

The Cost of Dispossession

Raced Space Group

July 13, 2022

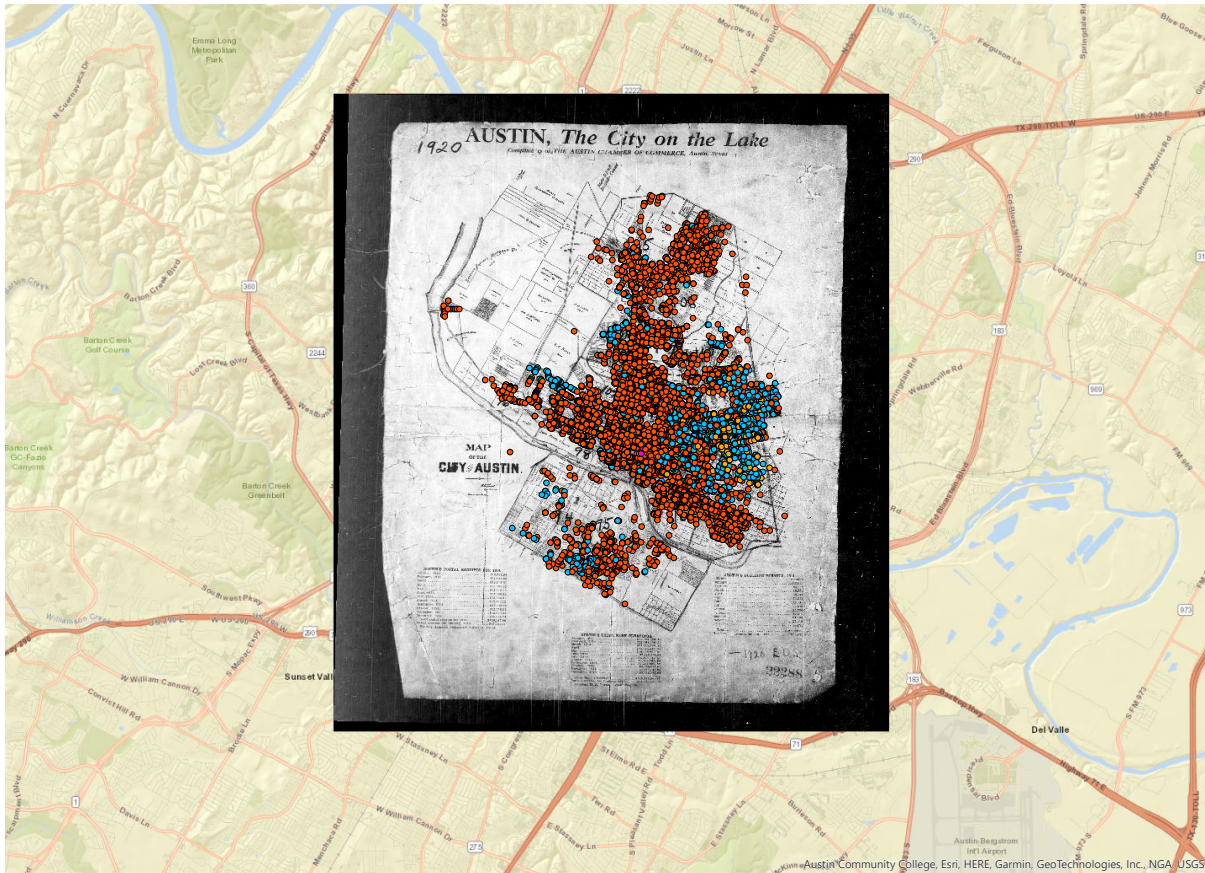


Figure 1 Demographic map of Austin, 1920

Project Goals and Background

The Cost of Dispossession Project uses census data and city land valuation records to map Austin's demographics over time and to monetize the cost of displacement to Black communities. It also deepens our understanding of how racism took place in the city.

After the Civil War, newly freed Black people from all over the South – and particularly Central Texas – swelled Austin's population, making up a little more than a third of the small city's inhabitants. Many of these people formed small communities around the periphery of downtown. These freedom settlements were located in some of the least desirable and lowest-cost spaces, including low-lying areas prone to poor drainage, as well as flood-prone riparian zones along the Colorado River and its tributaries, amongst them Shoal, Waller, Bouldin, and Barton Creeks, and, most likely, Brushy and Onion Creeks.

Many of these communities no longer exist, our memories of them faded, their cultural and material value lost. As a means of recuperating some of this silenced history, a number of years ago we embarked on an effort to restore to memory the Wheatville freedom community, formerly located on the outskirts of the University of Texas (UT) campus. One of the techniques we developed to do so was to use census data to map the community's residents, beginning with the 1880 census and going through to 1940. This data provided an unprecedented trove of information about the community over the decades, including its extension and population. We subsequently used this same technique to map the East Campus

area and are now engaged in an effort to demographically map the entire city of Austin using census data from 1870 to 1950.

When the City of Austin approached us about the possibility of assisting in an effort to quantify the cost of systemic anti-Black racism in Austin, it was immediately clear that the ethno-mapping work that we had been doing in relation to Wheatville and UT's East Campus could be one source of data for this kind of analysis. Our mapping work provided an historic baseline of Black land tenure in these areas. We also knew that the City of Austin made a successful, historic attempt to eliminate freedom colonies west of Waller Creek and thereby racially segregate the city by concentrating Blacks to the east. We proposed that if we compared the value of lands owned by Blacks in these colonies in the past with the present value of those same lands – now devoid of or with seriously reduced Black ownership – we could quantify the impact of systemic racism on the loss of value in land ownership.

In addition to producing such quantitative metrics, our project also assesses and documents the deliberate ways that the machinery of the local government (the City of Austin) was used to systematically displace, disrupt, and dispossess Black settlements and communities in Austin. To date, we have focused on the displacement and dispossession – statistically and geographically – of three western Austin freedom colonies—Wheatville, East Campus, and Clarksville – and the Red River community, located along lower Waller Creek, the historic boundary between East and West Austin. In what follows, we provide an assessment of the monetary impact of the dispossession of these communities as well as brief outlines of the communities' histories.

1928 Austin City Plan: Fulcrum of Analysis

After the Supreme Court's 1886 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1886, Jim Crow segregation in Texas, which had begun with the end of Reconstruction in the late 1870's, hardened and deepened. This was true of all aspects of life for Blacks in Austin, including voting, public transportation, education, and residential segregation. Regarding the latter, since the end of the Civil War, White landowners had dictated where Blacks could live in the Austin area, renting and selling mainly marginal lands to Black people. Such practices continued after Reconstruction. The creation of new, exclusively White residential areas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was formally accomplished through racial real estate steering practices and through private land-use restrictions that took the form of racial deed covenants, prohibiting homeowners from renting or selling to Black people. Such covenants were a central feature in the creation of Austin's first suburb, Hyde Park, a streetcar suburb begun in 1891, and in the first automobile suburbs of the 1920's like Pemberton Heights, located across Shoal Creek from Wheatville.¹

At the beginning of the 20th century, freedom communities still dotted the periphery of downtown Austin. Some, like Wheatville, occupied potentially valuable real estate. All were a source of the problem that the Plessy "separate but equal" mandate posed for municipal governments – cities were responsible for providing amenities like schools and parks to these dispersed communities. Even though the separate facilities were never equal to those of Whites, they were nevertheless costly to duplicate in multiple "negro" areas.²

Racial zoning could have been one way out of this "problem," and Austin leadership considered it. However, the Supreme Court in its 1917 *Buchanan v. Warley* decision ruled that

¹ E. Tretter, "Austin Restricted: Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial Covenants, and the Making of a Segregated City," Final Report Prepared and Submitted by Eliot M. Tretter to the Institute for Urban Policy Research and Analysis (2012); J. McDonald, *Racial Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Austin, Texas*, New York: Lexington Books, 2012.

² Koch & Fowler, *A City Plan for Austin, Texas* (Austin, 1928).

zoning that prohibited Blacks from buying property in majority White neighborhoods was unconstitutional; it “destroyed the right of the individual to acquire, enjoy, and dispose of his property.”³ Though Austin city leaders supported state legislation such as the 1927 Love Bill, which would allow them to circumvent the Supreme Court’s prohibition on racial zoning, ultimately, they conceded that racial zoning was not legally possible.⁴

After slavery, the historical centerpiece of anti-Black discriminatory policies in Austin is undoubtedly the infamous 1928 City Plan, which created the blueprint for what would become Austin’s segregated racial geography to the end of the 20th century. The plan – approved in 1928 by the Austin City Council and initially funded by a municipal bond – resolved to concentrate Black people just east of downtown, expressly calling for the creation of a “negro district” in the area. However, the plan acknowledged that Austin’s “race segregation problem ... cannot be solved legally under any zoning law known to us at present. Practically all attempts of such have been proven unconstitutional.”⁵

Despite the limitations placed on racial zoning, segregation of public facilities – “separate but equal” – was protected by the Supreme Court’s 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. In response, the authors of Austin’s 1928 City Plan recommended “that all facilities and conveniences be provided the negroes in this [negro] district, as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area.”⁶ Accordingly, the city built schools and a park and library for Blacks in East Austin while eventually closing schools in the Black communities located outside its designated Black district. The city also paved roads and installed sewers in East Austin, while refusing such services to Black communities to the west.⁷

While adoption of the 1928 Plan created the official policy for residential segregation, the story of residential segregation cannot be reduced to the plan’s formal adoption. The mechanisms used to displace and segregate Black communities – mechanisms with which the goals of the 1928 Plan were achieved – were employed well before 1928 and at least into the 1970’s, when the impacts of Jim Crow eased, and middle-class Blacks began to move out of East Austin. These mechanisms included intimidation, denial of equal protection of the laws, denial of equal access to municipal services, forced sales through eminent domain, zoning laws, studentification, beautification, slum clearance/urban renewal, unequal property appraisals and tax policies, and unequal access to lending and mortgages, all of which were racial projects that effectively depopulated Black communities.

The cumulative effects of these discriminatory policies and practices over the years, guided by the 1928 plan, was to systematically reduce the presence of Black residents, homeowners, businesses, churches, and supportive communities from historic Black neighborhoods located outside of East Austin. This process took decades but was virtually completed by the 1970s. In some neighborhoods, such as Wheatville and around the north and east of UT campus, Black people were effectively displaced by mid-century. Other communities, such as Clarksville and Red River, managed to hang on in the face of hostile conditions until near the century’s end.

Key to the development of our project’s research methodology was the establishment of a baseline date for the evaluation of Black land tenure and value. We settled on 1920, the year of the last census before the landmark Austin City Plan was approved then backed with a

³ James W. Ely, Jr., “Reflections on “Buchanan v. Warley,” Property Rights, and Race,” *Vanderbilt Law Review* 51.4 (1998), 952-973.

⁴ McDonald, *Racial Dynamics*, 108-112.

⁵ Koch & Fowler, *A City Plan*, 57.

⁶ Koch & Fowler, *A City Plan*, 57.

⁷ Clarksville Community Development Corporation, Clarksville walking tour, 1976, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/565ded29e4b085b1596246b9/t/571a98b4356fb0bb3458eb17/1461360838249/Clarksville_WalkingTour-sm.pdf.

1928 bond package, which provided the initial funds to begin to modify Austin's infrastructure and landscape in order to achieve the plan's goals. Furthermore, our research indicates that 1920 also marks the period of maximum population and extension of the Black communities outside of East Austin, and before the striking acceleration of the decades-long process of the transfer of Black life to the east side of town.

The year 1920 then is a useful point from which to view the complex and multi-causal processes that saw Black Austinites forced from their historic communities into the increasingly crowded and disinvested East Austin. While our research tackles the detailed story of displacement and dispossession from 1870 to 1950, the state of Black residency and ownership in 1920 in Central and West Austin compared to today allows us a glimpse into the financial impact of these systematic, racial policies, what the writer Ta-Nehisi Coates, in *The Atlantic*, called "white-imposed black disadvantage."

Census Mapping Methodology

The project's census mapping methodology involves three principal steps. These are:

- 1) **Collect census data.** Census data for years 1880-1950 (excluding year 1890, for which data is not available) is downloaded from ancestry.com. This data includes residents' names, residential address, date of birth, place of birth, occupation, sex, race, and relationship to the so-called "head of household." To avoid redundancy, we map only one residence for each family. As such, we focus on individuals marked as "head of households." This census data is separated into different geographical areas, called 'tracts.' For the year 1920, we collected data for all 25 of that year's census tracts. We work on each step one tract at a time in order to ensure that data is collected, cleaned, and mapped accurately.
- 2) **Clean data.** Census information was hand-recorded by enumerators. Ancestry.com uses optical character recognition software to translate census information into typed text. This software is not perfect, and occasionally, the translations from handwritten script to typed text are incorrect. Enumerators are also fallible and may get lost or misspell, mishear, and misunderstand names and addresses. As such, data must be reviewed to identify possible errors and correct them. This review process, or cleaning process, involves revisiting www.ancestry.com's census sheets and, if needed, cross referencing census listings with residential listings in Austin's city directories.
- 3) **Map census data.** Our final product is a demographic map of the entire city of Austin for each census year. The project uses ArcGIS Pro, a mapping software, to map census data. Again, tracts are mapped one at a time to ensure accuracy. Each household is represented by a color-coded dot on the map, with the colors representing a particular race. While the colors for white and Black residents remain constant – red and blue, respectively – other colors vary somewhat between census years depending on each census' racial categories. While only heads of households are mapped, ArcGIS Pro software enables us to include all residents' census information, such that, when one clicks on each dot on the map, a box containing information about all the occupants of that household appears.

There are some limitations to this process. It appears that census takers did not descend into Austin's densely populated riparian shantytowns, effectively eliminating hundreds of Black people from the census. Individuals not recorded in the census are not included in the maps. Additionally, some census records were damaged beyond the point of reading, and others may have errors that cannot be corrected by cross referencing the document with a city directory.

Despite these limitations, the final product provides an accurate representation of the demographics represented in the census.

Land Valuation Methodology

Our goal in evaluating the land owned by Black people in 1920 is to arrive at an assessment – in dollar value – of the potential wealth that Black residents of Austin could have accumulated if they had not been dispossessed by Jim Crow residential segregation. It is essential to note that, in addition to being dispossessed of such potential wealth, Austin’s Black residents lost their communities – their schools, churches, businesses, and homes – and the social, economic, and emotional support that these communities provided one another.

To date, we have evaluated the historic and contemporary value of land owned by Black people in 1920 in four Black communities: Wheatville, the Red River community, Clarksville, and the East Campus community. Detailed histories of these communities are provided in the following section. Here, we describe our land valuation methodology, using Wheatville as an example.

First, using cleaned 1920 census data, we created a database of Black heads-of-household of the Wheatville area who, according to the census, owned their homes. Using the Austin City Lot Register (the city property tax ledger, available on microfilm at the Austin History Center [AHC]), we then identified legal parcels owned by Black people, noting the property’s legal description (section, outlot, block, and lot), as well as assessed values for Land and Improvement.

Several Black owners and estates not listed in the census were also identified using the

City Lot Register; identities and race were checked against census records and/or city directories, some of which indicate African Americans as “colored.” The Travis County City Lot Register (available in book form at AHC) was also used to identify Black-owned parcels.

Using city plat maps (either maps of the whole city or maps in the *Travis County Plat Book*, both available in AHC’s reading room), we recorded the parcels’ dimensions then calculated square feet of land (sometimes this information was also included in the Lot Register). **[see Sampson Edward Murray example]**

Next, with reference to the plat maps, and the legal descriptions of the properties, we identified the location of the parcels on today’s street grid. Using 2022 data from the Travis Central Appraisal District (TCAD), we recorded the current address, current owner, legal description, land area, land valuation, and improvement valuation for each parcel.

In some instances, the dimensions of the 1920 parcels matched exactly with the dimensions of 2022 parcels, in which cases we used the 2022 land valuation as assessed by TCAD. Where dimensions differed, we determined the relative square footage of the 1920 and 2022 land and took a corresponding proportion of the 2022 assessed value. In cases of condominiums with many owners (and therefore many individual valuations and land areas), we used the 2022 value per square foot multiplied by the square footage of the 1920 parcel. **[see Laura Bennett example]**

Through this process we documented 36 Black individuals and two Black churches owning a total of 10.1152 acres of land in the Wheatville area. That land is today valued at \$46,383,490. **[see table on page 8]**

Sampson Edward Murray Example

Page section from the 1920 US Census for Austin showing “Murry, Ed,” a Black man, married to Lizzie, who lived in and owned his home on Longview Street:

84	289	290	Murray Ed	Head	10 1/2	11	12	13	24	25
85			Lizzie	Wife		13	31	32	33	34

Page section from *Polk's Morrison & Fourmy's Austin City Directory* (1920) showing "Sampson E Murray," "colored," married to Elizabeth, residing at 2412 Longview:

MURRAY ROBERT V (Jessie F) Physician 310-11 Scarbrough Bldg, Tel 1030, res 403 W 21st, Tel 2/10
 "Sampson E (c; Elizab) refinisher J R Reed Music Co res 2412 Longview
 "Thos O (Olivia M) carp rs es S Congress av 1/2 Mi s end of car line S Austin

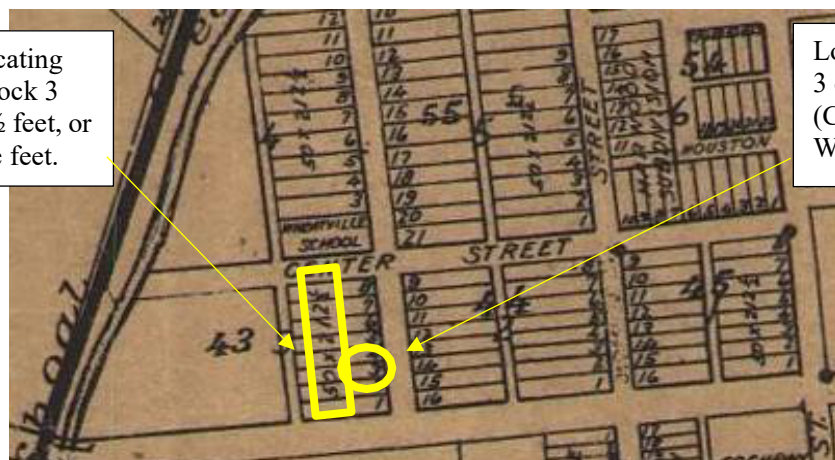
"(c)" indicates "colored"

Page section from the 1920 Austin City Lot Register, showing that "Sampson Edward Murray" owned Division D, Outlot 43, Block 3, Lot 3. The land was valued at \$50 and improvements at \$450:

CITY LOT REGISTER							
DESCRIPTION OF LOTS	No. of Lot	No. of Block	No. of Outlot	Division	Amount Assessed	Am't Fixed by Board of Equalization	OWNER
	1.	3.	43.	10.			
Improve'	r.)	300.00	75.00		200.00	50.00	James R Hamilton
Improve'	3.	150.	600.00		50.00	450.00	Sampson Edward Murray

Part of the 1919 Austin Plat Map showing various outlots of Division D, north of West 24th St., between Shoal Creek and San Gabriel St., including Outlot 43, Block 3, showing the location of Lot 3 along Longview St.:

Notation indicating that lots in Block 3 are 50 x 212½ feet, or 10,625 square feet.



Lot 3 of Block 3 of Outlot 43 (Center Street is W. 25th Street)

Laura Bennett Example

In 1920, according to the City Lot Register and the Census, Laura Bennett owned 2403 Leon St., Lot 14 of Block 1 of Outlot 45, Division D. The land was assessed at \$300 and improvements at \$100. The lot was 50 x 212½ feet, or 10625 square feet.

Lot 14 of Block 1 of Outlot 45 (Center Street is W. 25th Street today.)



Notation indicating that lots in Block 1 are 50 x 212½ feet, or 10,625 square feet.

Today, Waterford Condominiums sits on the north-east corner of Leon and W. 24th Streets, at 2401 Leon, straddling what had been lots 14, 15, and 16 of the original plat, which can be seen in this screenshot from the TCAD website (<https://stage.travis.prodigycad.com/maps>):



Waterford Condos is comprised of 37 units, each owned by a different individual and assessed separately by TCAD. Owners possess between 780 and 951 square feet of land, assessed at \$76 per square foot, as can be seen from this screenshot from the TCAD website, showing the assessment of a single unit:

Land					
Land	Description	Acres	SQFT	Cost per SQFT	Market Value
LAND	Land	0.0180	786.00	76.00	59,736

Therefore, Laura Bennett's 10625 square feet of lot 14, assessed at \$76/ft², is today worth \$807,500.

Owner	Address	Outlot	Block	Lot(s)	Land Sq Ft	% of acre	Current Address	Current Owner	Land Size	Land Value 2022	Legal Description 2022	Relative Size of 1920 Land	Equivalent Value of 1920 Land
John G Jackson	1209 W. 25th	43	3	13	10000	0.2296	1301 25th	Luxor Holdings LLC	0.6349	2765700	Lot 1 Jessen Subd plus pt vac ROW	0.361581999	1,000,027
Ella + Robert Alexander	1205 W. 25th	43	3		32670	0.7500		City of Austin (Shoal Ck)		\$40/sq ft	13.86 ACR & W PART OF LOT 26 BLK 5 OLT 55 DIVISION D		1,306,800
Addie Alexander	1206 W. 25th	43	3		32670	0.7500		City of Austin (Shoal Ck)		\$40/sq ft	13.86 ACR & W PART OF LOT 26 BLK 5 OLT 55 DIVISION D		1,306,800
Henry Solomon	2508 Leon	43	3	10	10000	0.2296	1301 25th	Luxor Holdings LLC	0.6349	2765700	Lot 1 Jessen Subd plus pt vac ROW	0.361581999	1,000,027
Robert Chapman		43	3	5	10625	0.2439	2408 Longview	STAR WEST CONDOMINIUMS	0.487833	1520000	STAR WEST CONDOMINIUMS	0.5	760,000
Sampson Edward Murray	2412 Longview	43	3	3	10625	0.2439	2404 Longview	SHADOW HILL CONDOMINIUM	0.2439	750100	SHADOW HILL CONDOMINIUMS	1	750,100
William Green		44	2	8	10625	0.2439	2410 Leon	Kong Tony & Daisy Chan TRS	0.2296	700000	Lot 8 blk 2 olt 44 division D	1.06235382	743,648
Tom and Nora Brown		44	2	12	8125	0.1865	2401 Longview	2401-1042 LLC	1.1479	12000605	Lot 12-16 blk 2 olt 44 division D	0.162491797	1,950,000
Andrew Jackson <estate>	2415 Longview	44	2	12	2500	0.0574	2401 Longview	2401-1042 LLC	1.1479	12000605	Lot 12-16 blk 2 olt 44 division D	0.049997476	600,000
Baptist Church		44	2	16	10625	0.2439	2401 Longview	2401-1042 LLC	1.1479	12000605	Lot 12-16 blk 2 olt 44 division D	0.212489274	2,550,000
Ida Benford	2406 San Gabriel	45	1	9	10625	0.2439	1011 25th	Roar Austin Holdings LLC	0.1148	540000	W 1/2 of lot 9 blk 1 robards subd of olt 43-45, 54&55 divi	2.12470764	1,147,342
Ida Benford	2406 San Gabriel	45	1	9	10625	0.2439	1009 25th	Bernhard Dorothy Peters	0.1148	540000	E 1/2 of lot 9 blk 1 robards subd of olt 43-45, 54&55 divi	2.12470764	1,147,342
William Barrow	2404 San Gabriel	45	1	3, 4	13812.5	0.3171	1004 24th	HILLTOP SH VENTURE TX LP	0.9183	4,800,138	LOT 1-3 BLK 1 ROBARDS SUBD OF OLT 43-45, 54&55 DIVIS	0.34530259	1,657,500
Freeman B North	1012 W. 24th	45	1	15, 16	21250	0.4878	2401 Leon	WATERFORD CONDOMINIUMS	0.731749	\$76/sq ft	WATERFORD CONDOMINIUMS	0.666666667	1,615,000
Laura Bennett	2403 Leon	45	1	14	10625	0.2439	2401 Leon	WATERFORD CONDOMINIUMS	0.731749	\$76/sq ft	WATERFORD CONDOMINIUMS	0.333333333	807,500
Melissa Gordon	2405 Leon	45	1	12, 13	21250	0.4878	2409 Leon	STONELEIGH CONDOMINIUMS	0.9757	1520000	STONELEIGH CONDOMINIUMS	0.5	760,000
Melissa Gordon	2405 Leon	45	1	12, 13	21250	0.4878	2405 Leon	EFM INITIATIVES LLC	0.2296	750000	LOT 13 BLK 1 ROBARDS SUBD OF OLT 43-45, 54&55 DIVISI	1.06235382	796,765
Belle Fuller	2411 Leon	45	1	10	10625	0.2439	2412 Leon	St Charles Condominiums	0.243916	749800	ST CHARLES CONDOMINIUMS AMENDED	1	749,800
unknown	2406 Leon	45	1	4	7437.5	0.1707	1004 24th	HILLTOP SH VENTURE TX LP	0.9183	4,800,138	LOT 1-3 BLK 1 ROBARDS SUBD OF OLT 43-45, 54&55 DIVIS	0.185932164	892,500
Charlotte White <estate>	2414 San Gabriel	45	1	8	10625	0.2439	2410 San Gabriel	2410 SAN GABRIEL L P	0.9183	3000000	LOT 5-8 BLK 1 ROBARDS SUBD OF OLT 43-45, 54&55 DIVI	0.265617377	796,852
Tom Darden <estate>	2410 San Gabriel	45	1	11	10625	0.2439	2409 Leon	STONELEIGH CONDOMINIUMS	0.4878	1520000	STONELEIGH CONDOMINIUMS	0.5	760,000
HG Grant	906 W. 24th	46	1		21045	0.4831	2401 SAN GABRIEL ST	REGENTS WEST 24TH LP	0.7072	4,620,750	LOT 1 FRATERNITY ROW AMENDED PLAT OF LTS 1,2&3 THE	0.683154301	3,156,685
Will Owens	908 W. 24th	46			13500	0.3099	2401 SAN GABRIEL ST	REGENTS WEST 24TH LP	0.7072	4,620,750	LOT 1 FRATERNITY ROW AMENDED PLAT OF LTS 1,2&3 THE	0.438231555	2,024,958
Rose Barrow	2405 San Gabriel	46	1		6750	0.1550	2401 SAN GABRIEL ST	REGENTS WEST 24TH LP	0.7072	4,620,750	LOT 1 FRATERNITY ROW AMENDED PLAT OF LTS 1,2&3 THE	0.219115777	1,012,479
Smith Harben	2407 San Gabriel	46	1		8640	0.1983	2401 SAN GABRIEL ST	REGENTS WEST 24TH LP	0.7072	4,620,750	LOT 1 FRATERNITY ROW AMENDED PLAT OF LTS 1,2&3 THE	0.280468195	1,295,973
Jasper Jones	2504 San Gabriel	54	6	1,2	5525	0.1268	1000 25-1/2 St 1002 25-1/2 St	2500 SAN GABRIEL LLC 2500 SAN GABRIEL LLC	0.2499 0.1246 0.1253	1,632,848 814,137 818,711	LOT 1 BLK 6 HARWOOD SUBD LOT 2 BLK 6 HARWOOD SUBD	0.507549209	828,751
Fred Hill	1010 W. 26th	55	5	9	10625	0.2439	2518 Leon	LMP OW WEST CAMPUS LLC	1.0601	6,465,200	LOT 9,22,23, & LOT 23A BLK 5 50X200 & 60X103 AV OLT	0.23008814	1,487,566
Zanna Howard	2406 San Gabriel	54	6	1,2	5525	0.1268	1000 25-1/2 St 1002 25-1/2 St	2500 SAN GABRIEL LLC 2500 SAN GABRIEL LLC	0.2499 0.1246 0.1253	1,632,848 814,137 818,711	LOT 1 BLK 6 HARWOOD SUBD LOT 2 BLK 6 HARWOOD SUBD	0.507549209	828,751
Jefferson Brown		54	6	30	5460	0.1253	1002 26th	TEXAS KAPPA SIGMA EDUCATI	1.12	3,415,090	LOT 29 *E26' & W13.9' OF LT 35 LOT 30-34 OLT 54 HARWO	0.111914601	382,198
Ellen McHenry		54	6	31	5460	0.1253	1002 26th	TEXAS KAPPA SIGMA EDUCATI	1.12	3415090	LOT 29 *E26' & W13.9' OF LT 35 LOT 30-34 OLT 54 HARWO	0.111914601	382,198
H Maston Harben	1106 W. 25th	55	5	21	10625	0.2439	2505 Longview	RAR2-AXIS WEST CAMPUS LP	1.608	9,806,440	LOT 15-21 BLK 5 OLT 55 DIVISION D	1/7th	1,400,920
Charlie Harben	1116 W. 25th	55	5	20	10625	0.2439	2505 Longview	RAR2-AXIS WEST CAMPUS LP	1.608	9,806,440	LOT 15-21 BLK 5 OLT 55 DIVISION D	1/7th	1,400,920
Nathaniel Jackson	2506 Leon	55	5	4	5312.5	0.1220	Leon	TEXAN SHOAL CREEK LLC	0.6879	2,097,410	TEXAN SHOTEXAN SHOAL CREEK CONDOMINIUMS (COMM	0.177290622	371,851
Albert W. Williams	2504 Leon	55	5	3, 4	15937.5	0.3659	Leon	TEXAN SHOAL CREEK LLC	0.6879	2,097,410	TEXAN SHOTEXAN SHOAL CREEK CONDOMINIUMS (COMM	0.531871865	1,115,553
Henry Solomon	2508 Leon	55	5	6	11687.5	0.2683	2510 Leon	ACC OP (THE BLOCK) LLC	0.9195	5,607,479	LOT 5-8 BLK 5 OLT 55 DIVISION D	0.291797804	1,636,250
Mary Watson	2518 Leon	55	5	23	10000	0.2296	2518 Leon	LMP OW WEST CAMPUS LLC	1.0601	6,465,200	LOT 9,22,23, & LOT 23A BLK 5 50X200 & 60X103 AV OLT	0.216553543	1,400,062
Ida Johnson	2612 San Pedro	59		6	5850	0.1343	2612 San Pedro	TREEHOUSE CONDOMINIUMS		\$40/sq ft	TREEHOUSE CONDOMINIUMS		444,600
Lucy Kyle	712 W. 28th	67			6000	0.1377	2810 Salado	CAMINO REAL LTD	1.3146	4,008,410	105.66 X 60', 127.66 X 140' & 218 X 141.66' + ADJ VAC AL	0.104777915	419,993
Pilgrim Home Baptist Church	1004 W. 25th	54	6	3	5460	0.1253	1000 25-1/2 St	2500 SAN GABRIEL LLC	0.1253	818,711	LOT 3 BLK 6 HARWOOD SUBD	1.000353971	819,001
Lucy Washington	2404 Leon	44	2	4	10625	0.2439	2400 Leon	BETA MU BUILDING CO INC	0.6887	3,600,000	LOT 1-3 BLK 2 OLT 44 DIVISION D	0.354169358	1,275,010

Land Valuation Data, 1920

Using the methodology described above, we arrived at the following values for Black-owned property in Austin in 1920.

	Total number of Black- owned lots	Total Black- owned acreage	Total land value in 1920 (adjusted for inflation)	Total value of land today
Wheatville	37	10.1152	\$179,694	\$44,781,724
Red River community	20	3.5538	\$163,453	\$63,473,040
Clarksville	70	19.2873	\$102,139.50	\$81,964,273
East Campus community	27	5.7429	\$118,604	\$25,032,440
Total	154	38.6992	\$563,891	<u>\$215,251,477</u>

Mapping Methodology: Black-Owned Land

After completing the valuation data, we generated maps of Black-owned land in Austin in 1920 via the following steps:

- 1) Using the outlot, block, and lot, we identified which areas on the map corresponds with each entry on the valuation sheet.
- 2) We used ArcGIS Pro to create a polygon in each area. When the exact location of a lot was not known, we sketched a circular polygon (of a different color) in the approximate location of the Black-owned property.
- 3) We checked that the polygons were approximately the correct size.
- 4) We linked data from the valuation sheet to each polygon, allowing viewers to click on the polygons and see the demographic data associated with that lot.



Figure 2, Black-owned land in the Wheatville and East Campus communities, 1920

The link for these maps is [here](#).