

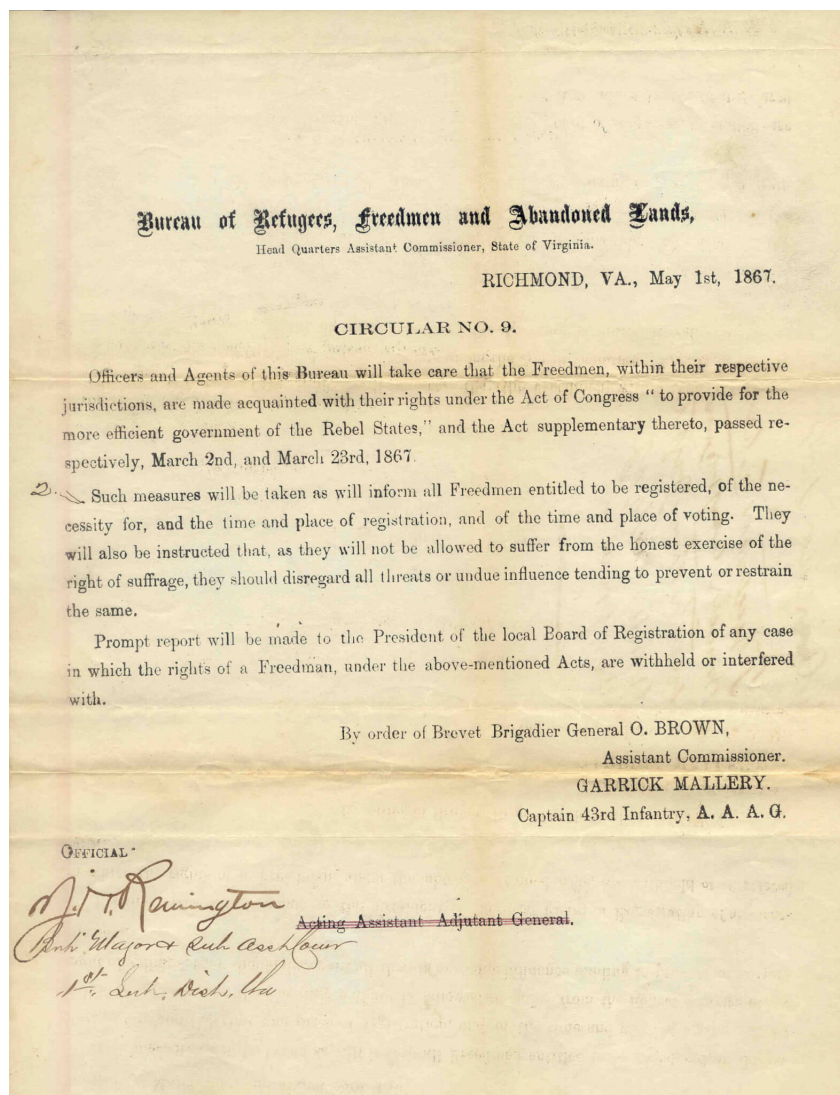
Supplemental Appendix

Inequality and Racial Backlash: Evidence from the Reconstruction
Era and the Freedmen's Bureau

Eric Chyn, Kareem Haggag, and Bryan A. Stuart

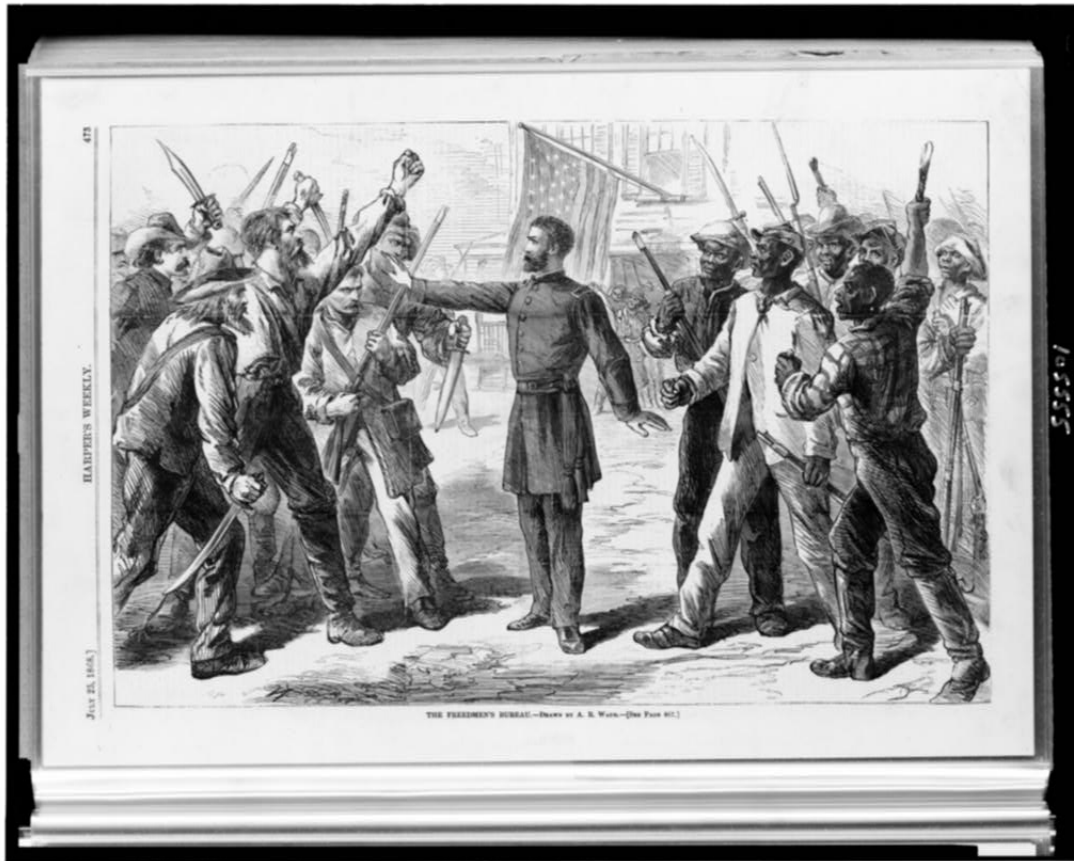
A Appendix Figures and Tables

Figure A1: Freedmen's Bureau Orders to Protect the Freedmen's Right to Vote (1867)



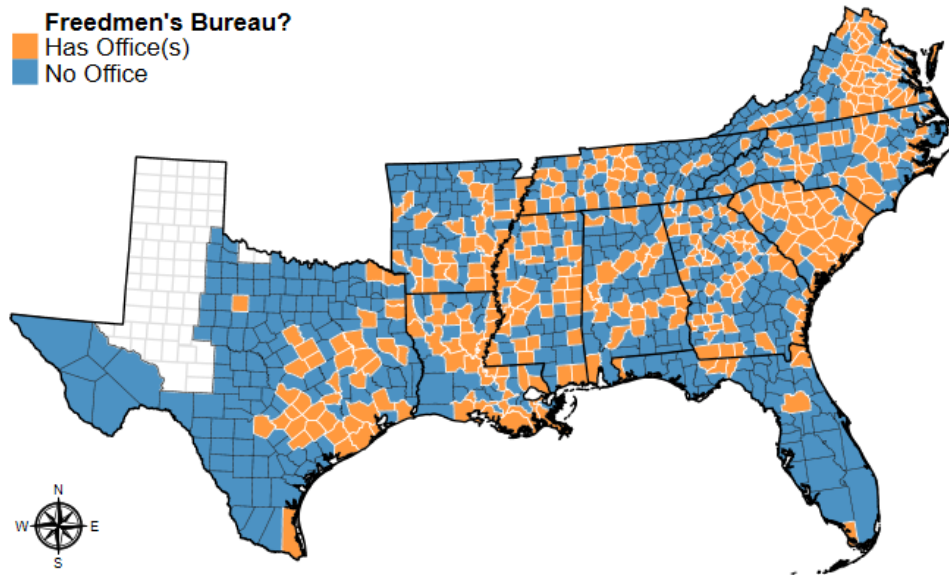
Notes: This figure shows official Freedmen's Bureau orders made on May 1, 1867 regarding voting rights. Congress passed the First and Second Reconstruction Acts in March 1867. This legislation enfranchised Black men for the election of delegates to state constitutional conventions. Congress charged the Freedmen's Bureau with supervising elections in the Southern states. The orders reproduced in this image direct Bureau agents to inform freedmen of their voting rights and protect these rights. The image comes from the National Archives and Records Administration (Records of the Field Offices for the States of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, microfilm publication M1913, Roll 97).

Figure A2: Freedmen's Bureau Illustration (Harper's Weekly)



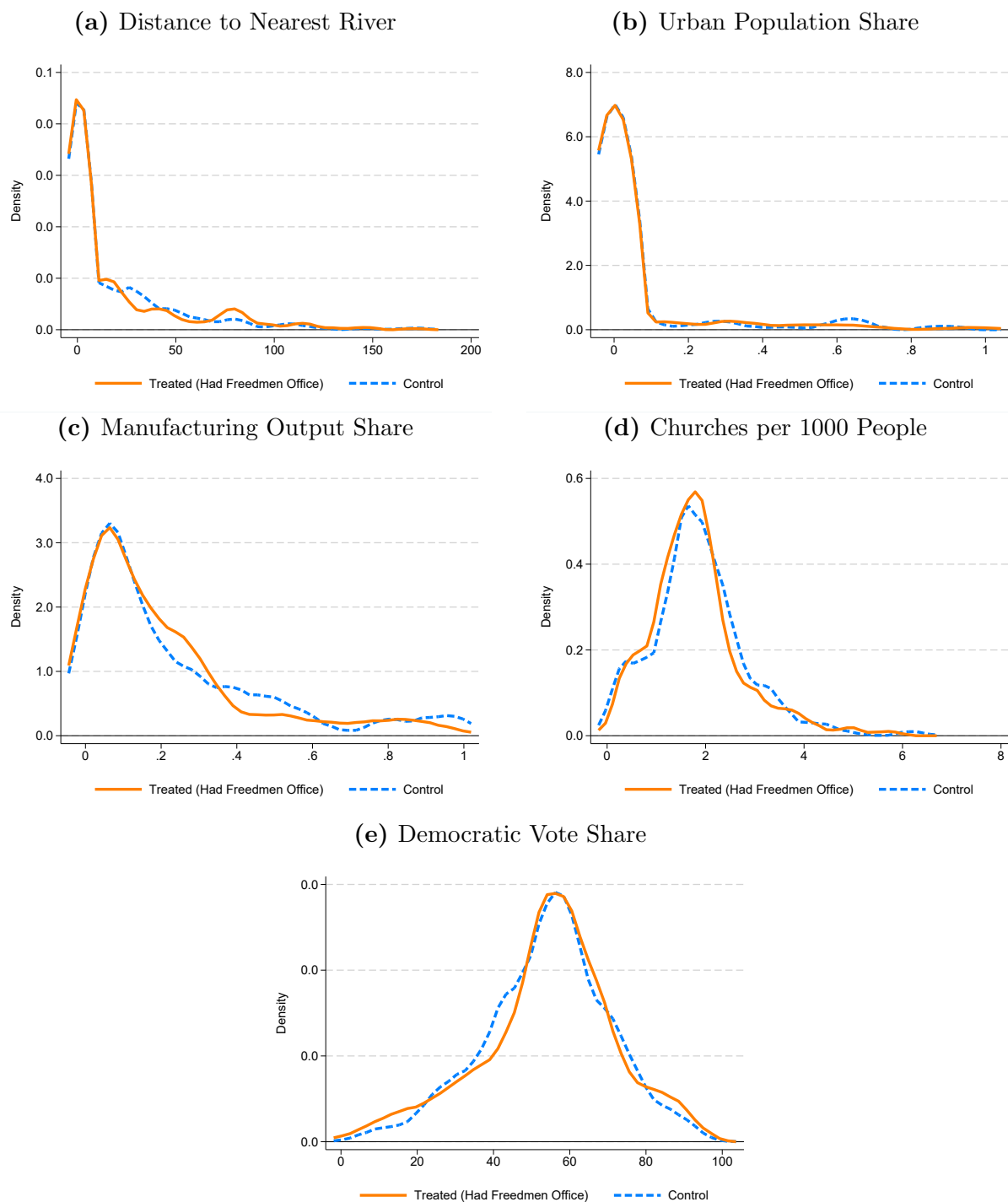
Notes: This figure reproduces an image of an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau standing between armed groups of White and Black Americans. Illustration created by A.R. Waud and appeared in the periodical Harper's Weekly, July 25, 1868 (Library of Congress).

Figure A3: Map of Freedmen's Bureau Field Offices, Including South Carolina



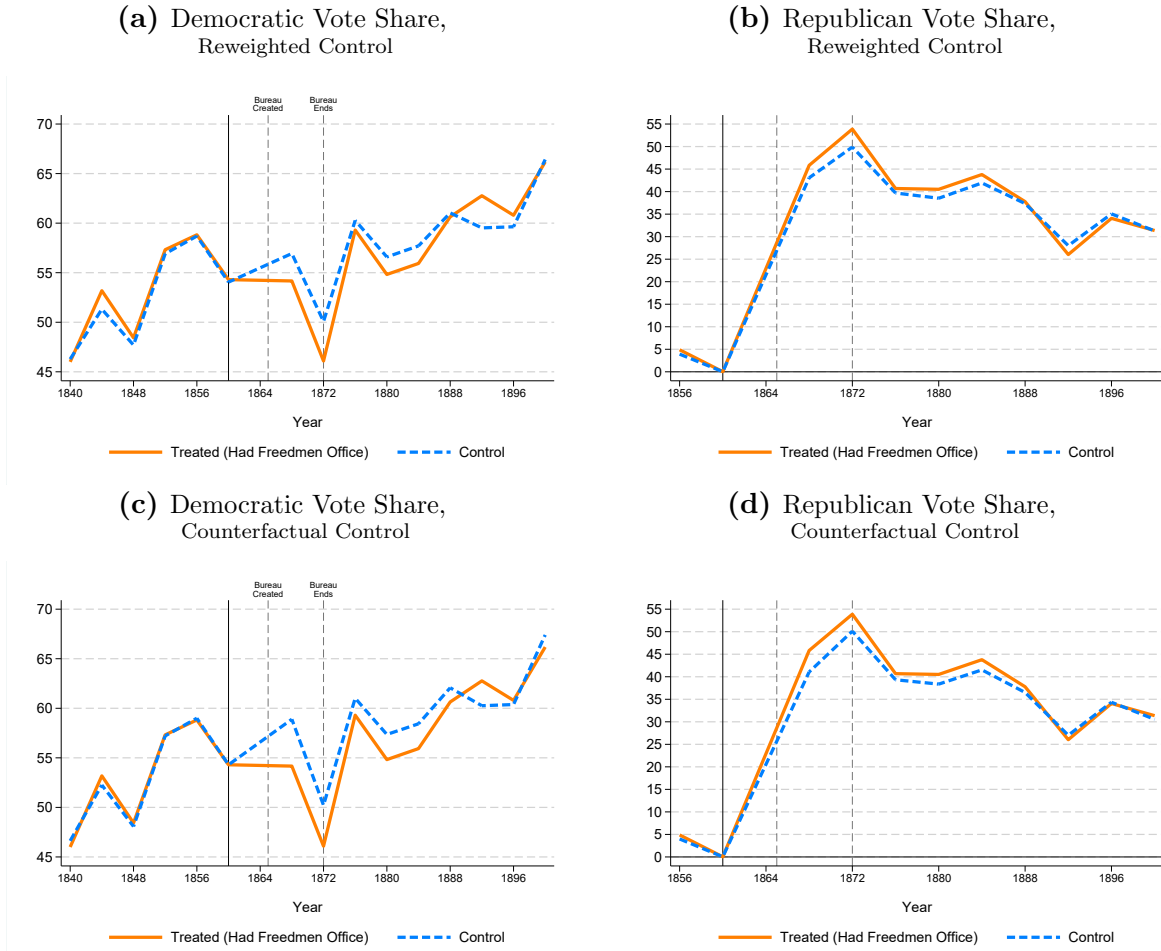
Notes: This map shows historical (1900) counties in the 11 Southern states that formed the Confederate States of America. Counties that had at least one Freedmen's Bureau field office are colored in orange shading, while blue shading indicates that the county had no offices. Unlike Figure 1, this figure includes areas without baseline (1860) elections data including South Carolina and several counties in western Texas. Some portions of Texas are omitted because they were not established as counties during the period of study.

Figure A4: Distribution of Additional Baseline Characteristics in Counties With and Without Bureau Offices



Notes: This figure presents kernel density plots of additional 1860 variables in the matched sample of treated counties for treated counties that had Freedmen Bureau field offices (in solid orange) and control counties that did not have an office (in dashed blue). Kernel density estimates are weighted using the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen's Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls.

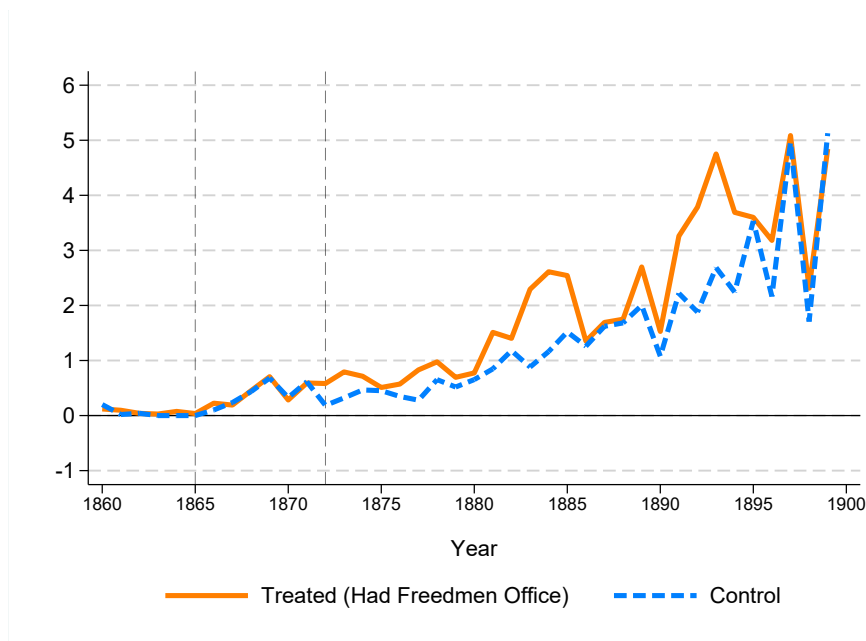
Figure A5: Presidential Vote Shares in Counties With and Without Bureau Offices



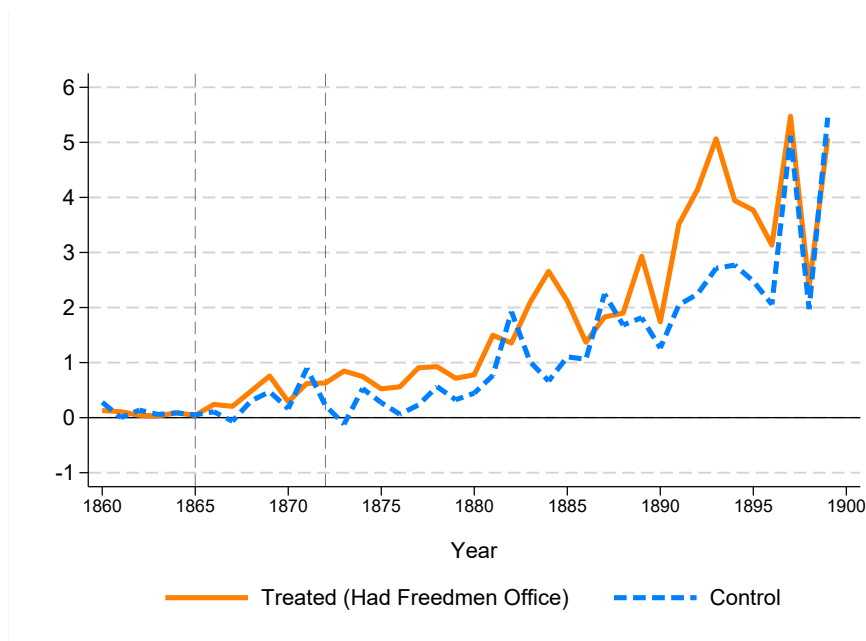
Notes: Panels A and B report the raw averages for the treated counties (which had at least one Freedmen's Bureau field office) and the ATT-reweighted averages for the matched set of control counties of the Presidential Democratic and Republican Party vote shares, respectively. Panels C and D report analogous results that are consistent with our baseline event-study estimates. In particular, we plot the raw averages for the treatment counties and the regression-implied counterfactual (no treatment) mean, where the latter is calculated by subtracting the event-study coefficient from the raw average for treatment counties.

Figure A6: Newspaper-Based Mentions of Lynchings in Counties With and Without Bureau Offices

(a) Treated vs. Reweighted Control

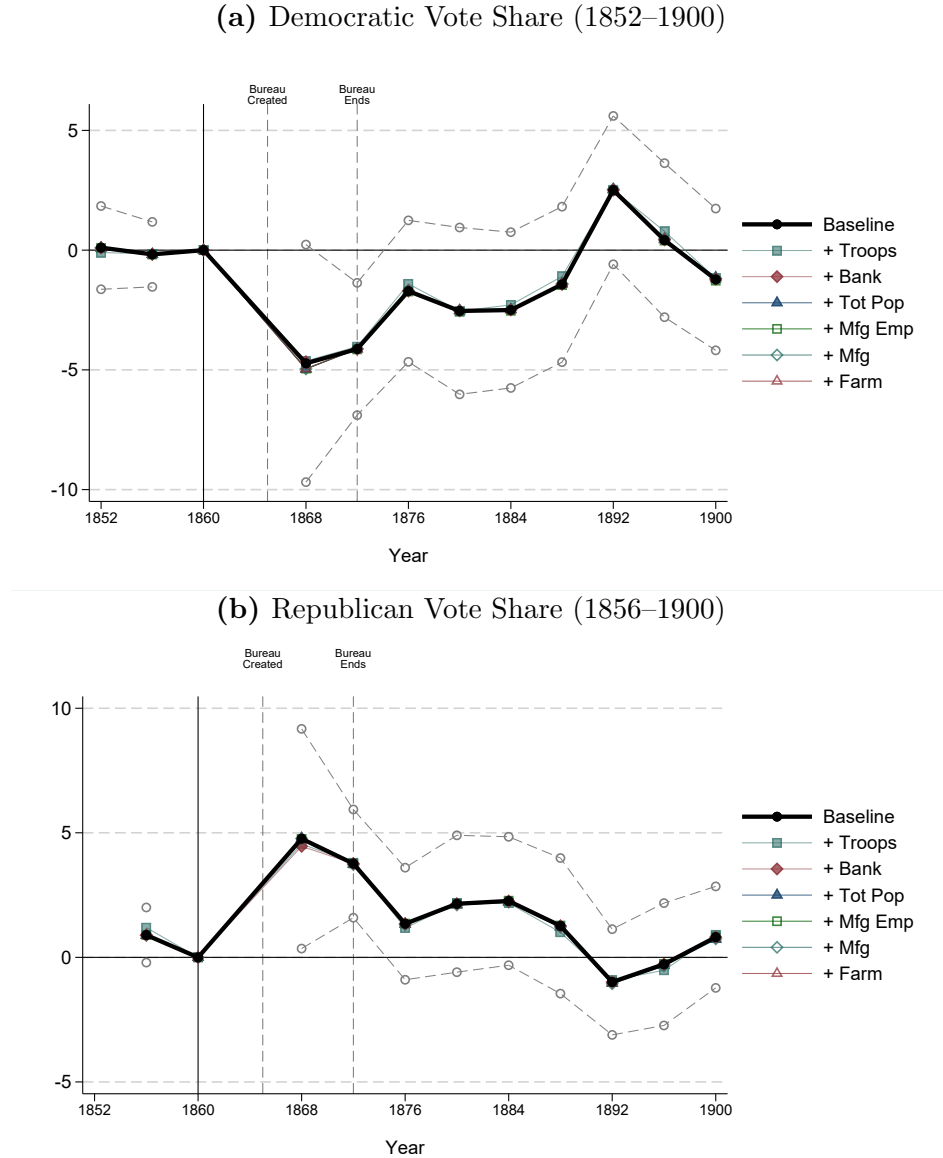


(b) Treated vs. Counterfactual



Notes: Panel A reports the raw average for the treated counties (which had at least one Freedmen’s Bureau field office) and the ATT-reweighted average for the matched set of control counties of the rate of newspaper reports of lynchings. Panel B reports analogous results that are consistent with our baseline event-study estimates. In particular, we plot the raw average for the treatment counties and the regression-implied counterfactual (no treatment) mean, where the latter is calculated by subtracting the event-study coefficient from the raw average for treatment counties.

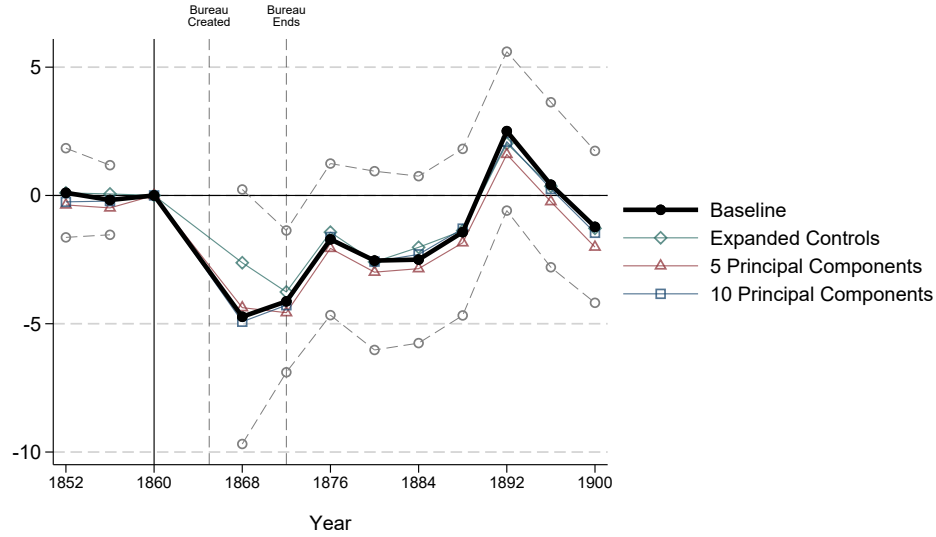
Figure A7: Impacts on Presidential Vote Shares, Event Study Robustness to Time-Varying Controls



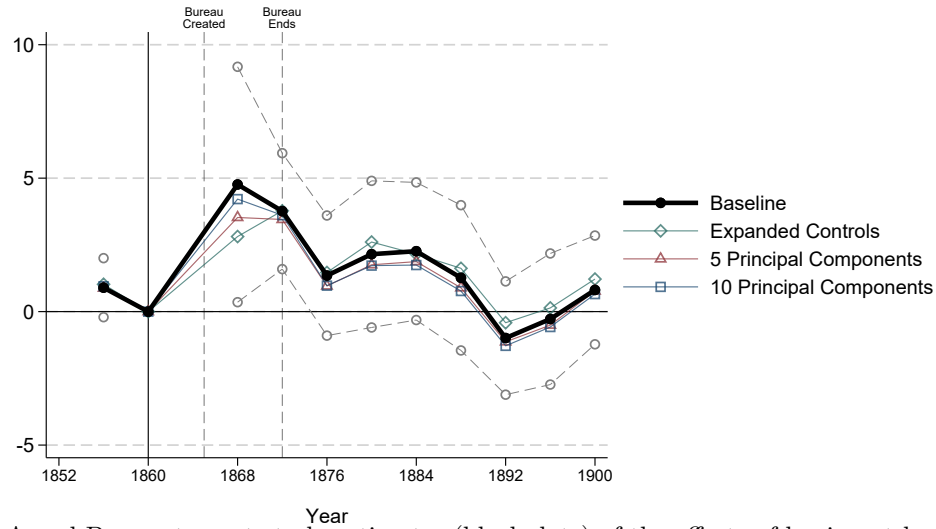
Notes: Panels A and B report event-study estimates (black dots) of the effects of having at least one Freedmen’s Bureau field office on county-level Presidential Democratic and Republican Party vote shares, respectively. The baseline results are based on a regression that includes interactions between the county having any Freedmen’s Bureau field office and year indicators, interactions between year indicators and state indicators, interactions between year indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. The augmented specifications include additional controls for: interactions between year indicators and the median number of U.S. troops in a county between 1865–1872; interactions between year indicators and an indicator for the county having a Freedmen’s Bank office; time-varying measures of (i) log total population, (ii) log manufacturing employment, (iii) log value of manufacturing output, or (iv) log value of farm output. Section 7 provides a detailed discussion of the augmented specifications. All regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen’s Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. The omitted reference year is 1860. For additional notes, see Figure 3.

Figure A8: Impacts on Presidential Vote Shares, Event Study Robustness to Baseline Controls

(a) Democratic Vote Share (1852–1900)

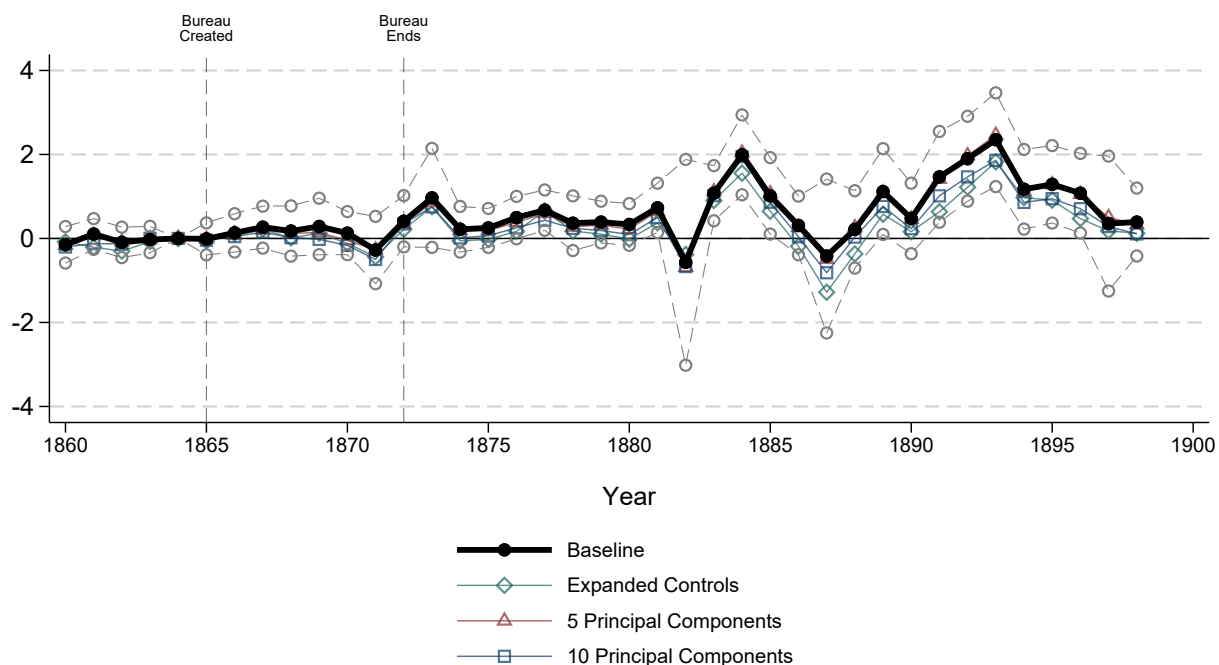


(b) Republican Vote Share (1856–1900)



Notes: Panels A and B report event-study estimates (black dots) of the effects of having at least one Freedmen's Bureau field office on county-level Presidential Democratic and Republican Party vote shares, respectively. The baseline results are based on a regression that includes interactions between the county having any Freedmen's Bureau field office and year indicators, interactions between year indicators and state indicators, interactions between year indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. The second specification (hollow diamonds) instead includes interactions between year indicators and the expanded controls, which are all variables listed in Table 1. The third and fourth specifications modify the baseline specification by replacing the core controls with the top 5 (hollow triangles) or the top 10 (hollow squares) principal components of the expanded controls. All regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen's Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. The omitted reference year is 1860. The dashed surrounding the point estimates represent the 95% confidence interval based on standard errors clustered at the county level. For additional notes, see Figure 3.

Figure A9: Impacts on Newspaper-Based Mentions of Lynchings, Robustness to Baseline Controls



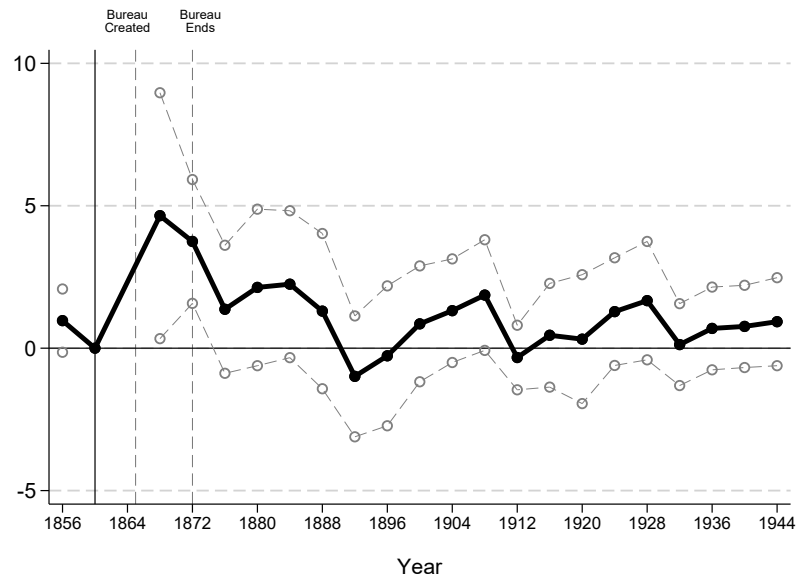
Notes: This figure reports event-study estimates of the impacts of having at least one Freedmen’s Bureau field office on county-level rates of newspaper mentions of lynching (100 times the number of pages on which the term lynching is found divided by the total number of newspaper pages). The baseline results are based on a regression that includes interactions between the county having any Freedmen’s Bureau field office and year indicators, year indicators, interactions between year indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. The second specification (hollow squares) instead includes interactions between year indicators and the expanded controls, which are all variables listed in Table 1. The third and fourth specifications modify the baseline specification by replacing the core controls with the top 5 (hollow triangles) or the top 10 (hollow squares) principal components of the expanded controls. All regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen’s Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. The omitted reference year is 1864. The dashed surrounding the point estimates represent the 95% confidence interval based on standard errors clustered at the county level. Sample is limited to counties with at least 15 years of non-missing newspaper data.

Figure A10: Impacts on Presidential Vote Shares, Evidence from Extended Time Period

(a) Democratic Vote Share (1852–1944)

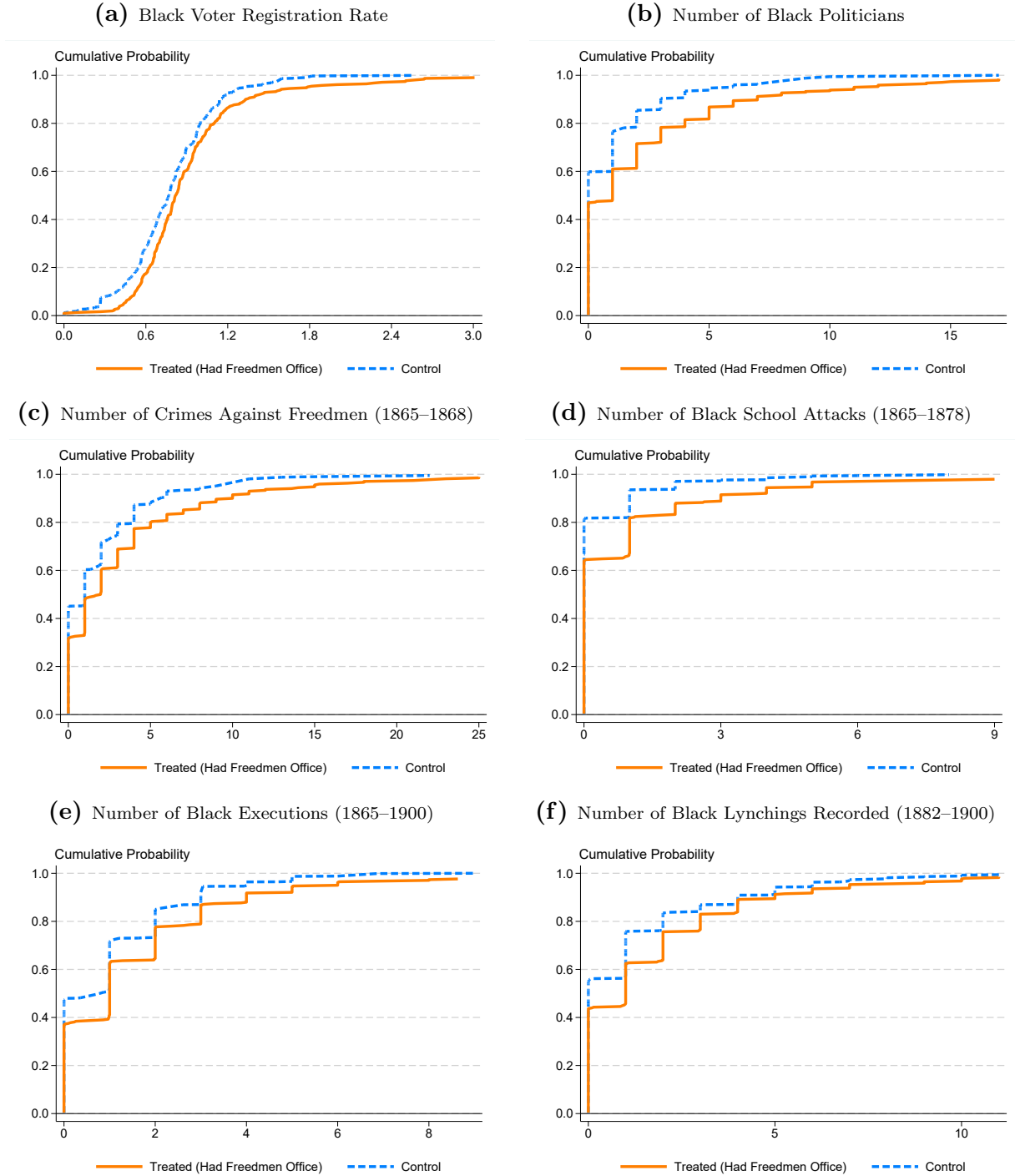


(b) Republican Vote Share (1856–1944)



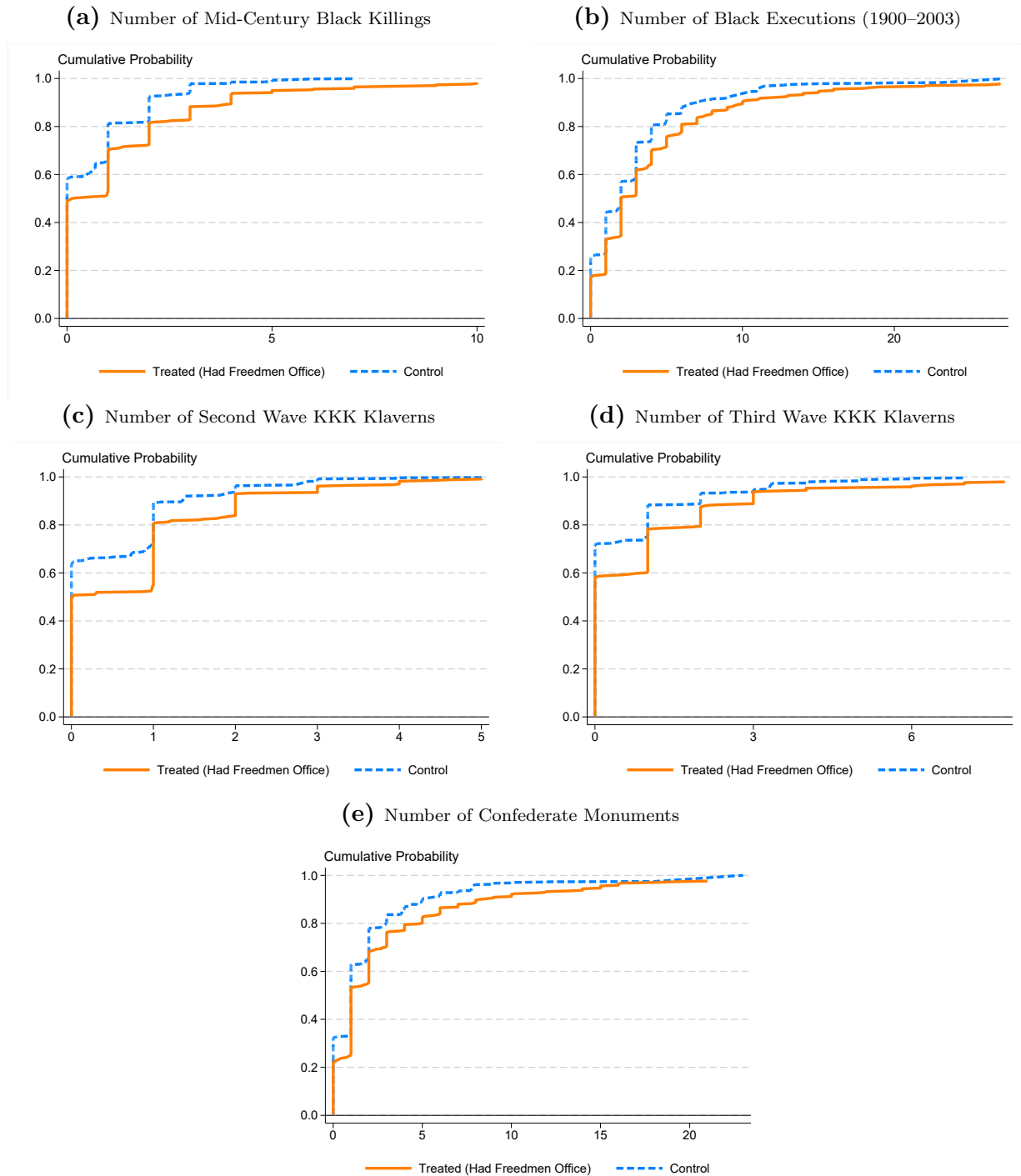
Notes: Panels A and B report event-study estimates (black dots) of the effects of having at least one Freedmen’s Bureau field office on county-level Presidential Democratic and Republican Party vote shares, respectively, over an extended time horizon. The results are based on a regression that includes interactions between the county having any Freedmen’s Bureau field office and year indicators, interactions between year indicators and state indicators, interactions between year indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen’s Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. The omitted reference year is 1860. For additional notes, see Figure 3.

Figure A11: Distributions of Political and Racial Violence Outcomes



Notes: This figure plots CDFs of political and racial violence outcomes using the matched sample of counties used in our main analysis. CDFs are shown separately for the treated counties that did have Bureau field offices and control counties that did not. We use ATT weights to compute the CDFs using the matched sample of control counties. CDFs are winsorized at the 99th percentile. The voter registration rate in Panel A is the number of registered Black voters in 1867–1869 divided by an estimate of the voting eligible population, i.e., one-fourth of the 1860 Black population.

Figure A12: Distributions of Twentieth Century Racial Violence and Monument Outcomes



Notes: This figure plots CDFs of twentieth century outcomes using the matched sample of counties used in our main analysis. CDFs are shown separately for the treated counties that did have Bureau field offices and control counties that did not. We use ATT weights to compute the CDFs using the matched sample of control counties. CDFs are winsorized at the 99th percentile.

Figure A13: Bureau Schools and Night Schools Example

(a) Full Teacher Report

[Ed. Form, No. 4]

TEACHER'S MONTHLY SCHOOL REPORT,

For the Month of *August* 1868.

For a School under the direct control of one Teacher, or a Teacher with one assistant, to be reported as one School.
To be forwarded as soon as possible after the 1st of each month.

Number of Day-Schools.....	1
Number of Night-Schools.....	1
Location, and Name of School.....	<i>Pointe-aux-Leslieux Settlement</i>
When opened.....	<i>March 1868</i>
Societies, &c., Patrons.....	0
Number of Schools sustained by freedmen.....	1
Number of Schools sustained in part by freedmen.....	0
Number of teachers transported by Bureau.....	0
Number of School buildings owned by freedmen.....	0
Number of School buildings furnished by Bureau.....	1
Whole number of teachers.....	1
Whole number of pupils enrolled.....	38
Number of pupils enrolled last report.....	38
Number left school this month.....	0
Number of new scholars this month.....	0
Average attendance.....	12
Number of pupils paying tuition.....	0
Number of White pupils.....	0
Number always present.....	0
Number always present.....	0
Number over 16 years of age.....	0
Number in Alphabet.....	0
Number who spell and read easy lessons.....	0
Number of advanced readers.....	0
Number in geography.....	0
Number in arithmetic.....	0
Number in higher branches.....	0
Number in writing.....	0
Number on needlework.....	0
Number from before the war.....	0
Number of Sabbath Schools.....	0
Number of pupils in Sabbath Schools.....	0

To these questions give exact, or approximate answers.

- How many of above Schools are graded? *1*. How many grades? *1*.
- How many Day or Night Schools, within your knowledge, not reported above? *0*. Number of pupils (estimated) in such Schools? *0*.
- How many Teachers in the above Day or Night Schools? *0*. White, *0*. Colored, *0*.
- How many Sabbath Schools, within your knowledge, and not reported above? *0*. Number of pupils (estimated) in such Schools? *0*.
- How many Teachers in the above Sabbath Schools? *0*. White, *0*. Colored, *0*.
- How many Industrial Schools? *0*. Whole number of pupils in all? *0*. State the kind of work done, *0*.
- Whole amount of tuition paid by the Freedmen during the month, *\$0.00*.
- Whole amount of expenses for the above Schools by the Bureau for the month, *0*.
- Grand total of expense per month for support of above schools by all parties, *0*.
- Whole number of High or Normal Schools, *0*. How many pupils in all? *0*.
- Remarks

(b) Night School and Bureau Buildings Lines

Number of Day-Schools.....	1
Number of Night-Schools.....	1
Location, and Name of School.....	0
When opened.....	0
Societies, &c., Patrons.....	0
Number of Schools sustained by freedmen.....	0
Number of Schools sustained in part by freedmen.....	1
Number of teachers transported by Bureau.....	0
Number of School buildings owned by freedmen.....	0
Number of School buildings furnished by Bureau.....	1

Notes: This figure shows an official Bureau monthly school report from from August 1868. Panel A displays the entire report, while Panel B shows the selected portion that highlights information on the school and its number of night schools and the number of buildings furnished by the Bureau (Records of Superintendent of Education for the state of Louisiana, 1864-1869, microfilm publication M1026, Roll 6).

Table A1: Summary Statistics and Covariate Balance, Supplemental Characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Treated Mean	Control Mean	Treated – Control Difference			
Change in Log White Population 1850–60	0.33	0.49	-0.16*** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Change in Log Black Population 1850–60	0.43	0.50	-0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)
Change in Black Population Share 1850–60	0.024	0.010	0.015*** (0.005)	0.016*** (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)
Change in Log Total Population 1850–60	0.38	0.51	-0.13*** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Change in Log Manufacturing Output 1850–60	1.21	1.08	0.12 (0.29)	0.25 (0.30)	0.04 (0.33)	-0.08 (0.34)
Change in Log Farm Value 1850–60	1.00	1.09	-0.09 (0.11)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)
Change in Churches per 1000 People 1850–1860	0.19	0.26	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)	0.02 (0.08)
State Fixed Effects	–	–	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Matched Sample	–	–	No	No	Yes	Yes
Rewighted	–	–	No	No	No	Yes
Counties	341	543	884	884	699	699

Notes: This table extends on the results from Table 1 by showing means and differences in means for additional characteristics of counties using changes observed between the 1850 and 1860 Census. Column 1 shows mean changes for treated counties with any Freedmen’s Bureau field office, while column 2 shows this for control counties with no office. Columns 3 to 6 report coefficients from regressions of the characteristic on a treatment indicator, with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses. Column 3 reports the simple difference (i.e., OLS with no controls), column 4 reports the coefficient from a specification including state fixed effects, column 5 runs this regression using just the matched sample, and finally column 6 layers on the inverse propensity score weighting. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A2: Impacts on Governor Elections, Difference-in-Difference Estimates

	(1)	(2)
	Democratic	Republican
Post '67-'72 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	-1.6 (1.4)	2.5** (1.2)
Post '73-'00 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	0.7 (1.4)	0.6 (0.9)
Control Mean	54.9	22.5
R-Squared	0.81	0.87
Observations	6,136	6,136
County FE	Yes	Yes

Notes: This table reports estimates of a difference-in-difference specification in which gubernatorial election vote shares are regressed on interactions between the county having any Freedmen's Bureau field office and indicators for being in a post-treatment period (split into 1867 to 1872 and 1873 to 1900), interactions between these period indicators and state fixed effects, interactions between these period indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. The pre-period encompasses elections held from 1855 to 1866. Regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen's Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. We restrict the sample to counties observed in all of their state-specific set of elections from 1840 to 1900. Robust standard errors clustered at the county level are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A3: Violence During vs. After Bureau's Defunding

	Mean of DV (1)	1865 to 1878 (2)	'65 to '69 (3)	'70 to '78 (4)
Black School Attacks	0.38	0.67*** (0.17)	0.27*** (0.07)	0.40*** (0.15)
R-squared		0.24	0.23	0.20
Black Executions	0.14	0.13** (0.06)	0.05* (0.03)	0.09 (0.05)
R-squared		0.16	0.19	0.09
Observations		699	699	699

Notes: This table reports effects on violence (attacks on Black schools and the number of executions of Black individuals) during and immediately after the Bureau's defunding at the end of 1869. The first row of column 2 reports the same results as Panel B of Table 5, while columns 3 and 4 restrict to Black school attacks between 1865 to the end of 1869 and those between 1870 and the end of 1878 respectively. Column 2 of the second row reports the outcome of Panel C of Table 5; however, it first limits to the same time period as Black school attacks (i.e. 1865 to 1878), and then restricts to the same split as the first row in columns 3 and 4. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A4: Impacts on Binary Measures of Second and Third Wave KKK Klavern Locations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A. Second Wave KKK Klavern by 1930			
1(Freedmen Office)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.04)
Control Mean	0.30	0.28	0.28
R-squared	0.16	0.18	0.21
Panel B. Third Wave KKK Klavern in 1960s			
1(Freedmen Office)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)
Control Mean	0.25	0.31	0.31
R-squared	0.29	0.28	0.26
Observations	884	699	699
State FE and Core Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Matched Sample	No	Yes	Yes
Rewighted	No	No	Yes

Notes: This table provides alternative parameterizations of our analysis of the effects on second and third wave KKK klavern presence in a county. Panel A reports results from linear probability models where the dependent variable is an indicator for whether there were any KKK klaverns established in a county by 1930 (as an alternative to the total number of klaverns established before 1940 in Panel C of Table 6). In Panel B the dependent variable is an indicator for whether there were any third wave KKK klaverns established in a county (the binary version of the outcome in Panel D of Table 6). Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A5: Impacts on Long-Run Opportunity as Measured by Teenage Pregnancy, OLS and Matched Sample Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)
1(Freedmen Office)	0.007* (0.004)	0.007* (0.004)	0.007 (0.005)
Control Mean	0.34	0.36	0.36
R-squared	0.48	0.49	0.49
Observations	884	699	699
State FE and Core Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Matched Sample	No	Yes	Yes
Reweighted	No	No	Yes

Notes: This table reports estimates from regressions of long-run outcomes (taken from the Opportunity Atlas) on an indicator for the county having any Freedmen’s Bureau office, state fixed effects, and the core control variables listed in Panel A of Table 1. Columns 2 and 3 are limited to a sample of similar counties matched on these core variables. Column 3 applies inverse propensity score weighting. The dependent variable is teenage pregnancy (based on whether IRS records indicate that a woman claimed a dependent when they were between the ages of 13 and 19) for children born to parents in the 25th percentile of the national income distribution. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A6: Impacts on Long-Run Opportunity, By Race

Group	Pooled (1)	Black (2)	White (3)
Panel A. Upward Mobility (1978–1983 Cohorts)			
1(Freedmen Office)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.003* (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Control Mean	0.38	0.32	0.43
R-squared	0.46	0.24	0.47
Observations	699	675	699
Panel B. Incarceration Rate (1978–1983 Cohorts)			
1(Freedmen Office)	0.004** (0.002)	0.006* (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)
Control Mean	0.05	0.10	0.03
R-squared	0.27	0.25	0.14
Observations	699	649	698
Panel C. Teenage Pregnancy (1978–1983 Cohorts)			
1(Freedmen Office)	0.007 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)
Control Mean	0.36	0.45	0.28
R-squared	0.49	0.32	0.30
Observations	699	656	699
State FE and Core Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Matched Sample	Yes	Yes	Yes
Matched Sample, Weighted	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: This table reports estimates from regressions of long-run outcomes (mobility and incarceration during adulthood and teenage pregnancy, taken from the Opportunity Atlas) on an indicator for the county having any Freedmen’s Bureau office, state fixed effects, and the core control variables listed in Panel A of Table 1. Column 1 reports results for all individuals, while columns 2 and 3 report results for Black and White individuals. All columns are limited to a sample of similar counties matched on these core variables and apply inverse propensity score weighting. The outcome in Panel A measures upward mobility for children born to parents in the 25th percentile of the national income distribution. More specifically, it is the average later-life rank in the nationwide income distribution for children born from 1978–1983 using IRS administrative records on income from 2014–2015 (when the respective cohorts were aged 31–37). The outcome in Panel B is the incarceration rate for men, based on the 2010 Census short form. The outcome in Panel C is teenage pregnancy (based on whether IRS records indicate that a woman claimed a dependent when they were between the ages of 13 and 19). Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A7: Impacts on Newspaper Reports of Lynchings, Difference-in-Difference Estimates, Robustness

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Lynching Report Rate Per 100 Pages						
	Baseline	+ Troops	+ Bank	+ ln(Totpop)	+ ln(MfgEmp)	+ ln(Mfg)	+ ln(Farm)
Post '65-'82 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	0.33** (0.15)	0.32** (0.15)	0.32** (0.15)	0.31* (0.16)	0.39** (0.17)	0.39** (0.16)	0.29* (0.16)
Post '83-'00 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	0.91*** (0.28)	0.93*** (0.29)	0.90*** (0.28)	0.79*** (0.29)	0.90*** (0.29)	0.94*** (0.29)	0.88*** (0.28)
Control Mean	1.38	1.38	1.38	1.38	1.38	1.38	1.38
R-squared	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.37	0.36	0.36	0.36
Observations	4,313	4,313	4,313	4,313	4,313	4,313	4,313
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: This table reports estimates of a difference-in-difference specification in which the rate of newspaper reports of lynchings (100 times the number of pages on which the term is found divided by the total number of newspaper pages) is regressed on interactions between the county having any Freedmen's Bureau field office and indicators for post-treatment periods, post-treatment period fixed effects, interactions between post-treatment period indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen's Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. The pre-treatment period is January 1, 1860 to December 31, 1864. Column 1 reports results from our baseline specification as reported in Table 4. Columns 2 and 3 report results from an augmented specification that controls for the interaction between the post-treatment period indicators and the median number of troops in a county between 1865–1872 (column 2) or an indicator for the presence of a Freedmen's Bank branch (column 3). Columns 4–7 report results from augmented specifications that control for time-varying measures of the log of total population, the log of manufacturing employment, the log of manufacturing output value, or the log of farm value from the most recent previous Decennial Census. Sample limited to counties with at least 15 years of non-missing newspaper data. Robust standard errors clustered at the county level are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A8: Impacts on Reconstruction Era and Long-Run Outcomes, Robustness to Different Controls

Dependent variable	(1) DV Mean	(2) Baseline	(3) + Troops	(4) + Bank	(5) Expanded Controls
Black voter registration rate	0.77	0.13*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)
Black officeholders	0.64	1.25*** (0.31)	0.98*** (0.32)	1.25*** (0.31)	1.15*** (0.32)
Crimes against Freedmen	1.68	1.35*** (0.47)	1.20** (0.51)	1.38*** (0.46)	1.37*** (0.51)
Black school attacks	0.38	0.67*** (0.17)	0.71*** (0.16)	0.68*** (0.17)	0.74*** (0.16)
Black executions (1865 to 1900)	0.76	0.53*** (0.15)	0.43*** (0.16)	0.54*** (0.15)	0.55*** (0.14)
Black lynchings	1.32	0.35* (0.18)	0.38** (0.19)	0.36* (0.18)	0.24 (0.18)
Black executions (1900 to 2003)	2.39	1.48*** (0.51)	1.50*** (0.51)	1.45*** (0.51)	1.33*** (0.51)
Mid-century killings	0.68	0.90*** (0.31)	0.83*** (0.31)	0.91*** (0.31)	0.86*** (0.31)
2nd wave KKK	0.42	0.38*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.07)	0.35*** (0.07)
3rd wave KKK	0.60	0.47*** (0.13)	0.44*** (0.13)	0.47*** (0.13)	0.43*** (0.13)
Confederate monuments	1.65	1.42*** (0.43)	1.36*** (0.47)	1.43*** (0.43)	1.45*** (0.41)
Income mobility	0.38	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)
Incarceration	0.05	0.004** (0.002)	0.003** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.003** (0.001)

Notes: This table reports results from alternative specifications intended to assess the robustness of our matching approach. Column 1 reports the mean of each dependent variable for control counties. Column 2 reports our baseline specification. Column 3 reports results from an augmented specification in which we add the median number of troops stationed in a county during 1865–1872 (the years of the Bureau’s operations) when constructing the propensity score and regression adjustment. In column 4, we augment the baseline specification by adding an indicator for a county having a Freedmen’s Bank branch location in a similar manner. Column 5 instead uses the expanded set of controls in Panels A and B of Table 1. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A9: Impacts on Presidential Election Shares, Robustness to Excluding Different States

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Baseline	Drop AL	Drop AR	Drop FL	Drop GA	Drop LA	Drop MS	Drop NC	Drop TN	Drop TX	Drop VA
Panel A. Democratic Presidential Vote Share											
Post '68-'72 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	-4.0*** (1.5)	-4.4*** (1.6)	-4.5*** (1.6)	-4.0** (1.6)	-1.3 (1.6)	-3.7** (1.5)	-3.6** (1.6)	-5.9*** (1.6)	-4.4*** (1.6)	-4.1** (1.6)	-3.9** (1.7)
Post '73-'00 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	-0.7 (1.3)	-0.4 (1.4)	-0.5 (1.4)	-0.6 (1.4)	0.9 (1.5)	-1.598 (1.3)	-0.7 (1.4)	-2.3* (1.3)	-1.0 (1.4)	-0.6 (1.4)	-0.3 (1.5)
R-squared	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.50	0.49	0.45	0.47	0.47	0.49	0.47
Panel B. Republican Presidential Vote Share											
Post '68-'72 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	3.4*** (1.3)	4.0*** (1.4)	3.5*** (1.3)	3.4** (1.3)	1.8 (1.3)	3.1** (1.3)	2.9** (1.4)	4.5*** (1.4)	3.7*** (1.3)	3.3** (1.4)	3.9*** (1.4)
Post '73-'00 $\times$ 1(Freedmen Office)	0.5 (1.0)	0.3 (1.0)	-0.1 (1.0)	0.4 (1.0)	-0.2 (1.0)	1.4 (0.9)	0.3 (1.0)	1.2 (1.0)	0.8 (1.0)	0.1 (1.0)	0.8 (1.1)
R-squared	0.71	0.72	0.71	0.71	0.72	0.74	0.71	0.71	0.70	0.70	0.67
Observations	7,381	6,877	6,765	7,182	6,084	6,735	6,654	6,448	6,647	6,585	6,452

Notes: This table reports estimates from a difference-in-difference specification in which Presidential vote shares are regressed on interactions between the county having any Freedmen's Bureau field office and indicators for being in a post-treatment period (split into 1868 to 1872 and 1873 to 1900), interactions between these period indicators and state fixed effects, interactions between these period indicators and the core controls listed in Panel A of Table 1, and county fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by the ATT weights constructed from a logit regression of a county having a Freedmen's Bureau field office on state fixed effects and the core controls. Column 1 reports our baseline results. Columns 2–11 report results in which individual states are dropped from the analysis. Robust standard errors clustered at the county level are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A10: Impacts on Reconstruction Era and Long-Run Outcomes, Robustness to Excluding Different States

Dependent variable	(1) DV Mean	(2) Baseline	(3) Add SC	(4) Drop AL	(5) Drop AR	(6) Drop FL	(7) Drop GA	(8) Drop LA	(9) Drop MS	(10) Drop NC	(11) Drop TN	(12) Drop TX	(13) Drop VA
Black voter registration rate	0.77	0.13*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.04)
Black officeholders	0.64	1.25*** (0.31)	1.69*** (0.35)	1.15*** (0.31)	1.23*** (0.33)	1.24*** (0.31)	1.32*** (0.36)	1.01*** (0.30)	0.96*** (0.32)	1.28*** (0.29)	1.34*** (0.32)	1.43*** (0.33)	1.62*** (0.35)
Crimes against Freedmen	1.68	1.35*** (0.47)	1.41*** (0.46)	1.40*** (0.50)	1.27*** (0.48)	1.31*** (0.47)	0.97* (0.50)	1.34*** (0.47)	1.33*** (0.47)	1.07** (0.52)	1.21** (0.49)	1.65*** (0.47)	1.66*** (0.58)
Black school attacks	0.38	0.67*** (0.17)	0.74*** (0.17)	0.64*** (0.17)	0.76*** (0.18)	0.70*** (0.17)	0.79*** (0.19)	0.63*** (0.17)	0.38*** (0.12)	0.79*** (0.18)	0.71*** (0.18)	0.74*** (0.18)	0.77*** (0.20)
Black executions (1865 to 1900)	0.76	0.53*** (0.15)	0.57*** (0.16)	0.47*** (0.15)	0.49*** (0.16)	0.52*** (0.16)	0.47*** (0.17)	0.60*** (0.16)	0.54*** (0.17)	0.50*** (0.16)	0.52*** (0.16)	0.52*** (0.17)	0.74*** (0.17)
Black lynchings	1.32	0.35* (0.18)	0.20 (0.21)	0.26 (0.18)	0.47** (0.19)	0.41** (0.18)	0.32 (0.21)	0.34* (0.18)	0.20 (0.18)	0.32 (0.21)	0.40** (0.19)	0.40** (0.19)	0.44** (0.22)
Black executions (1900 to 2003)	2.39	1.48*** (0.51)	1.59*** (0.49)	1.23** (0.48)	1.46*** (0.55)	1.49*** (0.51)	1.25** (0.56)	1.53*** (0.54)	1.45*** (0.56)	1.47*** (0.56)	1.39*** (0.53)	1.32*** (0.48)	2.49*** (0.56)
Mid-century killings	0.68	0.90*** (0.31)	0.83*** (0.29)	0.56*** (0.15)	0.95*** (0.34)	0.92*** (0.32)	0.82** (0.36)	0.85** (0.34)	0.95*** (0.34)	0.99*** (0.35)	0.95*** (0.34)	0.99*** (0.35)	1.08*** (0.37)
2nd wave KKK	0.42	0.38*** (0.07)	0.37*** (0.07)	0.35*** (0.07)	0.39*** (0.07)	0.40*** (0.07)	0.40*** (0.08)	0.30*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.08)	0.42*** (0.08)	0.34*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.08)
3rd wave KKK	0.60	0.47*** (0.13)	0.45*** (0.12)	0.50*** (0.13)	0.48*** (0.14)	0.44*** (0.13)	0.52*** (0.14)	0.41*** (0.13)	0.43*** (0.13)	0.35*** (0.11)	0.54*** (0.13)	0.48*** (0.14)	0.62*** (0.15)
Confederate monuments	1.65	1.42*** (0.43)	1.47*** (0.43)	1.34*** (0.43)	1.49*** (0.47)	1.42*** (0.44)	1.59*** (0.47)	1.46*** (0.45)	1.45*** (0.46)	1.36*** (0.47)	1.43*** (0.44)	1.41*** (0.46)	1.67*** (0.37)
Income mobility	0.38	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.006*** (0.002)
Incarceration	0.05	0.004** (0.002)	0.003** (0.001)	0.003* (0.002)	0.003** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.003** (0.002)	0.003** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.003** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)

Notes: This table reports results from alternative samples. Column 1 reports the mean of each dependent variable for control counties. Column 2 reports our baseline specification. Column 3 reports results when adding South Carolina to the sample. Columns 4–13 report results in which individual states are dropped from the analysis. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A11: Assessing Spillover Effects on Nearby Counties

	(1)	(2)
Sample:	Treatment & control	Only control
Treatment variable:	Freedmen Office in county	Freedmen Office in another county ≤ 23 miles away
Black political power index	0.44*** (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)
R-squared	0.39	0.24
19th century violence/hate index	0.31*** (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)
R-squared	0.33	0.23
20th century violence/hate index	0.45*** (0.12)	-0.11* (0.06)
R-squared	0.21	0.15
Observations	699	358
Treatment variable mean	0.49	0.49

Notes: This table reports estimates from regressions of summary indices on either an indicator for the county having any Freedmen's Bureau field office (column 1) or an indicator for the county having no office but there is a Freedmen's Bureau field office in another county within 23 miles (column 2). Distance is measured based on comparisons of county-to-county centroids, and the value of 23 miles splits control counties into two equally-sized groups. The column 1 sample contains the matched set of counties with and without field offices, while the sample in column 2 is limited to the matched sample control counties. All regressions include state fixed effects and the core control variables listed in Panel A of Table 1. The estimates in column 1 differ slightly from those reported in the main text because the estimates in this table are not constructed using propensity score weights. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A12: Impacts on Black Occupation Outcomes, Matching Results

	1870		1900		1920	
	Mean (1)	Estimates (2)	Mean (3)	Estimates (4)	Mean (5)	Estimates (6)
Share in farmer occupation	0.100	0.005 (0.007)	0.181	-0.015*** (0.005)	0.196	-0.019*** (0.006)
Share in farmer occupation (owner-occupant)	0.014	-0.000 (0.001)	0.057	-0.003 (0.003)	0.057	-0.002 (0.003)
Share in farmer occupation (renter)	0.086	0.005 (0.007)	0.123	-0.011** (0.005)	0.139	-0.018*** (0.006)
Share in farm laborer occupation	0.356	-0.023 (0.015)	0.193	-0.024*** (0.006)	0.169	-0.017** (0.007)
Share in domestic service occupation	0.058	0.002 (0.004)	0.042	0.014*** (0.002)	0.071	0.015*** (0.003)

Notes: This table reports estimates from regressions of share of Black individuals ages 16–64 with the indicated occupation on an indicator for the county having any Freedmen’s Bureau office, state fixed effects, and the core control variables listed in Panel A of Table 1. Columns 1 and 2 are based on outcomes from the 1870 Census, columns 3 and 4 are based on the 1900 Census, and columns 5 and 6 are based on the 1920 Census. All results are based on our baseline regression adjustment and propensity score weighting approach. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

B Data Appendix

B.1 Sample Details

The starting sample that we use for our analysis of elections and violence is a set of 884 counties in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. As noted in Section 3, we do not include South Carolina since the state legislature chose representatives for the Electoral College and there was no popular vote for Presidential elections prior to the Civil War. In addition, several counties in the Western portion of Texas (see Figure 1) are excluded due to the lack of election data in the years preceding and following the Civil War.⁵¹

For three outcomes, we use alternative samples due to limited coverage of the original data sources. First, the Black voter registration data from Hume and Gough (2008) are available for 778 counties (88% of the starting sample of 884 counties). Most counties from our main analysis sample that lack Black voter registration data are in Tennessee (90%). Second, the newspaper data for annual lynching reports are available for 381 counties (43% of the starting sample). As discussed in Section B.2 below, we can only include county-year observations in this analysis if there is at least one newspaper publication in a given year recorded in the [newspapers.com](https://www.newspapers.com) database. Third, the Bureau records on murders and violence (“outrages”) are available for 691 counties (78% of the starting sample).⁵² Due to data limitations, the sample excludes all counties in the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida.

B.2 Newspaper Keyword Searches

As described in Section 3, we utilize newspaper reports of lynchings as an outcome variable in our analysis. Similar to Masera, Rosenberg and Walker (2022), Ottinger and Winkler (2022), and Testa and Williams (2023), we conduct keyword searches on [newspapers.com](https://www.newspapers.com) to construct newspaper-year level measures of the number of pages that mention a specific keyword. Our rate of interest is equal to the number of pages that mention a keyword in each county-year divided by a proxy for the total number of pages in each county-year. This normalization ensures that we are not simply capturing the possibility that treated counties had more extensive newspapers. We follow Testa and Williams (2023) in using searches for “th*” (i.e., any word that starts with the letters “th”) to proxy for the total number of pages.

To match newspapers to 1900 county codes, we utilize the city headquarters of the newspaper provided on [newspapers.com](https://www.newspapers.com). We use *reclink2* in Stata to match the text between the newspaper headquarters’ city name and the city names in the Census Place Project data for 1900, providing us with the historical (1900) county and state FIPS codes. We find an exact match for 1,845 of the 2,015 newspapers. For the remaining 170 non-exact matches, we hand-inspect and preserve 9 (with a matching score above 0.97/1) that reflect slight spelling differences. We then use an alternative approach on the full set of 2,015 newspapers,

⁵¹Note that Texas was admitted into the Union in 1845. The Western portion of the state was sparsely populated during this period.

⁵²See Appendix Section B.3 for further details on these records.

matching the headquarters' city name to modern city names (and their lat/lon centroids) using OpenCageGeo's reverse geocoding, and then using the *geoinpoly* command to geocode these coordinates to the NHGIS 1900 county shapefiles. The two approaches result in the exact same county match in 1,757 cases. We prioritize the Census Place Project in the cases of exact matches (and slight misspellings) but use the latter approach for the remaining newspapers whose headquarters could not be matched to the Census Place Project.

Our analysis is limited to county-year observations with a positive number of search results for "th*."⁵³ This is because our focus is on *rates* of mentioning a particular topic, and thus assuming a zero rate for areas without coverage would be misleading.

Appendix Figure B1 shows examples of searches on newspapers.com for the term *lynching*. One concern with interpreting this measure as a proxy for the extent of lynchings in a local area is that keyword searches of lynchings could either (i) report on an act in another county or (ii) describe the act in a more general way (e.g., in an opinion piece condemning the phenomenon).⁵⁴ Panel C shows an example of the latter issue, while Panel D shows the former. However, scholarship suggests these issues, while present, may not be widespread. On the former issue, [Perloff \(2000\)](#) notes that coverage was typically local (outside of the major national newspapers):

"Newspapers in every region of the country provided graphic coverage of lynchings, especially those that occurred in their area. "When discussing a lynching in their particular area," noted Wright (1990) in a study of racial violence in Kentucky, "local newspapers gave all of the grisly details and, significantly, would often point out that the lynching was not the first one that had happened in their area" (p. 5). Major newspapers or metropolitan dailies sometimes described lynchings that occurred outside their geographical area (p. 5)" (p. 319).

On the latter issue, [Perloff \(2000\)](#) highlights the strong editorial incentives to simply report lynchings with minimal condemnation:

"[I]n small Southern towns, the editor "ran the risk of bodily harm if he was too critical, especially if a sex crime against a female member of a good family had been punished" (Clark, 1964, p. 226). Big city newspaper editors also could reasonably expect to face violence from mobs and vigilante groups if they opposed lynching too vitriolically (Nerone, 1994). Thus, editors (that is, those who personally opposed lynching) were limited in what they could do. As human beings,

⁵³We also drop newspaper-year observations in which there are more counts of certain keywords than what is found for "th*." We are left with 1,896 unique newspapers with pages, of which 1,797 newspapers (across 381 counties in all years and 373 counties after 1865) overlap with our Freedmen's Bureau data sample.

⁵⁴We use the keyword "lynching" because it is a unique term capturing a specific type of racially-motivated violence. In terms of its etymology, [Perloff \(2000\)](#) notes, "*No one knows exactly where the word lynching or the related term lynch law came from, although theories abound. Cutler (1905) suggested that the term arose during the Revolutionary War when a Colonel Charles Lynch of Virginia administered punishments to Tory horse thieves. Legend has it that if the thief, after having received 39 lashes, refused to shout "Liberty forever!" he would be hung by his thumbs until he relented.*" We do not use the verb "lynch" in our search because it would return too many false positives via the common last name (e.g., as highlighted in this passage in the name of Charles Lynch).

they worried about what would happen to themselves and to their families; as social animals, they feared social ostracism if they took too strong a stand” (p. 322).

Relatedly, one might be concerned that newspapers would want to censor coverage of such extra-judicial killings in areas where they were more prevalent. However, [Perloff \(2000\)](#) notes that this intuition does not apply to the period or phenomenon:

“A late-20th-century observer schooled in hegemony or other theories that emphasize ways in which media enforce the status quo through subtle social control mechanisms (e.g., Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) might assume that the late-19th-century press refrained from covering lynchings in much the same way that the 20th-century media shied away from covering other phenomena that fell into the sphere of deviance (Hallin, 1986) such as the Holocaust or AIDS. However, this view assumes that lynchings fell outside the mainstream sphere of consensus, which, of course, they did not; public opinion and elites, particularly in Southern communities, frequently viewed lynchings as necessary mechanisms to enforce racial norms (Clark, 1964; Shapiro, 1988; Tolnay & Beck, 1995). Thus, to report on lynchings was akin to reporting on unpleasant acts of nature such as earthquakes or floods; the events were unfortunate but necessary aspects of the order of things and therefore grist for the newspaper’s mill, particularly during an era in which news was developing ever more quickly into a commodity and sensational journalism was becoming a major force on the journalistic landscape (Baldasty, 1992; Dicken-Garcia, 1989). So it turns out that far from suppressing news about lynchings, newspapers embraced them, providing abundant, even graphic coverage of vigilante violence. As Clark (1964) observed in a book on the Southern country editor, “Many editors did not spare their readers’ sensibilities. Whatever their motives, they [editors] wrote full, detailed accounts. Turning through many volumes for the period from 1875 to 1920 is somewhat like walking through a chamber of horrors” (p. 228).

We are able to analyze these data using a difference-in-difference specification because lynchings of Black people, while much less common, were a phenomenon during and even before the Civil War.

B.3 Historical Freedmen’s Bureau Records

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) stores copies of records from the Freedmen’s Bureau on microfilm.⁵⁵ Our analysis relies on the archived records that (i) provide information on the location of Freedmen’s Bureau field offices and (ii) document reports of murders and violent crimes against freedmen (historically referred to as “outrages”). Appendix Table [B1](#) is a list of the microfilm publications and rolls that provide information

⁵⁵A detailed catalogue of their holdings is available at the following online URL: <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/freedmens-bureau> (accessed March 23, 2024).

on the location of field offices. Appendix Table B2 is a list of the microfilm publications and rolls that provide information on murders and violence against freedmen.

We use a combination of automated and manual data collection steps to create a novel dataset of crimes reported by Freedmen’s Bureau officers and agents in their regular reports from 1865 to 1868. The original Bureau reports have tabular or narrative formats. Appendix Figures B2 and B3 illustrate examples of tabular and narrative formatted reports, respectively. To standardize the data, we processed transcribed versions of the microfilm records in two main steps. First, we used large language models to create an initial tabular version of the Bureau record. Second, a team of researchers and research assistants manually reviewed the output to confirm that the correct number of outrages were recorded. Finally, we created a harmonized field that describes the nature of the outrage (murder, bodily harm, non-bodily harm, or other).

Importantly, the Bureau records of murders and other violent crimes contain information on the location where the reported crime was committed. The available location information is less standardized than what is available for newspapers, and so we adopt a distinct approach to identify the 1900 county in which each outrage took place. First, we modify the reported information to isolate a potential place (e.g., we change “near Athens” to “Athens” and remove words like “county” and “district”). Then, we identify exact matches between the location reported in the Freedmen’s Bureau data and a list of county names in each state. We take the outrages that are not matched at this step and then attempt to construct exact matches to a list of names of current and historical names in each state from the United States Board on Geographic Names.⁵⁶ Finally, for outrages that do not have an exact match to county or place names, we attempt a fuzzy match to the list of county and place names. We select the match with the highest value of the Jaro-Winkler similarity score and require a similarity score of at least 0.8. Of the 1,646 outrages in our data for which some location information is provided, exact county name matches account for 74% of matches, exact place name matches account for 19%, fuzzy matches account for 6%, and less than 1% of outrages are not matched.

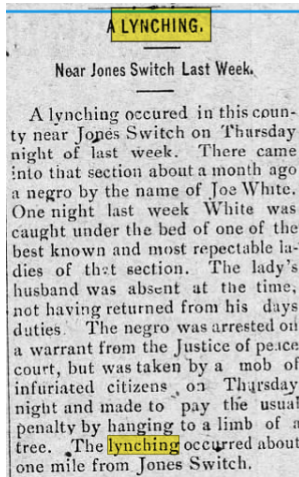
⁵⁶We limit the sample of names in these data to those with a census, civil, or populated place feature class to reduce false positive matches.

Figure B1: *Newspapers.com* Keyword Search Results (*Lynching*)

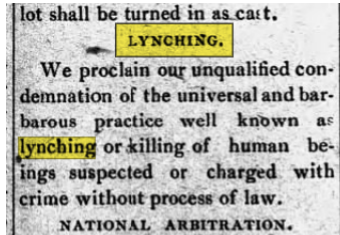
(a) Full Search Results for Autauga County, Alabama



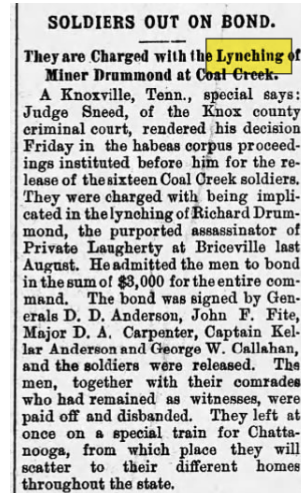
(b) Non-Valenced Report



(c) Valenced Non-Report



(d) Non-Local Report



Notes: Panel A shows a graphical user interface search for “lynching” in Autauga County, Alabama from January 1, 1860 to December 31, 1899, which returned 101 newspaper pages containing the term. Autauga County is in the control group in our sample (i.e., it had no Freedmen’s Bureau field office). Panels B–D show examples of the search results. Panel B shows a screenshot of a lynching report that occurred in Autauga County (at Jones Switch) in the week before the newspaper printing. Panels C and D show examples of the limitations of this broad search. Namely, Panel C shows a valenced/opinion item condemning lynchings, while Panel D discusses the release of men charged with lynching in a different county (Knox County, Tennessee).

Figure B2: Example of Freedmen's Bureau Reports of Murders and Violence (Part 1)

2

Date of Report 1866	Subject	County	District	Page
+	Copy of Verdict of Jury in above Case - they find that the man was shot by some person unknown	Norfolk	1st	10
May 23	St. W. Croft reports a assault of Virginia Harvey (white) on Joseph Jeffery (Colo) with a brick - knocking him Senseless - Harvey bound over to keep the peace also reports shooting of a colored man named Tony Baker while on his way to jail - charged with furnishing a prisoner with a file to help him make his escape - Tony ran away and was shot - also reports that two Negroes were almost clubbed to death by two night watch men - Mayor dismissed the men from the night watch	Norfolk	1st	11
June 5th	Capt. Austin reports trial and verdict in Case of the State vs Edward Long (Colo) charged with the murder of R. R. Whitcomb (white) on April 16th - The jury after a short Consultation returned a verdict of guilty of Murder in 2nd degree - He was sentenced to eighteen years imprisonment - Thinks from the evidence that Long is innocent and that an unprejudiced and impartial Jury would have acquitted him	Norfolk	1st	12
June 30	Asst. Supt. at Suffolk va reports that outrages are of constant occurrence a party			

Notes: This image is a copy of a Freedmen's Bureau record on reports of murders and violence against Black Americans. The format of the record has a table structure. The image is from a collection for the Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869 (Publication M1048, Roll 59).

Figure B3: Example of Freedmen's Bureau Reports of Murders and Violence (Part 2)

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June 7, 1865

Statement of Wm. Ferguson
Proprietor of the Shaving Clubroom & Change Hotel

On the 7th inst I saw a drunken white man assault a colored boy, for some time the boy made no resistance, but finally seized and threw the white man - a gentleman and myself separated them, and while the boy was hunting his hat, a second attack was made upon him, and they were again separated, and the colored boy retired, but soon after he was arrested and strung up by his arms in front of the Change Hotel. I saw him thus suspended, and made his case known to two northern ladies, one of whom went with one to the office of the Provost Marshal, where I stated the facts of the case and the boy was released, together with another man who was being punished in a similar manner.

Notes: This image is a copy of a Freedmen's Bureau record on reports of murders and violence against Black Americans. The format of the record is a narrative report. The image is from a collection for the Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869 (Publication M1048, Roll 59).

Table B1: List of National Archives Records Used for Freedmen’s Bureau Field Office Locations

Microfilm Publication	Rolls
M1869	14, 15
M1900	9, 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34
M1901	6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22
M1902	13, 20
M1903	34, 39, 41, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 86, 87, 89, 90
M1904	87, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 113, 123, 125, 126, 128, 133
M1905	52, 54, 58, 59, 64, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 93, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106
M1906	39, 41, 42
M1907	11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, 32, 40, 41, 42, 43, 64
M1909	4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 63, 64, 65
M1910	31, 36, 44, 51, 56, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 71, 75, 78, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 91, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 106
M1911	13, 18, 19, 21, 27, 77, 78, 86, 88, 89
M1912	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28
M1913	40, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 82, 89, 90, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112, 114, 131, 132, 149, 150, 160, 162, 172, 173, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 192, 193, 199

Notes: Records of the Freedmen’s Bureau have been stored as microfilm by the National Archives. This table lists the microfilm publication and rolls used to obtain information on the counties of field offices.

Table B2: List of National Archives Records Used for Freedmen’s Bureau Reports of Murders and Violence

Microfilm Publication	Rolls
M809	29
M798	32
M1027	34
M843	33
M869	34
M999	34
M821	32
M1048	59

Notes: Records of the Freedmen’s Bureau have been stored as microfilm by the National Archives. This table lists the microfilm publication and rolls used to obtain information on murders and violence against Black Americans.

C Additional Description of Freedmen’s Bureau Personnel and Expenditures

The full scope of the Freedmen’s Bureau in terms of manpower and spending is difficult to quantify using official sources. As noted in Section 2, the Bureau helped coordinate (and utilized the resources of) other overlapping organizations during Reconstruction, including the American Missionary Association (in its schooling mission) and the Union League (in its political mission). It also relied on volunteers in its core functions. For example, in the administration of justice, the Bureau set up federal tribunals typically composed of three judges, only one of which would be a Bureau employee (agent), with the others being representatives of freedmen and planters.⁵⁷ As another example, the 1869 report of the South Carolina commissioner notes that “honest and carefully selected agents, who would serve without salary, were to be appointed to superintend the distribution” of food aid. Moreover, in the early years of operation, some agents were compensated by fees rather than being salaried employees. This appears to be the case in Georgia, as documented in the 1868 Report of the Commissioner.⁵⁸ The same report notes that the Commissioner then abolished this system, partly due to the “suspicious manner in which it was coming to be regarded by freed people from whom fees were exacted.” A similar dynamic played out in Tennessee.⁵⁹

Notwithstanding these complications, information on total spending by the War Department is available from General Oliver O. Howard in the Secretary of War’s Annual Reports to the President. Appendix Table C1 compiles annual expenditures split by salaries of agents, salaries of clerks, and total expenditures, with each report capturing spending in roughly the prior fiscal year.⁶⁰

Appendix Table C1 shows that spending on Bureau staff declined from the fiscal year prior to October 24, 1868 from an amount of \$864,743.91 down to just \$45,809.72 by October 20, 1871. Note that we do not have detailed information on staff spending in the first year and a half of operations and need to use an estimate of spending in 1866.⁶¹ While the annual

⁵⁷Similarly, the size and scope of this court system also fluctuated across space and time. In President Andrew Johnson’s successful veto of the re-authorization of the Freedmen’s Bureau in 1866 (later followed by a House bill that successfully overturned Johnson’s second veto), he complained of, “an *almost countless number of agents* established in every parish or county in nearly a third of the States of the Union, over whose decisions there is to be no supervision or control by the Federal courts [emphasis added].” Many of these courts were shut down when state courts began to allow Black people to testify. For example, in January 1866, the Tennessee General Assembly passed a bill allowing Black testimony in state courts, which led the Bureau to close its courts, believing state courts would handle cases fairly. However, once it became clear that Black testimony was not being effectively considered, the Bureau reopened the courts to continue protecting freedmen’s rights.

⁵⁸The report notes: “Owing to the limited number of officers under his command, and the impossibility of providing out of the bureau appropriation for a vast number of civilian agencies, he [Brevet Major General Davis Tillson] appointed agents from among the resident whites. These were to serve without salary, and to rely for remuneration upon fees they were authorized to exact from employers and freedmen for the witnessing and approval of contracts.”

⁵⁹The 1868 Tennessee Report writes: “By circular from this office, of January 24, the fee system was abolished, and agents were afterwards paid a regular salary. A better state of feeling resulted among the people, as agents no longer made charges for services rendered.”

⁶⁰For example, the 1867 report covers the period of 11 months ending August 31, 1867.

⁶¹The 1866 spending noted in the relevant table of the Report of 1866 is incongruous with the Commis-

reports do not note the number of agents in each year, the 1866 report does provide a breakdown of the (salaried) agents by state.

Appendix Table C2 reports state-level staff totals from the 1866 Annual Report. Limiting to our sample (i.e. excluding South Carolina, Maryland, and District of Columbia) would bring the total number of Officers and Civilians to 302 and 112 respectively, for a total salaried staff of 414. As our sample is composed of 341 counties with Bureau offices, this amounts to roughly 1.2 salaried staff members per treated county in 1866. Of course, the Bureau grew and shrank over our sample period, so we next turn to more comprehensive records of personnel from the biannual *Official Register of the United States* (1867, 1869, and 1871) produced by the US Department of Interior.

Appendix Table C3 shows state-level descriptive statistics on staff as recorded in the Official Register of 1867. We see a total of 493 staff across the 10 states, roughly evenly split between the 211 agents and 213 clerks (the remaining 68 are mostly composed of surgeons). These staff counts range from just 17 in Florida to 72 in Georgia. In total, staff were paid \$570,292 in that year, with the average annual salary being \$1,161. We also see that only a small minority of staff were born in the state where they worked (10%) or any former Confederate state (19%). Arkansas and Virginia have the highest percentage of non-Southern born staff (91%) while Texas had no staff born in-state.

While the Official Registers provide rich data (including birth state and compensation) on U.S. government personnel in these odd years, it is unclear how complete these are, above and beyond the issue of unpaid staff/volunteers noted in the beginning of this section. One hint of the incomplete nature of the records is the fact that there are only 254 unique locations for the staff in 1867, considerably less than the 341 unique treated counties in our estimation sample. For these reasons, we also turn to the National Archives state reports from the Bureau (e.g., <https://sova.si.edu/record/nmaahc.fb.m1913>) which contain lists of staff employed across the entire duration of the Bureau's operation (including the start and end dates for that employment). The final column of Appendix Table C3 shows state-level counts of employees in the NARA records. We see significant differences in both directions across the two sources, e.g., Florida has 17 in the Registers but just 6 in NARA, while Virginia has 58 in the Registers and 75 in NARA. To take an example of a specific office, the Registers note a single employee in the Knoxville, TN office, a clerk named John Walker. However, in the NARA records, there is similarly just one employee listed there; however, he is named Samuel Walker and is listed as a subassistant commissioner rather than clerk. Ultimately we find 18 more employees in the NARA records than in the Official Registers; however, NARA notes that its records are incomplete, as the preface to the employee lists notes that they contain records just for a subset of offices. Moreover, none of the staff have their position listed as "clerk" (most staff are listed as Agent, Commissioner, Subassistant Commissioner, Assistant Subassistant Commissioner, or Superintendent). While the historical data provide useful context on the Bureau, we view them as sufficiently limited to prevent the use of

sioner's overall summary discussed in the text. The latter noted that average monthly expenditures were about \$350,000. This would amount to total annual spending of \$4.2 million, which is more in line with other estimates in our Table C1. Higher expenditures from 1865–1866 would not be surprising because the Bureau was particularly active in providing food and medical care during those years.

staffing as our main measure of the treatment.

Table C1: Annual Expenditures by War Department on Freedmen's Bureau

Period of Reporting	Salaries of Agents/Commissioners	Salaries of Clerks	Total Expenditures
Jan 1, 1865 - Oct 31, 1865			\$478,363.17*
Nov 1, 1865 - Sep 30, 1866			\$3,850,000.00**
Oct 1, 1866 - Aug 31, 1867	\$184,336.19	\$337,085.25	\$3,279,497.43
Sep 1, 1867 - Aug 31, 1868	\$455,473.06	\$409,270.85	\$3,814,425.19
Sep 1, 1868 - Aug 31, 1869	\$278,691.07	\$329,049.05	\$2,170,211.52
Sep 1, 1869 - Aug 31, 1870	\$65,809.34	\$91,805.37	\$1,535,747.91
Sep 1, 1870 - Aug 31, 1871	\$23,886.08	\$21,923.64	\$362,263.42

Notes: Records of the Freedmen's Bureau expenditures are compiled from Annual Reports of the Secretary of War to the President from 1866 (page 716), 1867 (page 656), 1868 (page 1022), 1869 (page 522), 1870 (page 325), and 1871 (page 453); see <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000078451>. In the first row, we used expenditures from the Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (page 16), which reports expenditures from January 1, 1865 to October 31, 1865 (10 months), though the Act which formed the Bureau officially was passed in March of 1865. For 1865 (*), we do not have breakdown of salaries by employee type, but the report does note "Labor (by freedmen and other employees)" totaled "\$237,697.62." For 1866 (**), the table of expenditures analogous to other years (page 715) provides abnormally low expenditure totals which reflect a small part of spending due to accounting shifts. In lieu of these partial numbers, we impute annual expenditure using a summary below this source table (on page 716) which notes, "...average expenditure per month is about three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, (\$350,000)." We multiply this average by 11 months (the period covered in the table) to arrive at our estimate of \$3,850,000. For all subsequent years, reports appear to cover 12 months but just note the end dates (so as not to generate overlap with 1866, the third row covers just 11 months). All reports disaggregate salaries of clerks from other employees; however, between 1866 to 1868 the other category of employees is "Salaries of Commissioners and Sub-Assistant Commissioners" while from 1869 to 1871 it is simply "Salaries of Agents."

Table C2: Bureau Personnel as of November 1, 1866 Annual Report

State	Individuals under pay		
	Officers (1)	Civilians (2)	Total (3)
Alabama	20	14	34
Arkansas	25	4	29
Florida	20	5	25
Georgia	24	18	42
Louisiana	48	19	67
Mississippi	24	7	31
North Carolina	35	13	48
Tennessee	15	8	23
Texas	25	2	27
Virginia	66	22	88
All	302	112	414

Notes: The information in this table comes from page 753 of the 1866 Annual Report of the Secretary of War to the President.

Table C3: 1867 Official Register Records of Freedmen’s Bureau Personnel

State	Staff	Agents	Clerks	Total Salary	Avg. Salary	% Born in State	% Born in South	NARA Count
Alabama	45	22	23	\$51,358	\$1,141	16	29	16
Arkansas	53	18	28	\$64,320	\$1,214	4	9	45
Florida	17	9	3	\$19,320	\$1,136	6	18	6
Georgia	72	43	18	\$88,500	\$1,229	13	24	86
Louisiana	68	23	34	\$79,900	\$1,175	12	13	72
Mississippi	57	27	18	\$58,200	\$1,021	12	33	64
N. Carolina	44	9	28	\$52,800	\$1,200	11	16	52
Tennessee	34	16	14	\$39,900	\$1,174	24	26	33
Texas	45	34	11	\$50,320	\$1,170	0	18	62
Virginia	58	10	36	\$65,674	\$1,132	5	9	77
All	493	211	213	\$570,292	\$1,161	10	19	513

Notes: Records of the Freedmen’s Bureau personnel are compiled from Official Register of 1867; <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009557655>. The table drops staff from DC (125), Kentucky (42), South Carolina (46), and Missouri (2) to match our estimation sample. These staff are employed at 258 unique field locations (e.g., 15 staff in Nashville, TN and 1 in Knoxville, TN). Staff not listed as Agent or Clerk are Acting Assistant Surgeon (49), Disbursing Officer (2), Laborer (12), Messenger (2), Superintendent of Schools (3), and Surgeon in Chief (1). NARA count is the number of staff who appear in 1867 in National Archives reports for each state (typically covering agents/commissioners and no clerks).