth in 1870 while free black stayers had 8.6 percent (201/2332) of white stayer wealth in  
2504 1860 and 2.5 percent (92/3720) of white stayer wealth in 1870.

2505

2506 Advantages to migration were also observed when analyzing the proportion of blacks holding total  
2507 property relative to whites holding total property. Using Table 12b-1, the ratio of black migrants (per  
2508 hundred black migrants) to white migrants (per hundred white migrants) with total property was  
2509 approximately 3:4 (0.63 : 0.80) in 1860 and 1:2 (0.36 : 0.73) in 1870. Among stayers the ratio fell to  
2510 2:3 (0.57 : 0.88) in 1860 and 1:4 (0.21 : 0.79) in 1870.

2511

2512 Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for total wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black and  
2513 white wealth and ascertain the advantages to migration in the presence of wealth constraints. Since  
2514 the ratio in Table 12c was greater than one in 1860 (1.4) and 1870 (3.5), blacks obtained higher  
2515 returns to migrating whites before and after emancipation. Similar results were obtained using the  
2516 *comparative property ownership ratio* for total property. Since the statistic reported in Table 12c was  
2517 greater than one in 1860 (1.1) and greater than one in 1870 (1.7), blacks again obtained higher  
2518 returns to migrating than whites before and after emancipation.

2519 *This further confirms symmetry between the socio-economic environment and socio-economic outcomes, and suggests that*  
2520 *changing states and changing regions, before and after emancipation, was crucial for blacks to accumulate significant*  
2521 *amounts of wealth. To the contrary, whites who stayed in their state of birth possessed higher wealth returns than*  
2522 *migrants. This may further imply whites, with longer histories of legal enforced citizenship and larger intergenerational*  
2523 *transfers, were more successful growing their wealth by staying. Note that this would exclude the large mass of*  
2524 *immigrants from Ireland, England and Germany who grew wealth like blacks, by migrating to places with the*  
2525 *smallest legal barriers, that were more social receptive and possessed the greatest economic opportunities.*

2526

2527 **Non-Linear Least Squares Multivariate Analysis of Logarithmic Total Wealth of Whites and**  
2528 **Blacks in 1860 and 1870**  
2529

2530 Table 13 shows logarithmic wealth is regressed against proxy variables for earnings and savings,  
2531 proxy variables for initial wealth, and household formation variables. Results, which had a 95  
2532 percent level of significance, are summarized below.

2533

2534 Savings, Schooling and Skill. *Savings.* Results show higher, statistically significant, diminishing  
2535 increases in wealth savings with age among whites, compared to blacks, in 1860 and 1870. *Schooling.*  
2536 Similarly, results show higher returns to schooling, for whites relative to blacks, in 1860 and 1870,  
2537 holding all other variables constant; however, these results were not statistically significant for free  
2538 blacks in 1860. *Skill.* Farmers had statistically significant higher levels of wealth relative to other  
2539 professions in 1860 and 1870, with the exceptions of white student-retirees in 1870 and black white-  
2540 collar professionals in 1870.

2541

2542 Economic Geography. *Slave State Status.* Results described in the ratio analysis were also evident in  
2543 the multivariate analysis: In 1860, before mass emancipation of Southern slaves, Southern whites

2544 possessed statistically significant wealth, at rates greater than other whites. In 1860, free black wealth  
 2545 coefficients are statistically insignificant. However, after mass emancipation of Southern slaves,  
 2546 blacks and whites, in 1870, who resided in the South, possessed statistically significant wealth which  
 2547 was less than other blacks and whites elsewhere. *Regional Status*. These results also are confirmed  
 2548 when comparing regions. *Migration Status*. Results described in the ratio analysis were also evident in  
 2549 the multivariate analysis: Whites which remained in their birth states had statistically significant  
 2550 higher levels of wealth compared to whites who migrated in 1860 and 1870; however, blacks who  
 2551 migrated in 1860 and 1870 had statistically significant relative to blacks who migrated.

2552 **Table 13. OLS Estimates Based on Log Real Total Wealth by Race, 1860-70**

Race:	Whites				Blacks			
	1860		1870		1860		1870	
Year:	Slave State	Region						
OLS Regression with:								
Constant	1.14	1.01	0.13	(0.18)	2.30	2.61	1.89	2.22
Literacy	1.02	1.02	1.14	1.12	0.25	0.21	0.34	0.35
Slave State	0.18		(0.97)		0.01		(1.38)	
Migrated to the Region	(0.50)	(0.66)	(0.34)	(0.50)	0.39	0.26	0.26	0.21
Rural	0.82	0.73	0.71	0.58	0.26	0.30	0.17	0.17
Age	0.14	0.14	0.18	0.18	0.09	0.09	0.04	0.04
Age Squared	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Number of Children	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.03
Number of Household Members	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.10	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.06
Married	0.24	0.19	0.02	0.02	0.48	0.47	0.33	0.34
<u>Occupational Skill</u>								
Unskilled	(2.86)	(2.79)	(2.71)	(2.66)	(2.93)	(2.86)	(1.64)	(1.64)
Skilled	(1.72)	(1.64)	(1.97)	(1.88)	(2.18)	(2.13)	(0.95)	(0.95)
White Collar	(0.05)	(0.01)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.91)	(0.97)	0.45	0.46
Student/Retired	(0.10)	(0.09)	0.32	0.32	(5.51)	(5.63)	(1.34)	(1.34)
Other Skill	(2.37)	(2.36)	(2.76)	(2.71)	(3.20)	(3.22)	(1.73)	(1.73)
<u>Region</u>								
MidAtlantic		0.05		0.14		(0.39)		(0.50)
Midwest		0.44		0.59		(0.06)		(0.25)
Southeast		0.29		(0.68)		(0.43)		(1.73)
South Central		0.68		(0.48)		0.65		(1.68)
West		(0.30)		0.09		(1.20)		(0.18)

2570 **Source:** Information collected, calculated and compiled by James Curtis Jr (2002); 1PUMS; Dependent variable is natural  
 2571 log of total wealth adjusted for regional prices; Estimated parameters in bold are statistically significant with a 95 percent  
 2572 level of confidence. Farmers and Northeast are the excluded variables.

## CONCLUSIONS

2573

2574

2575 While the legal and social status of free blacks was significantly better than slaves, their status did not

2576 equal that of whites. Yet free blacks did attempt to overcome the social conditions by structuring

2577 their households to provide a basic foundation for *the pursuit of happiness* even though free black

2578 constraints to generating wealth were observed when analyzing differences in the returns to all of

2579 the optimal wealth-generating choices. Changing states and regions, was one of the crucial steps for

2580 free blacks to accumulate significant amounts of wealth. Yet unequal entrance laws and barriers

2581 prevented free blacks from having a full range of residential and, as a result, economic opportunities.

2582 In sum, asymmetrical legal and social constraints, rooted by a contradiction between the dominant

2583 interpretation of the United States Constitution and state laws, led to asymmetrical economic

2584 experiences among free blacks and whites during the antebellum period. Furthermore, the

2585 intertemporal expectation of converging wealth experiences is severely diminished, not only by

2586 initial wealth deficits in the free black community, but also by intertemporal social and legal

2587 constraints on economic choices to overcome these deficits.

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