Land, property and wealth owners, as a comparison of public policy and government history, the economic history of 'intergenerational immigrant / migrant populations'

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Abstract. This study presents one of the first national studies that combines the migration and race of the economic experiences of free blacks, with an extended analysis of antebellum wealth inequality. In doing so, I analyze economic asymmetry among early blacks and whites in the United States of America. For the data analysis, I used information from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS). I present results of informative property ownership and wealth ratios. This study finds that economic differences among ethnic groups, as measured by differences between early blacks and whites, are intertwined with asymmetrical freedoms.
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1. Introduction

Johann Heinrich Von Thünen (1966) was the first to describe the reasoning behind local residency decisions in the book entitled, "The Isolated State': 'In his theory of "The Isolated State", he started out from Adam Smith's idea of "economic man": that the farmer is expected to maximize his profit ("economic rent") from his farmland. Von Thünen, as a landlord, knew that such returns depend on an optimal use of the land surfaces and the transport costs. In concentrating on the effects of these two variables on profits, removal of other factors results in a homogeneous - and isolated – state.' Read the economic theory section in the appendix further understanding.

Underground railroad activities sparked average real estate wealth advantages for mid-western free blacks in 1850. Table 1 shows (Appendix) that mid-western free blacks possessed $500 in average real estate wealth.

The average real estate wealth of free blacks in other regions was $494 in the northeast, $411 in the southwest, $146 in the mid-Atlantic, and $59 in the southeast. When comparing free blacks to whites, Table 2 shows (Appendix) that Midwestern free blacks owned 49 percent of mid-western white real estate wealth—the highest proportion among all regions.

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

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wealth. Throughout the analysis, southeastern blacks persisted with the lowest amounts of wealth.

2. The mid 19th Century regions and total wealth in the United States of America: A comparison among Black Americans over time

While free blacks in multiple regions were somewhat successful in accumulating wealth prior to emancipation, northeastern blacks had the largest amount of wealth after emancipation. Table 1 shows (Appendix) that northeastern free black possessed nominal real estate wealth amounts of $494 in 1850, which was approximately the same as the real estate wealth possessed by Midwestern free blacks ($500) and slightly greater than the average wealth held by Southwestern free blacks. The average real estate wealth in these regions was significantly greater that obtained by Southeastern free blacks ($59). Real estate property holding holing patterns by region followed similar patterns. 19 percent of Northeastern free blacks held positive amounts of real estate wealth in 1850. But this was significantly lower than the 38 percent of Midwestern free blacks that owned real estate property. Note that southwestern free blacks (30 percent) were also relatively successful in owning property.

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

Other and total forms of wealth followed similar patterns. Real estate property holding patterns in 1860 were consistent with 1850. Additionally, free blacks living in regions that were successful in accumulating real estate property in 1860, such as the Midwest (38 percent), the Southwest (34 percent) and the Northeast (29 percent), were also successful in accumulating other and total forms of property.

All forms of wealth among Southwestern free blacks grew dramatically between 1850 and 1860. Stricter enforcement of discriminatory refugee slave laws, as required under the controversial 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, may have invigorated philanthropic efforts of free black slave owners in the Southwest. A large number of 1860 free blacks in the southwestern sample were mulatto 'owners' of slaves. Free black 'ownership' of slaves was not uncommon. "The census records show that the majority of the Negro slaves were such from the point of view of philanthropy. In many instances, the husband purchased the wife or vice versa…. Most of such Negro proprietors lived in Louisiana, South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia" (Woodson 1924, pp.v-viii).

By 1870, the average wealth of Northeastern free blacks was significantly greater than the average wealth of free blacks in other regions. Table 11a shows that the average nominal real estate wealth of Northeastern free blacks was $737 in 1870. Using the 1870 wealth ratios in Table 10d-f, average real estate wealth among Mid-Atlantic ($404), Midwestern ($400) and Western ($466) free blacks was 60-70 percent of the average wealth of Northeastern free blacks. The average real estate wealth of Southeastern ($37) and Southwestern ($26) fell to less than ten percent of Northeastern free black wealth. These patterns held for other and total forms of wealth: Blacks living in former slaves states had fewer opportunities to accumulate wealth than blacks living in free states.

Similarly, northeastern blacks held more real estate property than free blacks in other regions groups in 1870. When comparing other and total wealth Northeastern blacks (47 percent), along with Midwestern blacks (48 percent) and Western blacks (47 percent), were more likely to hold total property in 1870. Again, Southeastern

blacks (20 percent) and Southwestern blacks (26 percent) were least likely to own any forms of property.

3. The mid 19th century regions and total wealth in the United States of America: A comparison of White and Black Americans over time

The poverty of Southeastern blacks, compare to blacks in other regions, was observed when comparing average wealth of free blacks to average wealth of whites by region before and after emancipation. Using 1850 wealth means in Table 1 (Appendix), Northeastern free blacks possessed 38 percent of Northeastern white real estate wealth while Midwestern free blacks owned 49 percent of Midwestern white real estate wealth.

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

Property-holding followed similar patterns. Table 11b shows that the 1850 ratio of Southwestern free black real estate property owners (per hundred Southwestern free blacks) to Southwestern white real estate property owners (per hundred Southwestern whites) was 0.66—for every two free black real estate property owners (per hundred free blacks), there are three white real estate property owners (per hundred whites) in the Southwest. The Midwestern ratio was similar in 1850 at 0.62 while the Southeastern ratio was 0.29. By 1860, the ratio grew to 0.61 in the Southwest and 0.59 in the Midwest.

Note that westward migration allowed Western free blacks to achieve nearly proportional property-holding patterns to Western whites. When observing other and total forms of wealth, the ratios differed by less than ten percentage points across regions in 1860. By 1870, Northeastern blacks had a clear advantage when observing the ratio of black to white average real estate wealth and property holders. Using wealth means from Table 1 (Appendix), 1870 Northeastern blacks held 32 percent of the real estate wealth, 16 percent of other wealth and 25 percent of total wealth held by Northeastern whites. This was larger than the free black proportion of white total wealth held by Western blacks (17 percent) and Midwestern (blacks 15 percent). Southeastern blacks (3 percent) persisted as the region with the lowest wealth opportunities for blacks. Similarly, the large Southwestern free black advantage in 1860 fell to the low wealth levels of Southeastern blacks after emancipation. This large change may be further evidence that Southwestern free black wealth was bolstered by the value of slaves held for philanthropic purposes.

Similarly, using the percentage of property holders in Table 2 (Appendix), the ratio of Northeastern free black property holders (per hundred Northeastern free blacks) to Northeastern white property holders (per hundred Northeastern whites) was 0.62 for real estate property holders, and 0.51 for other property holders and 0.67 for total property holders in 1870. These ratios were approximately the same as the proportion of Western black to white property holders.

Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black and white real estate wealth and ascertain the advantages of urban residence in the presence of wealth constraints. Since the statistic in Table 3 was less than one for all forms of wealth in 1850 and 1860 when comparing Southeastern wealth and Mid-Atlantic wealth to Northeastern wealth, whites had advantages to living in the Northeast relative free blacks.

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

Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in Table 3 (Appendix). Since the statistic was near equal or greater than one in 1850 and 1860 when comparing the wealth of all regions but the Southeast relative to Northeastern wealth, blacks had near equal advantages of holding property in all regions except in the Southeast. Since the statistic was greater than one in the west and less than one in all regions in 1870, blacks had advantages to living in West and Northeast relative to whites in most instances.

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

4. The mid 19ᵗʰ century migration and wealth of Whites and Blacks in the United States of America

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

5. The mid 19ᵗʰ century migration and real estate wealth in the United States of America: A comparison among Black Americans over time

Real estate wealth differences favored blacks that migrated from their state of birth across regions before and after emancipation. Table 4 shows (Appendix) that free black migrants (individuals who migrated from their state of birth across regions) possessed nominal real estate wealth amounts of $184 in 1850 and $348 in 1860.

This was higher than the $79 possessed by free black who did not migrate from their state of birth across regions (stayers) in 1850 and $195 possessed by free black stayers in 1860. Table 8 (see Appendix) also shows that the migrant-stayer

ratio of average real estate wealth among free blacks grew was 5.0 in 1850 and 1.5 in 1860.

Free black migrants were also more likely to hold real estate than free black stayers. Table 6 (see Appendix) shows that 26 percent of free black migrants in 1850 and 32 percent of free black migrants in 1860 owned positive amounts of real estate wealth.

This was greater than the 17 percent of free black stayers in 1850 and 22 percent of free black stayers in 1860 that possessed positive amounts of real estate wealth. Table 8 shows (see Appendix) that the ratio of migrant free black real estate holders (per hundred free black migrants) to the number of stayer free black real estate holders (per hundred free black stayers) remained constant at 1.5 in 1850 and 1860.

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

Similarly, Table 8 shows (see Appendix) that the ratio of migrant black real estate holders (per hundred black migrants) to stayer black property holders (per hundred black stayers) was 2.0—for every stayer black real estate holder (per hundred black stayers), were two migrant black real estate holders (per hundred black migrants).

6. The mid 19th century migration and real estate wealth in the United States of America: A comparison of White and Black Americans over time

The migration premium was observed when comparing average real estate wealth of free blacks to average real estate wealth of whites by migratory status before emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 4 (see Appendix), free black migrants had 40.2 percent (445/1108) of the average real estate wealth among white migrants in 1850 and 23.2 percent (385/1662) of the average real estate wealth among white migrants in 1860. But free black stayers had 5.6 percent (84/1487) of the average real estate wealth among white stayers in 1850 and 10.6 percent (239/2256) of the average real estate wealth among white stayers in 1860.

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

By 1870, the ratio of black to white average real estate wealth and property holders fell significantly with the inclusion of ex-slaves in the sample but the migration premium remained. Using wealth means from Table 4 (see Appendix), 1870 black migrants held 8.1 percent (192/2366) of the real estate wealth of white migrants while black stayers held 1.9 percent (48/2501) of the real estate wealth of white stayers. Similarly, using the percentage of property holders in Table 7 (see Appendix), the ratio of migrant black real estate property holders (per hundred black migrants) to migrant white property holders (per hundred white migrants) was approximately 1:4 (0.12 : 0.52). Among stayers, the ratio was approximately 1:9 (0.06 : 0.57) in 1870.

Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for real estate wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black and white real estate wealth and ascertain the

advantages of migration in the presence of wealth constraints. Since the ratio in Table 12c was greater than one in 1850 (6.8) and 1860 (2.2), free blacks obtained higher return to migrating than whites. The ratio in Table 10c rose to 4.4 in 1870. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for real estate property in Table 12c. Since the ratio was greater than one in 1850 (1.8) and 1860 (1.7), blacks obtained higher return to migration than free blacks. The ratio grew to 2.2 in 1870, again, suggesting a dramatic growth in the migration premium for blacks that live where his basic rights are protected.

Blacks that migrated also experienced a premium in terms of other measures of wealth before and after emancipation. Table 4 shows (see Appendix) that free black migrants possessed $241 in nominal other wealth in 1860. This was higher than the $196 possessed by free black stayers. Free black migrants were also more likely to hold other forms of property. Table 4 shows (see Appendix) that 59 percent of free black migrants that possessed positive amounts of other wealth in 1860. This was only slightly higher than the 54 percent of free black stayers that possessed positive amounts of other wealth in 1860.

Similarly, Table 6 shows (see Appendix) that the ratio of migrant black property holders (per hundred black migrants) to stayer black property holders (per hundred black stayers) was 1.7 (up from 1.1 in 1860).

By 1870, the return to migration grew dramatically. Table 6 shows (see Appendix) that the ratio of migrant to stayer other forms of wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no real estate property—grew (from 1.2 in 1860) to 2.5. This implies that migrant ex-slaves possessed three dollars for every dollar of wealth owned by an ex-slave stayers.

The migration premium existed even when comparing other wealth of blacks to whites before and after emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 4 (see Appendix), black migrants had 26.2 percent (241/919) of white migrant other wealth in 1860 and 10.2 percent (101/995) of white migrant wealth in 1870. However, free blacks stayers had 6.6 percent (121/1842) of white stayers' wealth in 1860 and 3.6 percent (44/1219) of white stayers' wealth in 1870.

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

Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for other forms of wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black and white wealth and ascertain the advantages to migration in the presence of wealth constraints. Since the ratio in Table 7 (see Appendix) was greater than one in 1860 (2.5) and 1870 (2.9), blacks obtained higher returns to migration than whites. Again, migrating to places with the smallest legal barriers, that were more social friendly and possessed the greatest economic opportunities. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for other forms of property. Since the ratio reported in Table 7 (see Appendix) was greater than one in 1860 (1.2) and greater than one in 1870 (1.9), blacks obtained higher returns to migration than blacks before and after emancipation.

When summing up real estate and other forms of wealth, empirical results show that migrant blacks were better off before and after emancipation. Table 4 shows (see Appendix) that free black migrants possessed $627 in nominal total wealth in 1860 prior to emancipation. This was higher than the $436 possessed by free black stayers. This produces 1.4 to 1.0 ratio of migrant free black wealth to stayer free black wealth in 1860. Free black migrants were also more likely to hold real estate or other (total) forms of property. Table 4 shows (see Appendix) that 63 percent of free black migrants that possessed positive amounts of total wealth in 1860. This was higher than the 57 percent of free black stayers that possessed positive amounts of total wealth in 1860.

By 1870, the return to migration grew dramatically. Table 12c shows that the ratio of migrant to stayer real estate wealth for all blacks—which includes ex-slaves who held little or no real estate property—grew to 3.5. This implies that ex-slave migrants possessed four dollars for every dollar of total wealth owned by an ex-slave stayer. Similarly, Table 8 shows (see Appendix) that the ratio of migrant black total property holders (per hundred black migrants) to stayer black total property holders (per hundred black stayers) was 1.7—for every migrant free black real estate holder, there were two stayer free black real estate holders.

The migration premium persisted even when comparing total wealth of blacks to the total wealth of whites before and after emancipation. Using wealth means in Table 4 (see Appendix), black migrants had 23.9 percent (626/2622) of white migrant total wealth in 1860 and 10.6 percent (436/4098) of white stayer wealth in 1870 while free black stayers had 8.6 percent (201/2332) of white stayer wealth in 1860 and 2.5 percent (92/3720) of white stayer wealth in 1870.

Advantages to migration were also observed when analyzing the proportion of blacks holding total property relative to whites holding total property. Using Table 6 (see Appendix), the ratio of black migrants (per hundred black migrants) to white migrants (per hundred white migrants) with total property was approximately 3:4 (0.63 : 0.80) in 1860 and 1:2 (0.36 : 0.73) in 1870. Among stayers the ratio fell to 2:3 (0.57 : 0.88) in 1860 and 1:4 (0.21 : 0.79) in 1870.

Using the *comparative wealth ratio* for total wealth, we can ignore the absolute differences in black and white wealth and ascertain the advantages to migration in the presence of wealth constraints. Since the ratio in Table 8 (see Appendix) was greater than one in 1860 (1.4) and 1870 (3.5), blacks obtained higher returns to migrating whites before and after emancipation. Similar results were obtained using the *comparative property ownership ratio* for total property. Since the statistic reported in Table 12c was greater than one in 1860 (1.1) and greater than one in 1870 (1.7), blacks again obtained higher returns to migrating than whites before and after emancipation.

7. Conclusion

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

Appendix

Table 1. *Mid 19ᵗʰ 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
BLACKS																	
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
Adjusted for Regional Prices																	
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
WHITES																	
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
Adjusted for Regional Prices																	
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
BLACK TO WHITE RATIO																	
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
thOther						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

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

Table 2. *Mid 19ᵗʰ Century Skill and Mean Property Ownership of Whites and Blacks by Region*

Type of Property	1850					1860						1870					
	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	West	NE	MA	MW	SE	SW	West
BLACKS																	
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
WHITES																	
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
BLACK TO WHITE RATIO																	
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

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

Table 3. *Mid 19th 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
i) Mid-Atlantic/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio									
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
ii) Midwest/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio									
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
iii) Southeast/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio									
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
iv) Southwest/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio									
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
v) West/Northeast Region Mean Wealth Ratio									
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
vi) Mid-Atlantic/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio									
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
vii) Midwest/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio									
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
viii) Southeast/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio									
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
ix) Southwest/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio									
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
x) West/Northeast Region Mean Property -Holding Ratio									
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

Table 4. *Mid 19th Century Between-Region Migration and Mean Wealth of Whites and Blacks*

	Overall			Free Blacks		All Blacks	Whites		
Between Region Migrants	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
Price-Adjusted (1860=100)									
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
Stayers	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
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
Price-Adjusted (1860=100)									
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

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

Table 5. *Mid 19th 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
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
Price-Adjusted (1860=100)									
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
Stayers	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
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
Price-Adjusted (1860=100)									
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

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

Table 6. *Mid 19th Century Between-Region and Mean Property Ownership of Whites and Blacks*

	Overall			Free Blacks		All Blacks	Whites		
Between Region Migrants	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
Stayers	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

Table 7. *Mid 19ᵗʰ Century Between-State Migration & Mean Property Ownership of Whites & Blacks*

	Overall			Free Blacks		All Blacks	Whites		
Between State Migrants	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
Stayers	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

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

Table 8. *Mid 19ᵗʰ Century Comparative Wealth Ratios and Comparative Property Ownership Ratios of Whites and Blacks, Based on Migration*

	All Blacks			Whites			Black-White Ratio		
	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870	1850	1860	1870
i) Regional Migrant/Non-Migrant Mean Wealth Ratio									
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
ii) Regional Migrant/Non-Migrant Mean Property-Holding Ratio									
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

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