

# Discrimination in Public Accommodations

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

## The Civil Rights Act of 1875

Historians of the post-Reconstruction period have claimed that, because the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were not effectively enforced, the Act did not improve African-American well-being (Franklin 1974, Gillette 1979, Wright 1985, Foner 1988, Wright 2013).<sup>1</sup>

These claims are based on anecdotal evidence. However, anecdotal evidence can also be marshaled to support the hypothesis that the Act did in fact improve African-American well-being.

First, the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 imposed serious penalties on offenders. The Act provided for both civil and criminal penalties for violations of its provisions; victims of discrimination could sue for damages of \$500-\$1000, or bring criminal charges with potential sentences ranging from 1-12 months in prison. In 2013 dollars, the damages available for victims of discrimination ranged from \$10,500 to \$21,000, while the average African-American family income of the time was only approximately \$5,250 per year (Ng and Virts 1989). The Act also provided for both civil and criminal penalties for district attorneys who failed to prosecute violations; victims of discrimination whose cases were not pursued could sue for \$500 in damages (\$10,500 in 2013 dollars), or bring misdemeanor charges with potential fines ranging from \$1000-\$5000 (\$21,000 to \$105,000 in 2013 dollars).

These provisions were at least sufficient to induce civil litigation even in the states presumably most hostile to its provisions (i.e., those without state-level public accommodations statutes). Within days of the Act's passage, civil suits were filed in Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, Maryland, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, Florida, and Missouri (Franklin 1974).<sup>2</sup> The Act also had sufficient 'teeth' to induce at least some number of U.S. attorneys to pursue criminal indictments under its provisions, and to pursue appeals after adverse lower court judgments (Franklin 1974). One U.S. attorney in San Francisco, for example, informing the Attorney General of his appeal of an adverse judgment under the Act in 1876, wrote that the appeal was "one of a large number of cases which I am compelled under heavy penalties to bring" (Franklin 1974, 233).

Reports suggest that, beyond the cases filed under the Act, its provisions may also have induced at least partial voluntary compliance. In the wake of the Act's passage, at least some operators of public accommodations that had previously excluded African Americans began to admit and/or carry African-American customers (Franklin 1974, 227, Rabinowitz 1978). These reports suggest the continuation of at least some degree of access to public accommodations through the early 1880s. Abolitionist observers touring the South in 1878 and 1879 reported, for example, that access to public accommodations was not significantly dissimilar to levels of access in the New England states (Woodward 1957, 16-18, 23).

There are also reports of successful threats to invoke the Act in order to compel access to public accommodations. In the late 1870s, for example, many African Americans (known as "Exodusters") sought to emigrate up the Mississippi River to Kansas in order to escape states that had been

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<sup>1</sup>Historian John Hope Franklin asserted that the Act "was never effectively enforced" (Franklin, 1974, 235). William Gillette characterized the Act as "the most meaningless piece of postwar legislation...the dearest of dead letters," a characterization echoed by historians George Wright and Eric Foner (Gillette 1979, 271, 279; Wright 1985, 58; Foner 1988, Wright 2013).

<sup>2</sup>Some, although not all, of these cases resulted in judgments in favor of the plaintiffs. See, for example, *U.S. v. Dodge*, 25 Fed. Cas. No. 14976 (W.D. TX 1877), finding for the plaintiff in a suit against a Texas railroad for refusing to accommodate a black woman in the "Ladies" car. Although questions were raised about the Act's constitutionality in some of these cases, many judges rejected these challenges (Franklin 1974).

redeemed by the Democratic Party (Painter 1977). Under pressure from Southern employers, riverboat companies operating on Mississippi barred passage to African Americans. Some of those seeking passage threatened suit under the Civil Rights Act. USCT veteran John Solomon Lewis, for example, who sought to emigrate from Louisiana with his family, told a riverboat captain, “I am a man who was a United States soldier, and I know my rights, and if I and my family gets put off, I will go in the United States Court and sue for damages.” Lewis and his family were allowed passage (Painter 1977, 3). The U. S. Attorney General later issued a public statement to the effect that the companies’ refusal to carry African-American passengers constituted a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which “makes such refusal an offense to which considerable penalty attaches, and provides the method by which a prosecution for the penalty or for damages to the party entitled can be pursued” (Franklin 1974, 229). In the wake of the Attorney General’s statement, operators of riverboat companies began to carry all African Americans seeking passage (Franklin 1974, 229; Jack 2007, 50, 91-92).

After the Court’s ruling in *The Civil Rights Cases*, there are reports that some operators of public accommodations returned to excluding African-American customers (Woodward 1957, 23, 31; Rabinowitz 1978, 187, 334-338; Cohen 1991, 269-273). In Louisville, Kentucky, after an extended period of access to streetcars, the railroad, theaters, sporting events, and annual fairs and expositions, by the mid-1880s African Americans were being excluded from all these public venues (Wright 1985, 54, 59-60, 63). In 1887 Nashville, a group of African-American businessmen reported the existence of the kind of racial discrimination in public accommodations that had been prohibited by the Act: “We want public conveyances open to us according to the fare we pay; we want the privilege to go to hotels and to theatres, operas and places of amusement” (Rabinowitz 1978, 336).

## 1 Race-based State Statutes

A potential confounder to inference in our case is the presence of state statutes differentiated by race other than statutes regulating access to public accommodations. The appearance of postbellum statutes differentiated by race has been a subject of intense historical interest. Those who have studied this period report that, aside from the state-level public accommodations statutes used in our analysis, few other racially differentiated statutes were enacted between 1879 and 1887, our period of study. Redemption of southern states by the Democratic Party, and the consequent repeal of any Reconstruction-era statutes promoting racial equality, were largely complete by 1878, prior to the start of our study period. Yet the passage of segregating and disfranchising statutes did not begin until the 1890s, after the end of our study period (Kousser 1974).

There appear to have been two exceptions to this overall pattern. Statutes prohibiting racial intermarriage and statutes requiring segregated schools were not uncommon during this period. However, the statewide variation in the enactment of these statutes does not map well onto the statewide variation in the presence of public accommodations statutes. Many states that prohibited racial discrimination in public accommodations during our study period also prohibited interracial marriage and/or required segregated schools. For example, at the start of our study period these states included New York, Pennsylvania, and Kansas (mandatory school segregation), Rhode Island, Michigan, and Nebraska (prohibition on racial intermarriage), and Ohio and Indiana (both) (Johnson 1919).

## References

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Table 1: Pre-Ruling Covariate Balance  
 USCT Veterans With Both Pre- and Post-Ruling Exams;  
 USCT Veterans With Only Pre-Ruling Exams

	Pre Only No PA	Both No PA	Pre Only PA	Both PA	Pre Only No PA	Both No PA	Pre Only PA	Both PA
	<b>Pre-Ruling Weight</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Height</b>			
Full Sample	152.18	154.27	151.92	152.50	67.28	67.68	67.39	67.86*
	<b>Pre-Ruling Age</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Weight Gain/Loss</b>			
Full Sample	45.14	45.35	44.25	45.37	0.82	1.08	-1.33	-0.47
	<b>Pre-Ruling Infectious Disease</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Cardiovascular Disease</b>			
Full Sample	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
	<b>Pre-Ruling Eye Disease</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Endocrine Disease</b>			
Full Sample	0.03	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<b>Pre-Ruling Gastrointestinal Disease</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Kidney Disease</b>			
Full Sample	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.03
	<b>Pre-Ruling Hernias</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Tumors</b>			
Full Sample	0.05	0.03	0.09	0.04**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<b>Pre-Ruling Musculoskeletal Disease</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Rectal Disease</b>			
Full Sample	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.02
	<b>Pre-Ruling Mental Illness</b>				<b>Pre-Ruling Varicose Veins</b>			
Full Sample	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02**
	<b>Pre-Ruling Respiratory Disease</b>							
Full Sample	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.02				
N	161	142	205	282	161	142	205	282

\*  $p_i.10$ , \*\*  $p_i.05$ , \*\*\*  $p_i.01$  (two-tailed tests). A Bonferroni correction would lead us to never reject the null in any of these tests that the paired means are not different from each other.

Figure 1: Map of USCT Exams

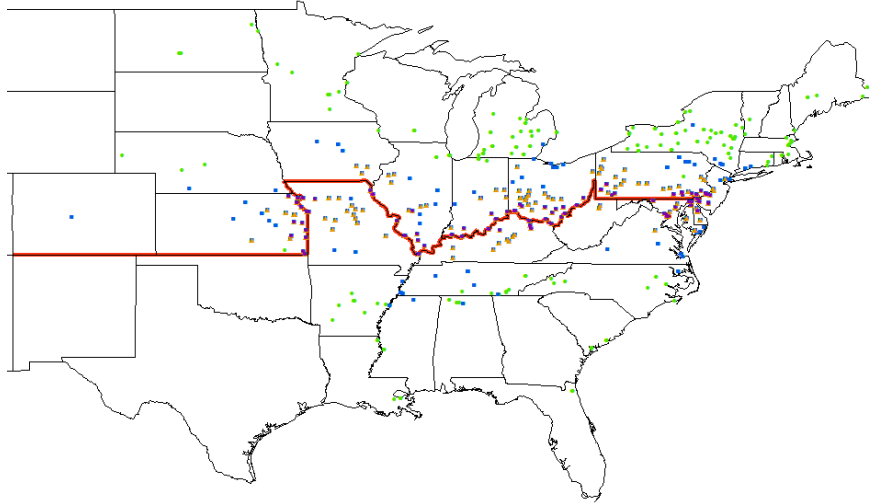


Figure 2: Map of Union Army Exams

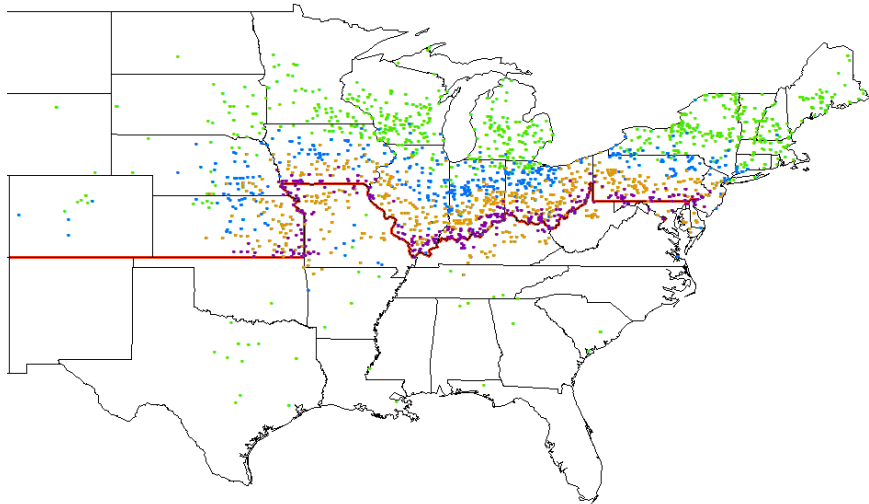


Table 2: Pre-Ruling Covariate Balance; Systemic Medical Conditions  
United States Colored Troop Veterans

	USCT PA	USCT No PA	USCT PA	USCT No PA
	<b>Pre-Ruling Infectious Disease</b>		<b>Pre-Ruling Cardiovascular Disease</b>	
Full Sample	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.01
300 Mile Window	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
200 Mile Window	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00*
	<b>Pre-Ruling Eye Disease</b>		<b>Pre-Ruling Endocrine Disease</b>	
Full Sample	0.03	0.01*	0.00	0.00
300 Mile Window	0.03	0.00*	0.00	0.00
200 Mile Window	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00
	<b>Pre-Ruling Gastrointestinal Disease</b>		<b>Pre-Ruling Kidney Disease</b>	
Full Sample	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.01
300 Mile Window	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.01
200 Mile Window	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.01
	<b>Pre-Ruling Respiratory Disease</b>		<b>Pre-Ruling Hernias</b>	
Full Sample	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.03
300 Mile Window	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.04
200 Mile Window	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04
	<b>Pre-Ruling Tumors</b>		<b>Pre-Ruling Musculoskeletal Disease</b>	
Full Sample	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.07
300 Mile Window	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.07
200 Mile Window	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.07
	<b>Pre-Ruling Rectal Disease</b>		<b>Pre-Ruling Mental Illness</b>	
Full Sample	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00
300 Mile Window	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
200 Mile Window	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
	<b>Pre-Ruling Varicose Veins</b>			
Full Sample	0.02	0.00*		
300 Mile Window	0.02	0.00*		
200 Mile Window	0.02	0.00		

\* p<.10, \*\* p<.05, \*\*\* p<.01 (two-tailed tests). A Bonferroni correction would lead us to never reject the null in any of these tests that the paired means are not different from each other.

Table 3: Within-Veteran DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases*, 1879-1887  
United States Colored Troop Veterans

	Full Sample		300 Mile Window		200 Mile Window	
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	-1.59 (1.37)	-2.21* (1.15)	-1.64 (1.47)	-2.25* (1.21)	-1.91 (1.57)	-2.22* (1.27)
Height		0.33 (0.72)		0.38 (0.79)		0.23 (0.88)
Age		-0.04 (0.26)		-0.10 (0.28)		-0.33 (0.34)
Pct Black		-0.36 (6.11)		-0.38 (7.76)		-8.04 (9.96)
PC Value Manuf. Output		0.00 (0.01)		-0.00 (0.01)		-0.00 (0.02)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+		0.33 (5.78)		1.35 (7.72)		3.33 (9.63)
Pct Farmland		-1.56 (4.37)		-0.96 (4.84)		-3.96 (4.74)
Constant	154.01*** (6.32)	125.12** (58.90)	153.56*** (6.48)	131.12* (68.56)	151.92*** (6.53)	152.73* (78.52)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1230	1138	1082	1000	868	793

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.



Table 4: DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases*, 1879-1887  
Union Army Veterans

	Full Sample		300 Mile Window		200 Mile Window	
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	2.61** (1.08)	2.27** (0.92)	2.90** (1.09)	2.73*** (0.88)	3.00** (1.14)	3.04*** (0.92)
Height		2.99*** (0.15)		2.88*** (0.17)		2.84*** (0.21)
Age		-0.07* (0.04)		-0.06 (0.04)		-0.05 (0.05)
Pct Black		-6.25 (3.97)		-12.76 (10.35)		-12.04 (11.27)
PC Value Manuf. Output		0.02** (0.01)		0.02** (0.01)		0.02 (0.01)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+		-1.00 (1.54)		-0.73 (1.68)		-1.19 (2.20)
Pct Farmland		0.36 (1.53)		1.63 (1.96)		1.40 (2.46)
Constant	144.49*** (2.33)	-60.20*** (11.87)	145.83*** (2.44)	-50.59*** (12.54)	147.99*** (8.66)	-49.46*** (15.92)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	7833	7546	6111	5902	4832	4663

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 5: Within-Veteran DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases*, 1879-1887  
Union Army Veterans

	Full Sample		300 Mile Window		200 Mile Window	
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	2.15*** (0.58)	2.23*** (0.59)	2.44*** (0.55)	2.51*** (0.59)	2.77*** (0.56)	2.90*** (0.60)
Height		0.17* (0.09)		0.17* (0.09)		0.16 (0.10)
Age		-0.08 (0.07)		-0.07 (0.07)		-0.09 (0.07)
Pct Black		0.24 (2.42)		-5.74 (6.56)		-3.67 (7.38)
PC Value Manuf. Output		0.00 (0.00)		0.00 (0.00)		0.00 (0.01)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+		0.06 (1.11)		0.38 (1.29)		-0.43 (1.44)
Pct Farmland		1.30 (1.07)		1.07 (1.23)		0.36 (1.47)
Constant	139.81*** (7.37)	147.81*** (6.84)	151.57*** (3.20)	149.46*** (7.98)	138.86*** (7.58)	144.08*** (6.75)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	7833	7546	6111	5902	4832	4663

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 6: DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases*, 1879-1887  
 United States Colored Troop Veterans, Controlling for Pre-Ruling Trends

	Full Sample		300 Mile Window		200 Mile Window	
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	-4.60*	-5.02*	-4.35*	-4.69*	-6.40**	-7.67***
	(2.40)	(2.52)	(2.51)	(2.54)	(2.27)	(2.33)
Height		2.58***		2.37***		2.16***
		(0.56)		(0.50)		(0.49)
Age		0.01		0.01		-0.02
		(0.18)		(0.19)		(0.27)
Pct Black		24.70		24.30		3.62
		(17.89)		(18.28)		(27.11)
PC Value Manuf. Output		-0.04		-0.04		-0.07**
		(0.03)		(0.03)		(0.03)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+		10.53		10.93		22.19*
		(8.84)		(9.85)		(10.66)
Pct Farmland		1.32		0.87		1.37
		(7.37)		(8.10)		(8.60)
Pre-Ruling Weight Trend		0.16***		0.14***		0.17***
		(0.06)		(0.05)		(0.05)
Constant	157.65***	-26.44	157.21***	-13.78	144.14***	-18.78
	(6.93)	(50.55)	(9.35)	(49.04)	(7.89)	(43.93)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	639	601	563	529	456	425

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 7: Within-Veteran Weight Gain/Loss, 1879-1887

	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
	<b>USCT PA Statutes</b>			<b>USCT No PA Statutes</b>		
Full Sample	1.22	0.68	282	-0.25	1.13	142
300 Mile Window	0.88	0.72	247	-0.74	1.19	123
200 Mile Window	1.04	0.86	196	-0.67	1.38	101
	<b>UA PA Statutes</b>			<b>UA No PA Statutes</b>		
Full Sample	-0.14	0.22	2,334	2.24	0.78	176
300 Mile Window	-0.25	0.23	1,778	2.44	0.81	165
200 Mile Window	-0.51	0.27	1,373	2.57	0.83	161

Table 8: Geographic Regression Discontinuity Estimates of Veterans' Weight Gains/Losses  
Veterans Located on Same Side of Border 1860-1887

	USCT		Union Army	
	No Covs	Covs	No Covs	Covs
Conventional	-8.32** (3.77)	-9.39*** (2.69)	3.18*** (0.76)	3.08*** (0.43)
Bias-corrected	-9.53** (3.77)	-13.67*** (2.69)	3.17*** (0.76)	3.06*** (0.43)
Robust bias-corrected	-9.53** (3.72)	-13.67*** (1.07)	3.17*** (0.83)	3.06*** (0.45)
N	102	102	2464	2464
Point/Bias BWs	64/108	39/70	89/198	66/152
Vets N/Vets S	29/14	24/9	764/119	559/98

Estimates of ( $T_r = 1$ ), or a veteran is located in one of the states without state-level public accommodation statutes at the time of the Supreme Court's ruling in *The Civil Rights Cases*. Local linear point estimators using a triangular kernel; bias-corrected models use a quadratic bias estimator. Optimal MSE bandwidth selection. Robust standard errors clustered on 20 mile intervals from border. Samples restricted to those veterans known to have been located on the same side of the border of interest in the 1860 census, relative to their location during primary study period. \* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 9: DiD Estimates of Effects of Placebo Rulings (1875-1883)  
United States Colored Troop Veterans

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Non-PA States Post-1876 Placebo	5.87 (5.35)						
Non-PA States Post-1877 Placebo		0.51 (3.00)					
Non-PA States Post-1878 Placebo			0.04 (3.46)				
Non-PA States Post-1879 Placebo				0.75 (3.27)			
Non-PA States Post-1880 Placebo					-2.59 (3.10)		
Non-PA States Post-1881 Placebo						-2.91 (3.39)	
Non-PA States Post-1882 Placebo							-3.40 (3.43)
Height	-0.12 (1.51)	-0.14 (1.52)	-0.14 (1.53)	-0.14 (1.52)	-0.15 (1.53)	-0.20 (1.56)	-0.16 (1.53)
Age	-0.13 (0.29)	-0.12 (0.29)	-0.12 (0.29)	-0.12 (0.29)	-0.12 (0.28)	-0.12 (0.28)	-0.12 (0.28)
Pct Black	-2.67 (17.17)	-2.77 (17.58)	-2.81 (17.66)	-2.73 (17.57)	-2.67 (17.08)	-3.28 (17.26)	-2.06 (16.92)
PC Value Manuf. Output	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	0.90 (7.58)	0.77 (7.68)	0.75 (7.72)	0.82 (7.75)	0.57 (7.65)	0.60 (7.60)	0.32 (7.68)
Pct Farmland	3.30 (6.30)	3.64 (6.60)	3.62 (6.67)	3.69 (6.73)	3.27 (6.60)	3.30 (6.48)	2.99 (6.71)
Constant	169.63 (104.46)	143.90 (110.65)	168.84 (106.27)	169.01 (106.07)	169.99 (106.03)	172.22 (107.58)	171.42 (105.75)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,380	1,380	1,380	1,380	1,380	1,380	1,380

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 10: DiD Estimates of Effects of Placebo Rulings (1875-1883)  
 United States Colored Troop Veterans, 300 Mile Window

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Non-PA States Post-1876 Placebo	6.15 (5.14)						
Non-PA States Post-1877 Placebo		0.88 (3.09)					
Non-PA States Post-1878 Placebo			0.55 (3.63)				
Non-PA States Post-1879 Placebo				1.62 (3.48)			
Non-PA States Post-1880 Placebo					-1.71 (3.09)		
Non-PA States Post-1881 Placebo						-2.18 (3.35)	
Non-PA States Post-1882 Placebo							-2.57 (3.40)
Height	-0.19 (1.57)	-0.21 (1.58)	-0.21 (1.58)	-0.21 (1.58)	-0.22 (1.59)	-0.26 (1.62)	-0.22 (1.58)
Age	-0.19 (0.27)	-0.19 (0.27)	-0.19 (0.27)	-0.19 (0.27)	-0.18 (0.27)	-0.19 (0.26)	-0.19 (0.27)
Pct Black	-2.67 (17.17)	-2.77 (17.58)	-2.81 (17.66)	-2.73 (17.57)	-2.67 (17.08)	-3.28 (17.26)	-2.06 (16.92)
Pct Black	-9.64 (28.60)	-10.12 (28.86)	-10.14 (28.96)	-9.95 (28.85)	-10.08 (28.22)	-11.62 (27.67)	-9.24 (28.20)
PC Value Manuf. Output	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	-0.03 (9.85)	-0.11 (9.92)	-0.09 (9.98)	0.02 (10.04)	-0.23 (9.90)	-0.26 (9.83)	-0.54 (9.93)
Pct Farmland	5.25 (7.18)	5.69 (7.55)	5.71 (7.65)	5.85 (7.77)	5.36 (7.54)	5.42 (7.37)	5.00 (7.77)
Constant	147.91 (110.88)	148.95 (112.42)	149.09 (112.56)	149.06 (112.13)	149.55 (113.17)	178.73 (109.90)	150.59 (112.50)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,241	1,241	1,241	1,241	1,241	1,241	1,241

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 11: DiD Estimates of Effects of Placebo Rulings (1875-1883)  
 United States Colored Troop Veterans, 200 Mile Window

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Non-PA States Post-1876 Placebo	6.38 (4.48)						
Non-PA States Post-1877 Placebo		1.42 (2.94)					
Non-PA States Post-1878 Placebo			0.72 (3.10)				
Non-PA States Post-1879 Placebo				2.40 (3.09)			
Non-PA States Post-1880 Placebo					-0.87 (3.07)		
Non-PA States Post-1881 Placebo						-1.43 (2.98)	
Non-PA States Post-1882 Placebo							-1.66 (3.98)
Height	-0.44 (2.09)	-0.48 (2.11)	-0.48 (2.11)	-0.48 (2.09)	-0.49 (2.12)	-0.50 (2.13)	-0.49 (2.11)
Age	-0.24 (0.26)	-0.23 (0.26)	-0.23 (0.27)	-0.24 (0.27)	-0.23 (0.26)	-0.22 (0.26)	-0.22 (0.27)
Percent Black	0.95 (35.13)	-0.11 (35.52)	-0.01 (35.74)	0.07 (35.87)	0.04 (35.01)	-1.91 (34.65)	0.18 (35.32)
PC Value Manuf. Output	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	-2.01 (14.75)	-2.20 (14.88)	-2.20 (14.97)	-1.94 (15.10)	-2.36 (14.84)	-2.24 (14.81)	-2.39 (14.81)
Pct Farmland	7.07 (8.33)	7.57 (8.73)	7.58 (8.86)	7.86 (9.03)	7.32 (8.73)	7.34 (8.59)	7.06 (9.16)
<i>cons</i>	190.22 (142.17)	191.53 (143.71)	163.37 (144.63)	191.17 (143.51)	163.70 (145.90)	192.69 (145.56)	165.13 (145.08)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,040	1,040	1,040	1,040	1,040	1,040	1,040

\* p<.10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 12: Within-Veteran DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases* on Placebo Medical Conditions, 1879-1887 USCT Veterans

	Full Sample	300 Mile	200 Mile
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	0.04 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
Age	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Height	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Pct Black	-0.62* (0.32)	-0.41 (0.47)	-0.19 (0.64)
PC Value Manuf. Output	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	-0.20 (0.23)	-0.34 (0.32)	-0.35 (0.22)
Pct Farmland	0.35 (0.23)	0.32 (0.28)	0.21 (0.28)
Constant	0.85 (1.12)	0.16 (1.18)	-0.40 (1.35)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1138	1000	793

\* p<.10, \*\* p<.05, \*\*\* p<.01.



Table 13: DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases* on Placebo Medical Conditions, 1879-1887  
United States Colored Troop Veterans

	Resp.	Hernia	Tumor	Muscle	Rectal	Mental	Varicose
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Height	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)
Pct Black	-0.29** (0.11)	0.17* (0.09)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.23* (0.11)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)
PC Value Manuf. Output	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	-0.01 (0.05)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Pct Farmland	0.03 (0.08)	0.10** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.09* (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)
Constant	0.49*** (0.13)	-0.25 (0.27)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.14 (0.35)	-0.04 (0.20)	0.04 (0.09)	-0.17* (0.09)
	Infect.	Cardio.	Eye	Endoc.	Gastro.	Kidney	
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	
Height	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)	
Pct Black	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.19 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.09)	0.00 (0.00)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	
PC Value Manuf. Output	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	
Proportion Farmland	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	
Constant	-0.07 (0.12)	0.05 (0.20)	0.32 (0.21)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.23** (0.12)	-0.06 (0.19)	
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1138	1138	1138	1138	1138	1138	1138

\* p<.10, \*\* p<.05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 14: DiD Estimates of Effects of *The Civil Rights Cases*, 1879-1887  
Using Only Control States That Enacted PA Statutes Before Supreme Court Ruling

	USCT		UA	
Non-PA States Post-Ruling	-3.25*	-2.15*	2.41**	2.16***
	(1.65)	(1.29)	(0.99)	(0.66)
Age	-0.12	0.05	-0.08	-0.10
	(0.10)	(0.35)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Height	2.53***	0.13	3.32***	0.19
	(0.40)	(0.91)	(0.21)	(0.17)
Pct Black	23.42*	-1.03	-3.60	1.31
	(12.97)	(6.40)	(3.67)	(2.25)
PC Value Manuf. Output	0.01	0.01	0.02**	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Pct Pop in Towns 2500+	-7.55	-2.28	-1.70	-0.67
	(5.01)	(5.83)	(2.79)	(1.64)
Pct Farmland	4.49	1.43	-2.66	2.10
	(4.96)	(4.81)	(1.68)	(1.61)
Constant	-22.25	140.80*	-81.75***	135.04***
	(33.67)	(77.25)	(16.61)	(13.65)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Veteran FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	792	792	4032	4032

\* p<.10, \*\* p<.05, \*\*\* p<.01.

Table 15: USCT Veteran Representativeness

	USCT Sample		African American Men 1900 Census	
	Mean	Min/Max	Mean	Min/Max
Age	48	27/83	36	18/100
Married	85%	0/1	36%	0/1
Home Ownership	65%	0/1	23%	0/1

USCT veteran age averaged over veterans' medical exams between 1879-1887; USCT marital status from the 1900 census; USCT home ownership from the 1870 census. Average African-American male age from the 1900 census reported for those 18 years and older. Marital status coded 1 if the individual was married, and 0 if divorced, single or widowed (coded as missing if no information). Home ownership coded 1 for ownership and 0 for rental, at the household level.