

**Online Appendix to “The Costs of Segregation: Evidence from the
Federal Government under Woodrow Wilson”**

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Guo Xu

October 11, 2021

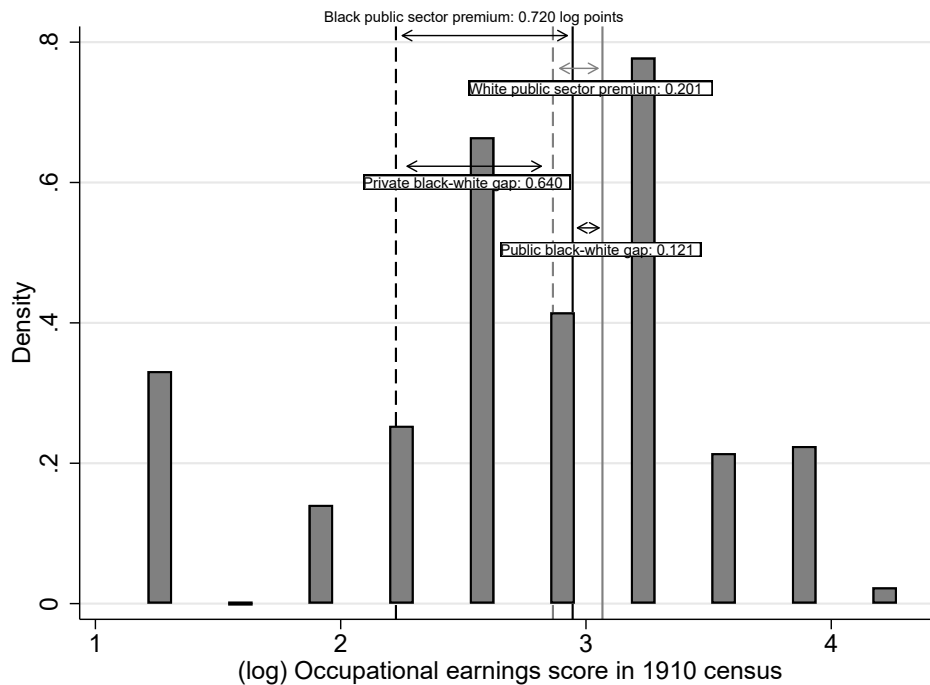
Online Appendix

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A Additional figures and tables

Figure A.I: Distribution of occupational earnings score in 1910 by race and sector



Notes: The figure shows the distribution of the (log) occupational income scores from the 1910 full-count census. The vertical lines show the mean income scores for black and white individuals by sector. The public sector is defined as the Federal Government comprising the Postal Service (ind1950 code 906) and Federal Public Administration (916). The private (non-federal government) sector comprises the complement. The dashed lines show the private sector means, and the solid lines show the public sector means.

Figure A.II: Sample of the Official Registers 1913

Davis

DIRECTORY.

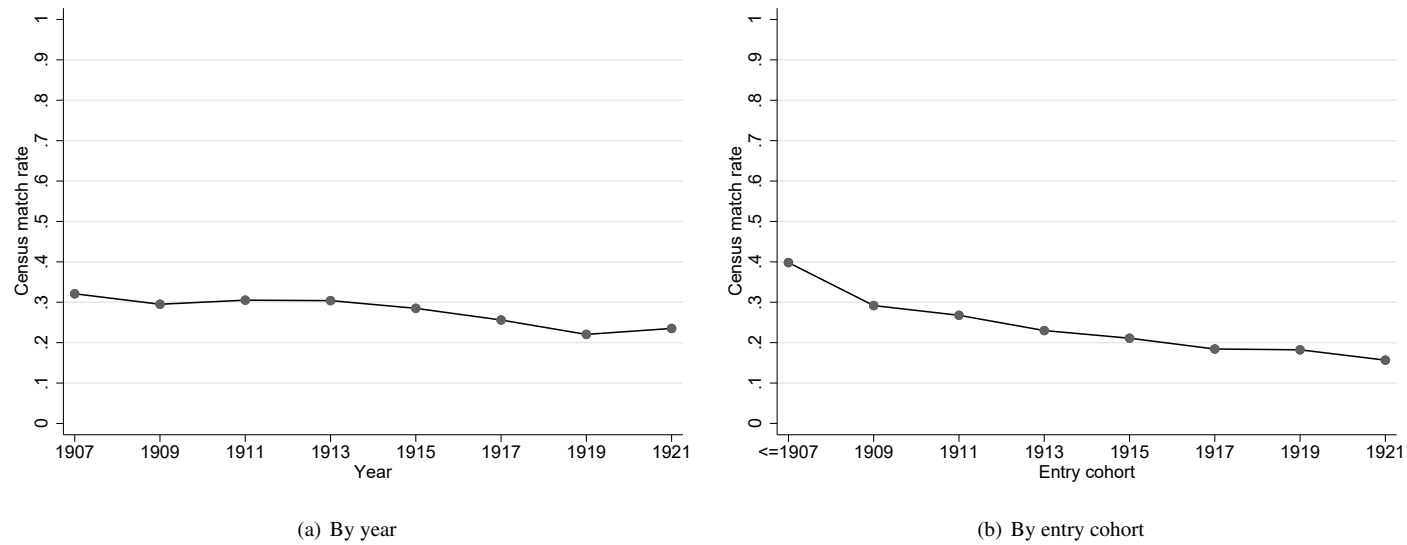
Davis

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Harry S. Agr ForestServ Asst \$1200 Mich 5MichKent MarionNC	John F. War MilAcad Cadet \$709.50 Ga 6TexBrazos WestPointNY
Harry V. Labor BuIngenr Clk \$1650 DC 6PaPhiladelphia Philadelphia	John F. War QMCorps Bkkmth \$900 Md DelNewcastle FtThomasKy
Hartwell C. USN Ensign PayRank — Mo	John H. GovtDC MetPolice Priv \$1080 Ind DC DC
Mrs Helen E. Treas CustServ Typr \$1000 Vt 2VtEssex NewportVt	John H. Int GenLandOff LawExamr \$2000 Ohio 18OhioStark DC
Henry, Navy Seamanr Perwlr Flm 4NYKings NewYorkPacNY	John H. Navy Mach \$2.20pd Va 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk
Henry G. Treas CustodServ Firm \$600 NC 6NCGuilford HighPointNC	John H. Smithelmer NatlMus Watch \$720 Tenn 2TennKnox DC
Henry C. USA CoastArtCorps Col PayRank SO SC	John H. Treas PHS Attndr \$35pm SC 18OCharleston CharlestonSC
Henry C. USMCOrps Maj PayRank DC DC OlongapoPI	John I. IstCanalComm Constr&Engng StmKng \$162pm US 6IndPayette
Henry C. P. USA CoastArtCorps 314 PayRank DCUS	CanalZone
Henry F. D. USN Lt(JrGrade) PayRank Canada Nev	John J. Agr BuEntom Asst \$1800 Ill 10IndTippecanoe LafayetteInd
Henry H. Treas LSS AssttoSuptConstr \$2000 Mass 15MassDukes OnCoast	John M. Com Census SpAct Perwlr SO 78Lee BishopvilleSC
Henry J. Int IndServ Clk \$1090 Wis 2NDuBoutign FtAtensDak	John M. IstCanalComm CivAdmin CorpPolice \$122.50pm KY 11Ky
Henry J. Treas OffAudTreas Clk \$1200 SO 78CSummer DC	Whitley CanalZone
Henry M. Treas CustServ ClkDepCollr \$3000 Md 4PaPhiladelphia Phila-	John M. K. USA BrigGenRet PayRank DC Ark
delphia	John N. jr. IstCanalComm Constr&Engng Rodmn \$82.33 Tex 11TexHamil-
Hearst M. Navy Shipwrt \$3.28pd Va 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk	ton CanalZone
Henry B. NHIVS EastBr Labr 30cpd Mass 3MeKennebec TogusMe	John O. Navy Shipmth \$3.36pd NC 1VaWarwick NavyYdNorfolk
Hertel A. Com BuStands LabyAsst \$1080 DO 10IndTippecanoe DO	John P. GPO Labr 25cpd Md DC DC
Hertel C. War OffChngs Clk \$1400 Ohio 18OhioStark DO	John R. Navy Mach \$9.58pd Pa 3PaPhiladelphia NavyYdPhiladelphia
Hertel L. War OffChngs Clk \$1800 DC DC DC	John R. Senate Mes \$1440 Va 10VaFlavanna DC
Herman C. PO OffAsstPMGen Clk \$1400 DC 8VaAlexandria DC	John S. USA 19RegInf 1Lt PayRank NO Army
Hilman B. Treas CustodServ EngCond \$600 Ky 1KyMcCracken PaducahKy	John T. Treas CustodServ Liquidator \$2000 Md 5NJUnion NewYork
Homer, Int IndServ Phys \$660 Ill 8NebNance GenoaNeb	John W. Com LHS Kpr \$210 Mass 4MassKear AssaquonHarbLCSMass
Homer C. IstCanalComm Constr&Engng Clk \$1000 Ga 7GaMurray CanalZone	John W. Int PennOff Clk \$1400 Tenn 2TennKnox DC
Howard B. Treas IRS DivDepCollr \$1400 NY 38NYAlbany NewYork	John W. Jus OffAttyGen SolicitorGeneral \$10,000 WVa 1WVaHarrison DC
Howard S. Navy ElecMach \$3.28pd SC 18OCharleston NavyYdCharleston	John W. Treas IRS Strp&Gager Fees Ky 8KyJefferson 5DistIRSKy
Howard W. Navy Mach \$4.08pd Pa 31PaAllentown NavyYdDC	John T. USN Midshipms \$600 — Mo NavAcadAnnapolis
Hubert T. Agr BuPlantIndus Collabr \$5pm Ala 5AlaFavah FortDavisAla	John W. Agr ForestServ AsstRanger \$1100 Utah 10UtahWyoAltaArizWyo
Hugh Com LHS LabrChglr \$8pm Miss 7TennLauderdale GoldsmtTenn	John W. Com LHS Kpr \$450 SC 1GaChatham HillbaronIndLStaFla
Hugh M. Agr BuAndrus LabyAd \$900 Pa 6MdMontgomery DC	John W. Navy Labr \$1.76pd Va 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk
Hurty, War OrdDeptAtlg SewMachOp \$2.35pd Ill 14IllRockland Rock-	Jos, Treas CustodServ OperaterPacker \$900 NY 7NJHudson NewYork
landArml	Jos A. Navy Mach \$3.53pd Md DC NavyYdDC
Miss Ina M. Int PennOff Clk \$900 RI 1RIProvidence DC	Jos D. Int BuIngenr Chem \$2400 Ohio 12OhioFranklin DC
Miss Inez, NHIVS DanvilleBr Labr \$240 Ill 18IllVermilion DanvilleIll	Jos E. IstCanalComm Constr&Engng Insp \$150pm Pa —CalifSolano
Ira, Agr BuPlantIndus Labr \$600 Va DC 4AlamontFarmVa	CanalZone
Ira J. Navy Mach \$4pd Iowa 1WashKitap NavyYdPugetSound	Jos F. GovtDC MetPolice Priv \$1200 DC DC DC
Irving, Com LHS LabrChg \$180 NY 1VaGrandall GordonLandingLStaVt	Jos H. War Pl \$900 Mont 2WashClark FtMacKenzieWyo
Irving J. War Drftman \$810 Ft Mass DC 2DC	Jos J. Int PatOff Clk \$1000 Md 6MDPrinceGeorge DC
Miss Isabelle, GPO SkLabr 25cpd Md DC DC	Jos F. Agr ForestServ Grd \$900 Mo 10ColoDenver Denver
Isaac H. Treas CustodServ Insp \$4pd Md 4MDaltimoreCity Baltimore	Jos R. USA CoastArtCorps 1Lt PayRank Ark Ark
Isaac H. PO OffAsstPMGen Mes \$840 NC DC DC	Jos S. Jus USCAUSA Marsh \$2500 Ga 6Ga Macon
Ivins, GPO Composite 50cpd Tenn 2TennKnox DC	Jos W. Com Q&ASurv Clk \$1200 Utah 10regCoos DC
J. B. Int PatOff IstExamr \$2100 DC DC DC	Miss Julia E. GovtDC PubSchs Tchr \$825 DC DC DC
J. C. Navy Mach \$3.52pd Pa 4—Philadelphia NavyYdPhiladelphia	Justin E. Treas IRS DivCollr \$1600 NY 28NYMontce RochesterNY
J. D. War EngrDeptAtlg Insp \$900pm La 5LaCalderwell NewOrleans	Miss E. Bruce, Treas CustServ DepCollrInsp \$540 NC 1NCPasquotank
J. M. GovtDC FireDepr Priv \$1080 Va DC DC	ElizabethCityNC
MCC, Navy SubinspOrd \$5.25pd DC DC NavyYdDC	L. T. War PubSchoolsGr Watch \$840 Va DC DC
J. S. War EngrDeptAtlg Mte \$900pm Ga 1GaTattnall USSNagboatOconeeGa	L. T. Navy MachHipr \$2.94pd Me 1NHBockingham NavyYdPortsmouth
J. W. Com LHS LabrKpr \$700pm SC 2FidDuval MayportFla	Lamon C. GovtDC MetPolice Priv \$1200 Md DC DC
Warren, Jus USCAUSA Atty \$2000 NC 1NBSalem CamdenNC	Lee B. USA 1stRegInf 2Lt PayRank Md Md
Jackson, Int Educ SpCollabrBrEdue \$1 Va 8Valterrico RichmondVa	Mrs Lena C. Com Census Clk \$900 Ind 13IndAllen DC
Jackson L. Com Census Clk \$900 La 8LaOrleans DC	Leo E. Agr BuAndrus VetInsp \$1400 Ohio 4OhioMerch Chicago
Jacob H. GovtDC MetPolice Priv \$200 Va DC DC	Leslie A. State ConsrServ Comm \$2500 KY NY BatumRussia
Jas, Navy Labr \$2.16pd NC DC NavyYdDC	Leslie C. USN LtJrVr PayRank Tex Idaho
Jas, War EngrDeptAtlg Stoker \$480 SO 78CRichland ColumbiaSC	Leslie L. War QMCorps Clk \$1400 Iowa 10IowaMontgomery StLouis
Jas A. Com Census SpAct Perwlr \$1000 Tex 3TexSantTex	Leslie V. Agr BuPlantIndus Scient \$1220 Ill 8MoBonne DC
Jas A. GovtDC MetPolice Priv \$1200 Md DC DC	Lester P. NHIVS MilBr Labr 40cpd Pa 6PaChester JohnsonCityTenn
Jas A. Int GenLandOff Clk \$1200 Tenn 2TennBlount DC	Lewis C. Agr ForestServ Grd \$900 Miss 20ColoRipazo Denver
Jas A. Navy Clk \$4.08pd Va 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk	Lewis E. Agr Westhbu Ostr 20cpers Ohio 16OhioLicking GranvilleOhio
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Jas D. War OrdDeptAtlg Driller \$2.00pd Ill 14IllRockland Rockland	Miss Lizzie, NHIVS SoBr Waiter \$18pm NC — HamptonVa
Arml	Miss Lizzie, Int IndServ Matr \$720 Ind 7IndMarion RiceAriz
Jas E. Navy Fireman \$2.24pd Va 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk	Logan, Treas CustodServ Jan 2000 Ky 1WVHacine RacineWis
Jas E. Navy Mach \$3.53pd Pa 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk	Mrs Lettia, GPO SkLabr 25cpd DC DC DC
Jas E. Treas BuKngtPig Fireman \$3pd Ill 18IllClark DC	Louis, Treas CustodServ Insp \$5pd Cal 4CalSanFrancisco SanFrancisco
Jas E. Treas CustServ AsstWrt \$450 Md 3MDMiddleton NewYork	Louis A. Treas OffPO Clk \$1400 DC DC DC
Jas E. Treas CustServ Insp \$4pd NY 11NYNewYork NewYork	Louis B. Com LHS Engr \$1080 Va 7TexGalveston LAYes1
Jas F. Agr ForestServ AsstRanger \$1100 Cal 1CalModoc AlturasCal	Louis P. USN Lt PayRank NC NC
Jas H. Senate ClkBenches \$2000 DC 2WashYakima DC	Louis P. H. Int OffSec Mes \$840 Va 8IllCook DC
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Jas L. USN Midshipms \$600 — Pa NavAcadAnnapolis	Lyman C. Agr BuPlantIndus Collabr \$1 Ga 4GaTroup LagrangeGa
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Jas M. Treas IRS DivCollr \$1100 NC 8NCTredell StatevilleNC	aloNY
Jas N. jr. PO OffAsstPMGen Clk \$1000 DC DC DC	M. S. Navy Watch \$3pd Ohio 6NYKings NavyYdBrooklyn
Jas P. Navy Labr \$2pd NO 1PaPhiladelphia NavyYdPhiladelphia	Miss Madeline H. GovtDC PubSchs Lbrn \$780 DC DC DC
Jas R. Agr ForestServ AsstRanger \$1100 Wash 80WashWallawa Wallawa	Mahlon H. IstCanComm Constr&Engng LocomEngr \$210pm Ohio 9Ohio
Wash	Lucas CanalZone
Jas R. Navy NavObs Watch \$720 La 5LaOrleans DC	Malcolm C. USN Mach PayRank Tenn Tenn
Jas W. IstCanalComm Constr&Engng Form \$160pm US 18Illroquois	Mannell, Com LHS Fireman \$40pm Azores 10MassSuffolk TndrMayflowerMass
CanalZone	Miss Margaret L. Treas BuEng&Pig PatAsst \$1.75pd DC DC DC
Jas W. Treas IRS Strp&Gager Fees NJ 6NJBergen NewYork	Miss Marianna, State OffPortTradeAdv Clk \$1400 Ohio 10OhioJackson DC
Mrs Junnette, Com BuFish Jas \$480 Tenn 2TennBlount DC	Miss Marie E. Com Census Clk \$1200 Va 8VaFairfax DC
Jefferson W. Int PennOff PrinExamr \$2000 NY 43NYCattaraugus DC	Mrs Martha K. Treas BuEng&Pig Pir On \$2.24pd DC DC DC
Miss Jennie L. GovtDC PubSchools AsstKindergTchr \$600 Va DC DC	Martin, Treas CustodServ Fireman \$2.35pd Pa 4PaPhiladelphia Philadelphia
Miss Jennie T. Int RecdServ \$8Clk \$1820 NY 21PaMcKen DC	Martin, Treas CustodServ Labr \$540 Tex 12TexTarrant FtWorthTex
John, Com BuFish Labr \$600 Can 2VtWindsor StJohnsburyVt	Martin, Treas CustodServ Fireman \$2.25pd Pa 6PaPhiladelphia Philadelphia
Jesse J. Treas LSS Surfmn \$700pm Mass 10MassBarnstable CoxtataLSSin	Martin V. Navy Clk \$5.04pd Ill 8CalSantaCera NavyYdMareland
Mass	Mrs Mary A. GPO PressPr 27cpd DC 8MDPrinceGeorge DC
Jesse M. Com LHS LabrChglr \$8pm Ohio 2ArkMississippi HickmanArk	Miss Mary A. Int PatOff Clk \$1200 NJ DC DC
Jesse P. Treas BuEng&Pig Watch \$720 Va 8VaPrinceWilliam DC	Miss Mary A. War MedDeptAtlg Nrs \$50pm Pa 19PaBlair SanFrancisco
Joel A. USN ChCarp PayRank Pa Pa — DC	Mrs Mary A. War QMCorps OpMach Perwlr NJ 6PaPhiladelphia Philadelphia
John, BotanGarden Foremn \$9pd Va — DC	Miss Mary R. LBCong Asst \$900 Va DC DC
John, Navy ChBten PayRank Ger 10NYNewYork NavyYdNewportRI	Mrs Mary C. Int PatOff Copy \$900 Mass 3MassWorcester DC
John, Navy HiprBlkmth \$2.64pd Pa 1WashKitap NavyYdPugetSound	Mrs Mary E. GovtDC PubSchs Caretfr \$72perannum DC DC DC
John, Navy Labr \$1.76pd Va 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk	Miss Mary E. GovtDC PubSchs Tchr \$1010 DC DC DC
John, Navy Ordnm \$2.96pd Ire 1PaPhiladelphia NavyYdPhiladelphia	Mrs Mary E. Int IndServ AsstMatr \$500 Mich 2EamMiami FtDucheneUtah
John, Navy Watch \$2pd Eng 6NYKings NavyYdBrooklyn	Miss Mary E. Treas BuEng&Pig Op \$2.24pd La 1LaNewOrleans DC
John, War EngrDeptAtlg CookHipr \$480 Ala 20AlaHamilton DrdgIndiana	Miss Mary E. War OrdServ Labr \$1.20pd US 6PaPhiladelphia Frank-
John A. GPO Clk \$1200 DC 8VaPrincoWilliam DC	fordArizPa
John A. Jus USCAUSA RefBankrpt Fees Miss 4MissAttala RoseminMiss	Mrs Mary S. Treas OffAudPO SkLabr \$660 Pa DC DC
John A. Navy GunShiptr \$6pd Va 30Boloano NavyYdOlongapoDC	Mrs Mary W. LibCong CopyrOff Clk \$1200 Minn — DC
John B. GPO Bbinder 50cpd Eng 6KyCampbell DC	Maxon, Navy Labr \$1.32pd NO 2VaNorfolk NavyYdNorfolk
John B. Treas CustodServ Labr \$600 Miss 3MissAdams NatchezMiss	McDonald, Agr BuPlantIndus Collabr \$1 SC 3NCSampson ClintonNC
John B. Treas IRS DivCollr \$1200 Tenn 3TennDallas DenisonTenn	Melville G. Int PennOff Clk \$1800 Iowa 7IowaMadison HelenaMont
John C. Agr ForestServ Op PerwlrAsst \$3.25pd Ky 8KyJefferson DC	Melvin J. Int PennOff Clk \$1860 Wis 7WashMadison HelenaMont
John C. Agr ForestServ Grd \$900 Cal 1CalModoc AlturasCal	Michl F. War MilAcad Cadet \$709.50 Ohio 6OhioClermont WestPointNY
John C. War EngrDeptAtlg CookHipr \$480 Ala 20AlaHamilton DrdgIndiana	Milton F. IstCanComm Constr&Engng PlaningMillRend 56cpd Ohio —
John D. Navy Mach \$3.76pd Md DC NavyYdDC	CanalZone
John D. War QMCorps Tmstr \$480 Ohio HawaiiHonolulu SchofieldBrks	Milton F. USA MajRet PayRank Minn Oreg
Hawaii	Nilton S. USN Lt PayRank Cal Cal
John E. PO OffAsstPMGen Clk \$1000 Md 2NebDouglas DC	Myron M. Int PatOff AsstExamr \$1600 Me 3MeKennebec DC
John E. Navy Mach \$4.08pd DC DC NavyYdDC	

(275)

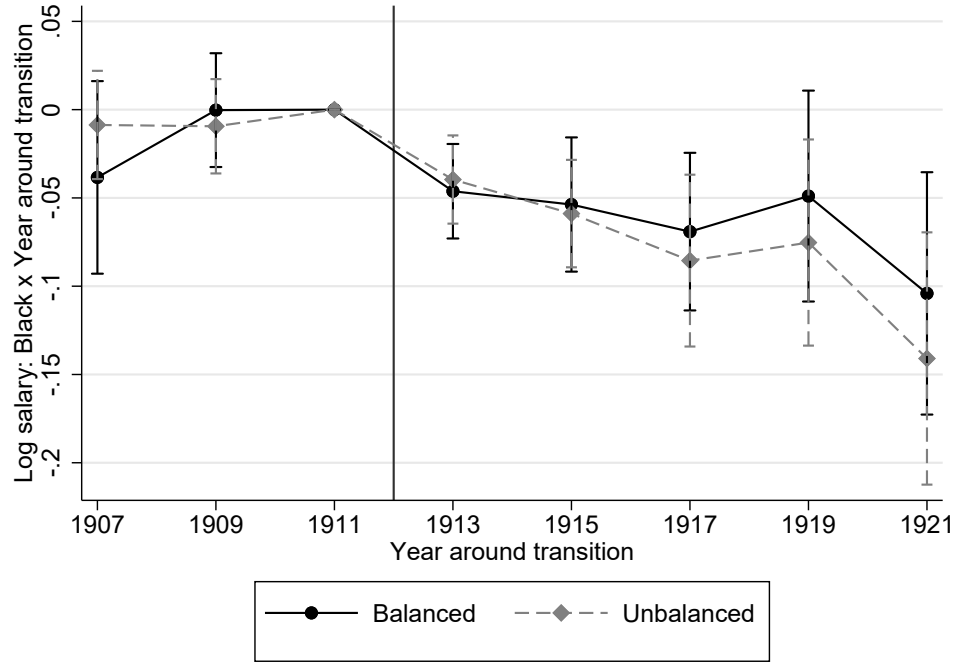
Notes: The figure shows a sample of the Official Registers for the year 1913. Record highlighted in red is the example described in subsection 3.3.

Figure A.III: Match rates by Official Register year and civil servant entry cohort



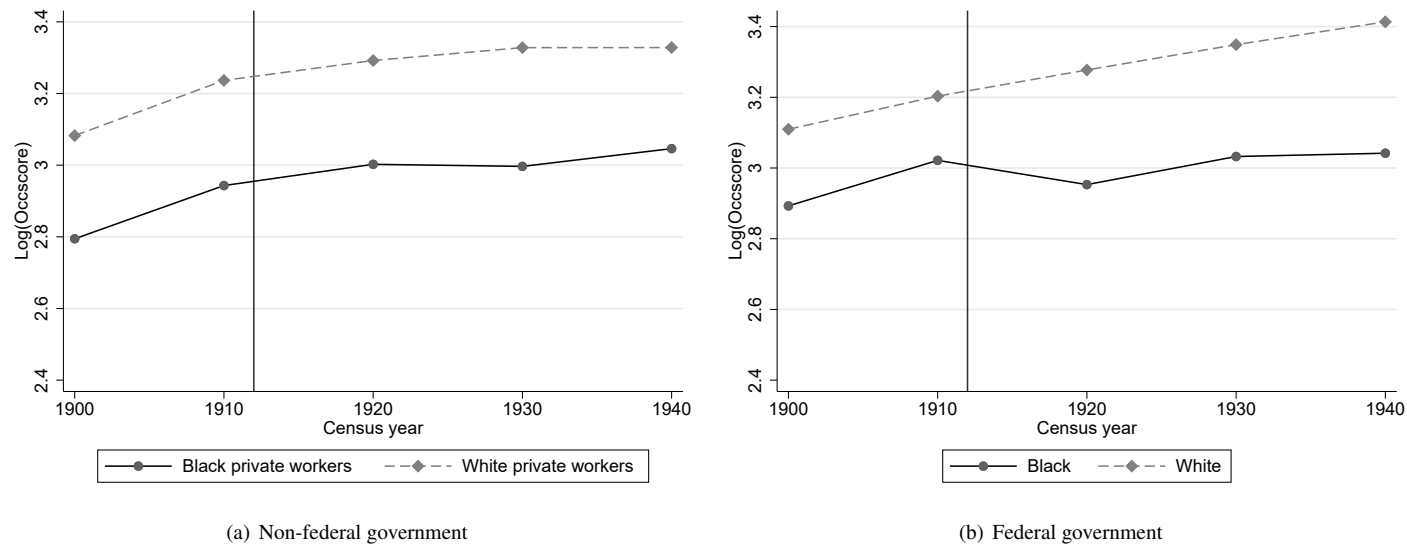
Notes: Figure shows the share of civil servants from the Official Register dataset who could be linked to the 1910 census. In the left panel (a), the match rate is shown broken down by each year (i.e., each Official Register volume). In the right panel (b), the match rate is shown broken down by the cohort of entry. The cohort of entry is defined as the earliest year a civil servant is observed in the Official Register dataset (with censoring occurring in 1907 at the beginning of the sample period).

Figure A.IV: Heterogeneity by balanced vs. unbalanced sample



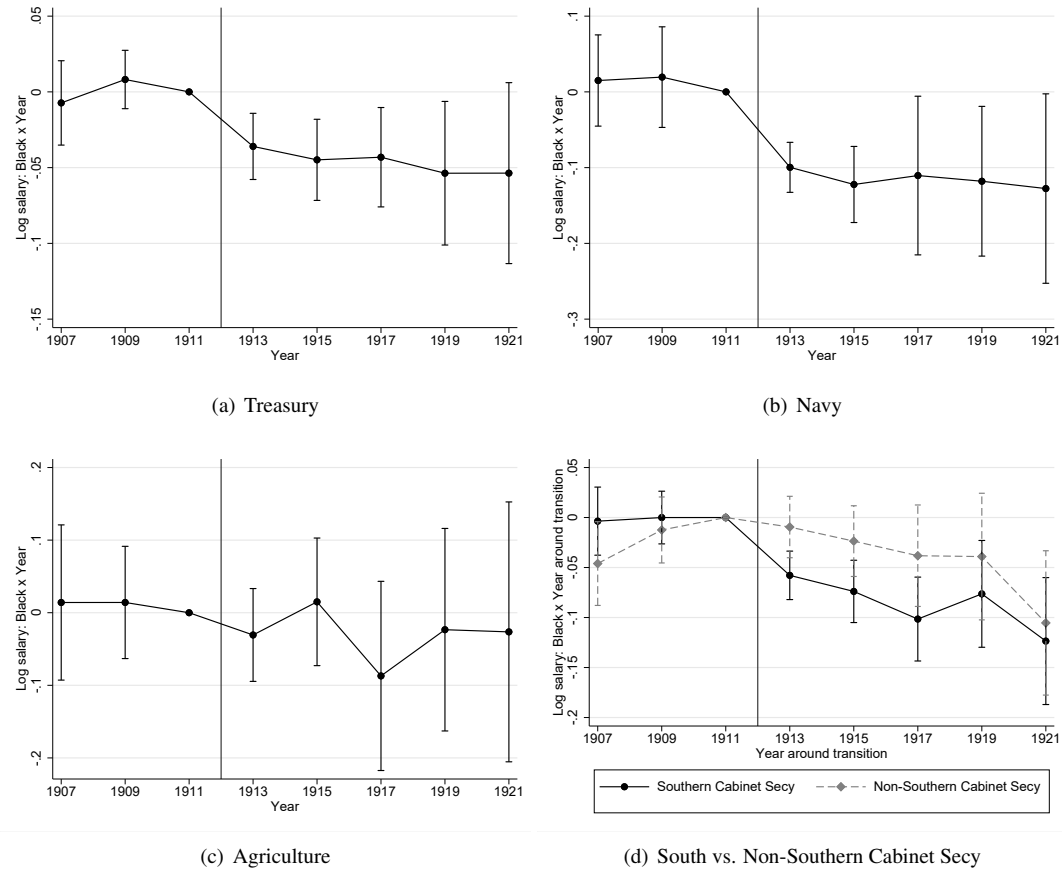
Notes: The figure shows the black vs. white (log) earnings gap for matched black civil servants around Woodrow Wilson's inauguration ($t = 1913$), broken down by whether the civil servant is observed throughout 1911-1921 (balanced) or not (unbalanced). Black and white civil servants are matched exactly based on sex, department, bureau, comparable age, salary and whether the position is paid per annum or not in 1911. The specification corresponds to the regression of [Table II](#), column 3, except that we allow the Black $\times$ Wilson coefficient to vary by each time period. The solid vertical black line delineates the pre-transition from the post-transition period. The 95% confidence intervals reported are based on standard errors clustered at the individual-level.

Figure A.V: (Log) occupational income score gap between black and white workers over time



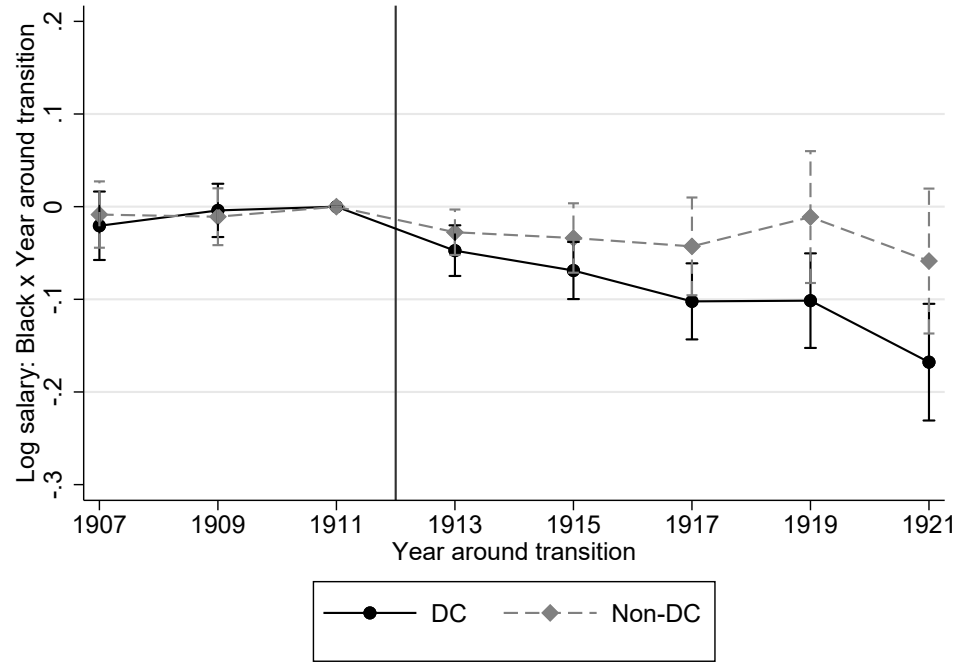
Notes: The figure shows the (log) occupational income score for a longitudinal sample of matched private sector workers (panel a) and census-linked civil servants (panel b) over time. Individuals are linked to the census years 1900-1940 using the cross-walk from the Census Linking Project (and thus only includes males). For the non-federal government sample, we restrict the sample to non-agricultural employment and reweight the sample to be representative of the civil servant sample based on state of residence, race, and the occupational income score in 1910. Solid line marks the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson.

Figure A.VI: Black-white earnings gap around Wilson's transition, by department



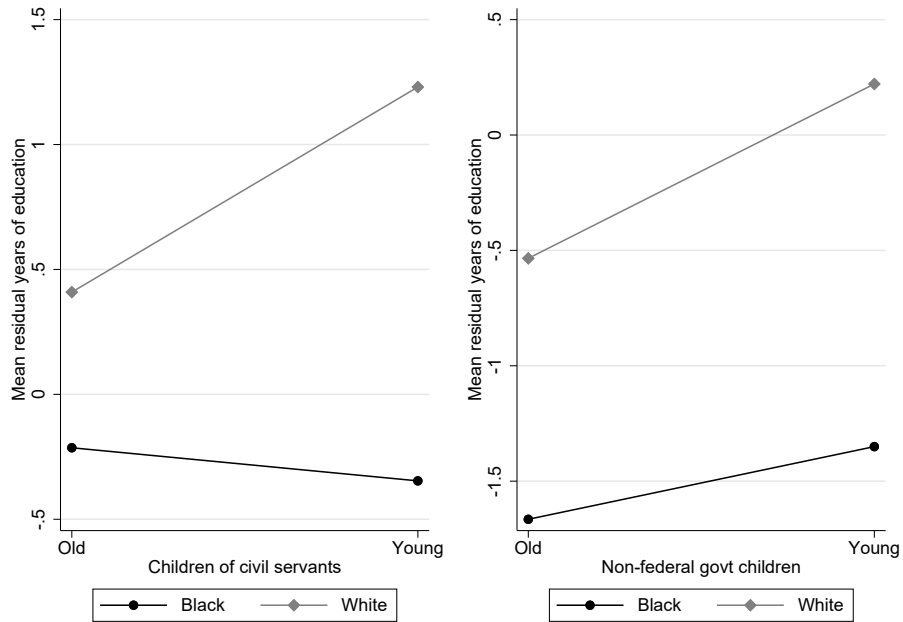
Notes: The figure shows the black vs. white (log) earnings gap for matched black civil servants around Woodrow Wilson's inauguration ($t = 1913$), broken down by Treasury (panel a), Navy (panel b), Agriculture (panel c) and whether the department is led by a Southern cabinet secretary or not (panel d). Black and white civil servants are matched exactly based on sex, department, bureau, age, salary, and whether the position is paid per annum or not in 1911. The solid vertical black line delineates the pre-transition from the post-transition period. The 95% confidence intervals reported are based on standard errors clustered at the individual-level.

Figure A.VII: Heterogeneity by DC vs. non-DC work location

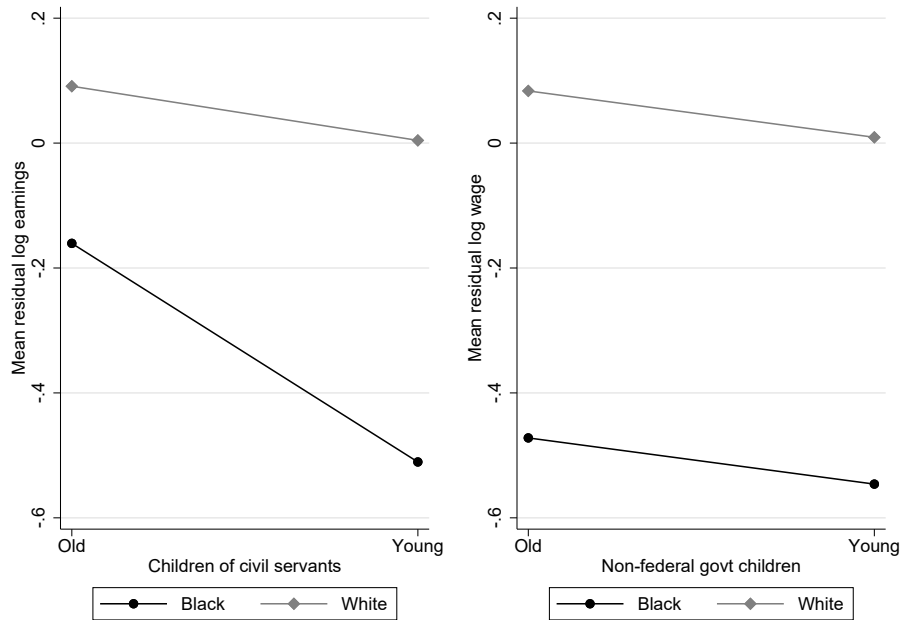


Notes: The figure shows the black vs. white (log) earnings gap for matched black civil servants around Woodrow Wilson's inauguration ($t = 1913$), broken down by whether the civil servant is employed in DC or not. Black and white civil servants are matched exactly based on sex, department, bureau, comparable age, salary, and whether the position is paid per annum or not in 1911. The specification corresponds to the regression of [Table II](#), column 3, except that we allow the Black $\times$ Wilson coefficient to vary by each time period. The solid vertical black line delineates the pre-transition from the post-transition period. The 95% confidence intervals reported are based on standard errors clustered at the individual-level.

Figure A.VIII: Intergenerational effects – Residual means by race, age and sector



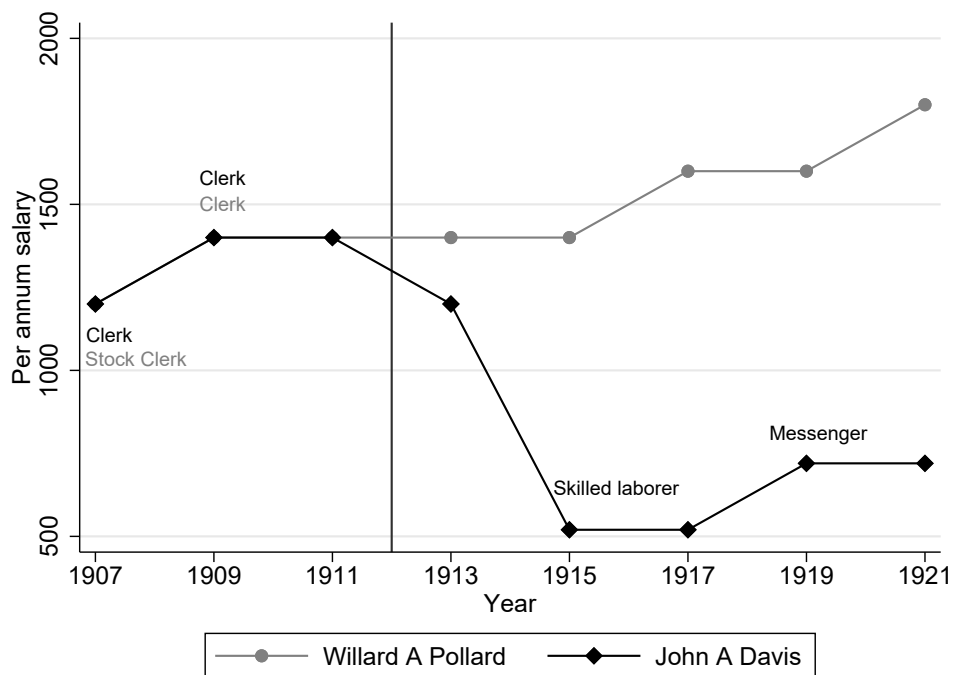
(a) Years of education



(b) Log(earnings) in 1940

Notes: The figure shows the (residualized) mean outcomes (schooling and earnings in 1940) of children of black and white civil servants vs. the mean outcomes for children of non-government sector parents that are comparable in terms of state of residence, race, and occupational income score in 1910. The residualized means are computed by partialing out county fixed effects. Old children are those who are above 18 in the 1910 census; young children are those who are below or equals to 18 in 1910.

Figure A.IX: Example of matching strategy – John A. Davis vs. Willard A. Pollard



Notes: The figure illustrates the matching strategy for the case of John A. Davis (black civil servant) and Willard A. Pollard (white civil servant). The career progression shown for both civil servants is based on actual data on salaries and job titles from the Official Registers. The solid line marks the year of Wilson's election and implementation of the segregation order.

Table A.I: Descriptive statistics of civil servants vs. census population in 1910

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Mean	<u>Matched civil servants vs. unmatched</u>			Total
	non-govt	All	White	Black	obs.
Log(occscore)	2.807	0.349*** (0.003)	0.291*** (0.003)	0.603*** (0.011)	30,943,099
Home ownership	0.466	-0.029*** (0.002)	-0.045*** (0.002)	0.078*** (0.008)	56,521,680
Female	0.480	-0.350*** (0.002)	-0.353*** (0.001)	-0.303*** (0.007)	58,874,889
Age in 1910	33.843	3.812*** (0.060)	3.655*** (0.062)	5.003*** (0.219)	58,874,889

Notes: Comparing mean characteristics of the census-linked civil servants to the average U.S. population aged 15-65 in 1910. The unit of observation is an individual. Column 1 reports the mean characteristics for the U.S. census population of 1910 (excluding the census-linked individuals). Column 2 shows the mean difference between the census-linked civil servants and the remainder of U.S. population. Columns 3-4 break down the mean difference for black and white individuals. Column 5 reports the total number of observations. Robust standard errors reported in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.II: Robustness check: Main result – Matching exactly on current state and job title

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log annual salary			
Mean of dep. var	6.765	6.731	6.737	6.721
Black $\times$ Wilson	-0.034*** (0.010)	-0.030*** (0.011)	-0.037*** (0.011)	-0.031** (0.014)
CEM	Baseline	+ Current state 1910	+ Job title 1911	+ Current state + Job title
Individual FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	92,687	47,070	59,275	31,887

Notes: This table shows the robustness of our main result to matching on the civil servants' state of residence in 1910 (from US census) and the job title in 1911 (from the Official Registers). Column 1 shows the baseline estimate which matches on sex, department, bureau, contract type (full-time or not), salary, and age. In column 2, we further match exactly on the state of residence in 1910. In column 3, we repeat the exercise by matching on the exact job title in 1911. In column 4, we match *both* exactly on the current state and the job title. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.III: Robustness check: Main result – World War I and Great migration

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
			Log annual salary			
Mean of dep. var	6.872	6.673	6.793	6.765	6.787	6.766
Black $\times$ Wilson	-0.036** (0.015)	-0.048*** (0.009)	-0.021** (0.010)	-0.033*** (0.010)	-0.035*** (0.012)	-0.033*** (0.010)
County-level military $\times$ Wilson				0.003 (0.002)		
Δ log black pop change						0.127 (0.082)
Sample	Balanced 1911-1921	Pre 1916	Drop navy & war dept	Full	Non- south	Full
Individual FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	29,871	65,894	66,980	89,752	77,588	89,400

Notes: The table presents regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap within the federal government. In column 1, the sample is restricted to those civil servants that are continuously employed between 1911-1921. Column 2 restricts the sample to 1907-1915. In column 3, we exclude the Department of the Navy and Department of War. Column 4 controls for the county-level military employment (*ind1950=595*) in 1910 (per 100). Column 5 excludes the U.S. Southern States from the sample. Column 6 controls for the county-level (log) difference in the black population between 1920 and 1910. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.IV: The black-white earnings gap around Wilson's vs. Roosevelt's transition

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Log annual salary		
Mean of dep. var	6.765	6.616	6.738
Black $\times$ New President	-0.034*** (0.010)	0.005 (0.022)	0.005 (0.022)
Black $\times$ New President $\times$ Wilson			-0.040* (0.024)
Sample	1907-1921	1897-1911	Stacked
Transition	Taft to Wilson	McKinley to Roosevelt	event study
Individual FEs	Y	Y	Y
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions			Y
Observations	92,687	20,162	112,849

Notes: The table compares the impact of Wilson's transition ($t = 1913$) on the racial earnings gap to the same impact by Roosevelt. In column 1, we report the main result capturing the impact of Wilson's segregation policy corresponding to [Table II](#), Column 3. As a comparison, column 2 shows the black vs. white (log) earnings gap around Theodore Roosevelt's transition ($t = 1903$) (dashed gray line). The specification used is the same as before, except that we now use the sample period 1897–1911 and match black and white civil servants exactly based on sex, department, age, salary, and whether the position is paid per annum or not in 1901. Note that while Theodore Roosevelt was inaugurated in September 1901, the Official Registers record civil servants as of July. For Roosevelt, 1901 is thus the pre-period and 1903 the post-transition period. Lower order interactions are: Transition FEs (i.e., whether sample covers Taft to Wilson, column 1 or McKinley to Roosevelt, column 2) $\times$ Individual FEs, Transition FEs $\times$ Year FEs and Transition FEs $\times$ black $\times$ Age bin FEs, so that the triple difference in column 3 reflects the difference between in column 1 and column 2. The 95% confidence intervals reported are based on standard errors clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.V: Black-white occscore gap around Wilson's Presidency for civil servants and the private sector

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Log occupational income score				
Mean of dep. var	3.115	3.113	3.113	3.223	3.223
Black	-0.027** (0.013)				
Black $\times$ Wilson	-0.109*** (0.026)	-0.082** (0.033)	-0.184*** (0.056)	0.002 (0.015)	0.002 (0.015)
Black $\times$ Wilson $\times$ Federal govt					-0.186*** (0.053)
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Individual FEs		Y	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs			Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions					Y
Sample	Federal government			Non-govt	Pooled
Observations	5,643	4,446	4,446	13,368,822	13,373,268

Notes: The table presents regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap, as measured by the (log) occupational income score, within the federal government. The unit of observation is the individual-census year. The sample includes all civil servants that were matched and serving in 1911, covering their careers between 1900-1940. Individuals are linked across census rounds using the cross-walk provided by the Census Linking Project. Black is a dummy that is 1 if the civil servant is black according to the 1910 census. Wilson is a dummy that is 1 for the census year 1920 and after. The private sector control group is reweighted to be comparable to the census-linked civil servants based on their state of residence, race, and occupational income score in 1910, and likewise linked across census rounds using the Census Linking Project's crosswalk. Lower order interactions are: Federal govt $\times$ Black, Federal govt $\times$ Year FEs, Federal govt $\times$ Age bin FEs $\times$ Black, so that the triple differences in column 5 reflects the difference between column 3 and column 4. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.VI: Descriptive statistics of census-linked and matched civil servants in 1901

	(1) Population mean	(2) Census-linked mean	(3) Black-White difference	(4) Matched sample mean	(5) Black-White difference
Log(salary)	6.434	6.544	-0.367*** (0.023)	6.456	-0.008 (0.031)
Paid per annum	0.504	0.591	-0.006 (0.017)	0.442	0.000 (0.023)
Paid per month	0.142	0.117	-0.028*** (0.010)	0.089	0.004 (0.011)
Paid per day	0.323	0.258	0.029* (0.016)	0.421	-0.004 (0.021)
Female	-	0.166	0.093*** (0.015)	0.178	0.000 (0.021)
Age in 1900	-	38.04	-2.048*** (0.447)	35.87	0.284 (0.605)
Observations 1901	96,042	18,811		6,428	
- of which black	-	996		687	
Total obs. 1897-1911	543,451	97,483		21,864	

Notes: The table compares the census-linked and coarsened exact matched civil servants in 1901. The unit of observation is an individual-year, and the time period is 1897-1911. Column 1 reports the mean characteristics of the full population based on the digitized Official Registers, as well as the total number of observations and the number of observations corresponding to 1901. Column 2 reports the mean characteristics for the subset of the Official Register individuals serving in 1901 that could be matched to the 1900 census based on the full name, current state of residence, and state of birth. Column 3 reports the mean difference within the census-linked sample between black and white civil servants. In Column 4, we report the mean characteristics of the matched sample where black civil servants are matched to white counterparts based on sex, department, age, salary, and whether the position is paid per annum or not in 1901. Column 5 reports the mean difference in the coarsely exact matched sample. Robust standard errors are computed for Columns 3 and 5. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.VII: Impact of Woodrow Wilson's segregation regime - By alignment at entry

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Log annual salary		
Mean of dep. var	6.790	6.790	6.799
Black $\times$ Wilson	-0.028** (0.011)	-0.027** (0.011)	-0.036*** (0.011)
Democratic cong. district at appt $\times$ Wilson		-0.002 (0.013)	0.011 (0.015)
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Individual FEs	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y	Y
State $\times$ Year FEs			Y
Observations	69,716	69,716	62,658

Notes: The table presents regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap within the federal government. The unit of observation is the individual-year. The sample includes all civil servants that were matched and serving in 1911, covering their careers between 1907-1921. Democratic cong. district at appointment is a dummy that is 1 if the congress member of the civil servant's district of appointment was a Democrat in the year the civil servant entered the federal government, and 0 otherwise. The sample is restricted to those individuals for which we have non-missing data on the congressional district of appointment. All salaries are annualized. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.VIII: Heterogeneity by Southern vs. non-Southern led cabinet and geography

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Log annual salary		
Mean of dep. var	6.765	6.750	6.765	6.765
Black $\times$ Wilson	-0.034*** (0.020)	-0.005 (0.016)	-0.025* (0.013)	-0.035*** (0.012)
Black $\times$ Wilson $\times$ Southern Secy		-0.048** (0.023)		
Black $\times$ Wilson $\times$ DC			-0.011 (0.019)	
Black $\times$ Wilson $\times$ US South				-0.002 (0.020)
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Individual FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions		Y	Y	Y
Observations	92,360	76,717	91,875	92,349

Notes: The table tests whether the effect of the segregation policy (as captured by Black $\times$ Wilson) varies significantly across departments and geography. Column 1 reports the baseline estimate, corresponding to Table II, column 3. In column 2, we use a triple difference to test whether the segregation effect is stronger in departments headed by a Southern cabinet secretary. In column 3, we test whether the effect varies significantly by whether the civil servant is employed in Washington, D.C. or not. In Column 4, we test whether the effect varies significantly by whether the civil servant is employed in the southern states or not. In columns 2-4, we include lower order interactions (e.g. Black $\times$ Southern Secy, Wilson $\times$ Southern Secy etc.) but do not report the estimates for brevity. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.IX: Reallocation, entry and exit, by Southern vs. Non-Southern Cabinet Secretary				
Panel A: Entry margin	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Black civil service entrant		
Mean of dep. var	0.0818	0.0868	0.0691	0.0792
Log(salary)	-0.052*** (0.002)	-0.053*** (0.002)	-0.055*** (0.003)	
Log(salary) $\times$ Wilson	-0.037*** (0.003)	-0.047*** (0.004)	-0.030*** (0.004)	
Log(salary) $\times$ Wilson $\times$ Southern Secy				-0.019*** (0.006)
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions				Y
Sample	Full	Southern	Non-southern	Full
Observations	153,743	79,501	58,791	138,292
Panel B: Exit margin	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Exit from the civil service		
Mean of dep. var	0.329	0.307	0.380	0.336
Black	0.849*** (0.060)	0.408*** (0.089)	1.079*** (0.101)	
Black $\times$ Wilson	-1.226*** (0.077)	-1.261*** (0.114)	-1.322*** (0.131)	
Log(salary) $\times$ Black	-0.136*** (0.009)	-0.066*** (0.014)	-0.166*** (0.016)	
Log(salary) $\times$ Wilson	-0.118*** (0.002)	-0.114*** (0.003)	-0.136*** (0.004)	
Log(salary) $\times$ Wilson $\times$ Black	0.184*** (0.012)	0.191*** (0.018)	0.197*** (0.020)	
Log(salary) $\times$ Wilson $\times$ Black $\times$ Southern Secy				0.001 (0.002)
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions				Y
Sample	Full	Southern	Non-southern	Full
Observations	296,452	157,355	107,030	264,385

Notes: The unit of observation is the individual-year. Panel A tests whether black civil servants are more or less likely to enter at higher pay scales after Wilson assumed office. The dependent variable is a dummy that is 1 if the civil servant is black according to the 1910 census. The sample is restricted to entrants between 1909-1921. The regression in column 1 corresponds to [Figure V](#), Panel (a). In columns 2-3, we split the sample by whether the entrant is employed in a department headed by a Southern Cabinet secretary or not. Column 4 provides the triple difference to test whether the effect varies significantly across Southern vs. Non-Southern Cabinet secretary departments. Panel B tests whether black civil servants are more or less likely to exit at higher pay scales after Wilson assumed office. The dependent variable is a dummy that is 1 if the civil servant exited the civil service. The sample is restricted to entrants between 1907-1919. The regression in column 2 corresponds to [Figure V](#), Panel (b). Once again, columns 2-3 split the sample by whether the individual is employed in a department headed by a Southern Cabinet secretary or not. Column 4 shows the corresponding triple difference. Lower order interactions comprise all lower order Southern Secy-interactions so that the triple (quadruple) differences in column 4 reflects the difference between the double (triple) difference between column and column 3. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.X: Returns to education by race, around Woodrow Wilson's Presidency

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log annual salary			
Mean of dep. var	6.494	6.931	6.898	6.770
HC measure	0.031*** (0.004)	0.037*** (0.001)	0.037*** (0.001)	0.081*** (0.004)
HC measure $\times$ Wilson	-0.007* (0.003)	0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.023*** (0.006)
Black $\times$ Wilson			0.076** (0.037)	0.019 (0.024)
HC measure $\times$ Black			-0.006 (0.004)	-0.016 (0.015)
HC measure $\times$ Black $\times$ Wilson			-0.008** (0.004)	-0.041** (0.018)
HC measure	Years of education			Tenure
Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
HC measure + HC measure $\times$ Black			0.030*** (0.003)	0.064*** (0.014)
Sample	Black	White	Full sample	
Observations	11,048	132,110	143,158	54,000

Notes: The table shows regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap within the federal government, broken down by measures of human capital. The unit of observation is the individual-year. Black is a dummy that is 1 if the civil servant is black according to the 1910 census. Wilson is a dummy that is 1 for 1913 and after. The sample includes all civil servants for whom human capital measures are available and serving in 1911, covering their careers between 1907-1921. In columns 1-3, the human capital measure is the years of education. In column 4, the human capital measure is the years of tenure, as measured by the years since the civil servant is first observed in the data. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.XI: Descriptive statistics – Measures of human capital by race

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Non-black		Diff Black - Non-black	
	Mean	SD	Raw	CEM
Years of education	10.924	4.168	-2.971*** (0.144)	-1.753*** (0.208)
College	0.171	0.376	-0.100*** (0.010)	-0.023 (0.017)
High school	0.419	0.429	-0.112*** (0.010)	-0.060*** (0.015)
Elementary	0.142	0.349	0.238*** (0.013)	0.190*** (0.018)
Observations	39,219		15,943	9,004

Notes: The table provides descriptive statistics for civil servants from the Official Registers, comparing the mean education levels across black and white civil servants. The sample is restricted to those civil servants working in 1911 who could be linked to the 1940 census to obtain the schooling measure. The matched sample (column 3) is based on matching on sex, department, bureau, salary, age, and whether the pay is per annum or not in 1911. In column 4, civil servants are also exactly matched on the years of education. The variable elementary is defined as 3-7 years of schooling; the variable high school is defined as 11-14 years and college is defined as 15 or more years of schooling. Robust standard errors. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.XII: Home ownership effects with and without reweighting

	(1)	(2)
	Probability of home ownership	
Mean of dep. var	0.506	0.506
Black $\times$ Wilson	0.045*** (0.002)	0.019 (0.013)
Black $\times$ Wilson $\times$ Federal govt	-0.189*** (0.045)	-0.162*** (0.049)
State FEs $\times$ Census year FEs	Y	Y
Individual FEs	Y	Y
Black $\times$ Age bin FEs	Y	Y
Lower order interactions	Y	Y
Reweight		Y
Sample	Federal + Non-govt sample	
Observations	17,128,958	17,128,958

Notes: The table shows regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap in home ownership, both with and without reweighting. Individuals in the non-government sample are reweighted to be comparable to their federal government counterparts based on state of residence, race, and occupational income score in 1910. Lower order interactions comprise: Federal govt $\times$ Black, Federal govt $\times$ State FEs $\times$ Census year FEs, and Federal govt $\times$ Black $\times$ Age bin FEs. The standard errors are clustered at the individual-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.XIII: Intergenerational effects with and without reweighting

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Education		Log salary		Pctile	
Mean of dep. var	11.64	11.64	7.109	7.109	69.80	69.80
Black $\times$ Young	-0.112*** (0.041)	-0.388 (0.266)	0.021** (0.009)	0.009 (0.034)	-0.312 (0.269)	-1.307 (1.066)
Black $\times$ Young $\times$ Federal govt	-2.400*** (0.725)	-2.349*** (0.787)	-0.198* (0.114)	-0.256** (0.118)	-7.989** (3.738)	-9.241** (3.886)
Age FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rewighted		Y		Y		Y
Observations	2,212,841	2,212,841	2,212,841	2,212,841	2,212,841	2,212,841

Notes: The table shows regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap for the children of black and white civil servants in 1940, with and without reweighting. The non-government sample is reweighted so that the parental characteristics are comparable to those of the federal government counterpart based on the state of residence, race, and occupational income score in 1910. Lower order interactions are: Federal govt $\times$ County FEs, Federal govt $\times$ Age FEs, and Federal govt $\times$ Black. The standard errors are clustered at the parent-level.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.XIV: Intergenerational results – within state and parental household controls

Panel A: Within state	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Education		Log salary		Pctile	
Mean of dep. var	11.64	11.64	7.109	7.109	69.80	69.81
Black × Young	-0.388 (0.266)		0.009 (0.034)		-1.307 (1.066)	
Black × Young × Federal govt	-2.349*** (0.787)	-2.180*** (0.799)	-0.256** (0.118)	-0.257** (0.119)	-9.241** (3.886)	-9.222** (3.937)
Age FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FEs × Young × Black		Y		Y		Y
Observations	2,212,841	2,212,840	2,212,841	2,212,840	2,212,841	2,212,840
Panel B: Parental controls	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Education		Log salary		Income percentile	
Mean of dep. var	11.64	11.64	7.109	7.109	69.81	69.81
Black × Young	-0.388 (0.267)	-0.358 (0.261)	0.009 (0.034)	0.012 (0.034)	-1.307 (1.070)	-1.240 (1.067)
Black × Young × Federal govt	-2.349*** (0.787)	-2.248*** (0.802)	-0.256** (0.118)	-0.246** (0.118)	-9.242** (3.887)	-9.139** (3.915)
Age FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lower order interactions	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Parental household controls		Y		Y		Y
Observations	2,212,810	2,212,810	2,212,810	2,212,810	2,212,810	2,212,810

Notes: The table shows regression estimates of the impact of Wilson's segregation policy on the racial earnings gap for the children of black and white civil servants in 1940. The unit of observation is the individual. Panel A includes State × young × Black FEs to restrict the comparison to only children from the same state. Panel B reports the results with parental controls (sex and age of parent, and parental household size in 1910). Lower order interactions are: Federal govt × County FEs, Federal govt × Age FEs, and Federal govt × Black. The standard errors are clustered at the parent-level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

B Historical Appendix

B.1 Historical Backdrop: Black Americans in the Federal Government

In the years after the Civil War ended and before Woodrow Wilson took office, black Americans' presence within federal government employment increased substantially. One potential reason for black Americans' improved prospects within government may have been the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883, which gradually removed the practice of patronage in the appointment process and made many jobs subject to competitive civil service exams. Indeed the Civil Service Commission (CSC), which administered the Pendleton Act, sought to ensure that qualified black applicants were given proper consideration ([MacLaury, 2014](#)). The CSC also promoted fair treatment after hiring, leading several black civil servants to achieve managerial and professional positions within the government. The relative absence of discriminatory treatment toward black Americans was documented in the Commission's 1891 annual report, which included a section "Benefit to the Colored Race." In this sub-report, the Commission proclaimed the "elimination not only of the questions of politics and religion but the question of race," and that a fair proportion of the men appointed from these States has been colored." Notably absent from the Commission's report was any mention that black American employees should be assigned to special tasks or segregated physically.

By 1912, when Wilson was elected, the federal government was the largest employer of black Americans in the nation. In short, the (relatively) color-blind civil service test offered black civil servants a way to demonstrate their merit and compete on an even playing field with white applicants for jobs (?). Soon after Wilson was elected, however, he sanctioned a policy of segregation throughout the federal government. At an early cabinet meeting, cabinet members such as Albert Burleson (Postmaster General), William McAdoo (Secretary of the Treasury), and Josephus Daniels (Secretary of the Navy) advocated for segregated workplaces to address the alleged friction between black and white federal employees. Despite his campaign promises for racial fairness, Wilson ultimately favored segregation. Historical correspondence suggests that he shared the belief, widespread among white Americans at the time, that black Americans were racially distinct from and inferior to white people. Furthermore, Wilson also needed the support of Southern Democrats, who were uninterested in pursuing a goal of racial justice.⁵⁴

⁵⁴[Yellin \(2013\)](#) perceptively reveals the compatibility of progressive reform with racial prejudice, and explains how white Democrats, such as Wilson, his cabinet, and his lower-level appointees, turned the language of progressivism and good government against black Americans.

B.2 What Segregation Entailed in Practice

The Wilson Administration allowed white supremacists in the Democratic Party to institutionalize segregation and relegate black Americans to low-paying, low-prestige jobs. Related historical literature indicates that segregation was carried out in a decentralized manner (Wolgemuth, 1959; Hyatt, 1978). Wilson empowered his high-ranking appointees to Cabinet departments to carry out a broad program of racial discrimination that included the physical separation of black and white workers, and by extension, the demotions/dismissals of black workers. Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo (Wilson's son-in-law) and Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson were particularly strong proponents of segregation, likely reflecting their backgrounds as southern segregationists with hostilities toward black Americans. With regard to the spatial aspects of this discriminatory regime, there are numerous such examples of physical separations that took place within government offices. The Treasury Department, for example, set up physical partitions in offices so that white and black employees would not be able to interact with one another (MacLaury, 2014). Assistant secretary James Skelton Williams (at the behest of Secretary William McAdoo) instructed supervisors to erect signs banning integrated lunchrooms and restrooms (Yellin, 2007).

Federal segregation was not merely the creation of “separate by equal” workplace facilities, though. Rather, high-ranking administrators within government discriminated against black Americans with President Wilson's endorsement, using demotions of black Americans to carry out the separation of black and white workers into different work spaces. Within the Treasury Department William McAdoo ordered that all black clerks be reassigned to one office (the Registry Division), and were excluded from employment in other bureaus (Yellin, 2007). McAdoo reportedly dismissed all black political appointees in the South, and gave southern supervisors the authority to fire or downgrade any black civil servants. The consequences for black appointees were severe: within the Treasury, for example, 31 federal patronage positions were held by blacks at the beginning of the Wilson administration, but only 6 remained by 1916, according (Dennis, 2002).⁵⁵

During the segregation era, the Wilson administration also implemented explicit policies that worked to diminish the standing of black Americans within the federal workforce. While there was no official change in the merit-based hiring policy of the federal service, beginning in May 1914 the Civil Service Commission required that photographs be attached to all job applications (MacLaury, 2014). Such a policy made it easier to discriminate against black candidates, and may contribute to the worsening of black Americans' position within the

⁵⁵Historians have provided many other anecdotal examples of black civil servants suffering downgrades to lower-paying jobs as well as outright termination. (Yellin, 2013), for example, writes about how the recorder of deeds – a clerk making \$1,200 a year – was suddenly reduced to a position as a laborer earning \$500 a year (Keene, 2013).

government at the point of entry, as we observe in Figure V, Panel A. In short, the administration’s sanctioning and promotion of the segregation effort is best seen as a system of spatial segregation that left black federal employees with “few chances for pay raises or promotions, and in many cases experienced pay reductions and demotions” (Yellin, 2007).

As an example of how segregation was carried out, and how it worked to create lasting economic damage, we discuss the case of a black federal employee at the time that Wilson came to office, John A. Davis. Davis was born in 1863 in Washington, D.C. to a white lawyer and black housekeeper. He graduated top of his class from Washington’s M Street High School and passed the civil service exam aged 19 to join the Government Printing Office (GPO), where he worked for several decades.⁵⁶ John Davis started as a laborer in D.C., and progressed to clerical and finally mid-level management positions. His relative wealth within the black community was reflected in the fact that he owned a farm in Virginia in addition to a home in D.C.

As we can observe, our Registers data matches this narrative well.⁵⁷ We find that John A. Davis was serving as a clerk in the GPO from the beginning of our sample in 1907. In 1911, the last round of our data before Wilson’s term, John was making \$1,400 per year – a good salary that puts him at the 75th percentile of the full-time annual salaries paid in the 1911 federal civil service.

His fortunes changed with segregation. After Wilson assumed office in March 1913, the July 1913 round of the Register data records John’s salary at \$1,300, reflecting a demotion. In 1915, John was further demoted to the position of a “skilled laborer,” now earning a part-time salary of 25 cents per hour, or \$520 per annum when converted to an annual salary.⁵⁸ In 1919, we find him in the War department working as a messenger for \$720 – half of what he earned *a decade earlier*. He would remain at that salary until 1921, our last round of data. He was forced to auction off the family farm in 1914 and died in 1928 aged 65.

By way of example, we can use our matching criteria to find an exact match for John A. Davis in the Registers-based personnel records. Willard A. Pollard was also born in Washington, D.C., only two years after Davis. In 1911, the year in which we perform our matching, Pollard likewise worked in the GPO, held the same job title (clerk), and earned the exact same salary \$1,400, suggesting that both must have been colleagues of equal rank. Importantly, as Figure A.IX shows, both Davis and Pollard progressed in lock-step, earning the same salaries in 1907-1909. Using 1911 characteristics, we thus obtained balance not only on covariates unobserved in the Register data (age) but also their “pre-trend,” as captured by their salary progression before 1911.

⁵⁶This account is drawn from the NY Times op-ed “What Woodrow Wilson Cost My Grandfather”, by Gordon J. Davis, Nov. 24, 2015, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/24/opinion/what-woodrow-wilson-cost-my-grandfather.html>.

⁵⁷See Appendix Figure A.II for the actual data entry in 1913.

⁵⁸As discussed in subsection 3.3, this assumes an 8-hour workday, 5 days per week and 12 months in a year.

As we see, however, the careers of John and Willard, however, diverged during Wilson's administration. Unlike Davis, Pollard's career continued to progress after Wilson assumed office. Pollard received a raise in 1917, earning \$1,600 – more than three times as much as his former colleague Davis. In 1921, the last data point, we see Pollard receiving another raise, earning \$1,800. This puts Pollard at the 75th percentile of the full-time salary distribution in 1921. Davis, in contrast, fell to the 10th percentile. Pollard dies in 1950, aged 85. As the example demonstrates, Wilson's policy spatial segregation had clear economic consequences by imposing a ceiling on black mobility within the federal government.

Overall, there was little formal recourse of black Americans adversely affected by demotions under Wilson's segregation. To the extent that black American could seek to reverse the consequences, they relied on internal complaint procedures. Yellin (2013) writes of demoted black civil servants who appealed such decisions to their superiors (bureau heads), but were typically rebuffed or ignored. One reason that segregation may have persisted was that the Supreme Court had legally sanctioned "separate-but-equal" policies at the end of the 19th century with the famous case *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The lack of responsiveness within the federal government to allegations of discrimination led black civil servants to seek recourse through political channels. In a famous meeting between Wilson and journalist/civil rights activist William Monroe Trotter, the editor of the Boston Guardian (a Boston newspaper dedicated to the fight against racial discrimination), Trotter directly challenged the President for permitting the segregation of black and white government clerks. He also dismissed President Wilson's efficiency-based defense of segregation as the best approach to avoid "racial friction" (reportedly leading Wilson to lose his temper). Newspapers nationwide – including *The New York Times*, carried on their front pages stories of Wilson's defensiveness, and noted Trotter's ejection from the White House. Some papers, such as *The New Republic* criticized Wilson for his "inaction in a moral crisis." *The Nation* called segregation "a sad blot upon the Wilson Administration." Trotter and the National Independent Political League (NIPL) in 1913 led a signature campaign to protest and overturn segregation within the government. Ultimately 20,000 people from 36 states signed the petition which demanded that Wilson "reverse, prevent, and forbid any such movement by your bureau chiefs, in accord with your promise of fair, friendly, just, and Christian treatment of your [Black] fellow citizens" (Patler, 2004). Similarly, the D.C. branch of the NAACP lobbied aggressively for the hire of Black federal employees in the government (and who had been dismissed from service), as well as for the improved treatment of those who had already been demoted.⁵⁹ These efforts were largely unsuccessful.

⁵⁹The branch president Archibald Grimke, though, recognized that Black Americans had little recourse to ameliorate their conditions within the federal government Patler (2004).