

An Interpretation of the Economic Impact of the Wilmington Riot of 1897

Summary of Preliminary Findings

By

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1. Introduction

America has a long history of race-related civil unrest. In the late 1800s and earlier 1900s, there were several attacks by white mobs on prosperous black communities resulting in the killing of black citizens and the destruction of black homes and businesses. Most notable are those that occurred in Danville, Virginia in 1883, Wilmington in 1898, New Orleans, Louisiana in 1900, Atlanta, Georgia in 1906, Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921, and Rosewood, Florida in 1923.

Although all of the above riots were devastating to their local black communities, one of the most significant riots in American history is the Wilmington riot of 1898. In November, 1898, an organized white mob massacred an unknown number of black citizens in Wilmington and, at gunpoint, forced the resignation of most of the local municipal government. Many of the black and white leaders of the Republican party were banished from the town, never allowed to return.

After the riot, the demographics of the city drastically changed. Prior to the riot, blacks comprised 56% of the city of Wilmington's population which numbered 20,055 persons. In the days and months that followed the riot, many black citizens left the city—approximately 14% of the black citizens permanently left Wilmington. By 1900, and for the first time since before the Civil War, blacks were no longer the majority within the

city. Following the riot, all blacks employed by the city government were fired and replaced with white workers.

The Wilmington case presents special difficulties in measuring the impact of the riot. For example, the Tulsa and Rosewood riots involved the destruction of massive amounts of personal property. In addition, in these two cases the numbers of deaths caused by the riots have been more readily estimated. For the Wilmington riot, historical records only include one or two instances of property damage. In addition, the death toll has been hard to determine. Although there was a clear loss of voting privileges by the black community, it is difficult to put a dollar value on the right to vote. Historians have details from personal accounts of economic leaders being forced to leave the city and leave their profitable jobs or businesses; however, given the length of time that has passed since the riot and, due to the lack data, evidence of these events may be difficult to uncover.

Although there have been several papers written by economists and sociologists on the effects of race riots by blacks after race-related shocks during the 1960s and 1970s¹, there has been little statistical work by economists to analyze the effects of race riots against blacks in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This paper will attempt to measure a portion of the economic impact of the riots by evaluating occupational changes caused by the riots between 1897 and 1900. In addition, this study will utilize historical tax records and historical census data to study the demographic changes and changes in property holdings after the riot. Based on the results of this study, we establish that there was a significant decrease in the socioeconomic status of black business owners after the

¹ The interested reader can see Collin and Margo (2004), Eisinger, Peter K. (1973) and Downes(1968) for empirical studies on race related riots in the 1960s and 1970s.

riot. The results also show that overall black employment decreased and that fewer blacks held property after the riot. However, because of the many data problems and simplicity of estimation techniques, these results should be taken with caution.

The remainder of this paper will proceed as follows: Section II will describe the data used in the study, Section III will discuss methodology used in the study, Section IV will present results, and Section V will provide a conclusion.

II. Data

The 1897 and 1900 city directories for the city of Wilmington, North Carolina are one of the primary data sources for this study. The directory data is divided into a business section and an individual listing section. The directories were compiled and published every three years by the J.L. Hill Printing Company and sold to residents of the city for three dollars. The data set compiled for this study uses each entry in the business and individual listing sections of the directory as an observation. Each observation has information on the full name of the business owner or individual, the owner's or individual's race, occupation and address.²

The data is valuable because it is the only source that offers information in an interval sufficiently short and relevant to provide any meaningful results. It allows us to track individuals across years immediately before and shortly after the riot. We can examine the occupational status and business ownership patterns among people living in the city before the riot and remaining in the city after violence took place.

However, there are several problems with this data source that should be noted. City directory data is an incomplete sample of the population and businesses that operated within the city. City directories do not include data on descriptive characteristics

² In the directory, black individuals are identified by a star (*) in front of the name.

such as age, marital status, and literacy that might shed more light on the economic characteristics of individuals that stayed or left the city in the aftermath of the riot. City directory data does not allow us to establish what portion of the decline in population is attributable to natural causes, like death from old age rather than deaths due to the riot. In addition, it does not allow the researcher to distinguish clearly between increases in persons listed in the directory due to in-migration. The directory only documented workers and businesses located within Wilmington's city limits. Workers who lived in the "county" but worked in the city are not represented.

Additionally, the sample of business owners could suffer from selection bias. The directories do not have information on who chose to be listed in the directories. In addition, there is no information on the cost of having a business listed in the directory. In conducting this study, the implicit assumption has been that the individuals who chose to be included in the business section are probably the more affluent business owners, not those engaged in smaller or less successful business ventures. Despite the many problems with using directory data, this is the only source that provides data within an interval short enough to assess the immediate impact of the riot. After reviewing available census data, the population sizes between the two directory waves seem to be fairly reflective of the workforce of the city of Wilmington before and after the riots.

In addition to directory data, the study also utilizes historical tax data. In order to analyze the effect of the riots on property ownership, a data set that includes all black property holders in the Wilmington, North Carolina in 1897 and 1900 was compiled. The tax records contain the name, age, race, and the value of assets of all property owners in the city. An attempt was made to collect tax data on the entire population of Wilmington

in 1897 and 1900. However, due to time limitations, only information on black citizens is presented.

This study also utilizes census data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). Census data from 1880 to 1920 were compiled in order to analyze demographic changes for the city of Wilmington relative to the state of North Carolina.³

III. Methodology

In order to obtain a uniform measure of occupational status across directory years, the self reported occupations were re-coded to the 1950 Census occupational classification system (OCC1950) to enhance comparability across years.⁴ Making this conversion allowed for the creation of two additional measures not contained in the city directories⁵. The first is an occupational score variable (OCCSCORE). OCCSCORE is a constructed variable that assigns occupation income scores to each occupation on the basis of OCC1950. OCCSCORE assigns each occupation a value representing the median total income (in hundreds of 1950 dollars) of all persons with that particular occupation in 1950. This variable provides a continuous measure of occupations according to the economic rewards enjoyed by people working in 1950.⁶ The second variable is a constructed variable that assigns a Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score to each occupation. The SEI, which also is based on the 1950 occupational classification system, is a measure of occupational status based upon the income level and education attainment

³ Analysis of census data to examine Atlanta and state of Georgia to determine if the effects of 1898 Wilmington Riot are similar to the effects of the 1906 Atlanta Riot is under way.

⁴ The interested reader can get detailed information on the recoding process at www.ipums.org/usa/pwork/occ1950a.html.

⁵ The downside of making these conversions is that it is very difficult to obtain exact matches for all of the occupations.

⁶ The interested reader can get detailed information on the variable construction process at www.ipums.org/uas/pwork/occscorea.html. The description of the variable is taken from this source.

associated with each occupation in 1950. The score was derived by using median income and education levels for men in 1950 to predict prestige from a 1947 survey.⁷

The major problem that was encountered in assigning OCCSCORES and SEI scores to the directory data was matching directory occupations with 1950 occupations. For example, some occupations in the directory had different names than their 1950 counterparts. In the city directory, an individual may have listed their occupation as a stevedore; however, in 1950 this person would be considered a longshoreman. Likewise, a drayman in 1897 would be a deliveryman in 1950. In order to overcome these problems, historical research was conducted in order to get descriptions of some occupations.⁸ Caution was taken to insure that the same conversions were made across races. So that, in the event that a directory occupation is not matched perfectly with its 1950 occupation, discrepancies would not heavily bias results using the directory data since the error would be made for both black and white listings. It should be noted that the majority of the occupations were easy to match.

The methodology used in this study is straightforward. Because of the limitations of the directory data, the analysis is limited to detailed summary statistics from the various directories. This includes tabulating the occupational variables, means tests, and tracking the movement of specific groups of individuals and businesses across directory waves.

⁷ The interested reader can get detailed information on the variable construction process at www.ipums.org/usa.pwork/seia.html. The description of this variable is taken from this source.

⁸ The authors would like to thank LeRae Umfleet, at the North Carolina State Achieves for her help cleaning the directory data.

In addition to analyzing detailed summary statistics, OLS regressions and linear probability models will be used to analyze census data and tax records. These data sources contain a richer set of variables that will be exploited in this study.⁹

IV. Results

Black Business Owners

Based on the business section of the city directory, black businesses with the highest frequency were barbers, grocers, restaurant owners, and shoe makers. Following the riot there was a reduction in all of the occupations for black business owners that had been prevalent in 1897.¹⁰ Fifty people in the sample were no longer listed in the city or the business directory.

The sample means table for black businesses listed in the business section of the directory indicates that in 1897 the average OCCSCORE for a black business owner was 31.36. For black business owners that left the city by 1900, the score was slightly higher. By 1900, the average OCCSCORE for black businesses declined to 16.44 – a significant drop in the occupation scores for black-owned businesses in the years immediately following the riot.

⁹ Although not included in this report, additional data comparing “riot cities” such as Wilmington, Atlanta, and Tulsa will be performed. Further analysis of tax data is pending.

¹⁰ When using the Business Directory. A black business owner is defined as a black individual that listed a business in the Business Section of the Wilmington Directory.

Table 1: Sample Means

| <i>Origin</i> | <i>Whole Sample</i> | Moved in 1900 | Did not Move in 1900 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| Occscore_1897 | 31.36 (11.81) | 32.36 (12.43) | 30.73 (11.44) |
| Occscore_1900 | 16.44 (16.68) | | 26.72 (13.29) |
| SEI_1897 | 41 (26.49) | 41.78 (26.43) | 40.76 (26.68) |
| SEI_1900 | 20.53 (27.11) | | 33.37 (27.69) |
| Change in Occscore(1900-1897) | | | -4.0125 (11.22) |
| Change in SEI(1900-1897) | | | -7.38 (22.98) |
| Move | 0.38 (0.48) | | |
| Observations | 130 | 50 | 80 |

Source: All Black Business Listed in the Business Section of the Wilmington city Directory in 1900 and 1897. An individual is defined as moving if he/she is not in the city directory or individual directory. Standard Deviations are in parenthesis

The variables for black business owners show that the average OCCSCORE between 1897 and 1900 decreased by 4.7 points and the average SEI score decreased by 8.5 points. Means were also calculated for blacks who did not move after the riots. The OCCSCORE and SEI score variables fell for individuals that remained in the city after the riot. These differences in means may suggest that the riot had a negative impact on the overall socioeconomic status of black business owners listed in the business section of the directory.

Complete Directory

In order to get a better view of the changes in socioeconomic status for the entire population, a data set containing every observation in the 1897 and 1900 City Directory was used. Analyzing the entire directory, including whites, allows for comparisons across races. If the occupational status of blacks declined significantly in relation to whites, this

would be very convincing evidence that the riot had a negative effect on the city's black residents.

| Summary of Directories | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|
| <i>Table 2. This table presents tabulation of population, occupation, and business ownership changes for Wilmington, North Carolina</i> | | | | | | |
| | 1897 | | | 1900 | | |
| | Total | Black | White | Total | Black | White |
| Summary Statistics <i>Directory Entries</i> | 7,663 | 3,786 | 3,875 | 8,381 | 3,656 | 4,720 |
| Occupation Listed | 6,894 | 3,498 | 3,396 | 6,374 | 2,562 | 3,812 |
| Business Owners | 1005 | 216 | 789 | 933 | 162 | 771 |
| Source: The entire city directory for the city Wilmington, North Carolina in 1897 and 1900. | | | | | | |

Indeed, analysis of the complete directory provides evidence suggesting that blacks were negatively affected after the riot. The black population declined while the white population increased. In addition, the complete directory provides evidence that suggests that the number of blacks employed declined significantly after the riot.

Table 1 demonstrates changes in entrepreneurship/business ownership in years after the riot. A business owner/entrepreneur is defined as someone who listed a business address in the business and/or individual section of the directory. For example, in 1897 Emma Jones operated a cook-shop at 1120 N. Fourth and lived at 1205 N. Fourth. Only her business address is included in this study. However, some other businesses, such as grocers, are more difficult to track—some operated their stores at their home address. Therefore, individuals that list the same address for both their home and business are also included in this study as business owners.

In 1897 there were 216 black entrepreneurs and 789 white entrepreneurs. After the riot, the number fell dramatically for blacks to 162, a 25% decline; in contrast, for whites there was a mere 2% decline. Thus the ratio of white to black businesses rose from 3.6 to 4.8. This suggests that not only did the riot have an adverse impact on black business development, it also suggests that the riot may have created a relatively favorable business environment for whites.

| Table 3: Summary Statistics of 1897 Business Addresses for Black Businesses | | Table 4: Summary Statistics of 1900 Business Addresses for Blacks in Wilmington | |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| Street | 1897 Address | Street | 1900 Address |
| N. 2 nd | 28 | N. 2 nd | 10 |
| S. 2 nd | 11 | S. 2 nd | 6 |
| N. 3 rd | 2 | N. 3 rd | 1 |
| N. 4 th | 15 | N. 4 th | 20 |
| N. 4th @ 4th Street Market | 4 | N. 4th @ 4th Street Market | 4 |
| N. 5th | 2 | N. 5 th | 2 |
| N. 6 th | 4 | S. 5 th | 1 |
| N. 7 th | 4 | S. 6 th | 2 |
| S. 7 th | 14 | N. 7 th | 2 |
| N. 8 th | 2 | S. 7 th | 11 |
| S. 9 th | 1 | N. 8 th | 4 |
| N. 10 th | 2 | S. 8 th | 1 |
| S. 11 th | 1 | S. 9 th | 2 |
| S. 12 th | 1 | S. 10 th | 3 |
| Ann | 1 | N. 11 th | 1 |
| Bladen | 3 | S. 11 th | 1 |
| Brunswick | 1 | Anderson | 1 |
| Campbell | 3 | Ann | 2 |
| Chestnut | 3 | Bladen | 1 |
| Dickinson | 2 | Campbell | 5 |
| Dock | 9 | Castle | 3 |
| Front | 24 | Dawson | 1 |
| Front Street Market and Muter's Alley | 7 | Dickinson | 1 |
| Mulberry/Grace | 5 | Dock | 7 |
| Harnett | 2 | Front | 19 |
| Market | 18 | Front Street Market and Muter's Alley | 7 |
| McRae | 1 | Harnett | 2 |
| McRae's Alley | 1 | Mulberry/Grace | 2 |
| Miller | 1 | Market | 4 |
| Nixon | 4 | McRae | 4 |
| Nun | 2 | Nixon | 5 |
| Nutt | 4 | Nutt | 3 |
| Princess | 17 | Orange | 1 |
| Queen | 1 | Princess | 6 |
| Red Cross | 3 | Red Cross | 4 |
| Walnut | 2 | Swann's Alley nr. Nixon | 1 |
| Water | 10 | Walnut | 1 |
| Wooster | 1 | Water | 11 |
| Total | 216 | Total | 162 |

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1900.

Table 3 shows the locations of black business owners in 1897. In 1897, the most popular locations for black businesses were in the main business district on N. 2nd Street, Front Street, Market Street, and Princess Street. There was a secondary business district on N. 4th Street and there was another on S. 7th. Table 4 shows that things drastically changed after the riots. Based on the directory data, by 1900 there was a significant reduction in nearly all of the locations that had large numbers of black business in 1897. In 1897 there were 18 black business on Market Street but by 1900, this number dropped to 4. Similar changes also occurred on Front Street, Princess Street, North Second and South Seventh.

Tables 5 and 7 show that the black business owners who remained in the city maintained a presence in the city's central business district. There were 163 black businesses in the city by 1900 and of those, 116, were operated by blacks who had remained in the city following the violence. Therefore, the remaining 47 businesses were new businesses started by residents who stayed in the city or newly arrived residents.

| Street | 1897 Address |
|--|--------------|
| N. 2 nd | 16 |
| S. 2 nd | 7 |
| N. 3 rd | 1 |
| N. 4 th | 6 |
| N. 4th @ 4 th Street Market | 1 |
| N. 5th | 2 |
| N. 6 th | 4 |
| N. 7 th | 1 |
| S. 7 th | 8 |
| S. 10 th | 1 |
| Bladen | 2 |
| Chestnut | 1 |
| Dock | 2 |
| Front | 11 |
| Front Street Market and Muter's Alley | 2 |
| Mulberry/Grace | 3 |
| Market | 8 |
| McRae | 1 |
| McRae's Alley | 1 |
| Miller | 1 |
| Nixon | 1 |
| Nun | 2 |
| Nutt | 3 |
| Princess | 8 |
| Queen | 1 |
| Water | 5 |
| Wooster | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

| Street | 1897 Address |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| N. 2nd | 12 |
| S. 2nd | 4 |
| N. 3rd | 1 |
| N. 4th | 9 |
| N. 4th @ 4th Street Market | 3 |
| N. 7th | 3 |
| S. 7th | 6 |
| N. 8th | 2 |
| S. 9th | 1 |
| N. 10th | 1 |
| S. 11th | 1 |
| S. 12th | 1 |
| Ann | 1 |
| Bladen | 1 |
| Brunswick | 1 |
| Campbell | 3 |
| Chestnut | 2 |
| Dickinson | 2 |
| Dock | 7 |
| Front | 13 |
| Front Street Market and Muter's Alley | 5 |
| Harnett | 2 |
| Mulberry/Grace | 2 |
| Market | 10 |
| Nixon | 3 |
| Nutt | 1 |
| Princess | 9 |
| Red Cross | 3 |
| Walnut | 2 |
| Water | 5 |
| Total | 116 |

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

| Street | 1900 Address |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| N. 2 nd | 10 |
| S. 2 nd | 4 |
| N. 3 rd | 1 |
| N. 4 th | 11 |
| 4th Street Market | 4 |
| S. 6 th | 2 |
| N. 7 th | 2 |
| S. 7 th | 8 |
| N. 8 th | 3 |
| S. 8 th | 1 |
| S. 9 th | 1 |
| S. 10 th | 2 |
| S. 11 th | 1 |
| Ann | 1 |
| Campbell | 1 |
| Castle | 2 |
| Dickinson | 1 |
| Dock | 5 |
| Front | 11 |
| Front Street Market and Muter's Alley | 7 |
| Harnett | 1 |
| Mulberry/Grace | 2 |
| Market | 3 |
| McRae | 2 |
| Nixon | 2 |
| Nutt | 1 |
| Princess | 3 |
| Red Cross | 4 |
| Walnut | 1 |
| Water | 4 |
| Total | 101 |

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1900.

| Street | 1897 Address | 1900 Address |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| N. 2 nd | 28 | 10 |
| S. 2 nd | 11 | 6 |
| N. 4 th | 15 | 20 |
| S. 7 th | 14 | 11 |
| Front | 24 | 19 |
| Market | 18 | 4 |
| Princess | 17 | 6 |
| Water | 10 | 11 |
| Totals | 137 | 87 |

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900.

This table demonstrates that over half of the city's black businesses were clustered in three areas -- the downtown business district, N. 4th and S. 7th.

By 1900, the businesses had shifted away from the city's center and toward the secondary districts and into traditionally black areas of the city.

Although some black business owners retained their businesses after the riot, the directory data suggests that the black businesses and entrepreneurs experienced a decrease in the stature of their businesses. Evidence of this is obtained by analyzing the locations of businesses before and after the riot. Prior to the riot, many black business owners were located in the main business districts of town. After the riot there was a migration of black businesses away from the main business districts. This suggests that many of the black owned businesses may have decreased in size after the riot. It could also suggest that certain black owned businesses were no longer welcome in the main business section of town. It is not clear why, exactly, the business climate changed for African American businesses.

White businesses also experienced changes in the city as a result of the riot. Table 8 demonstrates that there were 789 white businesses in the city in 1897. Of those, most were located in the downtown business district. There were 771 white businesses in the city in 1900, a decrease of 18.

Although the number of white businesses did not increase, the locations of white businesses did significantly change. There were no longer white businesses in the 4th Street Market in the black section of town. White business interests became more consolidated in the downtown district, particularly along Front Street. The number of white businesses on Front Street increased by eighty-five while the number of black businesses there decreased.

Study of the business addresses for the white business owners that left the city by 1900 demonstrates that those businesses were scattered across the city but still concentrated on the central business district. Overall there were 405 white businesses that left the city after the riots. Although this may seem like a very high number, it does not reflect the true picture. Unlike most of the black business entries, not all of the white business listings can be attributed to a particular individual or group of individuals that were residents in Wilmington. For example, large publicly held companies or large companies with branches in many cities would be listed in the directory as a white business if the business was not owned by a black proprietor. However, this does not directly reflect the loss of a business by a citizen. It more reflects the willingness of outside investors or businesses to invest and conduct business in the city after the riots.

| Street | 1897 City Directory | 1900 |
|--|---------------------|------|
| N. 2 nd | 27 | 28 |
| S. 2 nd | 3 | 5 |
| N. 3 rd | 10 | 16 |
| S. 3 rd | 4 | 3 |
| N. 4 th | 40 | 33 |
| S. 4 th | 5 | 2 |
| N. 4th @ 4 th Street Market | 2 | |
| N. 5 th | 3 | |
| S. 5 th | 3 | 4 |
| 5 th Ward Market | 2 | |
| N. 6 th | 4 | 3 |
| S. 6 th | 5 | 4 |
| N. 7 th | 1 | 4 |
| S. 7 th | | 1 |
| N. 8 th | 2 | 3 |
| S. 8 th | 2 | |
| S. 9 th | 1 | |
| N. 10 th | 1 | |
| N. 11 th | 1 | |
| 17 th | | 1 |
| Ann | 1 | 1 |
| Bladen | 3 | 2 |
| Brunswick | 1 | |
| Campbell | 2 | 1 |
| Castle | 12 | 12 |
| Chestnut | 6 | 3 |
| Church | 1 | 1 |
| Craft's Alley | 1 | 1 |
| Dawson | | 2 |
| Dickinson | 1 | |
| Dock | 7 | 10 |
| Front | 182 | 267 |
| Front Street Market and Muter's Alley | 9 | 9 |
| Hanover | 1 | |
| Harnett | 1 | 1 |
| Howard | 1 | |
| Mulberry/Grace | 3 | 7 |
| Market | 142 | 124 |
| McRae | 5 | 5 |
| Metts | 1 | |
| Nixon | 2 | 1 |
| Nun | 2 | |
| Nutt | 16 | 7 |
| Orange | 3 | 5 |
| Princess | 134 | 94 |
| Queen | 5 | 1 |
| Red Cross | 3 | |
| Surry | 5 | 2 |
| Swann | | 2 |
| Walnut | 2 | |
| Water | 118 | 103 |
| Wooster | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 789 | 771 |

Table 9:
Changes in
addresses for
white
businesses in
1897 and 1900

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

Occupations

| Variable | All Blacks | | | All Whites | | |
|----------------|------------|-------|-----------|------------|-------|-----------|
| | Obs | Mean | Std. Dev. | Obs | Mean | Std. Dev. |
| Occscore | 6061 | 18.86 | 8.31 | 7288 | 26.61 | 36.75 |
| Sei | 6061 | 14.16 | 13.94 | 7287 | 37.75 | 25.75 |
| Occscore 0-20 | 6061 | 0.78 | 0.41 | 7288 | 0.25 | 0.43 |
| Occscore 20-40 | 6061 | 0.19 | 0.39 | 7288 | 0.54 | 0.50 |
| Occscore 40-60 | 6061 | 0.02 | 0.16 | 7288 | 0.20 | 0.40 |
| Occscore 60-80 | 6061 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 7288 | 0.02 | 0.12 |
| Unemployed | 7413 | 0.18 | 0.39 | 8245 | 0.12 | 0.32 |
| Evacuate | 7413 | 0.29 | 0.45 | 8245 | 0.14 | 0.35 |
| Migrated | 7413 | 0.28 | 0.45 | 8245 | 0.28 | 0.45 |
| 1900 | 7413 | 0.49 | 0.50 | 8245 | 0.57 | 0.50 |
| 1897 | 7413 | 0.51 | 0.50 | 8245 | 0.43 | 0.50 |

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900. For Description of OCCSCORE and SEI score variables see IPUMS

Table 10 shows that the average OCCSCORE for blacks in 1897 and 1900 was 18.86 and that the average OCCSCORE for whites during the same period was 26.61. The SEI for blacks was substantially lower than that of whites over the two directories. The table also shows that 29% of the black population evacuated, or left the city, after 1897 and 14% of the white population left. The table also shows that 28% of the black population in 1900 had migrated to the city after 1897 and that 28% of the white population migrated to the city after 1897.

A conclusion that can be drawn from the data in this table is that blacks averaged lower paying, lower status jobs in both 1897 and 1900 and that a larger percentage of the black population represented in the 1897 directory left the city than did whites.

| Variable | Black Movers | | Black Nonmovers in 1897 | | Black Nonmovers in 1900 | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean | Std. Dev. | Mean | Std. Dev. | Mean | Std. Dev. |
| Occscore | 15.54 | 9.45 | 19.34 | 8.55 | 21.88 | 6.58 |
| Sei | 13.61 | 13.49 | 15.46 | 14.56 | 15.34 | 15.58 |
| Occscore 0-20 | 0.85 | 0.36 | 0.72 | 0.45 | 0.69 | 0.46 |
| Occscore 20-40 | 0.12 | 0.33 | 0.25 | 0.43 | 0.27 | 0.44 |
| Occscore 40-60 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.03 | 0.16 | 0.04 | 0.19 |
| Occscore 60-80 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.04 |
| Unemployed | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.43 |

Data: All Black entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900. For Description of OCCSCORE and SEI score variables see IPUMS

In order to get a better picture of occupational changes after the riot, summary statistics for black movers and nonmovers are calculated. A mover is defined as someone that was present in 1897 but disappeared from the directory in 1900. Likewise, a nonmover is someone that was present in both the 1897 and 1900 directory. This table shows that black movers, averaged an OCCSCORE and SEI significantly below those who did not move. The Table also shows that the majority of those that left (85%) had an OCCSCORE of between 0 and 20. This suggests that the poorest blacks were the most likely to leave Wilmington after the riots; nevertheless, the overall SEI and OCCSCORE for blacks still fell.

| Variable | White Movers | | White Nonmovers in 1897 | | White Nonmovers in 1900 | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean | Std. Dev. | Mean | Std. Dev. | Mean | Std. Dev. |
| Occscore | 25.62 | 13.31 | 27.37 | 14.23 | 27.67 | 14.48 |
| Sei | 36.37 | 24.76 | 40.33 | 25.82 | 40.95 | 26.09 |
| Occscore 0-20 | 0.27 | 0.44 | 0.22 | 0.41 | 0.20 | 0.40 |
| Occscore 20-40 | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.53 | 0.50 | 0.54 | 0.50 |
| Occscore 40-60 | 0.16 | 0.37 | 0.23 | 0.42 | 0.24 | 0.43 |
| Occscore 60-80 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.02 | 0.13 | 0.02 | 0.14 |
| Unemployed | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0.09 | 0.28 |

Data: All White entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900. For Discretion of Occscore and SEI score variables see IPUMS

Similarly, Table 12 demonstrates that the whites who left the city after 1897 held an average OCCSCORE of 25.62, several points less than those held by whites who stayed or were recorded in the 1900 directory. The SEI for movers was significantly lower than those for whites that remained in the city. Most of the whites that moved held an OCCSCORE of between 20 and 40.

Comparison of the white and black OCCSCORES shows that black OCCSCORES and SEI scores were significantly lower than those of whites. For both racial groups, the highest paying workers only represented a small fraction of the workforce – 2% of the black population and 5% of the white.

| Table 13: Tabulation of Occupations for Blacks In 1897 and 1900 | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>This table presents tabulations and comparisons of some occupation held by black individuals listed in the Individual Section of Wilmington City Directories for 1897 and 1900</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Black Non Movers in 1897</i> | | <i>Black Non Movers in 1900</i> | | <i>Black Movers</i> | |
| Occupations | Freq. | Occupations | Freq. | Occupations | Freq. |
| Laborer | 606 | Laborer | 621 | Laborer | 687 |
| Cook | 142 | Carpenter | 61 | Cook | 370 |
| washerwoman | 107 | Porter | 58 | Washerwoman | 315 |
| Porter | 70 | Driver | 47 | Porter | 100 |
| Carpenter | 62 | Teamster | 29 | Nurse | 52 |
| Drayman | 54 | Cook | 27 | Carpenter | 36 |
| Driver | 36 | Barber | 24 | Driver | 36 |
| Cooper | 25 | Cooper | 22 | Drayman | 26 |
| Barber | 25 | Grocer | 22 | Barber | 23 |
| Grocer | 21 | Painter | 19 | Maid | 24 |
| Painter | 18 | Shoemaker | 17 | Seamstress | 18 |
| Nurse | 17 | Bricklayer/Brickmason | 16 | Teacher | 18 |
| Stevadore | 16 | Cook-Shop/Restaurant/Eating House | 13 | Painter | 16 |
| shoemaker | 16 | Fireman (railroad) | 11 | Hostler | 15 |
| brickmason | 14 | Stevadore | 11 | fireman (railroad and municipal) | 13 |
| fireman (railroad and municipal) | 14 | Reverend/Pastor | 11 | pastor/reverend/minister | 13 |
| blacksmith | 11 | Blacksmith | 9 | Shoemaker | 10 |
| baker/confectioner | 11 | Butler | 9 | Waiter | 10 |
| cook-shop/restaurant/eating house | 10 | Teacher | 9 | Stevadore | 9 |
| Butler | 9 | Huckster | 7 | baker/confectioner | 8 |
| Pastor/reverend/minister | 9 | Butcher | 6 | Imputed Manager | 8 |
| butcher | 8 | Carrier | 6 | Blacksmith | 8 |
| teacher | 8 | Drayman | 6 | Brickmason | 8 |
| letter carrier/mail handling | 8 | Farmer | 6 | Butler | 7 |
| Clerk | 7 | Nurse | 6 | Clerk | 7 |
| huckster | 7 | Baker/Confectioner | 6 | Butcher | 6 |
| plumber | 7 | Imputed Manger | 5 | Cooper | 6 |
| Maid | 6 | Clerk | 5 | Dressmaker | 6 |
| Farmer | 5 | Tailor | 5 | Grocer | 6 |
| seamstress | 5 | Undertaker/Funeral Director | 4 | Servant | 5 |
| truckman | 5 | Hostler | 3 | cook-shop/restaurant/eating house | 5 |
| dressmaker | 4 | Janitor | 3 | Coachman | 4 |
| Hostler | 4 | Laundress/washerwoman | 3 | Steward | 4 |
| Tailor | 4 | Plumber | 3 | Compositor | 3 |
| Waiter | 4 | Sexton | 3 | Helper | 3 |
| wood dealer | 4 | Engineer | 2 | Physician | 3 |
| coachman | 3 | Physician | 2 | Policeman | 3 |
| peddler | 3 | Plasterer | 2 | Switchman | 3 |
| policeman | 3 | Postal Clerk | 2 | Truckman | 3 |
| watchman | 3 | Principal | 2 | Bottler | 2 |
| City hand | 2 | | | Brakeman | 2 |
| Imputed Manager | 2 | | | contractor and builder | 2 |
| | | | | | |
| None Listed | 95 | None Listed | 370 | None Listed | 165 |
| | | | | | |
| Total | 1,490 | Total | 1,493 | Total | 2,068 |

The first column describes the types of occupations held in 1897 by blacks who did not leave the city and who were found in the 1900 directory. The largest categories of workers were laborers, cooks, and washerwomen. The second column describes the 1897 occupations of people who remained in the city following the violence. The largest categories were laborers followed by carpenters and porters. The third column describes the 1897 occupations for people who left the city by 1900. The largest number of workers who fled were laborers, cooks, and washerwomen. There was a significant drop in the numbers of domestic servants between the 1897 and 1900 directory. There was also an increase in the number of unemployed workers (occupation coded as “not listed”).

Table 14: Tabulation of Occupations for Whites In 1897 and 1900 Who Remained in the City After the Riots

Table 1. This table presents tabulations of occupations held by whites listed in the Individual Section of Wilmington City Directory in 1897 who were also listed in the directory in 1900

| <i>Whites Nonmovers in 1897</i> | | <i>Whites Nonmovers in 1900</i> | | <i>Whites Movers</i> | |
|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Occupations | Freq. | Occupations | Freq. | Occupations | Freq. |
| Clerk | 316 | Clerk | 255 | Clerk | 162 |
| laborer | 102 | Carpenter | 88 | Laborer | 80 |
| Imputed Manager | 107 | Grocer | 85 | Carpenter | 37 |
| carpenter | 83 | Imputed Manager | 78 | Machinist | 29 |
| salesman | 73 | Laborer | 67 | Salesman | 27 |
| Grocer | 72 | Bookkeeper | 58 | Inputed Manger | 22 |
| bookkeeper | 62 | Salesman | 55 | Teacher | 17 |
| machinist | 30 | Engineer | 44 | Bookkeeper | 16 |
| teacher | 26 | Foreman | 37 | Grocer | 15 |
| engineer | 24 | Manager | 28 | travelling salesman | 14 |
| manager | 23 | Traveling Salesman | 26 | Engineer | 13 |
| painter | 21 | Fireman | 25 | Manager | 12 |
| Printer | 20 | Painter | 23 | Driver | 11 |
| foreman | 18 | President | 21 | Pastor | 11 |
| secretary-treasurer | 18 | Machinist | 20 | Painter | 10 |
| attorney | 17 | Teacher | 19 | Stenographer | 10 |
| watchman | 17 | Watchman | 19 | Foreman | 9 |
| policeman | 16 | Printer | 18 | Watchman | 9 |
| conductor | 15 | Conductor | 15 | Cook | 8 |
| travelling salesman | 15 | Proprietor | 15 | Saleslady | 8 |
| blacksmith | 14 | Physician | 14 | Weaver | 8 |
| physician | 14 | Blacksmith | 13 | Agent | 7 |
| superintendent | 14 | Policeman | 13 | Barkeeper | 7 |
| stenographer | 13 | Superintendent | 13 | Blacksmith | 7 |
| cashier | 12 | Tinner | 13 | Washerwoman | 7 |
| Driver | 12 | Secretary-Treasurer | 12 | Conductor | 6 |
| lumber inspector | 10 | Butcher | 11 | Fireman | 6 |
| mechanic | 10 | Driver | 11 | insurance solicitor | 6 |
| president | 10 | Saleslady | 11 | Lineman | 6 |
| barkeeper | 9 | Agent | 10 | Printer | 6 |
| drayman | 9 | Collector | 10 | Contractor | 5 |
| locomotive engineer | 9 | Druggist | 9 | Dressmaker | 5 |
| pressman | 9 | Mechanist | 9 | Farmer | 5 |
| saleslady | 9 | Ship Clerk | 9 | locomotive engineer | 5 |
| Tinner | 9 | Stenographer | 9 | Messenger | 5 |
| chief clerk | 8 | Attorney | 8 | Moulder | 5 |
| Drug clerk | 8 | Drug Clerk | 8 | Physician | 5 |
| bookbinder | 7 | Inspector | 8 | Policeman | 5 |
| butcher | 7 | Plumber | 8 | Saloon | 5 |
| huckster | 7 | Saloon | 8 | Sawyer | 5 |
| plumber | 7 | Clerk | 8 | Butcher | 4 |
| proprietor | 7 | Cashier | 7 | Collector | 4 |
| Tailor | 7 | Huckster | 7 | Laundress | 4 |
| Agent | 6 | Insurance Agent | 7 | Photographer | 4 |
| brickmason | 6 | | | Pressman | 4 |
| commercial merchant | 6 | | | Seamstress | 4 |
| Total | 1314 | Total | 1232 | Total | 660 |

In Table 14, column one shows the types of occupations held in 1897 by whites who did not leave the city following the violence in 1898. Column two shows the occupations held in 1900 by the residents who were also in the city in 1897. The last column shows the occupations held in 1897 by white residents who moved from the city by 1900. In all categories, the majority were employed as clerks, laborers and carpenters.

A Five Percent Sample of the 1900 Census

In order to obtain an accurate picture of the Wilmington Community immediately after the riots a 5% sample was acquired by selecting every twentieth household from 1900 rolls. The 5% sample is more precise than those available through IPUMS which uses a smaller sample size. The 1900 data from IPUMS provides only a 1 % sample of the population. Because data using only the city of Wilmington from IPUMS does not provide a sufficient sample size for analysis, the 5% sample was coded.

After analysis of the 5% sample, the summary statistics for whites were very close to those found in the directory for the white population in 1900. However, the summary statistics from the 5% sample for the black population as compared to the directory data are not as close. The average OCCSCORES and SEI are 7-8 points lower than the directory sample for the black population. That means that the directory is biased in representation of the black community in that it predominately listed higher wage workers in the city. The census OCCSCORES and SEI scores show that there were more lower wage workers living in the city than represented in the directory.

Additionally, analysis was also conducted for individuals aged 25 to 65. This age group is more indicative of the work age population. Looking at this group, both groups

were married, on average, about 14 years. The survival rate for children born to white families was slightly higher and white families had slightly more children per household. The average OCCSCORE for black workers was 13.43 and the average OCCSCORE for white workers was 26.44. The average SEI score for black workers was 13.7 and the average SEI score for white workers was 37.85. There were more women than men in both races but black women were 65% of the black working age population whereas white women and white men were almost even with women holding a slight majority at 53%. More of the black workers were born in North Carolina to North Carolina born parents. Ninety-five percent of Wilmington's black workforce in 1900 was born in North Carolina whereas 83% of the city's white workforce was born in the state. Only about 50% of the black working population was literate whereas over 90% of the white population could read and write.

| All Residents of Wilmington | Obs | Mean |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| birthyear | 985 | 1873 |
| age | 985 | 26.91 |
| years married | 336 | 14.32 |
| momkids | 242 | 3.61 |
| numkids | 170 | 2.25 |
| kidsalive | 242 | 2.32 |
| occscore | 573 | 14.86 |
| sei | 573 | 18.1 |
| black | 1005 | 0.51 |
| white | 1005 | 0.49 |
| male | 1005 | 0.45 |
| female | 1005 | 0.55 |
| married | 1005 | 0.34 |
| bornnc | 1005 | 0.91 |
| fatherbornnc | 1005 | 0.85 |
| motherbornnc | 1005 | 0.86 |
| can read | 1005 | 0.64 |
| can write | 1005 | 0.64 |

Glossary:

Obs = number of observations
Mean = average
Momkids= mother of how many children
Numkids = number of children in household
Kidsalive = number of children alive for a given mother

| Blacks Only | Obs | Mean |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|
| birthyear | 490 | 1874 |
| age | 490 | 25.81 |
| years married | 154 | 14.4 |
| momkids | 132 | 3.81 |
| numkids | 86 | 2.21 |
| kidsalive | 132 | 2.27 |
| occscore | 309 | 11.18 |
| sei | 309 | 10.12 |
| male | 507 | 0.42 |
| female | 507 | 0.58 |
| married | 507 | 0.31 |
| bornnc | 507 | 0.95 |
| fatherbornnc | 507 | 0.93 |
| motherbornnc | 507 | 0.93 |
| can read | 507 | 0.5 |
| can write | 507 | 0.49 |

| Whites Only | Obs | Mean |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|
| birthyear | 495 | 1872 |
| age | 495 | 27.99 |
| years married | 182 | 14.26 |
| momkids | 110 | 3.36 |
| numkids | 84 | 2.3 |
| kidsalive | 110 | 2.37 |
| occscore | 264 | 19.17 |
| sei | 264 | 27.44 |
| male | 496 | 0.48 |
| female | 496 | 0.52 |
| married | 496 | 0.38 |
| bornnc | 496 | 0.87 |
| fatherbornnc | 496 | 0.77 |
| motherbornnc | 496 | 0.78 |
| can read | 496 | 0.79 |
| can write | 496 | 0.79 |

| Impact of Being Black for black male workers, age 25-65, in 1900 | |
|---|----------------|
| Black Occscore | Black Sei |
| negative 7.63 | negative 23.52 |
| Black occscores and Sei scores were significantly lower than those of whites if all factors except race were held constant. For example, the only factor to indicate why a male, age 25, working in Wilmington is paid less than another is his race. | |

| Blacks only ages 25-65 | Obs | Mean |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| birthyear | 219 | 1860 |
| age | 219 | 39.3 |
| years married | 120 | 14.53 |
| momkids | 104 | 3.73 |
| numkids | 67 | 2.21 |
| kidsalive | 104 | 2.365 |
| occscore | 157 | 13.43 |
| sei | 157 | 13.7 |
| male | 219 | 0.35 |
| female | 219 | 0.65 |
| married | 219 | 0.56 |
| bornnc | 219 | 0.95 |
| fatherbornnc | 219 | 0.93 |
| motherbornnc | 219 | 0.95 |
| can read | 219 | 0.51 |
| can write | 219 | 0.49 |

| Whites only ages 25-65 | Obs | Mean |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| birthyear | 233 | 1859 |
| age | 233 | 40.02 |
| years married | 157 | 14.5 |
| momkids | 90 | 3.72 |
| numkids | 75 | 2.36 |
| kidsalive | 89 | 2.69 |
| occscore | 123 | 26.44 |
| sei | 123 | 37.85 |
| male | 233 | 0.47 |
| female | 233 | 0.53 |
| married | 233 | 0.7 |
| bornnc | 233 | 0.83 |
| fatherbornnc | 233 | 0.76 |
| motherbornnc | 233 | 0.77 |
| can read | 233 | 0.93 |
| can write | 233 | 0.92 |

Tax Records

| Table 17: Changes in Property Holdings of Black Citizens | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| | Obs. | Mean | Standard Deviation |
| Average Tax Value in 1897 | 1166 | 322.8885 | 342.4092 |
| Average Tax Value in 1900 | 911 | 334.4566 | 304.1723 |
| Difference in Tax Value | 857 | 17.99883 | 144.3791 |
| | | | |
| Lost Property | 1226 | 0.2520392 | 0.4343608 |
| | | | |
| Average Appreciation | 252 | 115.8135 | 111.3366 |
| Average Depreciation | 100 | -137.6 | 313.6052 |
| | | | |
| Source: Tax records of black citizens in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1897 and 1900. This data was provided to the researcher by the North Carolina's Department of Cultural Resources at the Office of Archives and History | | | |

In order to evaluate changes in property ownership, this study utilizes data from the historical tax records for Wilmington, North Carolina. Looking only at black property owners, Table 17. shows that the total number of black property owners decreased from 1166 to 911 after the riot. However, the average tax value of black property holders increased from \$ 322.85 to \$ 334.45 after the riot. This suggests that a good number of individuals that were able to maintain property after the riot held property that was highly valued. Additionally, 252 black property holders experienced an average appreciation of \$115.81. The data also shows that 100 individuals experienced an average depreciation in the value of their property of \$ 137.60.

It is important to note that this analysis does not include white property owners. In order to make any conclusive inferences about the affect of the riot on property holdings, changes in black ownership must be compared with changes in white ownership. Results that use tax data for both the black and white citizens is pending.

V. Conclusion and Further Work

Analysis of the Wilmington Directories provides evidence that suggests that the average status of the black population declined after the riot. There was a decrease in the black population relative to the white population. The directory data also provides evidence to suggest that the business climate after the riot became relatively more favorable for white businesses and labor while at the same time becoming less favorable for black businesses and labor. This is shown by the significant decrease in the number of blacks employed and blacks owning businesses relative to whites.

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